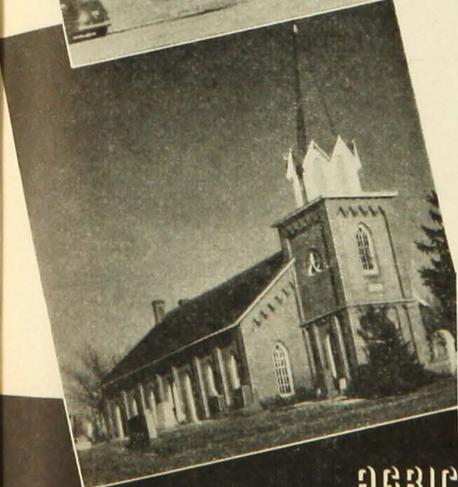
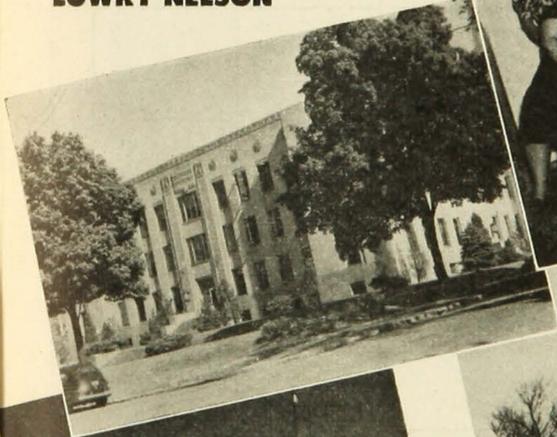


Rural SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

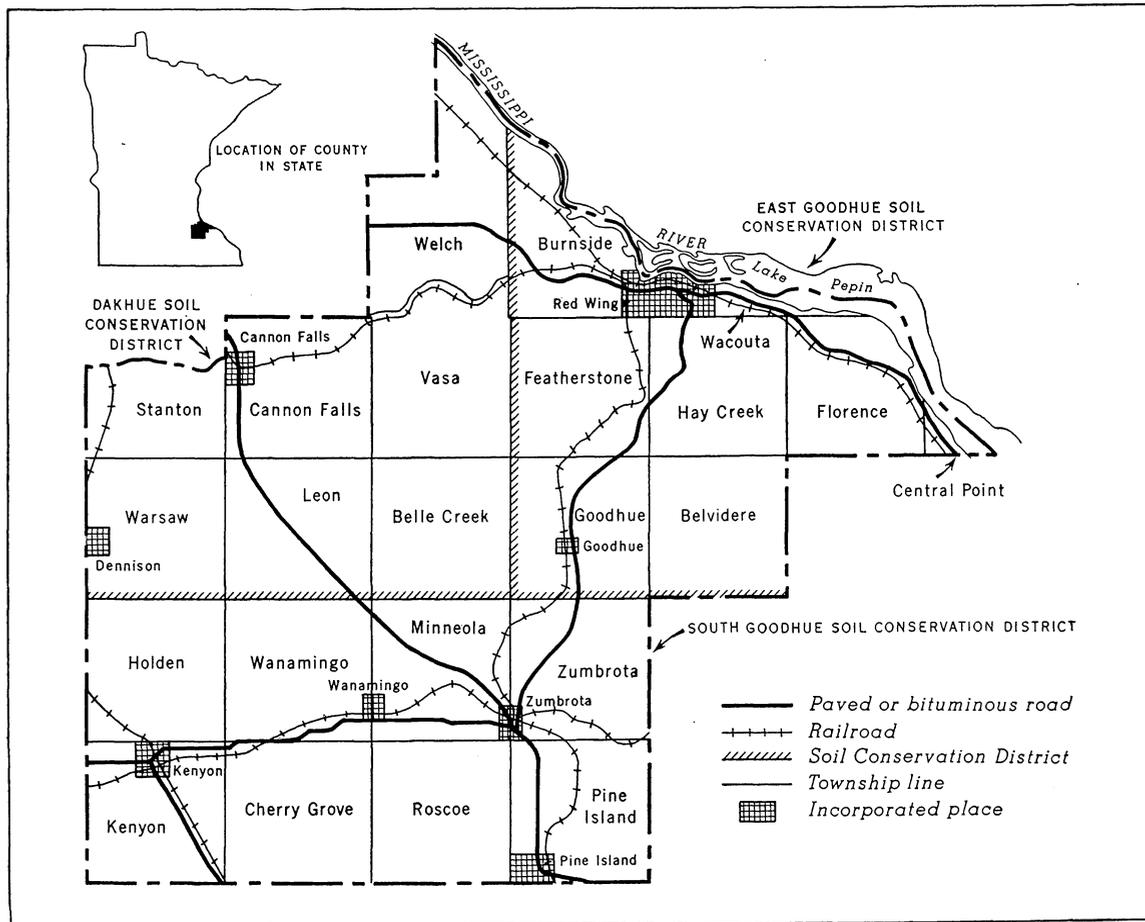
Goodhue COUNTY

FRANK D. ALEXANDER
LOWRY NELSON



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Frontspiece. Goodhue County



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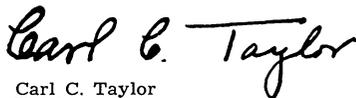
Foreword

This is one in a series of studies carried out in 24 counties which were selected to represent the major type farming areas in the United States. Goodhue County, Minnesota, was selected as one of the five dairy counties. The other dairy counties were Litchfield, Connecticut; Hampshire, Massachusetts; Oneida, New York; and Frederick, Maryland. Counties representing other types of farming areas were Henry, Indiana; Hamilton, Iowa; and Seward, Nebraska, in the Corn Belt; Ellis, Kansas; Wells, North Dakota; and Franklin, Washington, in the Wheat areas. Val Verde, Texas, and Sweetgrass, Montana, in the Range-livestock areas. Bell, Texas; Pottawatomie, Oklahoma; Dallas, Alabama; and Union, South Carolina, in the Cotton Belt; Dent, Missouri; Rabun, Georgia; Magoffin, Kentucky; Bradford, Pennsylvania, in the General and Self-sufficing areas. Imperial and Butte in California in the Western Specialty areas, and LaFource, Louisiana, in a Residual area.

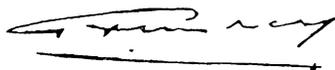
This study of Goodhue County was initiated by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the United States Department of Agriculture, and has been carried to completion with the cooperation of the Division of Rural Sociology of the University of Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station.

The purpose of this and the other studies of the series has been (a) to analyze the types of groups in which rural people are organized and the patterns of group relationships through which they participate in local and nonlocal programs and services, (b) to analyze the ways in which agencies relate themselves and their programs to these types of organizations and patterns of group relationships, (c) to provide a comparison by types of farming areas, of trends in different types of organizations—formal and informal, local and nonlocal, etc., and (d) to interpret the findings for farm people and for action and educational agencies.

All of the studies in the series are being made by trained sociologists. In each case the report follows a generally uniform outline. All will present their analyses in keeping with the following major types of organizations: locality groupings, formally organized groups, informal groups and other informal relationships, agencies, institutionalized organizations, and the county as a unit of organization.



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*Rural Social Organization In Goodhue County, Minnesota**

Frank D. Alexander and Lowry Nelson

GOODHUE COUNTY belongs to the dairy farming region of the nation. Located in southeastern Minnesota, the county is bounded on the northeast by the Mississippi River. The seasons here are well marked, and the range between high and low temperatures is wide. Winters are moderately severe with sub-freezing temperatures as early as September and as late as May.

Wheat early became the county's leading market crop, but production reached its peak in 1879 and since that date has been declining rapidly. On the other hand, dairy cows increased from 17,838 in 1900 to 43,824 in 1945. At this date, approximately one-third of the county's 3,008 farmers obtained the major source of their income from dairying. Since 1890 the number of farms has varied little. The family-sized farm of about 150 acres predominates. Farm incomes are generally high, and levels of living are considerably above the national average for farm people.

Since 1900 the total population of the county has remained relatively stable. It was 31,137 in 1900 and 31,564 in 1940. Internally, however, the population has changed. Between 1900 and 1940 the open-country population has shown a marked decline, whereas the populations of the villages and of the town of Red Wing have increased rapidly. Groups from foreign lands or with distinctive ethnic backgrounds have always been prominent. At the present time there are three dominant ethnic

groups—Norwegian, Swedish, and German.

While informal groups and relationships are numerous, the dominant pattern for meeting important social needs is through the county's many formal organizations. Among various types of social organizations in the county, the churches rank first in the interest and loyalty commanded from the people. The small school district with its one-teacher school is characteristic of the rural-farm areas. Public agencies to assist the people in dealing with certain social and economic problems have increased considerably in the past 15 years. Many of the social and economic interests of farm people are becoming focused in the villages. Although the county government serves the people in many traditional ways and its area is the area of operation of a number of organizations and agencies, its importance is somewhat minimized because of the division of local governmental responsibilities with numerous sub-units and because of the growing importance of service-area communities.

* Most of the field investigation for this study was done during the last two months of 1946 and the first half of 1947.

I. SIX TYPES OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

1. *The County*

GOODHUE COUNTY was established by an act of the state legislature in 1853, and the first county board of commissioners was appointed by the governor in 1854. Legally, Goodhue, like other counties in Minnesota, is a creature of the state with dual functions: (1) to serve as an agency of the state in the local administration of certain laws and services, and (2) to act in a more restricted sense for the satisfaction of certain local needs.

The present boundaries were defined in 1855. Twice in its early history, once to form a new county and again for annexation to an adjoining county, efforts were made through the state legislature to detach areas from the county, but neither of these attempts was successful. At first there were serious differences over the location of the county seat. When a decision was made in 1858 to build a court house in Red Wing, it met with opposition from people in the southern part of the county who wanted a more central location. Failure to choose a central site for the seat of government has had a retarding influence on the attainment of a unified county community.

The principal governing authority in the county is its board of commissioners consisting of five members, each elected from a specific district. (See figure 1 for organizational chart of county government.) The board manages the county's property, oversees its finances, sets the county tax rate, and acts as general director of its business. It lacks the powers ordinarily given a board of

directors of a business corporation, however, because many of the other county officials are also elected directly by the people. These officials are independent of the board aside from their partial dependence on it for appropriations to operate their offices and the threat of judicial action which the board may initiate against them. Because of his contacts with the board and his close jurisdiction over the county's finances, the auditor is in a better position than any other county official to see all of the county's governmental operations as a whole. It can hardly be claimed, however, that he serves as a coordinator.

Although local elections are non-partisan, the county has both Democratic-Farmer-Labor and Republican committees. Most of the members of these committees are village or town people. It is said that contests for state offices arouse considerable interest but that those for county offices seldom do. The same individuals are returned to county offices election after election. However, general interest in voting has been maintained at a fairly high level for a number of years. In the presidential election year of 1920 which was only a short time after women were given the ballot, 64.5 per cent of the population 21 years of age and over voted. Even in the nonpresidential election of 1930, the percentage was as high as 60.4, and in the presidential election year of 1940, the voting rose to 78.3

One of the most important functions of the county government is the collec-

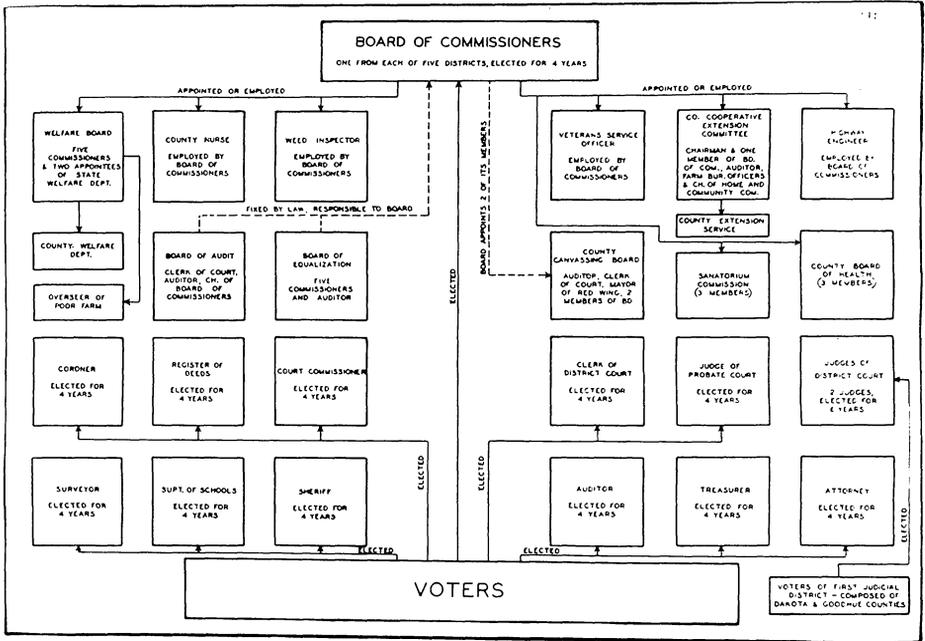


FIG. 1. Organization of county government

tion of taxes. The county not only collects funds for its own operations, but also acts as a collecting agency for school districts, townships, municipalities, and the state. The expansion of this function is reflected in the increase over the years of tax levies for county purposes only. In 1854 the county levy was only \$653.¹ By 1909 the amount was \$62,000, or \$1.98 per inhabitant. Following World War I it rose to \$280,000 in 1921, or about \$9.09 per person. The maximum levies came in the late 1920's, when the per capita amount was \$11.62 in 1929. In 1940 the levy was \$309,836, with a per person levy of \$9.82. By 1945 the levy had risen to \$349,725,¹ but was still below the high levies of 1928 and 1929.

In addition to its tax collecting function, the county provides or helps to provide its citizens with juridical,

police, road, education, health, welfare, and agriculture services. The juridical and police services of the county are performed principally by its probate judge, clerk of court, sheriff, county attorney, coroner, register of deeds, and two district judges who also serve Dakota county. The county shares responsibility for its roads with township, state, and federal governments.

In relation to public education, the county has only limited authority. It elects a superintendent of education whose duties are primarily associated with collecting educational information, supervising the rural schools, and enforcing attendance laws. The actual control of the schools is vested in the county's 155 school districts. The county is responsible for the collection of school taxes in each of these districts, but the determination of rates and de-

¹No per capita amounts are given for this date because it is too far removed from the census year.

cisions for expenditure of funds are prerogatives of the districts. The county itself spent only slightly more than \$5,000 for school purposes in 1945. Most of the expenditure was for the salary of the county superintendent and his assistant. Acting as their fiscal agent, the county treasurer in 1945 paid to the school districts \$681,580. In the same year the county received \$681,435 in new funds for support of district schools. Of this amount 34.3 per cent came from state and 0.5 from federal funds; ten years prior to 1945 state and federal contributions were 31.9 and 0.2 per cent, respectively.

Although the county has a Board of Health, its functions are limited principally to legal control in dealing with epidemics. There is no public health department, but since 1922 a public health nurse has been employed. The approximate cost of the county's nursing service in 1945 was \$2,447. The County Public Health Association also contributes a small amount to the support of the service. In cooperation with eight other counties and the state, Goodhue County contributes to the support of a tuberculosis sanatorium located near Cannon Falls which was originally established by action of the Goodhue board of commissioners. In 1945 Goodhue's contribution was \$11,282. Red Wing and the county's major villages employ physicians as part-time health officers. The chairmen of the township boards usually serve as health officers for their townships. Although the county nurse cooperates with these officials, there is no well coordinated public health program for the entire county.

Poor relief has been a county responsibility since 1858 when it was transferred from the townships. A poor farm and alms house established in 1863 and 1867, respectively, are still maintained.

In the early history of the county, poor relief was a major expenditure. The tax levy for 1885 was \$50,000, of which \$16,000 were spent on assistance to the poor. The depression of the early 1930's forced the county to turn to the federal government for help in meeting its relief problems, and since that time it has continued to share responsibility for those problems with state and federal governments.

The 1936 receipts for welfare purposes contributed by the county itself were more than double the amount for the pre-depression year of 1929, when the county was bearing all such costs. Over the 10-year period, 1936 through 1945, receipts from the county increased and decreased irregularly, but in 1945 they were almost \$5,000 above the 1936 level. As the county has expanded its own efforts in the welfare field, it has increasingly become the channel through which state and federal governments have extended their welfare programs. Funds paid the county from state and federal sources increased from 45.1 per cent of all welfare receipts in 1936 to 66.1 per cent in 1945. During this 10-year period, total welfare receipts rose from \$145,641 to \$249,303.²

In 1917 the county made its first appropriation (\$1,000) for the service of an agricultural extension agent. Between 1935-36 and 1945-46, total annual expenditures for Extension Service increased from \$5,317.83 to \$11,973.41, a 125.2 per cent increase, and the increase in expenditure per farm operator rose from \$1.68 to \$3.98.³ During this 11-year period the percentage of funds from county sources declined somewhat. The percentage from federal sources, although varying throughout the period, was about the same at the end as at the beginning of the eleven years, while the state's proportion in-

²These receipts consisted principally of funds for old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and general relief. Aid-to-the-blind and federal WPA funds were not included.

³Accurate data showing distribution of expenditures before 1935-36 cannot be obtained.

creased to a certain extent. Since 1939-40 the County Farm Bureau Federation, which is the legal sponsor of the Extension Service, has made small contributions toward the Service's expenses.

In addition to the regular agricultural extension service personnel, the county employs a part-time weed inspector. Bounties are also paid by the county for killing foxes and wolves because of the protection thus given livestock and poultry.

The county also makes financial contributions to a miscellaneous group of organizations or services. Among these are a recently appointed county veterans service officer (entirely supported by county funds), the Goodhue County Historical Society, the Cannon Valley Fair Association, and the Goodhue County Fair Association.

The county has 23 townships with which it shares responsibilities for local government (see Frontispiece). At present the principal functions of townships are road maintenance and weed control. For these and other purposes the voters determine the township tax levy at their annual town meeting. These township meetings are devoted entirely to business. They are attended mostly by men and are not an occasion for the gathering of crowds, for visiting or other festivities.

Each township has an elected board of supervisors and four or five other elected officials. Among the latter is the tax assessor whose choice by ballot tends to give the voters closer control over assessment of property. The members of the township boards have a county-wide organization known as the Goodhue County Township Officers Association. Its membership consist almost entirely of farmers. The annual dues, \$10.00 per member, are paid from township funds. The principal function of the organization is to foster and preserve township government. The organization is affiliated with a state or-

ganization whose major concern is legislation relating to township matters.

There are eight incorporated municipalities in the county. Each of these governmental units has its own officers and performs certain services for its citizens. In 1945 the county, acting as fiscal agent for its townships and municipalities, paid approximately \$382,000 to their treasurers.

The 23 townships and six of the incorporated places provide 29 of the county's voting precincts. The two remaining incorporated places, Cannon Falls and Red Wing, have two and 10 precincts, respectively.

Still another unit of local government is the school district, of which there are 155 in Goodhue County. These units have authority to decide on the tax levy for school maintenance and to elect boards which are responsible for the general administration of the schools.

Finally, the county is divided into three legally established soil conservation districts, although part of one of the districts is in an adjoining county.

It is difficult to appraise the degree of community feeling of the people for their county. Contributing to this feeling are certain factors such as the county's governmental functions; the correspondence of its area to the membership area of 24 county-wide, formal organizations; and the fact that the county is the administrative area for several public agencies. On the other hand are factors which work in the opposite direction, including the location of the county seat away from the county's geographical center; the absence of main highways between the county seat and some of the more distant parts of the county; the division of local governmental functions among townships, school districts, and municipalities; the division of the county into three soil conservation districts; and the organization of socio-economic life around villages whose service areas cut across

county boundaries. Balancing these factors against each other, however, one concludes that the sense of group identification⁴ on a county basis is not

especially strong as compared with this feeling for a particular community within the county.

2. *Locality Groups*

LOCALITY GROUPS are those which can be identified with specific geographical areas and whose members have a sense of belonging together. Usually there is a focal point with one or more services, but there are some locality groups without such focal points, although the members have a sense of belonging together and live in an area that may be identified. This definition assigns two characteristics to locality groups: (1) common services at a center, and (2) group identification.⁴ An examination of these two factors in the locality groups delineated⁵ in Goodhue County was undertaken for the purpose of classifying the groupings. Table 1 was developed as an instrument of analysis for deriving a meaningful locality classification. With the use of Dun and Bradstreet data for 1945, supplemented by actual check in the field in small places, the number of kinds of services,⁶ the number of doctors and dentists, and a weighted figure⁷ for schools were combined into a rating score designated on the chart as "service rating." The data for determining ratings on the service factor were objective and easily obtained, but those for group identification are not nearly

so objective or readily obtainable. To determine group identification ratings, a list of specific primary relationships⁸ was made for each locality, and this list was then used for forming a judgment rating of that group in terms of the people's sense of belonging together (group identification). These ratings appear in column III of table 1.

The names of the locality groups appear in column II, arrayed from highest to lowest on the basis of "service rating."⁹ The two factors as rated for each locality are combined in column IV, and in column V descriptive categories are assigned to these combined ratings. A classification of localities based on the descriptive categories is presented in the following summary. (For map of major locality groupings with service centers except open-country church parishes and rural school districts, see figure 2. For open-country church parishes and rural school districts see figures 4 and 7.)

Classification Summary

Low Group Identification: With High Service Rating (A²B)—Red Wing; **With Low Service Rating (AB)**—Most rural

⁴ "Group-identification" here means the awareness which people have of their membership in a group, their feeling of belonging, or what is sometimes referred to as the "we feeling."

⁵ Localities were delineated on the basis of the area served by a particular center. For the most part this area was determined by trade relations, although in the case of the larger villages, the high school attendance area was also used. For church parish localities the area was based on membership; for open-country, nonfocal groupings on social relations, such as visiting and sense of belonging; and for work rings, on the participating farmers.

⁶ Including motion picture houses and banks.

⁷ See footnote on service rating, table 1.

⁸ Broadly defined primary relationships are those which are intimate, personal, and face-to-face, such as occur in the family, among neighbors, or in play groups. On the other hand, secondary relationships are impersonal, not necessarily face-to-face, and lacking in intimacy. Such relationships occur in large organizations and institutions. Groups characterized by primary relationships are sometimes referred to in this study as *primary groups* and those characterized by secondary relationships as *secondary*.

⁹ Places in the same general service rating classification, as A or A², etc., which have different scores are arranged from highest to lowest within their general class; places in the same class having the same score are arranged alphabetically.

Table 1. Locality Group Scale

| Service Rating* | Locality† | Group Identification Rating‡ | Combined Rating§ | Descriptive Categories |
|-----------------|------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| A ⁵ | Red Wing | B | A ⁵ B | High service—low group identification |
| A ⁴ | Zumbrota | B ² | A ⁴ B ² | Relatively high service—medium group identification |
| A ⁴ | Cannon Falls | B ² | A ⁴ B ² | Relatively high service—medium group identification |
| A ⁴ | Kenyon | B ² | A ⁴ B ² | Relatively high service—medium group identification |
| A ⁴ | Pine Island | B ² | A ⁴ B ² | Relatively high service—medium group identification |
| A ³ | Goodhue | B ² | A ³ B ² | Medium service—medium group identification |
| A ³ | Wanamingo | B ² | A ³ B ² | Medium service—medium group identification |
| A ² | Dennison | B ² | A ² B ² | Relatively low service—medium group identification |
| A ² | Bellecheater | B ² | A ² B ² | Relatively low service—medium group identification |
| A ² | Welch | B ² | A ² B ² | Relatively low service—medium group identification |
| A ² | White Rock-Belle Creek | B ² | A ² B ² | Relatively low service—medium group identification |
| A ² | Frontenac | B ² | A ² B ² | Relatively low service—medium group identification |

* Service rating. The letter A has been used to designate this factor. The rating is based upon a total score which was obtained by adding the number of different kinds of services reported for each service center by Dun and Bradstreet (supplemented in the case of small places by field observation), the number of motion picture theaters, the number of banks, the number of doctors and dentists, and the number of schools weighted as follows: one-teacher school—1, consolidated elementary school—3, consolidated high school—2, and consolidated elementary and high school—5. No school was included which did not have farm children enrolled. Graduations for the A factor were determined by examining Dun and Bradstreet data on number of different kinds of service for sample service centers in the 24 counties in which rural organization studies were being made by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life. This examination provided the range of gradations as well as class breaks in the range. It resulted in the following gradations or classes: A⁷—100 or more, A⁴—50-99, A³—16-49, A²—5-15, A¹—1-4 different kinds of service.

† Locality. This column carries the designation of the localities delineated. The proper names are the names of service-centers around which areas served by them have been delineated. In some instances groups of areas rather than individual areas have been listed, for example—most rural school districts, open-country nonlocal localities, etc.

‡ Group identification. The letter B has been used to designate this factor. In order to arrive at ratings on this item, group identification was considered as the residue of what has been commonly referred to in sociological literature as primary-group activities. Accordingly, an ideal type of primary neighborhood group was posited with the following behavior characteristics assigned to it: (1) Visiting by families and by individuals, (2) Mutual aid—(a) in emergencies, i.e., sickness, death; (b) in production, i.e., exchange of work and tools; (c) in borrowing and lending, i.e., food, money, (3) Spontaneous play and recreation—children's games, picnics, hunting, fishing, (4) Exchange of personal confidences, relating intimate personal feelings and experiences, and (5) Repetition of group and personal experiences—stories about the group and its personalities. Each locality was examined to ascertain activities and experiences that might have any aspects of the above kinds of behavior. A list of these was made and studied to judge the primary group attitudes and understandings that might be expected to result from these activities and experiences, and which could then be rated as giving a sense of belonging together or of group identification. This meant further positing of what the ideal primary group would have in the way of attitudes and common understanding. The basic ones considered were: (1) total personality of each individual fully known, (2) feelings of intimacy and sentimental attachments. Of course, this qualitative analysis was combined with a general judgment of the sense of belonging which the researcher had noted in his role of observer while in the county. Index values were then assigned to the B factor which had the following meaning: B³—High group identification; B²—Medium group identification; B—Low group identification.

§ Combined rating. In this column the symbols for service rating and group identification have simply been combined into a formula in which each symbol carries an index value of the rating assigned to it.

|| Descriptive categories. In this column appear the qualitative descriptions of the combined ratings found in column IV. The actual words used here were assigned as follows: For A: A⁵—High service, A⁴—Relatively high service, A³—Medium service, A²—Relatively low service, A—Low service. For B: B³—High group identification, B²—Medium group identification, B—Low group identification.

Table 1. Locality Group Scale—Continued

| Service Rating* | Locality† | Group Identification Rating‡ | Combined Rating§ | Descriptive Categories |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| A ² | Skyberg | B ² | A ² B ² | Relatively low service-medium group identification |
| A ² | Sogn | B ² | A ² B ² | Relatively low service-medium group identification |
| A ² | Vasa | B ² | A ² B ² | Relatively low service-medium group identification |
| A | Bombay | B | AB | Low service-low group identification |
| A | Hader | B ² | AB ² | Low service-medium group identification |
| A | Hay Creek | B ² | AB ² | Low service-medium group identification |
| A | Roscoe | B ² | AB ² | Low service-medium group identification |
| A | Stanton | B ² | AB ² | Low service-medium group identification |
| A | Burnside | B ² | AB ² | Low service-medium group identification |
| A | Wastedo | B | AB | Low service-low group identification |
| A | Aspelund | B ² | AB ² | Low service-medium group identification |
| A | Claybank | B | AB | Low service-low group identification |
| A | Roscoe Center | B ² | AB ² | Low service-medium group identification |
| A | Church Hill School District (No. 105) | B ³ | AB ³ | Low service-high group identification |
| A | Fair Point | B ² | AB ² | Low service-medium group identification |
| A | Nansen | B ² | AB ² | Low service-medium group identification |
| A | Most rural school districts | B | AB | Low service-low group identification |
| | Most open-country church parishes | B ³ | B ³ | No service-high group identification |
| | Open-country nonfocal localities | B ³ | B ³ | No service-high group identification |
| | Work rings | B ³ | B ³ | No service-high group identification |

school districts, Bombay, Wastedo, Claybank.

Medium Group Identification: With Relatively High Service Rating (A¹B²)—Zumbrota, Cannon Falls, Kenyon, Pine Island; With Medium Service Rating (A²B²)—Goodhue, Wanamingo; With Relatively Low Service Rating (A²B³)—Dennison, Bellechester, Welch, White Rock-Belle Creek, Frontenac, Skyberg, Sogn, Vasa; With Low Service Rating (AB²)—Hader, Hay Creek, Roscoe, Stanton, Burnside, Aspelund, Roscoe Center, Fair Point, Nansen.

High Group Identification: With Low Service Rating (AB³)—Church Hill

School District (No. 105); With No Service (B³)—Open-country nonfocal groupings, Most open-country church parishes, Work rings.

The classes appearing in the foregoing summary provide the basic outline for the following description.

Low Group Identification

With High Service Rating

Red Wing is the only locality group included in this class. The area of which it is the center overlaps practically all of the area of Goodhue and Vasa; part of that of Cannon Falls,

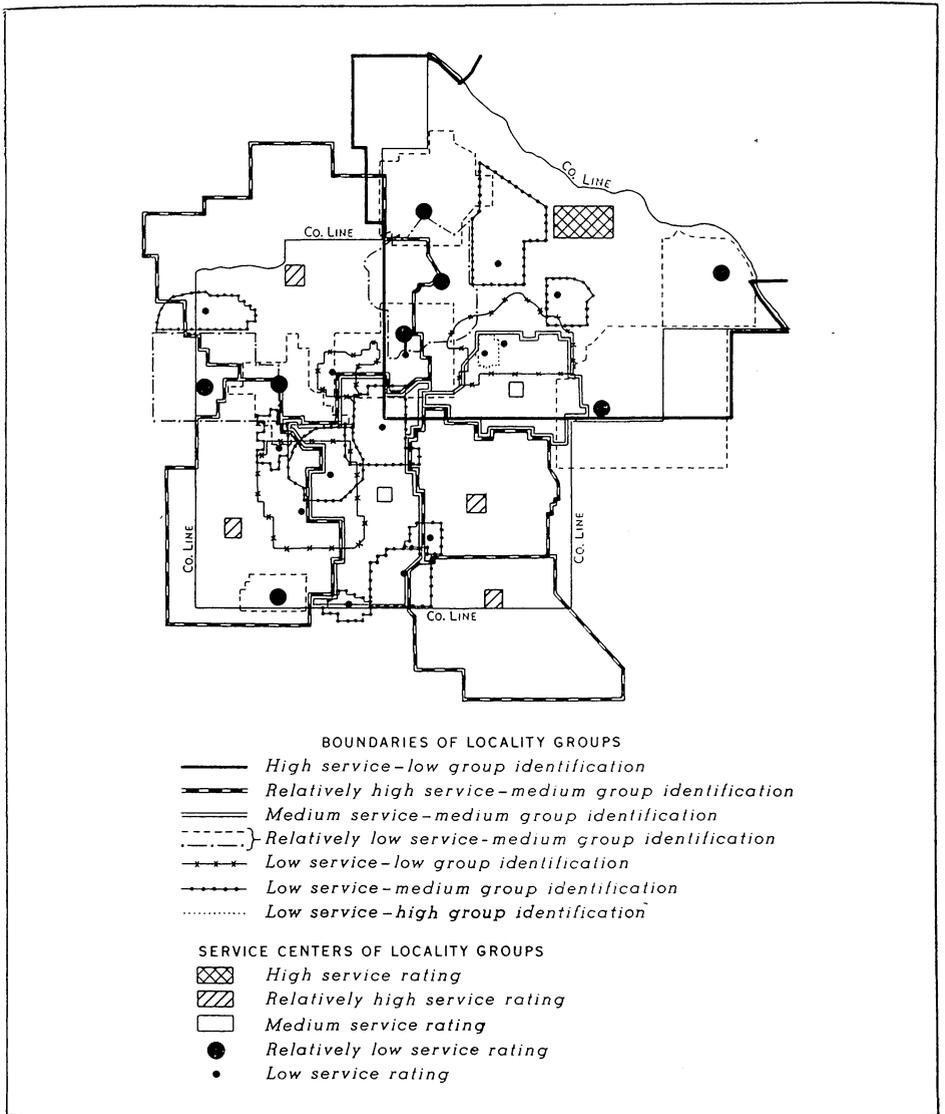


FIG. 2. Major locality groups with service centers

In general, service centers, as used in this title, includes all centers other than open-country schools and churches. There is, however, one locality shown on the map which has only a rural school as its center.

Wanamingo, Zumbrota, White Rock-Belle Creek, Bellechester, and Hader; and all of Welch, Frontenac, Burnside, Hay Creek, Claybank, and the Church Hill School District.¹⁰ In 1940, the population of Red Wing was 9,962 which by census definition places it in the urban category; however, this arbitrary statistical classification is fully supported by the socio-economic characteristics of the town. Red Wing has a wide variety of service establishments (112 different kinds), 16 doctors, 13 dentists, two hospitals, and a high school to which farm youth are admitted. It is also an industrial center with 39 industries and 29 labor organizations. In 1940 the value of its manufactured products was approximately \$12,600,000.

In explaining the town's role in the county, people almost always refer to its industrial character. These characteristics inevitably give to the town an impersonal character not only in terms of its internal social relationships, but especially in terms of the relationships of farm people to it as a center. On the other hand, its numerous services give it considerable importance as a place where farmers may find satisfaction for many of their basic needs. The large number of services provided by the town means that it has a high rating as a service center, but the very nature of the relationships involved in utilizing these services, as well as their highly specialized character, means that they result in impersonal, highly secularized contacts. In these relationships people tend to interact without sentimental feelings or intimate knowledge of each other as persons, with the result that they fail to develop strong group cohesion.

There are some rather obvious indications of the impersonal character of the relationships between farm people and those who live in Red Wing. Farm-

ers frequent the streets of Red Wing less than in some of the villages, such as Cannon Falls and Goodhue. When farmers do come to Red Wing, they often dress in their "Sunday" clothes. Red Wing also fails to provide the marketing attractions in terms of both facilities and understanding personal relations which are offered the farm people by some of the county's village centers as well as its hamlets.

There are, however, some activities between Red Wing and the people in the area served by it which are personal in character and result in a sense of group identification. Slightly more than one-third of the town's formally organized groups have both farm and town members, and the activities of these organizations provide opportunities for contacts that are sufficiently personal to give the town people and farmers a sense of belonging together. Proportionally, however, the number of organizations with both farm and town members is much lower in Red Wing than it is in any of the county's six villages.

The Red Wing businessmen, through their Kiwanis Club, have undertaken the sponsorship of 4-H clubs throughout the county. This personal interest in rural children and the fact that the sponsoring members occasionally attend meetings of the clubs tend to create a personal bond between town and farm people. The Red Wing members of the Izaak Walton League also sponsor socials for the town and farm men which result in personal contacts that contribute to group identification. In some of the places of business and around the marketing establishments, farm and town people visit and come to know each other in a personal sense. These relationships result in a limited sense of identification of the farm people with Red Wing.

¹⁰ In general, church parishes, school districts, work rings, and open-country nonfocal localities are not listed in this and other references to overlapping areas. For certain specialized services Red Wing draws people from all parts of the county as well as from a section across the Mississippi River in Wisconsin.

Red Wing is the county seat, and because of the governmental service and activities located there, it draws people from the entire county. Thus for some people, the area served by the town includes the whole county. Nevertheless, although the town has an attractive and modern courthouse about which people throughout the county boast, farmers make no great use of this building as a center for visiting with each other or with town people. Of course, the governmental agencies located at Red Wing provide some personal contacts between agency personnel and farmers, and among farmers as they work with these agencies. These contacts give the farmers some sense of belonging to Red Wing.

In describing Red Wing as a locality group, it should be noted, however, that there is an inner zone around the town, varying in width from 5 to 8 miles. Inhabitants of this zone make Red Wing their regular trading center and have a higher sense of identification with the town than most of those who live at a greater distance. Some of the people from this inner zone attend Red Wing churches and belong to the town's formal organizations.

With Low Service Rating

It may appear unusual to pass from Red Wing to a discussion of school districts as locality groups, but the facts of table 1 lead us to follow this sequence. Of course, the rural school districts are legal entities, but they are more than that; they are areas which have service centers, namely their schools. Since they have only one service, their rating in this respect is low.

In most instances school districts have a low degree of group identification, but they are not entirely devoid of it.¹¹ The people in the school dis-

trict participate in an annual meeting to elect their school board, but attendance at these meetings is sometimes very poor. Most of the districts have one or more activities, such as Thanksgiving and Christmas programs, a picnic at the close of school, or visitation days for mothers. And, of course, the children who attend the schools have a number of intimate contacts. All of these experiences provide the people of the school district with opportunities for face-to-face, personal contacts that tend to result in some degree of group-consciousness, but in most instances this consciousness does not attain any very high degree.

Localities which belong to the same class as most of the county's rural school districts were delineated about three centers: Bombay, Wastedo, and Claybank. These centers have low service ratings with scores of 4, 3, and 2 respectively. The people's sense of belonging together in these areas is based principally on the visiting which occurs at the stores or other service establishments.

Medium Group Identification¹²

With Relatively High and Medium Service Rating

Six of the county's villages, Zumbrota, Cannon Falls, Kenyon, Pine Island, Goodhue, and Wanamingo, are the service centers for these combined classes of localities. The last two centers have a medium service rating, whereas the first four have a relatively high rating in this respect. All six were rated medium on group identification. Because all of the localities in these two groups have villages as their centers, and have several other similar characteristics as well, they have been combined for descriptive purposes.

¹¹ It should be pointed out that two or three rural school districts were discovered where the feeling of group identification seemed to be of medium, or high degree.

¹² A fairly wide range of localities is included in this class. The scope of the study was of such a character that it was impossible to apply the necessary techniques for a more refined classification.

The village-centers with relatively high service ratings range in population from Pine Island with 1,040 to Cannon Falls with 1,544 (1940 census). In general the areas of this group of localities are larger than those with medium service ratings. Goodhue, which is in the latter category, has the smallest area. On the other hand, Zumbrota, which belongs to the relatively high service rating group, has a smaller area than Wanamingo, which belongs to the same group as Goodhue. In 1940, Wanamingo and Goodhue had populations of 480 and 449, respectively.

Because the boundaries of these areas were determined more concisely than those of other locality groups, the map (figure 2) shows no overlapping among them. Actually, they do overlap to some extent because there are farm people along their boundaries whose interests identify them with more than one village center. As has already been noted, the Goodhue locality area lies almost entirely within the Red Wing area, and a part of the Cannon Falls area, of Wanamingo and of Zumbrota is in that of Red Wing. All of these six localities contain some parts of one or more localities whose service centers have low or relatively low service ratings. Pine Island,¹³ embraces a portion of only one locality, while at the other extreme is Wanamingo, with parts of nine localities overlapping it. Kenyon has two small localities that lie completely within its area.

The relatively high service localities offer from 50 to 71 different kinds of services in their village-centers. The range of these services is sufficiently broad to satisfy approximately those needs which relate to food, clothing, household supplies, servicing transportation equipment (automobiles), marketing and processing farm products,

specialties, farm operations, housing (construction), news, banking, commercial recreation, elementary and high school education, and professional medical service (exclusive of hospitals). The two medium service village-centers—Goodhue and Wanamingo—have 32 and 30 different kinds of service, respectively, but these places are inadequate for satisfying several needs, especially those relating to clothing and commercial recreation. Among the services in these six village-centers are various farmers' cooperative establishments, including creameries, cheese factories, grain elevators, and oil stations. Two of the villages have one cooperative establishment each, two have two each, and two have three each.

Competition among the six village-centers as well as between them and the town of Red Wing is relatively keen. In county-wide drives or campaigns, these seven service-centers take special pride in their achievements; no leader or committee directing a drive can afford to ignore the potentialities of their rivalry. Sometimes a public agency is able to utilize this competitive spirit in obtaining sponsorship of its activities. Goodhue and Wanamingo occupy a less secure economic position than do the other villages. Goodhue is especially threatened because of its nearness to Red Wing where a wider range of services is available. Although Wanamingo is almost completely surrounded by larger centers, it has an unusually strong hold on the farmers who live in its hinterland.

There is considerable organizational integration between the farm hinterlands and the village-centers of both the relatively high and medium service localities. On the basis of percentage of village-centered organizations having farm members, the six centers rank as follows:

¹³ There are probably more than two localities which lie partly (or wholly) within the Pine Island area. Much of the area of this locality is outside Goodhue County and was not surveyed. The same is also true of the Cannon Falls area.

| Rank | Per cent |
|--------------|----------|
| Pine Island | 95.5 |
| Wanamingo | 84.6 |
| Cannon Falls | 78.1 |
| Zumbrota | 77.8 |
| Goodhue | 72.7 |
| Kenyon | 65.2 |

In only 21 of the village-centered organizations are half or more of the members from the farm population, but a much larger number have "some" farmer members. These data serve only as an index of group identification. As such, they show that in these localities there has emerged an organizational structure which provides an opportunity for the expression of modified primary (personalized) relations between farmers and villagers that may result in group identification. More significant, however, are certain activities, most of which are associated either with formal organizations or with experiences connected with the utilization by farm people of village services. These activities and experiences are sufficiently primary to have created a sense of farm and village people belonging together. The following summary shows some of the more important of these activities and experiences for each village.

Zumbrota

Village leaders in commercial club actively seek to enlist farmers as members with result that a large number of farm leaders are now members of this group which is concerned with the business interests of both village and farm people.

Farm organizations and farm groups associated with agricultural agencies frequently meet in Commercial Club Hall to which they are cordially invited by the club.

Village volunteer fire department has definite arrangements for serving farmers.

Whist tournaments between village and farm men are sponsored by Com-

mmercial Club and held in its meeting hall.

County fair is held at Zumbrota and actively sponsored by it business men.

Attendance of farm youth at village high school brings farm and village youth together, and extra-curricular activities of the school attract parents and others from farm areas of locality to village.

Village churches have a number of farm members.

A considerable amount of informal visiting among farmers and some between farmers and villagers takes place at service and marketing establishments and on the streets.

Cannon Falls

Commercial Club sponsors Conservation Day at village for farmers.

Village men sponsor "Overall Week" during which business men in town wear overalls; the week is climaxed by a social attended by village and farm men.

Village business men sponsor annual community fair.

Village volunteer fire department has definite arrangements for serving farmers.

Attendance of farm youth at village high school brings farm and village youth together, and extra-curricular activities, parents' and parent-teachers' organizations connected with the school attract parents and others from farm areas to village.

Village churches have a number of farm members.

A considerable amount of informal visiting among farmers and some between farmers and villagers takes place at service and marketing establishments and on streets.

Kenyon

Commercial club formerly sponsored Corn Show for farmers (discontinued during and since end of war).

Village volunteer fire department serves farmers, but arrangements for service not well planned.

Attendance of farm youth at village high school brings farm and village youth together, and extra-curricular activities and parent-teachers' organization of the school attract parents and others from farm areas to village.

Village churches have some farm members.

A considerable amount of informal visiting among farmers and some between farmers and villagers takes place at service and marketing establishments and on streets.

Pine Island

Commercial Club formerly sponsored Cheese Festival to which farmers came in large numbers (discontinued during and since end of war).

Village volunteer fire department has arrangements for serving farmers.

Attendance of farm youth at village high school brings farm and village youth together, and extra-curricular activities connected with this school attract parents and others from farm areas to village.

Village churches have a number of farm members.

A considerable amount of informal visiting among farmers and some between farmers and villagers takes place at service and marketing establishments and on streets.

Goodhue

Village volunteer fire department has definite arrangements for serving farmers.

Attendance of farm youth at village high school brings farm and village youth together, and extra-curricular activities connected with the school attract parents and others from farm areas to village.

Village churches have a number of farm members.

A considerable amount of intimate, informal visiting among farmers and

some between farmers and villagers takes place at service and marketing establishments and on streets.

Wanamingo

Village volunteer fire department has definite arrangements for serving farm people.

Attendance of farm youth at village high school brings farm and village youth together, and extra-curricular activities and a parents' organization connected with the school attract parents and others from farm areas to village.

Village churches have a number of farm members.

A considerable amount of intimate, informal visiting among farmers and some between farmers and villagers takes place at service and marketing establishments and on streets.

On the basis of actual number of activities and experiences which provide opportunities for primary relationships, Zumbrota, Cannon Falls, Kenyon, and Pine Island rank ahead of Goodhue and Wanamingo as locality centers. But because of the intimacy of relationships which occur at the places of service, on the street, in the churches, and at high school sports events, farm people in the hinterland of the latter two villages seem to have a deeper sense of belonging to the locality groups of which these places are the centers than do members of the locality groups whose focii are the first four villages.

The various activities and experiences (listed above) which focus around the village-centers, along with those connected with formal organizations, provide the communal bonds that have made and are continuing to weld the villages and their farm hinterlands into locality groupings whose members have developed and are developing a sense of identification.

Of the items listed as providing opportunities for certain modified primary experiences, at least three deserve fur-

ther attention. They are (1) the village high schools; (2) the volunteer fire departments; and (3) the village churches. Each of the six villages has a high school to which children from farm homes are admitted. In these schools farm boys and girls are brought together from all parts of the area served by the village. Here these youth through personal contacts and group activities acquire a sense of identification with the village-centered locality. Around the high schools, organizational structure has developed whereby farm and village people are brought into associative relationships through parent-teachers' associations and parents' band clubs. Athletic events such as basketball and football are also important for bringing farm and village people together. Township Farm Bureau organizations sometimes by-pass the town hall and go to the village high school for their meetings. Leaders among the business and professional men in the villages consider the high schools important factors in bringing farm people to the villages for trade. Consequently, in practically all of the villages, this group of men is actively promoting the expansion of school bus service, or any other activity that will bring farm boys and girls to their high schools.

Membership in the volunteer fire departments of the villages is restricted to village men. The organizations are relatively small, usually about 20 members, many of whom are leading business men. Through the efforts of these departments, financial arrangements have been made with surrounding townships and mutual fire insurance companies whereby funds are provided, together with those raised by the village governments, for maintenance of equipment. The organizations have unusually high morale and often mix social interests such as dances, picnics, etc., with their community service of fighting fires.

Of the six villages which constitute the centers of the localities under discussion, only Kenyon and Cannon Falls have not worked out joint arrangements with surrounding townships for fire fighting. The Cannon Falls department has arrangements with farmers' mutual insurance companies whereby the companies pay a small proportion of the total value of their policies to meet the costs of policy holders living within an approximate radius of 10 miles. The Kenyon department has no formal agreements for serving farmers, but will go to a fire within a 10-mile radius. In such a case, if the farmer has insurance, he sometimes pays half and his insurance company the other half of the \$25.00 charged for services. Otherwise the farmer pays the entire cost. The integrative function of the volunteer fire departments is unquestionable, in that the service they render represents a form of mutual aid which village people extend to farm people. A sense of identification between farm and village people inevitably results from the functions of these groups.

The churches in all of the villages bring farm and village people into personalized relationships. Already a majority of the members in some of these churches are from farm homes. The primary character of the village church groups is intensified because the churches are centers of social life as well as of worship and religious instruction.

There can be no doubt that these organized channels are providing important social contacts between farm and village people. Although development of such channels is proceeding fairly rapidly, leadership in this respect rests with village people. The character of the resulting relationships will be much more binding when farm people show the same interest and assume their share of the leadership.

With Relatively Low Service Ratings

Eight locality groups with medium group identification fall in the relatively low service class; they are Dennison, Bellechester, Welch, White Rock-Belle Creek, Frontenac, Skyberg, Sogn, and Vasa. The service scores of these localities range from 5 to 14; consequently, their hamlet or crossroad centers are able to meet only a limited number of the basic needs of the people who live within them. The entire area of all but two of these localities lies within one or the parts of two or three localities whose centers have higher service ratings, and several of them overlap in varying degrees with one or more of their own class. The fact that these localities are parts of larger locality groups whose centers provide more adequate services naturally means that there are strong forces attracting inhabitants from their own centers.

The hamlet-centers of the eight localities range in population from about 7 to approximately 280.³⁴ Three of them have banks, but none has either a doctor or dentist. Rural one-teacher elementary schools are near the centers in seven instances, but the district lines of these schools do not correspond to the areas served by business establishments in the centers. Churches are located in or near five of the hamlet-centers. The number of formally organized groups which meet in or can otherwise be associated with these hamlet-centers varies from 1 to 7; all have at least one such organization. Township Farm Bureau units meet in or near three of them. Farmers' co-operative establishments (either a creamery, cheese factory, oil station, or grain elevator) are located in five (one in each of four, and two in the fifth). Other organized groups associated with one or more of these places are 4-H clubs, Home Demonstration

project groups, Red Cross branches, a women's study club, a basketball team, a bowling team, and a volunteer fire department. Farm people constitute the major part of the membership of most of the organizations associated with these centers. Along with the churches, these organizations provide the formal structure through which the people find opportunities for personal contacts that lead to a sense of identification. Visiting at the service and marketing establishments is another means by which the people have acquired their sense of belonging together. Formerly, social contacts at these places were much more important than they are now. In the past the farmers made daily trips to the creameries and cheese factories for the purpose of delivering their milk; but since the plants have begun to operate trucks which come to the farm for the milk, many farmers no longer make the daily visit to the hamlet. Moreover, in three of the hamlets, co-operative plants have been closed in recent years.

With Low Service Rating

Nine localities in the medium group-identification class have low service ratings; they are Hader, Hay Creek, Roscoe, Stanton, Burnside, Aspelund, Roscoe Center, Fair Point, and Nansen. It was difficult to classify several of these localities with reference to group identification. At least one of them might have been placed in the low group-identification class and for nearly all of the others there is some question as to whether or not they should have been assigned to the high group-identification class. All but two of these localities lie entirely within the boundaries of the county's village- or town-centered localities. Three of them are entirely within the area of some one of the village- or town-centered localities

³⁴ Strictly defined, the center with approximately 280 people would be classified as a village. Two of the centers have populations below 50, and would not be classed as hamlets under a strict population definition, namely, places of 50 to 250 inhabitants. These population data are Dun and Bradstreet estimates for 1945.

and two others are almost so, while three have their areas divided between different combinations of two or three of these localities. Two of the group overlap considerably with other small localities. The services at the centers of these nine localities meet only a very few of the needs of those who live within their areas. The population of each of the centers is small. In most of them, it is hardly any more concentrated around the center than in the open country.

The centers of four of the localities, Hader, Roscoe, Roscoe Center, and Nansen, have small cooperative cheese factories to which the farmers bring their milk dairy. These milk deliveries provide many opportunities for visiting at the plants. Moreover, the cooperative organization constitutes a group bond of considerable significance. Two of the centers have churches which are important foci of group life. One-teacher rural schools can be identified with five of the centers. A consolidated elementary school is the principal focus of the Burnside locality group. It is the meeting place of the township Farm Bureau unit and a 4-H club. This particular locality group has a long history of self-conscious group life. Over 30 years ago a Farmers' Club was organized, which subsequently became the nucleus of the present township Farm Bureau unit. Throughout this same period the consolidated school has been the center of group-life in the area. A Home Demonstration project group and a 4-H club may be identified with Hay Creek, a 4-H club with Roscoe, a township Farm Bureau unit and a Home Demonstration project group with Stanton, a Red Cross branch with Roscoe Center, and a Home Demonstration project group with Aspelund. Fair Point has

a community club which is essentially social in function.¹⁵ In addition to these organized channels through which the people establish social contacts, there are numerous informal activities in all of these localities—visiting from house to house, birthday clubs, etc., which give the people a sense of group-consciousness.

High Group Identification Localities With Low Service Rating and No Services

The high group identification localities include two subgroups according to service ratings—low service rating and no services. Only one locality was identified in the low-service subgroup, the Church Hill School District (No. 105), which lies in the northwestern corner of the Goodhue village service area.¹⁶ The people have a strong attachment for their school and make it the center of their social life. Near the school house is a small church whose parish corresponds somewhat closely to the school district, but a number of people living in the district attend church elsewhere.

The localities with no services include three types: most open-country church parishes, open-country nonfocal groupings, and work rings. None of these types has a service as its focus, although in the open-country parishes the church might well have been considered such a focus.¹⁷

The open-country nonfocal groupings are usually small in area and often without names. (See figure 3) Occasionally, however, they have names such as Flower Valley, West Florence, Belvidere Mills, etc. The actual num-

¹⁵ One 4-H Club alternates between Hader and Wastedo (not in class of locality under discussion) for its meeting place.

¹⁶ It is possible that there are a few other school districts out of the 155 in the county which belong in this subgroup. However, after considerable investigation, district 105 was the only one identified.

¹⁷ Throughout this treatment of locality groupings, churches have not been considered as service institutions because of their voluntary character and the high degree of primary-group characteristics which they possess.

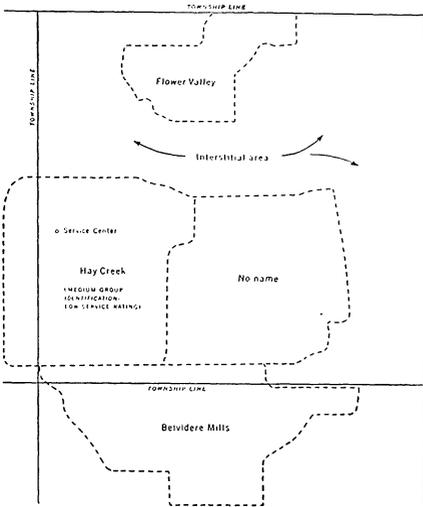


FIG. 3. Three open-country nonfocal locality groups and one locality of medium group identification with low service rating

ber of these groupings was not determined. Some areas of the county have none, while in other sections, from two to three could be delineated in each township. Groups of this type can be best delineated by identifying the families in which wives belong to the same birthday or sewing club. Sometimes, Home Demonstration project groups have been organized on the basis of these birthday or sewing clubs. These locality groups have a high degree of identification. People who constitute them are known to each other in terms of their entire personalities.

In mapping some of the open-country nonfocal localities, there appeared interstitial areas in which a number of families lived without any identifiable locality group relationship of this type. In one township it was emphasized that the families living in these areas were individualistic and had with their neighbors little or no social life which would include them in a recognizable

grouping of families. Perhaps an intensive survey of visiting relationships would reveal more of these nonfocal open-country localities. Many persons interviewed, however, stated that visiting among neighbors, even those in the same birthday group, was not as frequent as it has been in the past.

The open-country church parishes in many parts of the county were described by the local people as important locality groupings. (See figure 4) Often their areas are fairly large and, of course, overlap considerably with the areas of other types of locality groups. Although they are in a sense special interest groups, they were often found to be fairly compact groupings whose boundaries could be delineated with an approximate degree of accuracy. Twenty of these parishes were identified. A majority of them are distinctly primary groups because their churches are centers not only for religious interests but also for many social events at which relationships are highly personalized. The primary character of these church parish groupings is often further enhanced by kinship and ethnic ties among their members.¹⁸

There are numerous work rings in all parts of the county. They are composed of farmers who help each other with operations requiring more labor or farm machinery than can be provided by one family. Among these cooperative activities are threshing, silo-filling, haying, manure-spreading, and corn picking. It is somewhat infrequent that one group of farmers performs all of these operations. Threshing and silo rings are the most numerous. In at least a majority of cases the rings are composed of farmers who live in close proximity so that, in a manner, they may be considered locality groups characterized by a high degree of group identification arising from the intimate relationships involved in their mutual

¹⁸ An Episcopal parish in the extreme northern part of the county embraces a small group of Indians who live on a reservation. These Indians constitute the major portion of the church's membership.

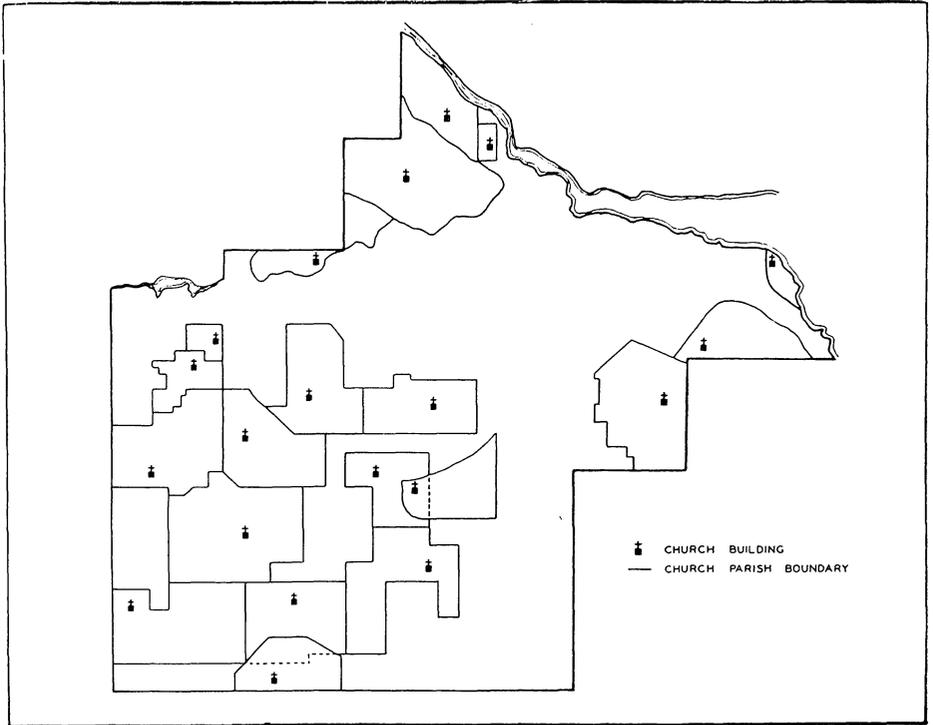


FIG. 4. Open-country church parishes.

This map presents the parishes of strictly open-country churches which did not seem to be identified with some hamlet, village, town, or other locality center. The boundaries of some of the parishes extend outside the county. These boundaries, however, are not shown on the map. The parishes of two important open-country churches, St. John's Lutheran and Grace Lutheran, both located in Goodhue township and served by the same pastor, are not shown on this map because their memberships were too intermixed to permit the delineation of separate parishes. Another open-country church with a very small membership has been omitted. Furthermore, because of small membership there was some question concerning the inclusion of three or four others.

aid functions. Some work rings are essentially kinship groups which only adds to their primary character. However, there are rings whose members are sufficiently scattered to preclude their classification as locality groups. Furthermore, examination shows a considerable interchange of membership from one ring to another. (See figure 5) In such cases, it is difficult to delineate a locality group even though the sense of identification of farmers with their various work rings may be fairly high. In these instances the work rings seem to be special interest groups which are primary in character but

whose spatial identification is somewhat indefinite.

Locality Groups Outside the County

Just as the areas served by centers located within Goodhue County extend beyond the county's boundaries, so there are outside service centers whose areas extend into the county. People from Goodhue County go to both St. Paul and Minneapolis (approximately 50 miles away) for the satisfaction of a number of specialized needs. The areas served by Rochester, a city of 26,000, 16

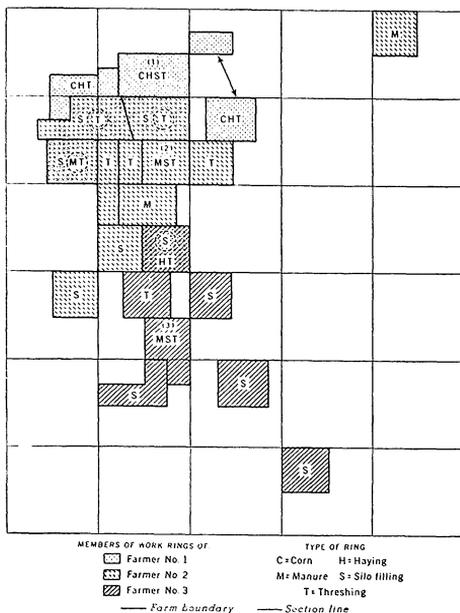


FIG. 5. An example of work ring relationships

The data for this map were obtained from three farmers who listed other farmers with whom they exchanged work.

miles to the south, and by Faribault, a city of 14,500, 15 miles to the southwest, extend into the southern and southwestern parts of the county. Lake City, a town of 3,000 across the boundary in Wabasha County, is the service center for a small section in the eastern part of Goodhue County. A suburb of this town, known as Central Point, lies within Goodhue County. Since all of these centers are outside the county, no attempt has been made to describe and classify them and their hinterlands as locality groupings.

Classification of Locality Groups

The foregoing description of locality groupings has not utilized the common classification of locality groups,

namely, **neighborhood, community, and service area.**¹⁰ This course was followed because it was felt that these terms have come to be used so loosely that they lead to confusion. However, because the terms provide the necessary semantics required for reference in discussing locality group phenomena, the following tabulation has been devised. Here the basic classification of locality groups, as derived from an examination of their services (secondary characteristics) and their degree of group identification (primary characteristics), have been further classified under conventional terminology defined on the basis of criteria used in the service rating-group identification analysis. The definitions thus formulated are:

Service area is that territory whose inhabitants find the satisfaction of one or more of their needs at an identifiable point within it. The services at this center may vary from a large number of types providing almost complete satisfaction of needs (high service rating) to only one type satisfying only one need (low service rating). The degree of group identification with this center by the people who live in the area served by it is low or may be practically nonexistent. A **community** is a group of people, several of whose needs are commonly satisfied at an identifiable point in space. The services at this center vary from a relatively large number of types providing a considerable degree of satisfaction of needs (relatively high service rating) to only a few types (low service rating). There is a medium degree of group identification with the center by the people who live in the area served by it. A **neighborhood** is a group of people living in a definable area which may or may not have a center. If it has a center, its number of types of services is few, meeting only a small number of

¹⁰ *Service area* has been used in the place of *trade area* because it is a more inclusive and meaningful term. However, as a term, its usage is probably less common than *trade area*.

Table 2. Classification of Locality Groups According to Conventional Terminology

| Descriptive Categories with symbolic ratings | Localities | Conventional terms | |
|---|--|-----------------------|----------------|
| I. Low group identification | | | |
| A. With high service rating (A ² B) | Red Wing | } Service Area | |
| B. With low service rating (AB) | Most rural school districts | | |
| | Bombay | | |
| | Wastedo Claybank | | |
| II. Medium group identification | | | |
| A. With relatively high service rating (A ⁴ B ²) | Zumbrota Cannon Falls Kenyon Pine Island | } Community | |
| B. With medium service rating (A ³ B ²) | Goodhue Wanamingo | | |
| C. With relatively low service rating (A ² B ²) | Dennison Bellechester Welch White Rock-Belle Creek Frontenac Skyberg Sogn Vasa | | |
| D. With low service rating (AB ²) | Hader Hay Creek Roscoe Stanton Burnside Aspelund Roscoe Center Fair Point Nansen | | |
| III. High group identification | | | |
| A. With low service rating (AB ²) | Church Hill School District (No. 105) | | } Neighborhood |
| B. With no services (B ³) | Open-country nonfocal groupings Most open-country church parishes Work rings | | |

needs (low service rating). It is characterized by a high degree of group-identification among its inhabitants.

Table 2 presents a classification of the county's locality groups based on the foregoing definitions.

The classification of locality groups in table 2 according to **service area**,

community, and **neighborhood** is admittedly arbitrary, but the dividing lines are clearly indicated so that one may quickly see the kinds of localities included in each class. In other parts of the study these terms as defined here are generally used in referring to broad classes of locality groups.

3. Institutionalized Organizations

INSTITUTIONS are forms of organization which have a greater degree of permanence and wider recognition than do other forms. Among the major institutions are government, the church, the school, and the family. The first was considered in the beginning of this study; the other three will be described in the following pages.

The Church

Approximately two-thirds of the county's population is affiliated with the church. There are 83 active churches, 24 of which are in the open-country, and six in very small hamlets or crossroad places (figure 6). Both ministers and laymen say there are too many churches (one church per 380 persons in the 1940 population), but at the same time they acknowledge that strong attachment for individual churches makes it difficult to unite even those churches of the same denomination. The following tabulation gives the number of active churches in 1946, according to broad denominational affiliation:

| Religious Body ²⁰ | Number of Churches |
|------------------------------|--------------------|
| Lutheran (all bodies) | 44 |
| Catholic | 9 |
| Methodist | 7 |
| Episcopal | 6 |
| Assembly of God | 2 |
| Christian Science | 2 |
| Congregational | 2 |
| Mission Covenant | 2 |
| Adventist | 1 |
| Apostolic Gospel | 1 |
| Baptist | 1 |
| Church of Christ | 1 |
| Evangelical | 1 |

| | |
|------------------------|-------|
| Evangelical and Reform | 1 |
| Jehovah's Witnesses | 1 |
| Presbyterian | 1 |
| Salvation Army | 1 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total | 83 |

Several of the rural churches have a special historical interest. The oldest Norwegian Lutheran Church in the county was the "mother" of St. Olaf College (now located at Northfield, Minnesota). The same church has been the mother-church of nine other churches, eight of which are in Goodhue County. The most famous Swedish Lutheran Church in the county also maintained an academy in early times and established an orphanage which is still in existence, but now under denominational supervision.

The discussion of locality groups pointed out that the open-country churches are important centers of life for farm people. This is less true of village churches, although many of them play almost as significant a role. Practically all of the churches have basements where church socials, wedding anniversaries, and pre- and post-wedding showers are held. Kinship groups play an important part in many of these socials. Churches are the customary place for both weddings and funerals. Almost every open-country church has its grave-yard. Indeed, the county's many beautiful, well-cared-for churches with their graceful spires and surrounding grave-yards appear to be symbolic of the importance which the people attach to organized religion.

The churches, whether open-country, village, or town, are highly organized. With reference to them one hears the same remark that is made about

²⁰The town of Red Wing has a Young Men's Christian Association which is not included in this tabulation.

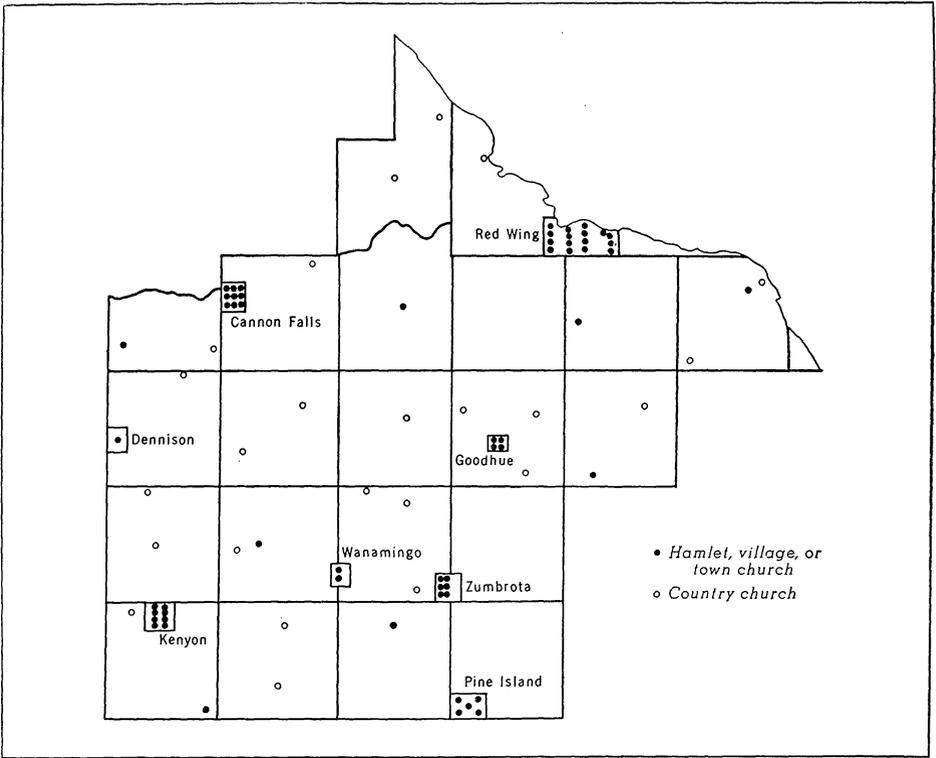


FIG. 6. Distribution of active churches, 1946

Hamlet is used somewhat loosely in the classification of churches presented on this map. In several instances, churches were located in centers which were considered hamlets but would not qualify as such on the basis of a rigid population definition. One church located near a rural school (No. 105) which was the social center of a small, well-knit locality group could in no sense be considered as located in a hamlet and was, therefore, classified as a country church.

secular life—"we are over-organized." The auxiliary organizations usually associated with each church are Sunday School, ladies' aid, missionary society, one or more youth organizations, and a men's organization.

In 1870, Goodhue County had 20 parochial schools, but by 1946 there were only 5 churches (three German Lutheran and two Catholic) with parochial schools attached.²¹ As they have done for a number of years, many of the churches operate summer church schools which run from a month to six weeks. In one village the schools release pupils one afternoon each week to

attend religious instruction at their churches. Many of the organizations which have been formed within the churches serve a dual purpose—religious education and recreation. Similar to secular organizations, churches often have annual meetings at which the past year's records are reviewed. Some of the church organizations place the same emphasis on organizational forms as do secular organizations.

Despite the development within the church of considerable organizational structure directed toward specialized interests, the preaching service continues to be the main emphasis, for the

²¹ The county also has a Catholic academy which is conducted as a boarding school for girls.

Protestant group, at least. A large majority of the churches have a liturgical form of worship, and preaching is distinctly theological in content. With a few exceptions, a majority of the ministers undoubtedly follow the principle as stated by one of their number, "I preach theology, telling people of the way of salvation. I preach no politics or reform."

Among the open-country and hamlet churches, the same minister often serves two congregations. Sometimes the parishes of the two will adjoin each other or even overlap, with members from one church by-passing the other. Generally, both the village and the open-country ministers have fairly good formal training, and a few of the younger ones have had courses in the social sciences. In some instances the minister's tenure has been exceptionally long.

The tabulation below shows the dis-

tribution among the major religious bodies of all church members in 1936.²² According to this presentation, the membership of all Lutheran bodies constituted 72.8 per cent of the county's total church members. When individual bodies are considered, the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America (changed to Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1946) had by far the largest percentage of the total. Although the county's church membership was predominantly Protestant, the Roman Catholic Church ranked third among the different bodies in number of adherents.

The Lutheran people are extremely loyal to their denominational bodies. This loyalty is fostered not only by the ministers but also by church papers and conferences. In those areas where people of Norwegian, Swedish, and German backgrounds are rather compactly settled, denominational solidarity is supported by ethnic solidarity.

| Religious Body | No. of Members | Per cent of Total |
|---|----------------|-------------------|
| Baptist (Northern) | 104 | 0.5 |
| Congregational and Christian | 291 | 1.4 |
| Evangelical | 190 | 0.9 |
| Evangelical and Reform | 34 | 0.2 |
| Lutheran (all bodies) | (14,969) | (72.8) |
| American Lutheran Church | 340 | 1.7 |
| Augustana Synod of North America | 3,569 | 17.3 |
| Joint Synod of Wisconsin and other states | 1,845 | 9.0 |
| Lutheran Free Church | 456 | 2.2 |
| Norwegian Lutheran Church of America | 6,158 | 29.9 |
| Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other states | 940 | 4.6 |
| United Lutheran Church of America | 1,661 | 8.1 |
| Methodist Episcopal | 1,136 | 5.5 |
| Presbyterian in U.S.A. | 232 | 1.1 |
| Protestant Episcopal | 1,175 | 5.7 |
| Roman Catholic | 2,240 | 10.9 |
| Scandinavian Evangelical bodies | 80 | 0.4 |
| All other bodies | 146 | 0.7 |
| Total | 20,597 | 100.1 |

²² *Religious Bodies*, Vol I, 1936. Table 32, pp. 772-773. U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

The School

In 1854, four public school districts were organized in Goodhue County. Ten years later (1864) there were 100 districts, although only 87 were organized. These 87 districts had 2,450 pupils enrolled and owned 56 schoolhouses, of which 34 were frame and 22 log buildings. The year 1864 was the first time the county had a superintendent for its public schools. In 1940 there were 155 school districts, but schools were not operated in four of them. Although the number of districts remained the same, only 130 were

maintaining schools in 1946-47 (figure 7). Enrollment had dropped from the all-time high of 8,127 in 1888 to 5,560 in 1947.

Of the 134 schools which were in operation in 1946-47, 121 had one teacher, one had two teachers, and one had four. These 123 schools were ungraded rural elementary institutions, all located in districts which maintained only one school each. Seventy of the 123 schools had fewer than 15 pupils. In addition there were 11 schools operated by special or independent districts. Five of these schools were in the special district of Red Wing, and four

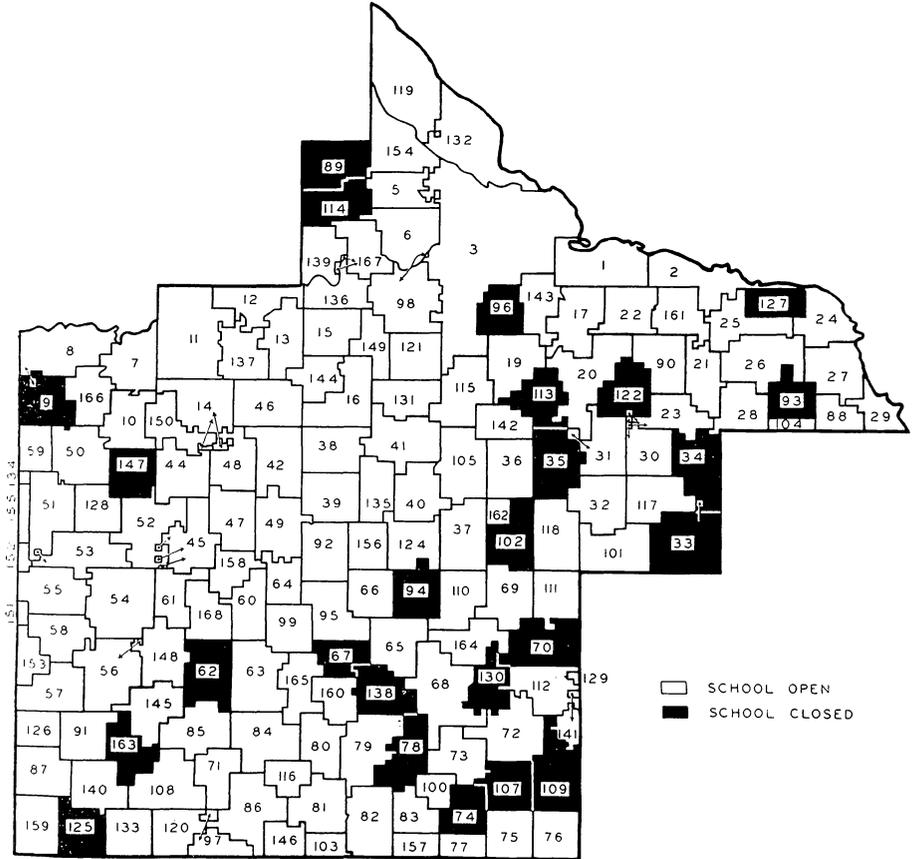


FIG. 7. School districts of Goodhue County, 1946-47

of the five had six elementary grades each, while one had two elementary grades and four years of high school. The county's six independent (village) districts had one each of the remaining six schools, all of which had both elementary and high school grades. The number of teachers and principals in these 11 schools ranged from 6 to 42.

The county superintendent is elected by popular vote. The county commissioners fix the salaries of the county superintendent and his assistant and make decisions concerning changes in the boundaries of school districts. The superintendent's office is a report-gathering center for school census, finances, attendance, etc., for the entire county and is responsible for transmitting these data to the State Department of Education. The superintendent sees that the State course of study is followed in the rural schools, checks them as to qualifications for state aid, makes recommendations to district boards concerning the employment of teachers, recommends textbooks to rural teachers, supervises instruction by visiting each school not less than once a term, and is responsible for enforcement of the compulsory attendance law. Although the superintendent exerts some influence over district boards in their selection of teachers, he has no authority to hire or fire them nor to fix their pay.

The chief authority over the public schools resides in the local school district. This authority is vested in an elected board which employs the district's teachers, fixes their salaries, and has general charge of school property and finances. In spite of forces working towards its dissolution, the school district continues to show considerable ability for survival as a unit of governmental administration. However, because of inability to obtain teachers during and since the end of the war, a number of districts have been

forced to close their schools and send their children to other districts.

Members of the rural district school boards have a county-wide organization called the Goodhue County School Board Association. It is a rather loosely knit organization which met annually before the war, but in recent years has not held regular meetings. Almost all of its members are farmers. The organization is affiliated with the State School Board Association.

In 1940-41 the rural ungraded elementary schools of the county had 147 teachers, five of whom were men. The average annual salary of these teachers was \$609, for an average of 8.3 months of teaching. By 1946-47 the number of teachers in the rural elementary schools had declined to 127, all of whom were women. Their average annual salary had then risen to \$1,377, for an average of 8.4 months of teaching.

In 1940-41 the average annual salary for elementary teachers in the special and independent districts was \$1,021, but by 1946 this had been raised to \$1,796. At both dates the school term was nine months. Thus both in 1940 and 1946 there was considerable difference in the pay of rural and village or town teachers.

Of the 127 teachers employed in the rural ungraded elementary schools during 1946-47, nine had a 2-year teacher college course, two a 1-year teacher college course, 110 a 1-year high school training department course, and six were teaching on the basis of a teacher's examination or its equivalent. Thus most of those who teach the farm children of the county are prepared for teaching by a 1-year course in the teacher training department of a high school. Formerly there were three high schools in the county which offered such a course, but in 1946-47 there was only one.

The rural people make no very rigid demands that teachers participate in local activities; nor do they interfere

with the teaching process. Many of the rural teachers live in the vicinities in which their schools are located.

None of the rural schools has a formally organized Parent Teachers' Association; although teachers usually invite mothers to visit their schools at least once a year. An annual picnic at the close of school, and a Christmas or Thanksgiving program generally constitute the principal school events to which the public is invited. In section 2, *Locality Groups*, most of the rural school districts were rated low on group identification.

There is no county-wide organization of public school teachers. Some of them, however, belong to the Minnesota Education Association. An institute for rural teachers is held in the fall under the leadership of a representative from the State Department of Education. The same representative returns to the county in the spring and spends four or five days visiting the rural schools. The village high schools are inspected from time to time by a representative from the State Department of Education.

Although the small one-room, one-teacher schools vary somewhat, features common to most of them are a small number of pupils (the modal group of schools has from 10 to 14 students); a teacher who bears a personal relationship to her pupils; many class periods ranging from 3 to 15 minutes each; a wide range in the age and grades of pupils; often a very neat and orderly room with numerous decorations and exhibits; and few extra-curricular activities. Problems of discipline are at a minimum. Play life at the schools is sometimes a problem because of the wide range in ages. None of the one-teacher schools has a hot lunch program, although some of them have facilities for heating the lunches which the children bring. The county's

one consolidated rural school provides a hot lunch for its pupils. A majority of the rural schools have terms of only eight months, although some have either eight and a half or nine months.

The county has seven high schools; six are located in villages and the seventh in Red Wing. Two of the village schools and the one in Red Wing are four-year institutions²³; of the remaining four, two are junior-senior, two undivided, each having six grades. If farm boys and girls wish to attend a public high school, these are the schools to which they must go. In 1946-47 the county's village and town (Red Wing) public high schools had 638 students who were residents of the county but not residents of the high school districts. In addition there were 54 boys and girls from Goodhue County enrolled in high schools in adjoining counties. These non-resident high school students are from rural school districts, and although some of them come from nonfarm families living in hamlets and the open country, a large majority are from farm families.

The people in the villages appear anxious to have the farm boys and girls attend their schools because it means more money for operating, provides a sufficient number of students to have a good school, and leads parents to trade in the village. Only Red Wing seems to be indifferent in this regard, primarily because its high school does not need additional enrollment for efficient operation. Legally the farm people have no voice in the control of these independent or special districts which provide high school facilities for their children. The independent or special districts are paid from state funds for the educational service rendered the nonresident pupils.

While these seven village and town high schools undertook to serve farm children in 1946-47, only two had

²³ Although the Red Wing High School had the seventh and eighth grades in 1946-47, it was classified by the State Department of Education as a four-year high school.

courses in vocational agriculture, although five offered courses in home economics. Four of the schools offered general industrial and four, commercial classes. In view of the large migration of the county's farm girls to villages, towns, and cities, the commercial courses should help at least this group of students meet the occupational requirements of their new environment.

On the whole the village and farm high school students mix fairly well; however, cliques composed largely either of farm or of village pupils may sometimes be found. In some of the high schools the teachers make a definite effort to maintain good relations between village and farm children. Except for inter-school athletics, the extra-curricular programs of the high schools are usually planned so that farm children may participate during school hours. Even in the case of inter-school athletics, farm boys and girls frequently manage to participate.

In two of the high schools a special effort is made to provide farm boys with organized group experiences directed toward what is assumed to be their special vocational interests. The vocational agricultural departments in these schools sponsor Future Farmers of America organizations. Since one of the departments was established in 1946, its FFA group is relatively new. The organization sponsored by the older department was not very active in the winter of 1947. The membership of both groups is small. Each organization undertakes to provide extra-curricular educational and recreational activities for its members.

As a part of the educational program offered by the federal government to veterans of World War II, courses in agriculture are being given at three of the county's high schools. Although financial support is pro-

vided by the government, the courses are under the administrative control of the schools in which they are taught. Only veterans who are farm operators are eligible. Regular classes are held twice a week; in addition the teacher visits the men on their farms, to discuss their operations with them. Of the high schools at which the courses are offered, one already has a vocational agricultural department. Those interested in the veterans' classes consider them an initial step in the establishment of similar departments in the other two schools.

The Family

Because no attempt will be made here to describe family life in detail, only a few general facts about Goodhue families are presented. The principal interest of the study in respect to the family was to discover its relationships to other groups. These relationships are discussed in some detail in section 9 of this bulletin.

In 1940 the county had approximately 8,363 families.²⁴ Of this number, 33.3 per cent were urban, 26.7 per cent rural-nonfarm, and 40.0 per cent rural-farm. The average family is not especially large. In 1940 the size of the median family for the total population was 3.38 persons, for the urban 3.07, for the rural-nonfarm 2.95, and for the rural-farm 3.99. The average size of Goodhue families decreased very little in the decade 1930-40. There were slight declines in the median size of all families and of urban and rural-nonfarm families, but the median size of rural farm families remained the same. The county's rural-farm replacement ratio between 1940 and 1950 is estimated at 146.²⁵ This ratio is the number of young men who would reach their 25th birthday between 1940 and 1950 per 100

²⁴ Based on number of occupied dwellings.

²⁵ Taeuber, Conrad, *Replacement Rates for Rural-Farm Males Aged 25-69 Years, by Counties, 1940-1950*, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA, Washington, D.C. December 1944. p. 16.

men age 25-69 who would be expected to die or retire within the same 10 years.

On the basis of these data, Goodhue's farm families appear to have reached a sort of equilibrium in which family size has become more nearly adjusted to the ability to attain an adequate living standard. Although replacement rates indicate a possible excess of 46 young men (number attaining their 25th birthday) for each 100 men (age 25-69 who would be expected to die or retire) for the period 1940-1950, this is somewhat below the national figure of 67.

Farm families in Goodhue are not very mobile, which should mean that county and community organizations have a somewhat stable source of membership. Fifteen was the average number of years of operation on the same farm by all operators in 1940. For full owners it was 20 years and for tenants eight years.

Goodhue farm families operate family-sized farms. The average-sized farm in 1945 was 154.2 acres, with only 11 per cent of the farms having 260 or more acres and only 17 per cent less than 70 acres. These family-operated

farms are often handed down from father to son. They have usually provided fairly good incomes with the result that families have acquired a sense of independence and dignity. These psychological characteristics are frequently encountered in the farm families of the county. While the influence of high war and post-war farm incomes may help to account for the presence of these attitudes, they seem to have a long history. The fact that tenant families usually operate a family-sized farm without close supervision from landlords, and that a number of them are sons or other relatives of owners makes it easy for them to possess a sense of equality and independence.²⁰

Although the family-sized farm predominates, there is a sharp division of labor in the family. The wives and daughters of a large majority of the farmers tend to restrict their work almost exclusively to the household and care of poultry and garden. In the 1940 census, only 54 rural-farm females 14 years old and over were reported as unpaid family laborers.

²⁰ In 1945, 39.6 per cent of all farmers were tenants.

4. Formally Organized Groups

FORMALLY organized groups are those which have fairly distinct objectives, elect or appoint officers and have more or less clearly defined memberships, hold meetings, plan programs of activities, and function according to certain prescribed rules which are usually consciously imposed by the adoption of a constitution and by-laws. Such groups may, and many of them do, have a limited existence. Although church and school groups also possess many of the characteristics of formal organizations, they represent more universal human interests and are recognized as permanent segments of the social structure. For these reasons they were described in the preceding section on institutionalized organizations.

Farmers of Goodhue County, as well as the village and town people, have numerous formal organizations. Moreover, a number of the village- and town-centered organizations have members who are from the farm areas. The tabulation below gives a simple classification of the county's formally organized groups.

Rural Farm Organizations

General Organizations

Farm Bureau Federation—In recent years the Farm Bureau Federation has grown rapidly, attaining in 1946 a membership of 1,396. If the relatively small number of nonfarm members is

| Types and Subtypes | Number |
|--|--------|
| 1. Rural-farm organizations | 159 |
| A. General | 112* |
| B. Specialized | 47† |
| 2. Village- or Town-centered organizations | 269‡ |
| A. Village- or Town-centered with both Farm and Village or Town members | 147 |
| B. Village- or Town-centered with Village or Town members only | 110 |
| C. County-wide: Primarily Village- or Town-centered with both Farm and Village or Town members | 8§ |
| D. County-wide: Village- or Town-centered with only Village or Town members | 4 |
| | 428** |

* Includes County Farm Bureau Federation, 21 Township Farm Bureau units, Home and Community Committee, 50 Home Demonstration Project groups, County 4-H Council, four district units composing the County 4-H Federation, 31 4-H Clubs, Rural Youth, United Farmers of America, and the Fair Point Community Club. Five Home Demonstration Project groups and four 4-H Clubs are included among the village- or town-centered organizations.

† The Goodhue County Township Officers Association and the Goodhue County School Board Association are included in this figure, but are discussed in other sections of the study.

‡ Because of the nature of the data for bowling teams, Boy Scout troops, and Girl Scout troops, it was necessary to disregard individual teams and troops and in each village or town count each of these kinds of organizations as one organization. The County Red Cross Chapter has 10 hamlet- or village-centered branches but these were not counted as separate organizations because their membership was too loosely defined to permit adequate classification.

§ The Goodhue County Republican Committee and the Goodhue Democratic-Farmer-Labor Committee are included in this figure, but are discussed briefly in another section of the study.

** Formally organized groups within the schools, such as the Future Farmers of America, etc., are excluded from this total as are similar groups within the churches. Groups of this kind are described in their proper setting in section 3 of this study.

excluded, about 44 per cent of the county's farm operators were members at that time. The organization consists of 21 township units²⁷ whose memberships vary from 30 to 94. A county-wide meeting is held annually, but the county organization functions principally through its officers and a board of directors composed of one representative from each township unit. Among the county's farm organizations the importance of the Farm Bureau arises in part from the fact that under Minnesota law it is designated as the sponsor for county extension work. Figure 8 shows the organizational structure of the Bureau and its relationship to the county Extension Service as well as to Home Demonstration organizations.

The Farm Bureau is not only the sponsoring group for the Extension Service but in turn is an important organizational channel for the education program of that agency. The regular monthly programs of the township units are planned in close cooperation with the Extension Service. Through the Bureau, farmers express their views and arrive at group consensus relative to local, state, and national problems. The Bureau also serves as a channel through which farmers may participate in community welfare projects. In 1940 the township units began to serve as the bases for organizing Blue Cross Prepayment Hospitalization groups, and by 1946, there were 519 Blue Cross subscribers, or 37.2 per cent of the Bureau's membership. The meetings of the local units are important social occasions.

The educational functions of the Bureau are largely concentrated in the monthly meetings of the township units. An examination of the 1946 programs of 10 township groups showed that of 80 meetings held, 11 were devoted primarily to recreation and 43

were used principally for transmitting information about farming or household management. These figures give some indication of the extent to which the Extension Service utilizes the organization as an educational channel.

A majority of the township unit meetings are held in town halls, but some units meet at rural schoolhouses, others at village high schools, one at a commercial club room, one at the office of the Rural Electrification Association, and one in a church. A typical meeting of a township organization begins late—probably around 8:30 p.m., because dairy farmers have numerous chores to do before they can leave home. The meeting opens with a business session generally conducted with strict observance of rules of order. Minutes of the last meeting are read, reports of delegates and committees heard, old and new business taken up in order, and finally a motion to adjourn is made. Then follows the program which may include local musical talent, a speaker, a reel or two of a motion picture dealing with some aspect of farming, or perhaps a travelogue, if the County Farm Bureau's projector is available. The meeting always ends with a lunch of coffee, cookies, and other foods. Usually it is 11:30 p.m. or later before people begin to go home.

Each year the County Farm Bureau approves a set of resolutions relating to local, state, and national issues which is sent to the state office for consideration in framing resolutions at the annual state convention. Copies of the resolutions are also sent to local papers, state legislators, and congressmen. These statements are the product of an elaborate process of committee work, of discussion and action by local units, and finally of action at the annual county-wide meeting. The following recommendations, summarized from the

²⁷ Township unit is the customary local designation for township organizations of the Bureau.

1946 resolutions, afford some insight into the thinking of the Bureau's members relative to certain local, state, and national issues:

1. Recommend the adoption by the federal government of a national fertilizer program to demonstrate the manufacture and use of high analysis mineral fertilizers.
2. Recommend the continuation of soil conservation districts and their personnel as now established, without consolidation with other agricultural agencies.
3. Recommend legislation requiring responsibility to the public and to their organizations of labor union leaders, and granting to employers freedom of speech with respect to labor union activities.
4. Recommend enactment of secondary anti-boycott law.
5. Recommend an educational campaign concerning desirability of high school education.
6. Recommend rural school districts take advantage of state transportation aid.
7. Recommend adjustments in high school curricula to meet more adequately the needs of rural youth.

The principal community projects in which the Bureau participates are Red Cross and Sister Kenney²⁸ Drives, rural health clinics for immunization, and farm safety programs. For several years the Bureau has sponsored a county rural chorus which has presented concerts in towns throughout the county, has appeared at annual meetings of farmers' organizations and at the 1946 State Farm Bureau convention, and has broadcast from the University of Minnesota radio station.

Both structurally and functionally the Bureau is closely related to Home

Demonstration organization in the county. The Home Demonstration program of the Extension Service is sponsored by a county-wide group, the Home and Community Committee, composed of women elected as township home chairmen by township units of the Bureau. Moreover, the chairman of the County Home and Community Committee is elected to her office by the County Farm Bureau Board of Directors, and she in turn serves as a member of the Board. Many of the Bureau's community activities, especially those connected with the rural health clinics, fall on the home demonstration women.

Local units of the Bureau invite 4-H clubs to give programs at meetings and generally seek to encourage club work. Recently the Farm Bureau Board of Directors invited a representative of the Rural Youth group to become an *ex officio* member.

The Farm Bureau has attracted some of the most capable people in the county to positions of leadership. Leaders in the county-wide organization are kept in office for long periods; a recent president served for 18 years. The farmers say they think it is better to keep the same person in office for a number of years because an experienced person does a better job. In the township units, offices are rotated more frequently than at the county level.

On the basis of its present membership the Goodhue Farm Bureau is permitted three delegates at state conventions. Township units often send one or more nonvoting representatives to the conventions. These state meetings provide leaders with significant outside contacts which broaden their horizons and enhance their self-esteem. Each member of the Bureau receives the monthly publications of both the state and national offices; the local units also receive periodic communications from these offices.

²⁸ The Australian nurse who developed a new method of treating poliomyelitis.

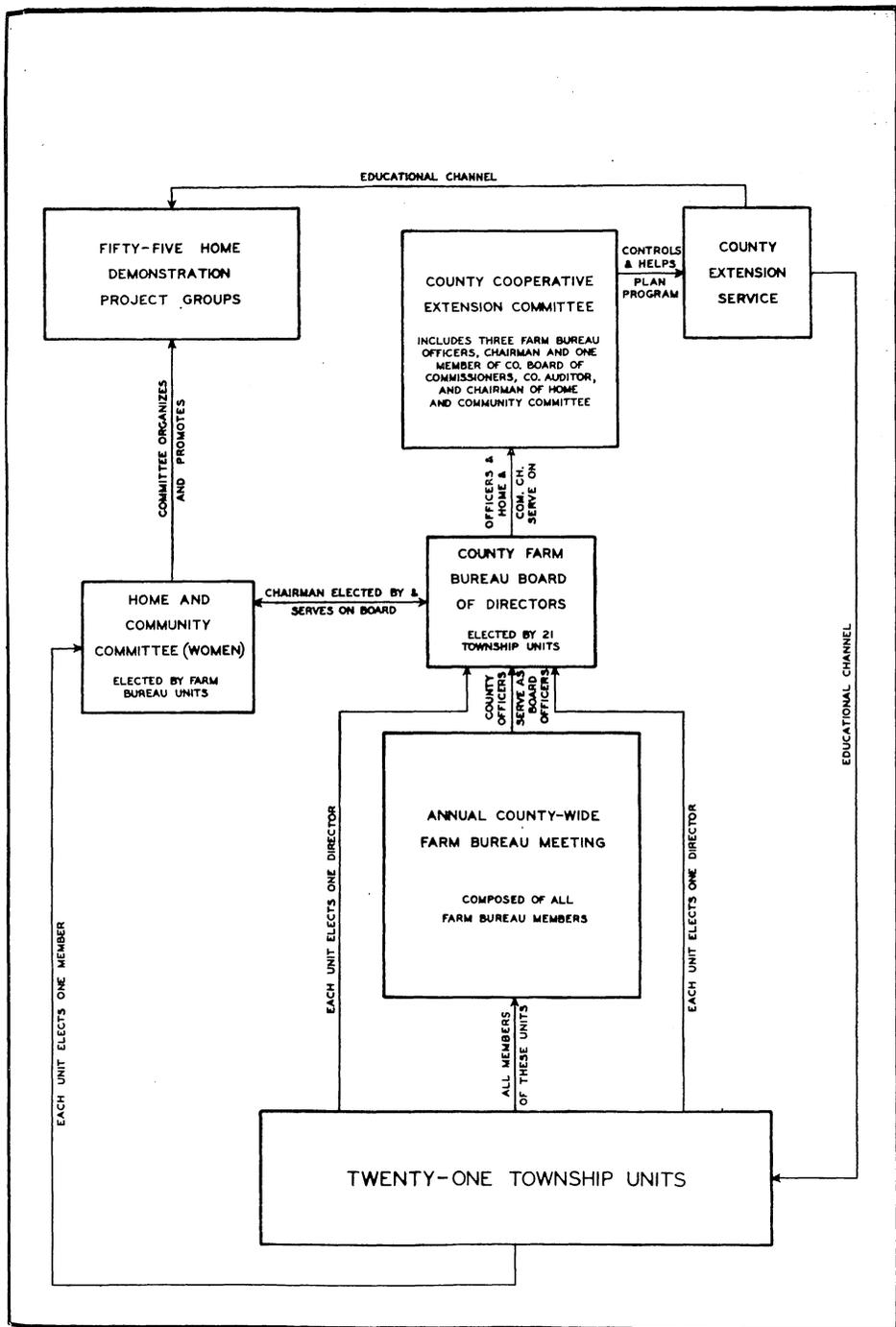


FIG. 8. Organizational structure of Farm Bureau, showing its relationships to Home Demonstration organizations and County Extension Service

Home and Community Committee and Home Demonstration Project Groups—

The close structural and functional relationship of the Farm Bureau and the Home and Community Committee has already been noted (see figure 8). Each woman elected to the Home and Community Committee serves as home chairman in her township where she is responsible for organizing and promoting Home Demonstration clubs. The chairman of the Home and Community Committee has county-wide responsibility for the promotion of home demonstration activities, serves as a member of the County Farm Bureau Board of Directors, is on the executive committee of the Board, and also serves on the County Cooperative Extension Committee.

In the fall of 1946, there were 55 local project groups with a total enrollment of 926 (figure 9). Four of the clubs were composed entirely of village or town women, and approximately one-half of another club was made up of village women. If these village and town women are excluded and only one member from each household counted, about one-fourth of the county's farm households would probably be represented in these project groups.

The Home Demonstration organizations are more specialized than the Farm Bureau because their membership is restricted to adult women. However, in view of the broad character of their functions they were grouped with general rural-farm organizations for

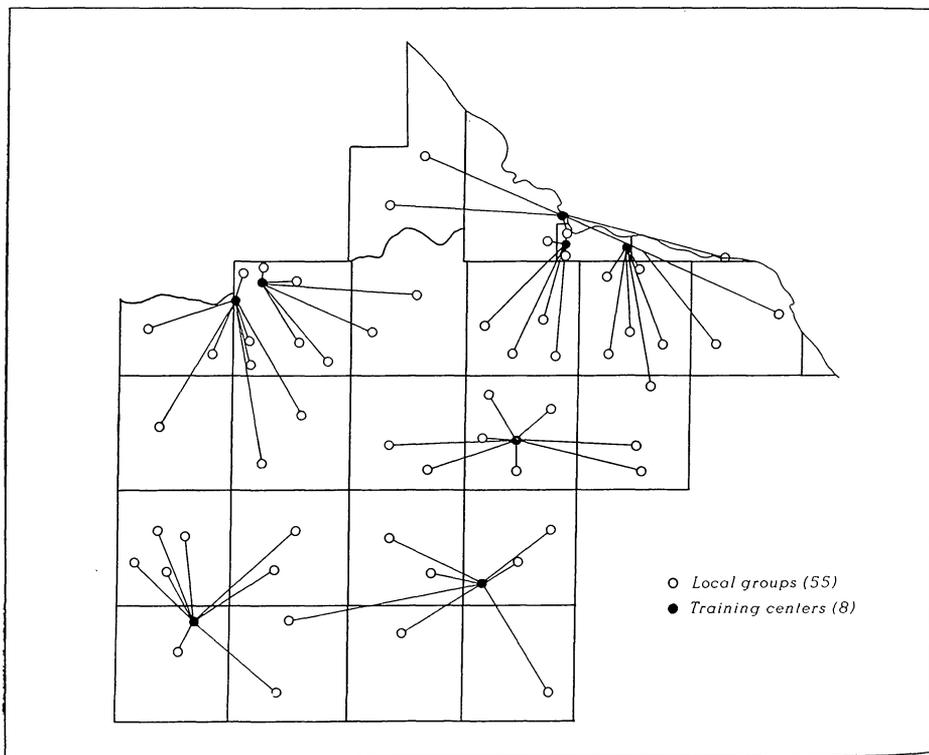


FIG. 9. Home Demonstration project groups and training centers, 1946

purposes of description. They serve primarily as educational channels through which the home demonstration agent teaches various household skills to rural women. In addition, these organizations provide opportunities for farm women, especially their leaders, to acquaint themselves with important community, national, and international issues; they afford satisfying social contacts; and serve as instruments for performing various community services.

The County Home and Community Committee meets bi-monthly at the homes of members to plan and organize the county's home demonstration program. Often a guest speaker discusses some topic of general interest. The home demonstration agent works actively with this committee, but has relatively limited contacts with the project groups since she trains leaders from these groups who in turn carry their knowledge to the local clubs. These local organizations usually have about six meetings a year which are centered around educational projects, such as sewing, cooking, home management, care of poultry, and home beautification. Meetings are held in the homes of members, and the social contacts thus afforded are one of the more important functions of the groups. Members of the Home and Community Committee who are really county-wide leaders in home demonstration work often remain in office for a number of years; but leadership in the local clubs tends to rotate more frequently.

Assisting with the promotion of rural health clinics is the major community service preformed by the home demonstration organizations. Some of the local clubs sew for the Red Cross. The Home and Community Committee has actively assisted the Farm Bureau in its sponsorship of a county-wide rural mixed chorus.

For a few women, their connections with the home demonstration organizations afford occasional contacts out-

side the county. Each year two non-voting delegates attend the State Farm Bureau Federation convention. A few leaders attend annual short courses at the University of Minnesota. In June of each year a number of women from Goodhue and an adjoining county attend a Home Demonstration camp which is held in Goodhue County.

Four-H Clubs, Federation, and Council—The Goodhue County 4-H organization was created by the Extension Service as an instrument for carrying out its program of education and recreation for rural children. Although essentially an organization of farm boys and girls, its functions were considered sufficiently broad to permit its classification as a general rural-farm organization. In 1946, the county had 35 4-H clubs with 805 members, 418 of whom were boys and 387 girls (figure 10). Four of these clubs were village organizations. Half of the membership of one were farm children. Two had no farm members, and one a few. The 35 clubs were guided in their activities by 81 adult leaders, 55 of whom were women and 26 men. In addition there are several older youth in each organization who assume junior leadership positions as their projects. Club members in 1946 ranged in age from 10 to 20 years, with the largest numbers in the 10 and 14 age-groups.

Leadership training is an important phase of the 4-H program. For this purpose the adult and junior leaders are organized into four districts, each having its own set of officers; together these districts form what is known as the County 4-H Federation (figure 10). Each district has training meetings and, in addition, there are county-wide training institutes.

The county 4-H Council plans and supervises 4-H work in the county. It is composed of the president and an adult representative from each of the four districts composing the county fed-

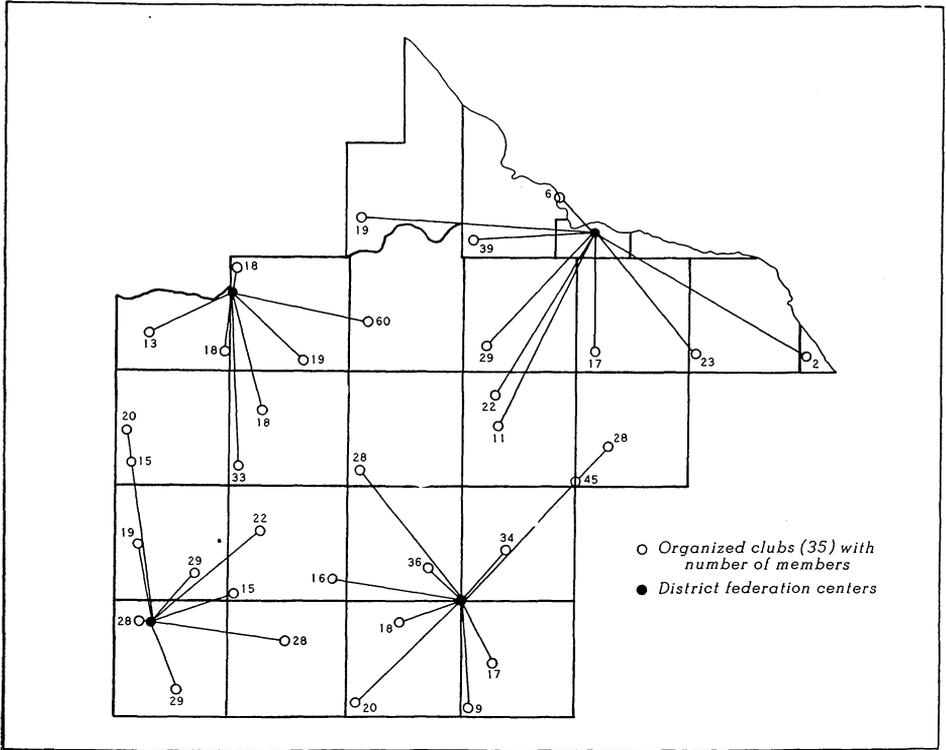


FIG. 10. 4-H Clubs and Federation centers, 1946

eration. The Council in turn elects its own officers.

The local clubs have regular monthly meetings—sometimes held in homes, sometimes at the town hall, and sometimes at school houses. The programs of the clubs reveal an interesting process of passing on the occupational techniques of the farm to the younger generation. A study of the content of a sample of 4-H club meetings also shows a distinct emphasis on the proper conduct of the formal business of the clubs. Social and entertainment features are common to most meetings. Readings, music with emphasis on community singing, and social games are the more common types of entertainment, and practically every club has a lunch at the close of its meetings. Talks and

demonstrations constitute the more strictly educational features of club programs. Most of the talks are given by junior and adult leaders or members of the Extension Service staff, although club members give some of them. Maintaining organizational morale is the burden of many of these speeches, and reports and explanations of club activities also receive considerable attention. As one of its community services, the Red Wing Kiwanis Club has divided the 4-H clubs among its members who act as sponsors. These men attend at least one meeting during the year and make talks encouraging club work. Now and then a minister is asked to speak. Demonstrations are usually given by members and cover a wide range of farm and farm house-

hold practices—from baking cakes to shining shoes.

Each member of a 4-H club is expected to undertake a project of some kind. This is another of the educational features of the organization and, like the talks and demonstrations at the meetings, places emphasis on passing on the techniques of making a living in the farm family. In 1946, the projects chosen most frequently were: clothing (152), gardening (137), junior leadership (126), food preparation (126), home assistance (122), poultry (113), and dairying (108).

The training meetings of the junior and adult leaders, whether district or county-wide, give considerable attention to goals in planning the individual club's annual program. The leaders also discuss such topics as club work in operation, purposes of club work, how to maintain membership interest, practical training versus all-round development, leadership techniques and responsibilities, and demonstrations. State Extension Service specialists frequently attend the leadership meetings to serve as instructors and demonstrators.

The county 4-H Council assists the Extension Service in planning the training program for leaders. Another of its functions is setting up county 4-H goals. In 1946 these goals included: (1) an enrollment of 815 members, (2) 90 per cent completion of projects, (3) at least one demonstration at every 4-H Club meeting, (4) a tour for every club, and (5) emphasis on safety activities in all clubs.

County-wide activities in which the 4-H clubs participate are: inter-club contests, such as better grooming and radio speaking; 4-H camp at Frontenac including boys and girls from three other counties; exhibits at the Cannon Valley fair; banquets given by sponsoring organizations, such as the County Farm Bureau or the Kiwanis Club of Red Wing, at which 4-H members re-

ceive special recognition for achievements; exhibits at the Goodhue County fair, climaxing 4-H club activities by the selection of exhibits to represent the county at the state fair; a county-wide jubilee held in Red Wing for 4-H club members and their parents, at which Goodhue County bankers present awards (pins) to members completing their project reports; county-wide safety program sponsored by the Extension Service, Farm Bureau, Red Wing Safety council, and public schools; and a softball tournament which is a summer-long activity of softball games among individual clubs ending with a final play-off of four teams from four districts.

In addition to county activities, 4-H club members have opportunities to participate in state and national events. Representatives are sent to 4-H Club Week at the University of Minnesota and to the state conservation camp at Itasca Park. There are also opportunities to attend the national 4-H Congress, the state junior livestock show, the state potato show, and to participate in the state radio contest and state fair exhibits. Participation in some of these events comes as a reward for achievement in local club activities.

Rural Youth—The Goodhue Rural Youth group was organized in 1936 by the Extension Service for the purpose of maintaining contacts with boys and girls above 4-H club age but not yet mature enough to become active in adult groups. The present county agent particularly emphasizes the role of the organization in the development of future rural leaders.

In the spring of 1947 there were approximately 92 members. Although the Rural Youth group is considered a county-wide organization, only 12 of the county's 23 townships are represented in its membership. The area immediately south and west of Red Wing furnishes most of the members, and meetings are sometimes held in Red

Wing. However, a majority of the organization's meetings are held in the Featherstone town hall, and almost one-fourth of the membership is drawn from the same township. Among the active members are several farm girls who have gone to Red Wing to work. There are only a few members in the southern and southwestern parts of the county.

Since membership is restricted to the young adult group, the organization has something of a specialized character. Nevertheless, because of the broad nature of its functions—education, recreation, and community service, it can well be grouped with the general rural-farm organizations of the county. A considerable portion of the regular meetings is devoted to recreation—games, singing, and square dancing. Other recreational activities of the group include roller-skating parties, card parties, weiner roasts, and joint recreational affairs with similar youth groups in adjoining counties. Commenting on the organization's functions, a former president of the group said, "I say, get them together with recreation and then give them a shot of education."

Topics discussed at meetings indicate a distinct emphasis on family-farm living. There is some, but by no means a dominant, interest in broader areas of life, such as industrial developments, personality, leadership, and the culture of other countries. Recently, these topics of a more general character appear to be receiving greater attention. Each regular meeting has its formal business session conducted with careful attention to parliamentary rules.

Community service activities have included providing leadership and sponsoring activities for 4-H clubs, assisting the Extension Service in rat extermination, sponsoring a short course for

prospective homemakers, serving as ushers at public gatherings, and contributing to funds for wiring the Featherstone town hall where the organization holds many of its meetings.

The group is affiliated with a district organization and, through the latter, with a state council. Delegates, as well as others who may wish to go, attend a four-day state camp each year. Educational and recreational leaders of the organization attend training conferences which are conducted by state Extension Service personnel from time to time. These trained leaders return to the local group to pass on the information they have received or to act as recreational leaders.²⁹

United Farmers of America—This is a new organization in Goodhue County, and a relatively new one on the American scene. The national organization had its origin in Nebraska and at present represents a combination of five groups—The United Farmers of America, the National Farmers' Guild, The Associated Farmers of California, The Ohio Farm Marketing Group, and The American Farmers' Vigilante Committee. The major objectives of the national group are: (1) securing agricultural prices based on cost of production and (2) opposition to labor unions as they are now conducted.³⁰

The Goodhue organization was formed under the leadership of a local farmer and a representative of the American Farmers' Vigilante Committee. Approximately 100 members were reported early in 1947. The organization is county-wide, having no local units nor, as yet, a fixed meeting place. Since the group is relatively new, meetings have been devoted principally to organizational matters, and no action program has been adopted. Because the Goodhue County organization was the only local branch in Minnesota in the

²⁹ Other organizations of farm youth are Future Farmers of America groups connected with the vocational agricultural departments of two of the village high schools. These organizations are described briefly in Section 3.

³⁰ *The Rural Vigilante*, Vol. I, No. 8, Edgar, Nebraska, January 23, 1947.

early part of 1947, the national body had designated some of its members to serve as a state organizing committee.

Fair Point Community Club—This organization is the last of the independent farmers' clubs. All of the others have either disbanded or been absorbed by the Farm Bureau. The organization has always confined its membership to the Fair Point school district, and owns a hall near the district school. The membership at one time included about 20 families, but has now declined to eight. Formerly the club had fairly broad interests; it served as a contact for the Extension Service, and speakers and other educational features were a part of its meetings. Now it is primarily a social club. The organization still attempts to hold monthly evening meetings which are attended by both men and women. In addition, the women members follow a custom of holding afternoon meetings about once a month in various homes in the community.

Specialized Organizations

Organizations in this category usually have one primary function, although in some instances incidental or secondary functions have been acquired. Most of the specialized farmer organizations are either cooperatives or quasi-cooperatives. The following tabulation gives the number of specialized organizations classified by types:

| | |
|--|----|
| Cooperative Organizations ³¹ | 43 |
| Producer Service Cooperatives | 4 |
| Credit Cooperatives | 1 |
| Producer Cooperatives | 23 |
| Cooperative creamery (or milk) organizations | 10 |
| Cooperative cheese organizations | 6 |
| Cooperative livestock shipping associations | 2 |

| | |
|--|----|
| Cooperative grain elevators..... | 5 |
| Consumer Cooperatives | 15 |
| Cooperative oil associations..... | 3 |
| Cooperative telephone companies | 3 |
| Mutual Fire Insurance companies | 8 |
| Rural electrification cooperative (R.E.A. cooperative) | 1 |
| Miscellaneous organizations | 4 |
| Total | 47 |

Producer Service Cooperatives —

These organizations perform intermediary functions for dairy farmers. They include three dairy herd improvement associations and the Goodhue Cooperative (artificial) Breeding Association.

The Extension Service was largely responsible for the formation of the county's dairy herd improvement associations and continues to maintain a close relationship with them. In recent years there has been a fairly strong demand for admission to membership, but inability to obtain qualified personnel for the technical work (testing for butterfat content of milk, etc.) of the organizations has limited their expansion. The primary function of the associations is, as their name indicates, improvement of the members' dairy herds. Herds are tested for butterfat content of milk either monthly or bi-monthly, and records of individual cows are kept. In this way the operator can cull his poorer stock, check on his feeding practices, and have a rational basis for generally improving his herd. Two of the associations have testers who visit each member, usually staying overnight. Recently, one of the associations has expanded its membership, employed additional testers, and set up a central laboratory. Under this arrangement, the testers collect samples from the herds and take them to the central laboratory for testing.

³¹ These data for cooperatives are based in part on a 1947 list prepared by Daniel C Dvoracek of the Minnesota Agricultural Extension Service.

Two of the associations had 26 members each in 1947. The association which had reorganized its plan of operation had 81 members. There is a fixed fee for membership, while the fee for testing is based on size of herd.

Each association holds an annual meeting at which the business of the organization is transacted, the tester makes his report, and usually the extension dairyman from the University talks to the group on some topic related to dairying. At these meetings, recognition is given for exceptionally good herd records or for individual cows. In the past the National Dairy Association has presented honor certificates to owners of herds with outstanding butterfat records and *The Farmer*, a Minnesota farm paper, has given certificates of merit to owners of individual high-record cows.

The testers play a significant role in the dairy improvement associations, performing the important functions of communicating information about herds from one farmer to another³² and of developing group loyalty around their personalities. The recent shift to laboratory operations in one of the associations has meant a decline in this social function of the tester, because he will no longer remain overnight with the farmer and develop the close personal ties that automatically resulted from his longer visit.

The testers are men with farm experience who have received special training for their work, usually in short courses offered by the Extension Service at the University of Minnesota. These men confer periodically with the county agricultural agent and thus give the agent an opportunity to advise and to keep up with the activities of the associations. Through the county agent, a copy of each tester's annual and monthly reports is submitted to the state extension dairyman. The testers

attend an annual district conference under the auspices of the state extension dairyman.

The Goodhue County Cooperative Breeding Association was organized late in 1946. Interest in an organization of this sort had first been manifested some five years before, but wartime conditions had prevented any attempt to organize. However, once a start was made, the accumulated demand resulted in immediate and energetic efforts to form an association. Under the leadership of the county agricultural agent, farmers acquainted themselves with the activities of a nearby Federation with which their association expected to affiliate, held meetings, appointed committees, and began to solicit members. Within approximately three months the association was established, and by February, 1947, there were 300 members.³³ The association charges a membership fee of \$1.00 for each cow in the operator's herd, and an additional \$5.00 is charged for each insemination service. The membership is composed largely of owners of small- and average-sized herds. Almost two-thirds of the herds have from 6 to 15 cows, and only 4 per cent have from 21 to 25 cows. None has more than 25.

The association has employed trained inseminators to whom members report their daily breeding requirements. Semen is supplied by bulls owned by the Federation with which the organization is affiliated. The details of servicing herds have been carefully planned so that every possible degree of speed may be attained.

Credit Cooperatives — Three farm credit organizations operate in Goodhue County — The Faribault Production Credit Association, The Rochester Production Credit Association, and The Wanamingo National Farm Loan Association. However, only the latter should be considered a Goodhue organization.

³² Testers, however, are strictly forbidden to participate in the neighborhood gossip.

³³ Six of the 300 live in adjoining counties.

The other two draw their membership from several counties, and Goodhue County is divided between them.³⁴ In 1947 the Wanamingo National Farm Loan Association had 231 members. It is affiliated with two similar groups—Rice County and Dakota-Scott County associations. The three associations employ a secretary-treasurer and maintain an office at Northfield, Minnesota. Like other farm loan associations, the Wanamingo Association has its charter from the Farm Credit Administration and is affiliated with the Federal Land Bank.

Producer and Consumer Cooperatives—Of the organizations classified as producer and consumer cooperatives in the foregoing tabulation, not all are *bona fide* cooperatives, although most of them have some of the characteristics of cooperatives. Their importance lies in the fact that they are socio-economic organizations which are primarily controlled by farmers.

The largest class is the producer cooperatives, including creamery (or milk), cheese, elevator, and livestock shipping organizations. These groups, along with the rural electrification cooperative (a consumer organization), are considered by the farmers of the county as their more important cooperatives. Creamery and cheese organizations constitute by far the largest proportion of the producer associations.

There are only a few cooperative elevators, but their trade areas are rather large. There are only two cooperative livestock associations, whereas in 1919 there were 15. The decline in these associations came with the construction of good roads and widespread use of motor trucks.

Among the Goodhue consumer cooperatives are eight mutual fire insur-

ance and three cooperative telephone companies. The total amount of insurance carried by some of the mutual fire associations is reported to be fairly large. Some of these organizations cooperate with the villages and their volunteer fire departments in providing fire protection for their policy holders.

The cooperative oil associations and the Goodhue County Cooperative Electric Association are the more recently established consumer organizations. The oil associations have developed along with the motorizing of farm equipment and they handle, in addition to motor fuels and oil, such items as fertilizer, insecticides, tires, tubes, small farm tools, groceries, and some farm machinery.

The Goodhue County Cooperative Electric Association was established under regulations of the Rural Electrification Administration. In November, 1946, the Association had 1,820 consumers which included 50 village people, 150 schools, churches and town halls, and 1,620 farmers.³⁵ No other cooperative in the county is so highly regarded as this one. One farmer very cogently expressed the general feeling when he said, "It has added to the pleasure of living." In addition, for many farmers the association has become literally their "hired man."

The Goodhue Electric Cooperative illustrates the importance of membership responsibility in maintaining a successful cooperative. The manager of the organization has a fine appreciation of the techniques for sustaining group consciousness and morale. Annual meetings are well-planned around good speakers. Attendance at these meetings is recognized by a small souvenir awarded to those who register before the meeting begins, and attendance is

³⁴ Since these two organizations are not strictly Goodhue County groups, they have not been included in the tabulations on pages 34 and 43. Production Credit Associations are affiliated with the Farm Credit Administration and its related agencies, the Production Credit Corporation and the Federal Intermediate Credit Bank.

³⁵ The Association serves all of Goodhue County (except two townships) and small parts of five adjoining counties.

unusually good. But unlike many annual meetings of cooperatives, no lunch is served.

The Association issues a monthly four-page printed bulletin which is edited by the manager. Each issue carries regularly a letter from the manager, an account of the meeting of the board of directors, list of new members, honor roll of consumers (members using a certain number of KWH during last month of record), and special features such as items relating to maintenance problems and letters from members. These bulletins carry a constant reiteration of membership responsibility relating to specific assistance members can give, such as: (1) turn off yard lights to avoid a peak load that will increase wholesale costs, (2) report promptly on meter readings, (3) attend board meetings, (4) discipline children who shoot at insulators, and (5) report trouble promptly. The bulletins also contain instructions about checking wiring in barns to prevent short circuits, and letters from members dealing with meter reporting and appreciation of services.

Common to all of the cooperatives are their annual meetings, usually held between January 15 and February 15.³⁰ The meetings vary somewhat, but most combine their formal business with educational and social features. The business session is strictly formal, conducted according to parliamentary procedures. An important part of the business meeting is the financial report which is read item by item in the smaller organizations. There is usually a speaker—the county agent, a buyer, or someone from the University, and the program may include musical numbers and readings. A lunch is generally served at the end of the meeting.

Officials in the cooperatives generally take their positions seriously. Members of boards of directors attend rather faithfully the meetings of these governing bodies. The farmer secretaries do an enormous amount of work, for which they receive very little remuneration.

Goodhue Holstein Breeders Association³⁷—The Goodhue Holstein Breeders Association, a relatively new organization, was started in 1946 to promote interest in purebred Holstein cattle. The organization has about 35 members, 60 per cent of whom have purebred herds. The group is affiliated with the Minnesota Holstein Breeders Association; in fact officers from the state organization assisted in organizing the Goodhue unit. Activities of the Goodhue group have included a twilight meeting at which a judging demonstration was given, the awarding of a purebred heifer calf to the champion 4-H Holstein exhibitor at the county fair, and the listing and supplying of surplus breeding stock for member herds in the county.

Goodhue County Crop Improvement Association—Under the leadership of the county extension service, the Goodhue Crop Improvement Association was organized in March, 1947. It is a branch of the Minnesota Crop Improvement Association, an organization of farmers interested in producing quality (certified) seed. The State Association is promoted by the Agricultural Experiment Station and Extension Service of the University of Minnesota. The Goodhue branch has 40 members who come principally from three townships—Featherstone, Goodhue, and Vasa. While the Association should make it easier for farmers to become certified seed producers, the group is also expected to serve as a means whereby the farmers, rather than the county agent,

³⁰ Grain elevator associations usually hold their annual meeting in June.

³⁷ This and the organization discussed in the next paragraph are classified as *miscellaneous* in the tabulation on page 43. The Goodhue Township Officers Association and the Goodhue County Board Association discussed in sections 1 and 3, respectively, are also included among the miscellaneous organizations in the same tabulation.

will designate which of their certified growers shall produce newly certified seed allotted to the county by the State Association. For this purpose the organization has chosen one of its own members, a representative from the County Cooperative Extension Committee, and a representative from the grain elevators to serve as a committee on seed distribution. The county agricultural agent hopes the organization will assume a secondary function, the promotion of better crop exhibits at county fairs.

Village- and Town-centered Organizations

Village and Town-centered Organizations with both Farm and Village or Town Members—Goodhue County has eight incorporated places including a hamlet,³⁸ six villages, and a town,³⁹ all of which have one or more formally organized groups. Organizations whose memberships include both farm and village or town people are to be found in each of these places. (See table 3)

The tabulation below gives the number of organizations in each place and the proportion of organizations which have from a few to most of their mem-

bers from the farm population. This presentation shows a wide difference in number of organized groups in Red Wing as contrasted with the villages, and this difference tends to lessen the significance of the percentages in the second column. Nevertheless, the figures do show that a higher degree of integration exists between village and farm people than between town (Red Wing) and farm people. Moreover, a large majority of the Red Wing (town) organizations with both village and farm members have only a few farm members. No village, with the possible exception of Zumbrota, in any way approaches Red Wing in this respect. Somewhat more than one-half of Zumbrota's organizations with both village and farm members have only a few farm members.

Superficially, the hamlet of Dennison appears to resemble Red Wing in the relative proportion of its organizations with both village and farm members which have only a few farmers. Dennison, however, has only five organizations. Moreover, in general characteristics this hamlet differs greatly from the town of Red Wing.

A number of organizations in the villages and in Red Wing are shown in table 3 as having "some" farm mem-

| Village or Town | Per cent of Organizations | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | Number of Organizations | with members from the farm population |
| Cannon Falls | 32 | 78.1 |
| Dennison | 5 | 60.0 |
| Goodhue | 11 | 72.7 |
| Kenyon | 23 | 65.2 |
| Pine Island | 22 | 95.5 |
| Red Wing | 124 | 34.7 |
| Wanamingo | 13 | 84.6 |
| Zumbrota | 27 | 77.8 |

³⁸ The hamlet is Dennison, an incorporated place with a population of 216 (1940). In order to simplify the presentation, the organizations in this hamlet have been classified under village and town-centered organizations.

³⁹ The town is Red Wing which is so designated throughout the study because it belongs in the class of places with populations from 2,500 to 10,000 (1940 census).

Table 3. Organizations in Villages and Towns Which Have Both Village or
Town and Farm Members

| Organizations ¹ | Cannon Falls | Denni- son | Good- hue | Kenyon | Pine Island | Red Wing | Wana- mingo | Zum- brota |
|---|-----------------|---------------|--------------|--------|----------------|-------------------------------|----------------|---------------|
| BUSINESS | | | | | | | | |
| Commercial Club (Chamber of Commerce) | Few* | | | | Few | | | Some |
| Junior Assoc. of Commerce..... | | | | | | Few | | |
| CIVIC | | | | | | | | |
| Community Club for Women..... | | | | | | | | Few |
| Community Foundation | | | | | | | | Few |
| League of Women Voters..... | | | | | | Few | | |
| LODGE, FRATERNAL, AND BENEFIT | | | | | | | | |
| Ancient Order of United Workmen | | | | | | | | |
| Cemetery Association | Some | | | Some | Half | Some | | Some |
| Degree of Honor..... | Some | | | Some | | Some | | |
| DeMolay | Half | | | | | Some | | |
| Eastern Star | Half | | | | Some | Some | | Few |
| Eastern Star—Past Matrons Club | Some | | | | | Few | | |
| Elks Club | | | | | | Few | | |
| Job's Daughters | | | | | | Few | | |
| Job's Daughters' Mothers..... | | | | | | Few | | |
| Masons—AF & AM..... | Half | | | Some | Some | Some | | Few |
| Masons—Chapter..... | Half | | | | | Few | | |
| Masons—Commandry..... | | | | | | Few | | |
| Masons—Tyrian Council, R & GM | | | | | Half | Few | | |
| Odd Fellows | Few | | | Some | Half | Few | | |
| P.E.O. | | | | | Half | Few | | |
| Pythian Sisters | | | | | | | | Few |
| Rebekah Lodge..... | Few | | | Some | Half | Few | | Few |
| Red Men..... | | | | | | Few | | |
| Theta Rho Girls Club | | | | | | Few | | |
| SCHOOL PATRONS | | | | | | | | |
| Band Parents Club..... | Few | | | | | | Some | |
| Forty-eighters | | | | | | Some | | |
| Parent-Teachers' Association..... | Some | | | Half | | Few ⁹ | | |
| SPORTS AND HOBBIES | | | | | | | | |
| Baseball Team..... | Few | | Half | Few | Few | Few | Few | Few |
| Basketball Team | | Some | | Half | Some | | | Some |
| Bowling Teams ² | Half | Few | Some | Some | Few | } Some ¹⁰ } Few | Some | |
| College Womens Club (AAUW) | | | | | | | Few | |
| Field Archery Club..... | | | | | | Few | | |
| Golf Club | | | | | | | | Few |
| Gun Club ³ | | | | | | Some | | |
| Isaak Walton League..... | Half | | | | Half | Some | Some | Some |
| Junior Figure Skating Club..... | | | | | | Some | | |
| Junior Rifle Club | | | | | | Half | | |
| Model Airplane Club..... | | | | | | Some | | |
| Senior Rifle and Pistol Club..... | | | | | | Some | | |
| Sportsmens Club | | | | | Half | | Most | |
| Wild Life Protective League..... | | | | | | Few | | |
| Women's Golf Club..... | | | | | | Few | | |
| STUDY | | | | | | | | |
| Fortnightly Club (women)..... | | | | | | | Few | |
| Home Demonstration Project Club (women) ⁴ | | | Half | | | | | |

Table 3. Organizations in Villages and Towns Which Have Both Village or Town and Farm Members—Continued

| Organizations ¹ | Cannon Falls | Dennison | Goodhue | Kenyon | Pine Island | Red Wing | Wanamingo | Zumbrota |
|---|------------------|----------|------------------|------------------|-------------|----------|-----------|-------------------|
| Progress Club (women)..... | | | | | Some | | | |
| Stoddard Club (women)..... | | | | | | | | Few |
| Study Club (women)..... | | Few | Few | | | | | |
| Tourist Club (women)..... | | | | | | | | Few |
| Tuesday Club (women)..... | Few | | | | | | | |
| VETERANS | | | | | | | | |
| American Legion..... | Some | | Some | Some | Some | Some | | Some |
| American Legion Auxiliary..... | Some | | Some | Some | Some | Few | | Some |
| American Legion Auxiliary— Past Presidents Parley..... | | | | | | Few | | |
| Disabled American Veterans..... | | | | | | Few | | |
| Disabled American Veterans Auxiliary..... | | | | | | Few | | |
| United Spanish War Veterans.... | | | | | | Few | | |
| Veterans Advisory Council..... | | | | | | | | Few |
| Veterans of Foreign Wars..... | Some | | | Some | Some | Few | Some | Some |
| Veterans of Foreign Wars Aux.... | Some | | | Some | | Few | Some | Few |
| WELFARE | | | | | | | | |
| Boy Scouts..... | Few | | Few ⁷ | Few ⁸ | Some | | Few | Few ¹¹ |
| Four-H Club ⁵ | | | | | Few | | Half | |
| Girl Scouts..... | Few ⁶ | | Few | | Few | | | Few ¹² |
| Townsend Club..... | Some | | | | | | | |
| Woman's Relief Corps..... | Few | | | | Half | | | |
| W.C.T.U..... | | | | Some | | Few | Few | Half |

* Few, some, half, and most represent estimates of farmer membership in organizations.

¹ Red Cross branches are excluded from the table because their membership is too poorly defined for purposes of this presentation.

² Bowling teams have been counted as one organization.

³ Includes three groups—rifle, pistol, shot-gun.

⁴ Local unit of a general rural-farm organization.

⁵ Local units of a general rural-farm organization.

⁶ Includes 3 troops.

⁷ Includes 2 troops.

⁸ Includes 2 troops.

⁹ Parent-Teachers' Association of Red Wing High School.

¹⁰ Includes two associations, one for women and one for men, the former has a few farm members, the latter some.

¹¹ Includes 2 troops.

¹² Includes 2 troops.

Note: In general the data in this table are for either the latter part of 1946 or the first half of 1947 and are an approximate indication of the nature of the membership of the organizations listed. The information was obtained in many instances from leading citizens who were acquainted with the organizations. In other cases, especially for many of the Red Wing organizations, some officer or member of the organization gave the information.

bers. However, in all of the centers there are only 20 organizations which have "half" of their membership from the farm population. Only one organization has "most" of its members from the farm segment of the population.

The Izaak Walton leagues deserve special mention because of their interest in activities which are closely identified with rural life. Conservation of natural resources, especially wild life, is a major concern of these groups.

Talks on wild life and conservation are important features of their meetings and some attention is also given to legislation relating to the preservation of fish and game. The men who belong are usually sportsmen interested in hunting and fishing. One of the leagues has sought to cultivate friendly relations with the farmers in the county by having them as its guests at social events. The leagues have also sponsored 4-H club activities and conserva-

tion days for farmers. The local organizations are affiliated with state and national bodies.

Village- and Town-centered Organizations with Village or Town Members Only—Red Wing, with a population of almost 10,000 (1940) and a large number of manufacturing and service establishments, has developed the kind of organizational structure that might be expected to be associated with its size and functions. It has not only a considerable number but also a wide variety of organizations whose memberships are drawn exclusively from the town itself (table 4). Its business and professional as well as its civic groups appear to be either self-sufficient or else too urban to attract farmers. There are also a number of labor unions in Red Wing which are, of course, exclusively nonfarm in membership. In contrast the villages have few organizations whose memberships are drawn exclusively from the villages, and only one village has a labor union.

County-wide: Primarily Village- or Town-centered Organizations with both Village or Town and Farm Members—Included in this category are the Goodhue County Health Association, the Goodhue County Historical Society, the Goodhue County Horticultural Society, the Goodhue County Red Cross Chapter, the Goodhue County Veterans Service Committee, the Goodhue County Federation of Women's Clubs, the Goodhue County Democratic-Farmer-Labor Committee, and the Goodhue County Republican Committee. (See section 1 for discussion of last two.) With the exception of the Red Cross, there is only a small number of farm people in any of these organizations.

The County Health Association is essentially a board of directors. These directors elect executive officers who serve as an advisory committee to the

county health nurse. The County Association is affiliated with the Minnesota Public Health Association, an organization primarily concerned with problems related to tuberculosis. The Association obtains its funds through the sale of Christmas seals. These funds furnish part of the salary of a clerk in the county nurse's office. The organization cooperates with other organizations and with several public agencies in conducting county-wide health clinics which included inoculations for diphtheria, tests for tuberculosis, and vaccinations for smallpox.

The County Historical Society is small. Its membership is drawn largely from Red Wing, and meetings are held irregularly. A room in the county courthouse has been assigned to the organization for its records, books, and museum pieces, and the county commissioners vote the Association a small sum each year. The organization is affiliated with the State Historical Society.

Similarly, the Goodhue Horticultural Society is affiliated with the State Horticultural Society. The Goodhue group is primarily a Red Wing organization and functions very much as a garden club. Some 10 to 12 per cent of its members are farmers drawn largely from townships around Red Wing. The society sponsors an annual flower show in Red Wing.

The Goodhue County Red Cross Chapter is essentially an organization of leaders who assume responsibility for financial drives and other activities customarily associated with the Red Cross. While activities of the chapter center in Red Wing, the organization has ten branches, all of which are village- or hamlet-centered.⁴⁰ However, the farm people associated with two of the village branches carry on their activities somewhat independently. In

⁴⁰ Although the Red Cross is essentially a town- or village-centered organization with its headquarters in the town of Red Wing and six of its branches in villages, four of its branches are associated with hamlets or other smaller centers.

some instances farm women in a church organization or a Home Demonstration club do production work (sewing, bandages, etc.) for the Red Cross. These groups may send their products and work reports directly to the Red Wing headquarters or they may turn them over to a branch organization.

Both the county chapter and its branches are loosely organized. Branches seldom have meetings, and for this reason officers often hold their positions year after year. Even the county chapter failed to hold its annual meeting in 1946. Although quotas have been met in recent drives, contributors seldom think of themselves as members of an organized group. The branches often act independently, keeping part of their funds for local purposes, and making limited reports to the county chapter. Some leaders in the village branches say that farm people take little or no interest in Red Cross activities; however, in at least one instance, farmers are more active than the village people.

The Goodhue County Veterans Service Committee was organized in July, 1944, at the request of the state office of the USES.⁴¹ Locally, the USES and the Selective Service office assumed the initiative for forming the organization. The committee is composed of persons from a wide range of organizations and from several public agencies. There are subcommittees on agriculture, claims and insurance, finance and loan, education, home service, and employment-reemployment-labor. In the villages and Red Wing, the committee also has volunteer representatives who serve as advisers on veterans' problems. The subcommittee on agriculture is composed of five farmers and the agricultural agent. Practically all of the remaining committee members are non-

farm people. Meetings are held quarterly, and veterans' problems are discussed at each meeting. The committee was largely responsible for the establishment of the county's on-the-job agricultural classes for veterans. The actual functions of the organization, however, are not nearly as extensive as its structure might suggest.

The Goodhue County Federation of Women's Clubs is composed of study clubs from four of the villages and the town of Red Wing. Most of these clubs have only a few or no farm women. Annual meetings of a social and educational character are held. The Federation is affiliated with district, state, and national organizations.

County-wide: Village- or Town-centered Organizations with only Village or Town Members.⁴²—The Goodhue County Medical Society, the Goodhue County Medical Auxiliary (wives of doctors), the Goodhue County Chapter of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, and the Goodhue County Beverage Dispensers' (Tavern Keepers') Association, are the only county-wide organizations without farm members.

The County Medical Society is not very active. Formerly, scientific papers were read at its meetings; but this is reported to have been discontinued. Both the Medical Society and its auxiliary cooperate with other organizations and with certain public agencies in the promotion of the county's health clinics. Each of these organizations is affiliated with state societies.

The Infantile Paralysis Chapter is a county-wide committee composed of representatives from the villages and Red Wing. The committee organizes money-raising campaigns and Roosevelt birthday dances for the benefit of poliomyelitis victims. It is affiliated

⁴¹ Now Minnesota Employment Service.

⁴² There are four organizations which are only village- or town-centered with village or town (in one case hamlet) members, but whose membership area includes at least one other county. These are Bankers Association, Bar Association, the Wabasha Boy Scout Committee, and a local of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

Table 4. Village- and Town-centered Organizations with Village and Town Members Only

| Organizations | Cannon Falls | Dennison | Goodhue | Kenyon | Pine Island | Red Wing | Wanamingo | Zumbrota |
|---|--------------|----------|---------|--------|-------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL | | | | | | | | |
| Business and Professional | | | | | | | | |
| Women's Club | | | | | | × | | |
| Commercial Club (Chamber of Commerce) | | | × | × | | × | × | |
| Manufacturers Association | | | | | | × | | |
| Technical Society | | | | | | × | | |
| United Commercial Travellers of America | | | | | | × | | |
| Visiting Nurses Association | | | | | | × | | |
| Life Underwriters Association | | | | | | × | | |
| CIVIC | | | | | | | | |
| City Beautification Committee..... | | | | | | | | × |
| Community Chest, Inc. | | | | | | × | | |
| Kiwanis Club | | | | | | × | | |
| Lions Club | | | | | | × | | |
| Memorial Association | | | | × | | × | | × |
| Planning Committee | | | | | | | | × |
| Women's Civic Council | | | | | | × | | |
| LABOR | | | | | | | | |
| American Rock-wool Union (CIO) | | | | | | × | | |
| Automobile Mechanics (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| Boot & Shoe Workers (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| Boot & Shoe Workers Auxiliary (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| Brewers & Maltsters (CIO) | | | | | | × | | |
| Bricklayers (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| Brick & Clay Workers (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| Carpenters (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| CIO Council | | | | | | × | | |
| City Employees (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| Electrical Workers (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| Engineers, Operating (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| Fire Fighters (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| Flour Mill Workers (AFL) | × | | | | | × | | |
| General Drivers (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| International Fur & Leather Workers (CIO) | | | | | | × | | |
| International Fur & Leather Workers Aux. (CIO) | | | | | | × | | |
| Laundry Workers (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| Letter Carriers (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| Mill Workers Union (CIO) | | | | | | × | | |
| National Brotherhood of Operative Potters (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| Painters (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| Post Office Clerks (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| Stage Employees (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| State Employees (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| Trades & Labor Assembly (AFL) | | | | | | × | | |
| United Auto Workers (CIO) | | | | | | × | | |
| United Rubber Workers (CIO) | | | | | | × | | |
| United Rubber Workers Auxiliary (CIO) | | | | | | × | | |
| LODGES, FRATERNAL, AND BENEFIT | | | | | | | | |
| DeMolay Mothers Club | | | | | | × | | |
| Eastern Star | | | | × | | | | |
| Hiawatha Club | | | | | | × | | |

Table 4. Village- and Town-centered Organizations with Village and Town Members Only—Continued

| Organizations | Cannon Falls | Dennison | Goodhue | Kenyon | Pine Island | Red Wing | Wanamingo | Zumbrota |
|---|--------------|----------|---------|--------|-------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| Moose Lodge | | | | | | × | | |
| Pocahontas Lodge (Auxiliary of Red Men) | | | | | | × | | |
| Royal Neighbors (Auxiliary of AOUW) | | | | | | × | | |
| Women's Benefit Association | | | | | | × | | |
| Woodmen of World (Patriarch Militant) | | | | | | × | | |
| Woodmen of World Auxiliary (Patriarch Militant) | | | | | | × | | |
| SCHOOL PATRONS | | | | | | | | |
| Parent-Teachers' Association | | | | | | ×† | | |
| SPORTS | | | | | | | | |
| Aurora Ski Club | | | | | | × | | |
| Basketball Team | × | | | | | × | | |
| Country Club | | | | | | × | | |
| Figure Skating Club | | | | | | × | | |
| Golf Club | × | | | × | | × | | |
| Hockey Club | | | | | | × | | |
| Recreational Advisory Committee | | | | | | | | × |
| Red Wing Associates, Inc. | | | | | | × | | |
| Yatch Club | | | | | | × | | |
| STUDY | | | | | | | | |
| Art History Club | | | | | | × | | |
| Delphian Study Club | | | | | | × | | |
| Home Demonstration Project Club* | ×§ | | | | | ×§ | | |
| Literary Guild | | | | × | | | | |
| Parliamentary Law Club | | | | | | × | | |
| Round Table Club | | | | × | | | | |
| Study Club | | | | | | | | × |
| Women's Study Club | | | | | | × | | |
| VETERANS AND MILITARY | | | | | | | | |
| All Veterans Council | | | | | | × | | |
| American Veterans Committee | | | | | | × | | |
| Coast Guard Reserve | | | | | | × | | |
| Coast Guard Reserve Auxiliary | | | | | | × | | |
| Mexican Border Veterans | | | | | | × | | |
| Navy Club | | | | | | × | | |
| WELFARE | | | | | | | | |
| Boy Scouts | | | | | | ×‡ | | |
| Four-H Club* | | × | × | | | | | |
| Girl Scouts | | | | × | | ×** | | |
| Girl Scouts Council Association | | | | | | × | | |
| Ministerial Association | × | | | | | × | | |
| Safety Council | | | | | | × | | |
| Volunteer Fire Department | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | × |
| Women's Relief Corps | | | | | | × | | |
| Women's Relief Corps Sewing Society | | | | | | × | | |

* Local units of a general rural-farm organization.

† Includes four elementary school PTA's.

§ Includes two different groups.

‡ Includes 8 troops.

** Includes 16 troops.

Note: In general the data in this table are for either the latter part of 1946 or the first half of 1947 and are an approximate indication of the nature of the membership of the organizations listed. The information was obtained in many instances from leading citizens who were acquainted with the organizations. In other cases, especially for many of the Red Wing organizations, some officer or member of the organization gave the information.

with state and national organizations.

The Beverage Dispensers' Association is an organization of tavern keepers who have banded together to protect their business interests. The organiza-

tion has members in villages and in Red Wing, but some members come from hamlets, and a few from the open-country. The Association is affiliated with a state-wide organization.

5. Agencies

AN AGENCY is a formally constituted group consisting of one or more individuals, usually designated as "officials," and an advisory or controlling board or committee of citizens. The purpose of an agency is to perform certain specific services for people living in a particular locality. Usually, but not always, agencies have local advisory committees or boards. The "officials" are usually paid, and sometimes the members of the committees or boards receive compensation for time actually spent on agency activities.

All of the agencies in Goodhue County are public. That is, they are creatures of government and are largely supported by funds derived from taxation. Most of them were authorized by state or national laws; and, with one exception, in instances where they were originally created by the county government, they have now established some type of relationship with overhead agencies at the state or national level. On the basis of the character of services rendered, the county's agencies fall into two general classes: (1) agricultural and (2) nonagricultural.

Agricultural Agencies⁴³

Cooperative Extension Service

The oldest agricultural agency in Goodhue County is the Cooperative Extension Service, established in 1918.

The agency is a part of the state and federal Extension Service and is supported by county, state, federal, and Farm Bureau funds. Its office is located in the Courthouse at Red Wing, and its personnel consists of the agricultural agent, a home demonstration agent, a 4-H club worker, and a secretary. The agency operates under the general direction of the County Cooperative Extension Committee which is responsible for employing personnel and approving programs and budgets. The Committee is composed of the chairman and one member of the County Board of Commissioners, the County Auditor, the officers of the County Farm Bureau Federation, and the chairman of the Home and Community Committee.

The Extension Service is essentially an educational agency which serves farm people. In performing this function, the immediate objectives of the service vary from time to time, determined in part by federal, state, and local agency policies, and in part by the farm people who cooperate with the agency.

The agency operates principally through the Farm Bureau, Home Demonstration groups, 4-H clubs, and Rural Youth. In addition, the county agent promotes various demonstrations relating to better farming techniques and informally advises numerous farmers concerning their farm problems.

⁴³ The Farm Credit Administration through its affiliated agencies—The Federal Land Bank, The Production Credit Corporation, and the Federal Intermediate Credit Bank—operates in the county in connection with farm credit and loan associations (see page 44); but since neither the Farm Credit Administration nor its affiliated agencies maintain offices in the county they are not included in this discussion. The Bank for Cooperatives, also an affiliate of the Farm Credit Administration, has no office in the county, but in 1948 two Goodhue cooperatives had loans with the Bank.

Casual contact is also maintained with a fairly large group of neighborhood leaders who assist in transmitting information and in planning programs.

Production and Marketing Administration

The programs of the Production and Marketing Administration are under the direction of a County Agricultural Conservation Committee of three members elected annually by farmers. Records and office details are handled by a head clerk and one or two assistants. In addition to the county committee, each township chooses a committee⁴⁴ of three farmers whose duties include explaining the agricultural conservation program to farmers, conferring with farmers to work out conservation programs for their farms, enrolling them in the program, and checking on their compliance with conservation practice specifications and provisions. Most of the enrollment in the program is accomplished at one or two general meetings. Community committeemen are expected to contact farmers who do not attend these meetings.

The principal programs handled by the county PMA office in 1947 were—agricultural conservation and crop insurance. The more important practices approved by the farmers for their 1947 agricultural conservation program were: (1) superphosphate or potash applications to pastures and legumes, (2) liming, (3) green pasture crops, (4) perennial weed eradication and control, (5) contour stripcropping, (6) drainage, and (7) rebuilding pastures. Under the 1947 program, 1,735 farmers, or 57.7 per cent of the total number in the county (1945), completed one or more conservation practices. There has

never been very much complaint about the paper-work involved in the various PMA (or AAA) programs. It seems to be generally understood that at times it may be necessary to have crop control in order to have price supports. Possibly because of prosperity, interest in elections of committeemen is reported to have declined in recent years.

The local PMA office and its County Agricultural Conservation Committee have charge of sales and other details of the crop insurance program of the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation. In 1947, 595 wheat and 321 flax contracts were made. Of the farmers who signed contracts, however, not all grew the specific crop insured. Wheat was grown in 294 cases and flax in 265.⁴⁵

Soil Conservation Service

There are three soil conservation districts in Goodhue County, one of which includes four townships in Dakota County. These districts are served by the personnel of a Soil Conservation Service work-group which operates principally in Dakota, Wabasha, and Goodhue counties, although some of the staff also serve two other counties. The work-group office in Red Wing exercises general supervision over the county's three district offices, provides them with technical assistance, and does promotional work. Each district has an SCS technician, usually an assistant technician, and a board of five supervisors, two appointed by the State Conservation Committee and three elected by participating farmers. The district boards, which are both planning and promotional bodies, work closely with their SCS technicians in formulating programs relating to conservation education and to conservation measures involving the partici-

⁴⁴ Although these committees represent townships, they are referred to locally as "community committees."

⁴⁵ Before July, 1947, the Production Marketing Administration and Federal Crop Insurance Corporation had a contract on a national basis whereby the former handled the business details of crop insurance at the local level. After July, 1947, contracts for handling these details were made with County Agricultural Conservation committees.

pation of groups of farmers, as for example, all of those living in one drainage basin. It is also the responsibility of the boards to interest farmers in signing to become cooperators.

The actual work of the SCS is primarily with individual farmers, working out farm conservation plans, and advising from time to time concerning the execution of the plans. The agency does some general educational work in conservation by sponsoring special conservation days, holding demonstrations, and presenting programs at meetings of various farm organizations.

The SCS program in Goodhue dates back to the CCC camps, two of which were located in the county. Some SCS workers believe its humble origin has handicapped the program, because there are people who continue to identify it with relief. Nevertheless, at the end of 1946, the agency had on its lists approximately 593 cooperators,⁴⁶ which was 19.5 per cent of all farmers in the county.⁴⁷ Not all of these cooperators were active. The agency's most critical problem is follow-up work with those who have agreed to participate. With the present staff, the caseload is entirely too large for effective operation.

Farmers Home Administration

This agency serves both Goodhue and an adjoining county to the east. It is essentially a lending agency, making loans to farmers who are unable to meet the requirements of private loaning agencies. Two groups of borrowers are served: those who are purchasing farmsteads, and those who borrow money to provide themselves with farm chattel.

Although the FHA office is in Goodhue County, it is not located at the county seat, but at Pine Island which is in the southeastern part of the

county. The staff consists of a supervisor, a clerk, and a home visitor who serves several counties in addition to Goodhue. In general, their responsibilities involve: (1) the execution of loans, (2) supervising farm and home activities of borrowers to assure the kind of management that will enable the borrower to meet payments on their loans, and (3) the collection of installments on loans.

Local control is vested in a county committee of three members who are nominated by the county supervisor and appointed by the state director of FHA. With the advice of the agency's staff, this committee decides on applications for loans, reviews cases to determine whether they should be recommended for refinancing by the banks, decides on the liquidation of delinquent borrowers, and interprets the agency's activities to the public. For the most part, the committee has been conservative in approving applicants for loans. The agency has sought to maintain good relationships with the banks, insisting that borrowers refinance their obligations through private institutions as soon as they are in a position to do so.

Since its establishment in 1934, the FHA has made loans to 327 families, 293 of which had chattel and 34 real estate loans. A total of \$348,130 has been borrowed by these farmers. One hundred forty-eight of the chattel loans and eight of the real estate loans have been paid in full. In January, 1947, there were 26 active real estate and 80 active chattel borrowers.

County Weed Inspector

The County Weed Inspector is employed by the County Board of Commissioners for approximately six months of each year to promote weed control among farmers. Although he re-

⁴⁶ One SCS district extends beyond the boundaries of the county, but only those operators in the Goodhue part of the district are included in this total.

⁴⁷ A relatively small number of cooperators were not *bona fide* farmers, but the number of such cooperators was not large enough to influence greatly the calculation of the percentage of farmers who were cooperators.

ceives no pay from the state, he is required by law to report his activities to the State Commissioner of Agriculture. In his work, he relies primarily on planning and advice, although he is vested with legal power by which he can force recalcitrant farmers to give attention to their weed problems. Township boards have for years had authority to deal with weed control, but because of the personal relationship which exists between voters and board members, the boards have not made effective use of their authority. The County Weed Inspector bears a less personal relationship to the farmers and is, therefore, able to function more effectively than the township boards. The Inspector is advised in his work by the County Weed Council, appointed at an annual weed meeting of township board officers and village weed men.

Nonagricultural Agencies⁴⁸

Welfare Department

The County Welfare Department with its head supervisor, three case workers, a stenographer, and an accountant, has its office at the county seat. Although the agency is under the supervision of the State Welfare Department, it is also subject to control by a local board of seven members: five county commissioners, and two local citizens appointed by the State Welfare Department. In addition to advisory and policy-making functions, the County Welfare Board reviews cases presented to it by the agency's technical workers, and approves new applicants.

The principal function of the Welfare Department is supervision of general relief, old age assistance, and aid to dependent children and to the blind. The County Welfare Board has complete control over general relief since all

funds for this purpose are provided by the county. The personnel of the Welfare Department, however, performs the technical service required for administering this type of relief. The county also maintains a poor farm which admits unfortunates who do not fit into any of the assistance categories or who have no place to live. The county is assisted by state and federal funds in caring for cases of old age assistance and aid to dependent children. Funds for the blind are handled directly by the state and come entirely from state and federal sources.

Near the end of 1946, the Welfare Department's case load included approximately 60 cases of direct relief,⁴⁹ 500 of old age assistance, 42 of aid to dependent children, and 10 of aid to the blind. The poor home had 22 inmates. A large proportion of the direct relief cases involves primarily medical care. According to a 1944 spot map prepared by the agency, most of the cases of old age assistance, of aid to dependent children, and of aid to the blind were in Red Wing and the principal villages of the county.

County Public Health Nurse

The office of the public health nurse is in the courthouse at Red Wing. The nurse and her clerk-assistant are employed by the county board of commissioners and are paid from county funds and contributions of the County Health Association. The executive committee of the Health Association acts as an advisory board to the nurse. Although the county has a Board of Health, it maintains no active relationship with the county nurse. The nurse is advised from time to time by representatives from the State Health Department, and she in turn makes periodic reports to the Department.

⁴⁸ Since the Selective Service Office was closed before the field work on the study was completed, it was decided to omit it from this discussion of nonagricultural agencies.

⁴⁹ Excluding poor farm inmates.

The principal activities of the public health nurse are the promotion of (1) eye and ear inspections in the public schools every two or three years and (2) health clinics for smallpox vaccinations, diphtheria inoculations, and mantoux tests for tuberculosis. These health clinics are held every year in the villages and every other year for rural people.

Veterans Service Office

This is a newly created agency which is financed by the county. The personnel consists of a service officer and a secretary. The officer is appointed by the County Board of Commissioners, and has an office in the courthouse at Red Wing where he works five days a week. He spends the sixth day in the county's villages, serving half of them one week and the other half the next. The service officer advises veterans concerning their rights and helps them with various technical papers. Although the agency has been established for only a few months, it has served a fairly large number of veterans.

Minnesota Employment Service

This agency is supported by state and federal governments, and during the war operated as a federal agency. Now, however, it has become a state

agency once more. The agency is an employment bureau and an office for administering unemployment compensation. Its office is located in Red Wing, and it serves ten townships in Wabasha County and all of Goodhue County except the four townships along its southern boundary. With a staff of five full-time employees, this is the only agency in the county which is not in some way under the control or supervision of a local board or committee.

In addition to its routine work with employment matters and unemployment compensation, the agency has one staff member who devotes his entire time to veterans. He assists with setting up veterans' training programs, advises veterans about jobs, and certifies them for on-the-job training. Associated with the agency are two representatives of the U. S. Veterans Administration who are responsible for supervision of on-the-job industrial training of veterans in Goodhue and Wabasha counties.

In late 1946, some 300 veterans from the agency's official territory were taking on-the-job training; of these, approximately 52 were Goodhue County veterans who were receiving on-the-job training in vocational agriculture. Only about 20 farmers in the agency's territory were receiving self-employment compensation.

6. *Informal Groups* and Other Informal Relations

INFORMAL GROUPS and informal relations refer to those interpersonal activities which are either customary or temporary. These activities do not involve consciously formulated procedures for regulating group behavior; no leaders are elected, but natural leaders may emerge; and formal meetings are not held, although the group may get together at fairly regular inter-

vals. The relationship may be a temporary conversational contact between two individuals, or it may be a work ring which functions according to custom.

Informal groups and relationships are numerous in Goodhue County. Even so, there is a dominant tendency toward formal, rather than informal, ways of attaining social objectives. Even the

basically informal relationships have formal characteristics. Thus, groups of neighboring women who celebrate birthdays in a most informal manner are referred to as "birthday clubs."

Family visiting is not as frequent as it was formerly. However, in areas where one nationality continues to be dominant and where membership is held in an open-country church, related families are said to visit extensively. Neighboring families comprising work rings were often reported visiting very little.

The county's many work rings were referred to in the discussion of locality groups, where they were classified with the high group identification localities. Most work rings are not large, varying from three to six or seven farmers, although sometimes a ring may have as many as a dozen members. The bases whereby membership in rings is determined are not easily ascertained. Examination of a number of rings showed the following factors to be involved: compatability; convenience in terms of propinquity; marriage or blood relationship; proximity of smaller operators to a large one who owns machinery; and ownership by each member of the group of a different machine which all need at some time. Perhaps the most important of these factors is convenience, based on nearness. This factor is often reduced in importance, however, because at times kinship brings together operators who are some distance apart, or because incompatibility excludes a farmer who is near at hand.

Although the work ring is much more of an informal group than a formal one, it possesses certain formal characteristics. Its very name and the working agreement among its members seem to make it more formal than the simple swapping of labor found among farmers in other sections of the county where no reference is made to rings. In most work rings a fairly strict

record is kept in terms of labor and the use of teams and machinery, and cash payments are made to equalize the input of each man. This accounting was not common some years ago when labor and other costs were not so important. Some work rings are so well stabilized that machinery is owned in common.

Wedding anniversary parties are common, and are often held in the parlors or basements of churches. There are a number of birthday clubs, which are one of the principal activities found in the open-country neighborhoods described in section 2 of this bulletin. However, to designate these groups as clubs is slightly misleading, because they are not formally organized. The usual club is simply a group of neighboring women who have a custom of giving a party for each member on her birthday every year. For example, the practice of one club is for the group to gather at the home of a member on her birthday. The member knows to expect the celebration because all the others know the date of her birthday. The party is sometimes in the afternoon, at other times in the evening. The men frequently attend the evening parties, and the guests usually bring food for a lunch.

In the county's larger villages, farm people visit on the streets, gather at places of business to gossip or play whist, and attend open-air band concerts during the summer months. Other important gathering places for many of the farmers are the one or two open-country stores, as well as the taverns and cafes in hamlets, villages, and open-country. At a number of the creameries and cheese plants the farmers still deliver their products. As they wait at these places, considerable visiting takes place. Informal recreational groups interested in dancing sometimes meet at a township hall or a village or

hamlet hall. In addition there are many small fishing and hunting parties.

There are numerous recreational crowds and groups which are rather informal in character, even though they are sponsored either by commercial establishments or formal organizations and institutions having semi-commercial interests. These crowds include those at swimming pools, boating places, skating rinks, pool rooms, dance halls, bowling alleys, motion picture theaters, the Pine Island cheese festival, the Kenyon corn show, the Cannon Falls overall party, the county fair, the Cannon Valley fair, high school basketball and football games, and the free outdoor motion pictures provided during the summer by the business men in some of the smaller service centers.

Some of the more common noncommercial informal recreational crowds and groups are sponsored by formal organizations and institutions. These include joint village-farm whist games under the auspices of one of the village commercial clubs; card parties among groups of neighbors belonging to some particular church; card parties at Farm Bureau and lodge meetings; 4-H club picnics and wiener roasts; Halloween and Christmas parties given for village children by commercial clubs; junior league baseball games sponsored by the American Legion; musical festivals at village high schools; mothers' meetings and annual picnics for parents and children sponsored by the rural schools; dances for young people at one of the village high schools; midsummer (June 24) picnics held by some of the rural churches; dances at Knights of Columbus hall; lunches at Farm Bureau unit meetings and annual meetings of co-operatives; parties for both young people and adults given by churches or church organizations; and social activities of the Rural Youth group. Although it can hardly be considered as actively sponsored by the church, the before- and after-service socializing which the

church provides is another important informal leisure-time activity.

On one hand informal relationships are sponsored by formal organizations, and on the other hand the activities of these organizations are fostered by informal relations. The purposes, programs, officials, and membership of organized groups are frequent subjects of conversation in many of the informal relationships referred to previously. Indeed, the process of forming organizations significantly involves informal relationships. For example, the Goodhue Cooperative Breeders Association had its origin as a result of informal discussion between farmers and the county agricultural agent. Once the initial steps in organizing were taken, the association was promoted principally through "talking it over" with neighbors and friends as they were encountered in informal situations.

The testers employed by the dairy improvement association have helped to promote these organizations through their overnight visits in the homes of members. Farmers visit with other farmers to persuade them to join the Farm Bureau. The Home Demonstration clubs and 4-H clubs are usually organized by lay workers who accept responsibility for interesting their friends or neighbors. The farm leaders who supported the AAA (now PMA) in its early days did much to propagate the idea through personal contacts and small, informal group meetings. Much of the SCS work is done on an interpersonal basis involving only the farmer and an agency representative. The county agricultural agent states that when he speaks at a Farm Bureau meeting, few questions are raised during or immediately following his talk. After the meeting adjourns, however, the men come to him with numerous questions. Farmers frequently stop in the agent's office to seek advice about farm problems or to discuss organizational activities.

II. ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

7. *Significant Changes in Social Organization*

INCREASE IN NUMBER of Farm Organizations—Although over the years the number of farmers' cooperatives in Goodhue County has declined somewhat, the total number of organized groups among farm people has increased considerably in recent years. At one time there were several farmers' clubs (sometimes called community clubs). Now, however, all but one of these have been supplanted by township Farm Bureau units. Changes in the Extension Service's methods of operating involving greater emphasis on the group rather than the individual approach and an energetic organizational program initiated by the local Extension office have been important factors in the increase in farm organizations.

Cooperatives in Transition from Primary to Secondary Groups—For many years cooperatives have had an important place in the organized life of the county. One would hesitate to say they will be less important in the future, but they will be different, especially the creamery and cheese cooperatives. These organizations are in a state of transition from primary to secondary groups. Many of them were first organized around 1908. They were formed by groups of neighbors who believed that they could make more money by processing and marketing products as a group. Moreover, the local manufacture of butter and cheese was about the only way to utilize a surplus of milk above that needed for the family. The small creamery and cheese cooperatives developed considerable group cohesion and loyalty. Following World War I some of them

joined marketing associations principally because buyers were constantly beating prices down. This was a first step toward federated organization.

During World War II a crisis for the small plants was precipitated by a development which had undoubtedly been under way for some time. Larger plants, often cooperatives, invaded the producers' market in the area. Some of the older plants required new and improved equipment, and demand for quality products was increasing. Cost of labor, as well as its scarcity, became especially acute as the war continued. Higher prices for whole milk forced many creameries to abandon butter-making and become mere milk-receiving stations. For small plants, these conditions created serious problems as to future operations. Consolidation began to be considered, and a group of cheese factories in the southeastern part of Goodhue and adjoining counties did merge with a purchasing association which thereby entered the producers' field.

At present, farmers in Goodhue County belong to creamery (or milk) and cheese cooperatives in varying stages of development, from the distinctly primary-group type to those more nearly of the secondary type. The primary-group type usually serves a small number of patrons who live within a few miles of each other. The board employs no manager, but its president serves in that capacity, for which he receives a small salary. A farmer secretary-treasurer keeps the cooperative accounts, and the equipment is sometimes old and in need of modernization. The board of directors

functions on a personal rather than impersonal and rational basis. While the organization is often controlled by older members, all members show marked attachment and pride in their organization, and producers deliver their own milk to the plant.

At the other extreme is the cooperative which represents a merger or absorption of smaller concerns. This type of organization is made up of patrons over a wide area (including more than one county), and it employs a manager and bookkeepers to handle all accounts and records. Modernized equipment has been or is being acquired. Headquarters of the organization may or may not be in the county. The board of directors manages the business on a more rationalized basis than do the smaller cooperatives, and the control of older members is probably less effective. The cooperative itself maintains truck routes, although in at least one instance some of the producers continue to bring their products to the plant. Between these extremes are cooperatives which retain some of the characteristics of the small locality organization, but have also acquired the characteristics of secondary organizations—they may serve a larger area, usually have employed a bookkeeper or clerk to replace the farmer secretary, or there is some other development toward a more secondary group.

Development of Public Agencies—Recent years have witnessed an increase in public agencies operating in the county. Of the present nine agencies, seven have been established since the early 1930's. Only the Extension Service and the County Public Health Nurse antedate 1930. Although the county established a sanitarium for tubercular patients in 1913 and employed a county nurse in 1916, it has never created a Department of Public Health or otherwise attempted to coordinate its public health services. The

present Welfare Department was preceded by general relief and a poor farm under the immediate direction of the County Board of Commissioners, and a child welfare program directed by a Child Welfare Board. The poor farm is still maintained, but the functions of the Child Welfare Board were assumed by the County Welfare Board in 1937. All technical matters relating to welfare are now handled by the staff of the Welfare Department. Although this agency operates according to approved welfare standards, persons receiving general relief continue to have their names printed in the County Auditor's annual report.

Informal Groups and Relationships Less Important—Informal groups are numerous, and many activities promoted by formal organizations and agencies are carried forward in the informal relationships of tavern, coffee shop, store, courthouse, village street, or county roadside conversation. Informal relationships, however, are not as important as they once were, because the informal method of attaining social objectives is no longer dominant. Social processes are more rationalized, so that socially desirable goals are now attained through formally organized groups.

Neighborhoods Less but Village-centered Communities More Important—Neighborhood groupings were formerly much more numerous and clearly defined. Neighboring now tends to center around special interests—a birthday club, a Home Demonstration club, or a church. The locality factor is secondary. Modern transportation facilities and the improved trade and service facilities of villages have led to the development of village-centered communities so that the farm people in the service area around the villages are much more concerned with "going to town" than with life in their immediate neighborhood.

Schools and School Districts Unchanged but Reorganization a Growing Issue—The rural-school district with its one-teacher school still dominates the county's educational system, and control of schools is vested primarily in the districts rather than in the county. A number of factors have operated to keep the school districts alive. Many of the district schools in Goodhue have family names and are undoubtedly symbols of prestige for some of the older and more influential families. Until recently road conditions precluded any serious consideration of consolidation. Many of the people like the convenience which the small school affords, and they also want to keep control of the school in their own hands. Others fear that consolidation might prove unsatisfactory and yet, once undertaken, would prevent a return to the small district. Still others believe the small one-teacher school provides the best education, and there are some who believe that consolidation with village schools will take their children away from the farm. It is noteworthy that among the factors which have operated to maintain the school district, one usually fails to find a locality group whose social life centers in the school.

However, decline in the enrollment of the district schools, inability to find qualified teachers, and the problem of providing high schools for farm children are factors which are forcing the people to consider school consolidation. The issue has not yet been faced directly, but there are indications that it cannot be postponed much longer. Already a number of leading farmers say that the small district school must go, but there are others who disagree.⁶⁰ The lag which exists in this matter is well emphasized by the fact that the

county's first and only consolidation of rural school districts occurred in 1917. This consolidation combined four districts largely in the Burnside township. At first the new district attempted to maintain both an elementary and high school, but after a time the high school was discontinued. The Burnside elementary school, however, is now considered one of the county's best rural institutions.

In recent years the rural schools have assumed few new functions. The only one of any importance has been that of serving as a channel by which the public health nurse contacts farm people. On the other hand, village high schools are becoming more and more important as centers of recreation and meeting places for organized groups.

Churches Are Undergoing Change—Open-country churches supported by nationality and family ties are still fairly numerous and well supported, although some have closed their doors in recent years and others are likely to do so in the near future. Moreover, the increasing importance of village social contacts appears to be attracting more and more farmers to village churches.

Nationality influence in the churches is beginning to decline, but is likely to remain strong for some time. Churches have been gradually discontinuing their foreign language services. The Swedish and Norwegian congregations appear to have gone farther than the German in this regard. A deciding factor leading to this change was the necessity of holding the younger generation who are educated for the most part in the public schools where only English is taught, and so can no longer understand the language of their parents. In the past, one of the main reasons for

⁶⁰ Since the above was written, the boards of all school districts in the county, acting under permissive legislation passed by the State Legislature in 1947, decided by a vote of 142 to 112 to undertake a survey of the schools for the purpose of making recommendations relative to school consolidation. A county survey committee has been appointed and, along with the county superintendent of education, is studying the situation and developing a plan of reorganization which will later be submitted to a vote of the citizens.

maintaining parochial schools has been to enable the oncoming generation to understand the foreign-language service of the church. With the change to an English-language service, the decline of the parochial schools was inevitable.

Role of Family Group in Organizations Significant but Declining—Even though the family group has an important role in its relationship to organized groups and institutions, there can be no doubt that family solidarity is being somewhat affected by specialization of interests according to age groups and that family members participate in organized life more and more on an individualistic basis. The Sunday schools, young people's societies, men's clubs, and women's organizations in the churches, the age group activities of the Extension Service, some of the high school extracurricular activities, the many adult special-interest groups among farmers—all are factors which tend to divide family interests.

Differential Growth of Village and Open-Country Population Related to Changes in Group Life—Many of the changes in locality groups, in schools, and in churches are closely associated with differentials in growth of township (open-country) and village or town population. The populations of 21 out of 23 townships (excluding incorporated places⁶¹) in the county had fewer people in 1940 than in 1900.⁶² The two townships which had larger populations in 1940 than in 1900 were each adjacent to urban centers,⁶³ hence their increase is probably the result of people moving into the suburbs of these places. The following tabulation classifies the 23 townships according to rates of

population change between 1900 and 1940:

| Percentage Change | Number of Townships |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| Gaining | |
| 0.0—9.9 | 1 |
| 10.0—19.9 | 1 |
| Losing | |
| 0.0—9.9 | 3 |
| 10.0—19.9 | 4 |
| 20.0—29.9 | 12 |
| 30.0 and over | 2 |

According to these figures, the population of more than half of the townships is from 20.0 to 29.9 per cent less than it was 40 years ago. Three of the townships have shown population decreases at every census date (figure 11). The decreases in a number of the townships were particularly marked in the period from 1900 to 1930.

While township populations have been declining, those of the villages and Red Wing have increased rapidly. The following tabulation gives the rates of change for the county's villages and its one town (urban), between 1900 and 1940:

| Village | Per Cent Increase |
|------------------------------|-------------------|
| Cannon Falls | 24.6 |
| Dennison ⁶⁴ | 332.0 |
| Goodhue | 99.2 |
| Kenyon | 27.3 |
| Pine Island | 25.0 |
| Wanamingo | 349.0 |
| Zumbrota | 23.9 |
| Town | |
| Red Wing | 32.4 |

The sharp contrast between township and village growth may be seen by

⁶¹ By the use of Dun and Bradstreet data, places incorporated since 1900 were followed back to that date.

⁶² A township population exclusive of incorporated places is not entirely rural farm but a large percentage of it is. In 1940 only 12.1 per cent of the rural nonfarm population of Goodhue County was outside of incorporated villages.

⁶³ Red Wing in Goodhue County and Lake City in Wabasha County.

⁶⁴ Includes part in Rice County.

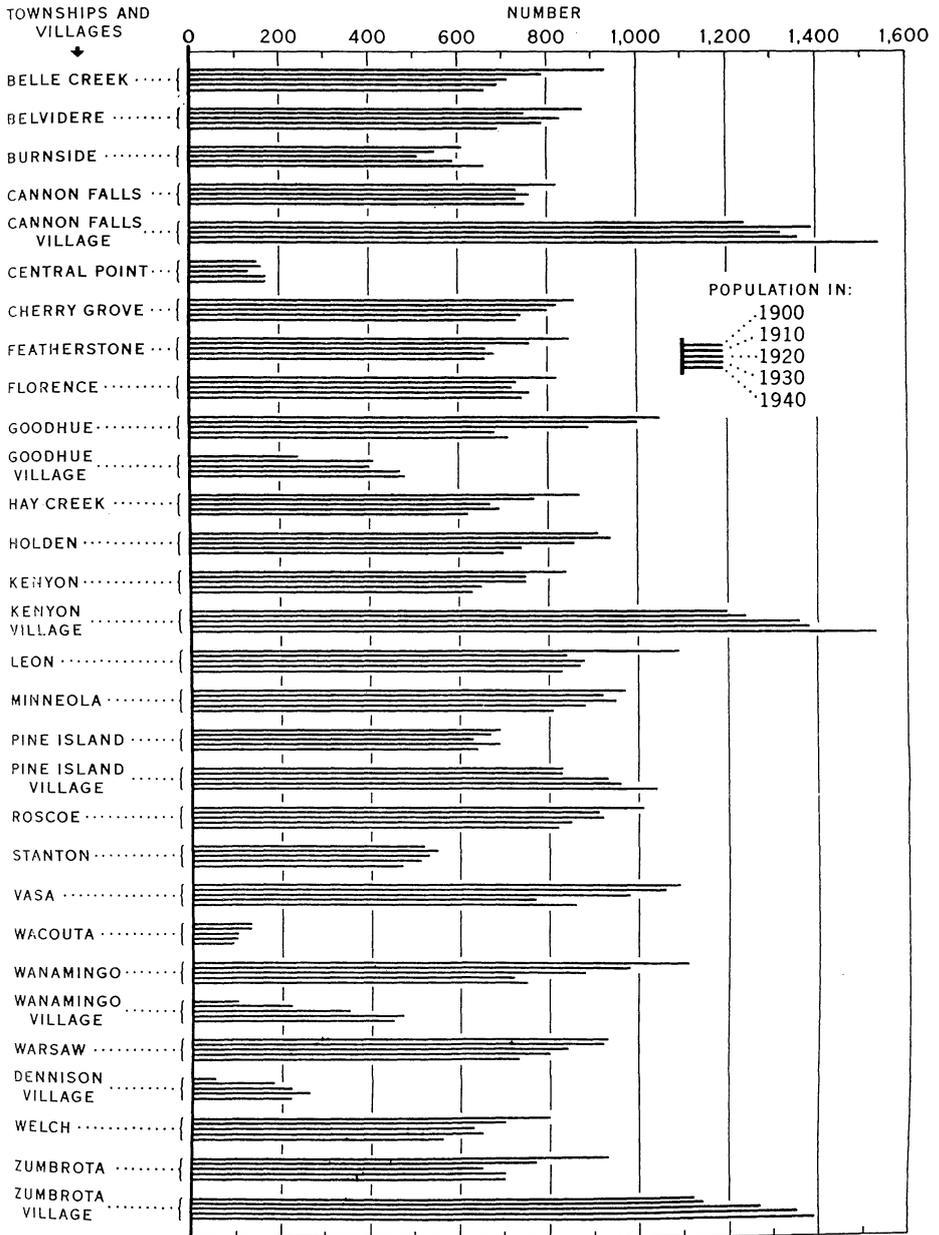


FIG. 11. Population of townships and villages, 1900-1940

According to a strict population definition, Dennison would be classified as a hamlet, but for the purpose of simplifying the presentation, it has been classified as a village in this chart.

comparing the population graphs of the villages with the townships in which they are located (figure 11). Four of the village graphs are characterized by long-time continuous rises. While two of the villages lost population between 1930 and 1940 and one showed only a small increase, at least three villages had marked increases. Red Wing has also shown a marked growth, losing population in only one decade.

The steady decline of the open-country population is probably reflected in the decline of some of the open-country churches. Also a direct result of population decline are the many rural schools with small enrollments. On the other hand, the marked growth of the county's villages has made and is continuing to make these villages the nuclei of communities in which village and farm people are coming to realize a more complete integration of their in-

terests. Better equipped institutions, i.e., schools and churches, are in the process of being developed in the villages. Such institutions are drawing people from the rural areas where the low density of the population is often a handicap to the maintenance of adequate schools and churches. This is facilitating the integration of village and farm people into one community. Already each village has a number of organizations, besides schools and churches, in which both the farm and village people are participating. As a result of village growth and the fact that the villages are becoming the nuclei of village-farm communities, leaders in some of the villages show considerable enthusiasm about the role which their villages are playing in the county. Furthermore, the villages constitute the major source of membership for several county-wide organizations.

8. *Factors Affecting Participation*

PARTICIPATION in group life is conditioned by such factors as climate, work cycles, ethnic composition of the population, income, farming ability, tenure, attitudes, values, and institutions. This section of the study examines the relationships of these factors to participation in various types of organization found in Goodhue County.

Climatic and Work Cycles as Factors in Participation—The location of Goodhue County near the 45° north latitude means that the seasons are well marked and the range between high and low temperatures is great. The winters are moderately severe, with subfreezing temperatures common as early as September and as late as May. December, January, February, and March are characterized by frequent sub-zero temperatures with heavy snows.

Agricultural activity articulates with the climatic cycles. Dairying, which is the dominant type in Goodhue County, makes somewhat continuous and uniform labor demands on the farmer. Even so, seasonal variations in labor requirements result if farmers attempt to produce their own feed, as is the case in the county (figure 12). During the winter and far into the spring, when cows must be kept in the barn, feeding and cleaning require on the average about six hours per day. The farmer's dairy activities decrease during the late spring, summer, and early fall, but crops require large out-lays of time. During these seasons, farm women are especially busy with young chickens, gardening, and canning.

Just as the work cycle of the people articulates with the seasons, so their social and organizational activities respond to both. Except for the churches,

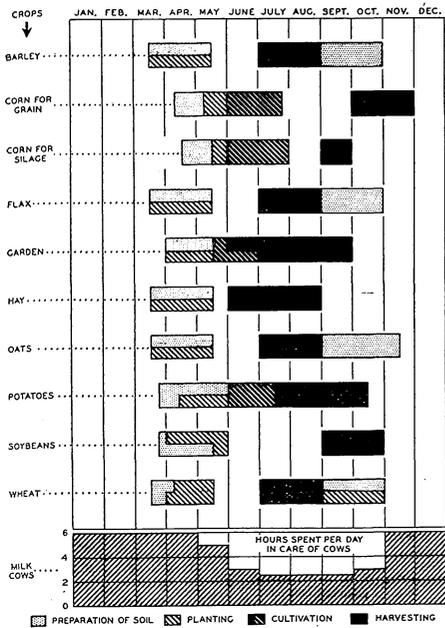


FIG. 12. Work cycle of Goodhue County farmers

This figure was prepared with the assistance of one of the county Soil Conservation Service technicians. The data which were used for guidance in making the chart, were obtained from a small sample of farmers who were enrolled in an evening class at the Red Wing High School. The same group of farmers also gave general information concerning their year-round work with beef cattle, hogs, sheep, horses, and chickens. Of those reporting work with these classes of livestock, most reported labor in-put for hogs and chickens throughout the year, with peak loads in the spring. Beef cattle and sheep also required year-round work in some instances. Although not as much attention was required by the beef cattle and sheep in the summer, considerable work had to be done for them in the spring, especially for the sheep. Horses required year-round care, according to most of the farmers who reported on them.

social and organized activities tend to decline during the heavy working period of spring, summer, and early fall. Home Demonstration project groups are discontinued during the summer. Very few of the township Farm Bureau organizations meet in August, and several have no meeting in July. Annual meetings of cooperatives, except those of the grain elevators which are

held in June, are scheduled for the less active months of winter. However, not all organizational activities are discontinued during the summer. The churches consider this season an important period of activity; many of the churches hold summer schools for their children. The county fair is held in August, the 4-H club camp in June, the Home Demonstration camp for women in June, and many organizations have picnics during the summer months.

When farmers have more time for group activities, however, weather conditions are unfavorable for meetings. There can be little doubt that the severe winters affect the smooth running of organizations and participation in them. Many of the open-country churches discontinue their Sunday schools from Christmas until around the first of April. With the advent of improved roads and the use of snowplows, the closing of the Sunday school is beginning to be less of a necessity and more often a matter of custom. Despite the weather, many of the people are very loyal to their organizations, and only impassable roads prevent their attendance at meetings. As one of their ministers described them, "Cold weather doesn't stop them, it's only the snow that does."

The Ethnic Factor in Participation—

Nationality groups have always been prominent in Goodhue County and these groups might be expected to show some variation in their participation in formal organizations. At the first U. S. census (1860) after the county was organized, 36.4 per cent of the population was foreign-born; and at each of the two succeeding census dates, over 40 per cent of the population was of foreign birth. A state census taken in 1905 is the earliest record listing the foreign-born population of the county by country of birth.⁵⁵ The percentage distribution of the total foreign-born

⁵⁵ Fifth Decennial Census of Minnesota, McGill-Warner Co., St. Paul, 1905.

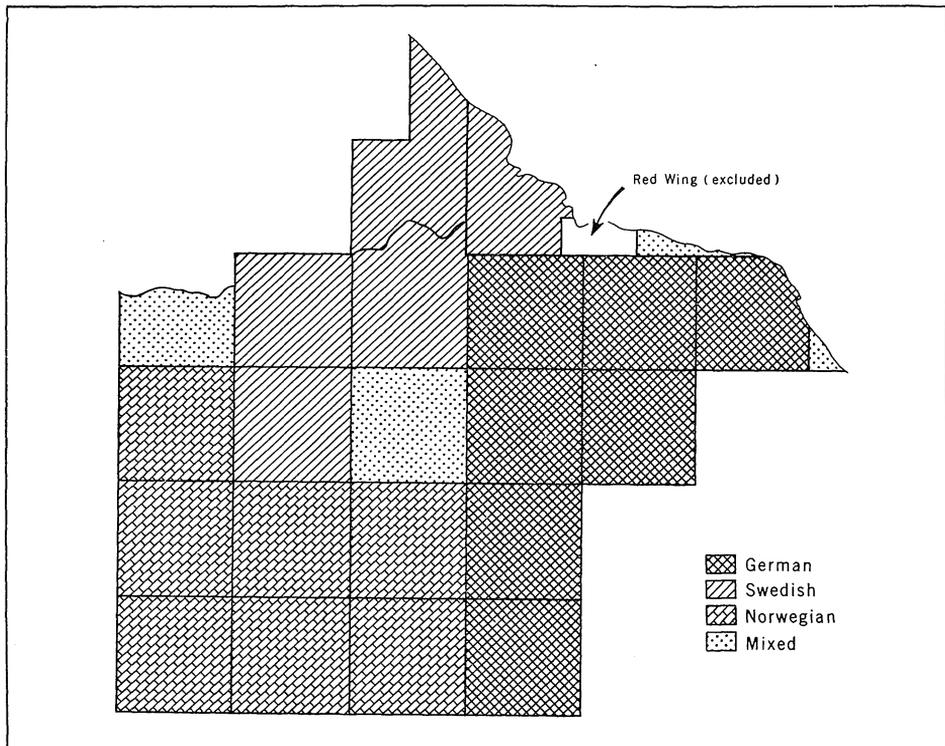


FIG. 13. Dominant nationality according to townships, 1947

according to country of birth for this 1905 census was as follows.⁵⁶

| | Per Cent |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| Sweden | 36.2 |
| Norway | 34.8 |
| Germany | 21.1 |
| Ireland | 2.0 |
| Canada | 1.8 |
| Denmark | 1.4 |
| England | 1.1 |
| Scotland | 0.3 |
| Bohemia | 0.1 |
| Poland | 0.1 |
| Finland | 0.1 |
| All other countries | 1.2 |

These data, however, are for foreign-born persons and can only be considered as indicative of the relative number of these stocks in the population. The figures agree with the commonly recognized situation today; namely, that the Swedish, Norwegians, and Germans constitute the dominant nationality groups. Figure 13 shows the townships of the county according to dominant nationality background in 1947.⁵⁷ The figure emphasizes the large contiguous areas in which Swedes, or Norwegians, or Germans are the predominant group.

On the whole, the formal organizations of the county show no marked

⁵⁶ In 1905, 26.7 per cent of the county's total population was foreign-born.

⁵⁷ With 1905 data as a guide, the county agent and several other leaders in the county helped prepare this map. When there was some doubt regarding the ethnic classification of a township, family names appearing on the personal property tax list were classified according to nationality, and a count was made of the families in each nationality group.

differentials with respect to their ethnic composition. Since the membership of the Farm Bureau is fairly large and is organized by townships, it provides a good opportunity for relating extent of membership to ethnic composition of the population. The map (figure 14) presents by townships the percentage of farm operators who are members of the Farm Bureau. Comparison of this map with figure 13 reveals no very significant relationship between extent of membership and dominant ethnic group. When considered as a whole, however, the townships in which Norwegians predominate show a slight tendency to have lower percentages of farmers who are Farm Bureau members. There is no dominant ethnic group in the populations of the two town-

ships which have the highest proportions of farmers in the Bureau.

The geographic distribution of the membership of the newly organized Goodhue Cooperative Breeding Association shows that the two townships which rank first and third in the percentage of their farmers who are members of the Association have populations predominantly Swedish in ancestry; a German township ranked second in this respect. People of Norwegian background are the dominant group in the seven townships which have the lowest proportions of their farmers with memberships in the Association; five of these townships also constitute the group having the smallest number of members. However, the townships with large Norwegian popu-

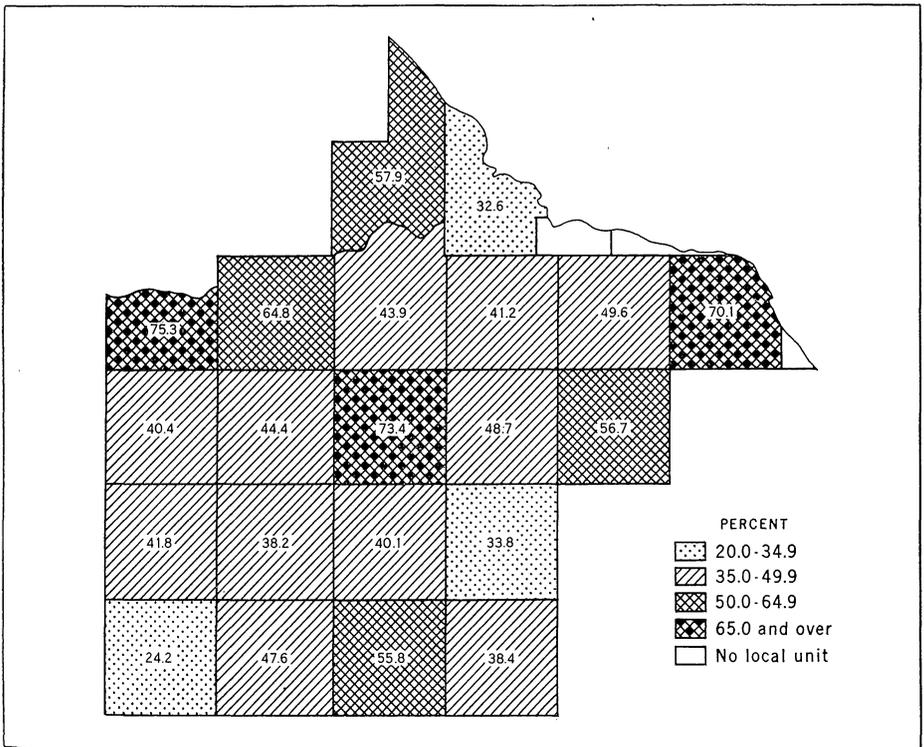


FIG. 14. Percentage of farm operators who are members of Farm Bureau, 1946

lations are the ones in which dairying is the most extensive. Thus, three of the predominantly Norwegian townships rank first, second, and third in the percentage of the county's total number of milk cows. The Norwegian townships are somewhat distant from the county seat which, primarily because the Extension Service Office is located there, served as the center of organizing activities for the Breeding Association. This distance was undoubtedly a limiting factor in their interest in the new organization, although factors associated with nationality characteristics may also have kept them from becoming members.

There is some slight indication that the dominantly Norwegian townships do not, as a whole, rank as high in the proportion of their farmers who are SCS cooperators as do townships that are predominantly German or Swedish. However, the differences do not appear to be significant. Furthermore, the Norwegian townships make up a large portion of a soil conservation district that was organized two years after the county's other two districts were formed. Of course, the delay in organizing the district may have been related to the more deliberate Norwegian attitudes toward innovations; on the other hand, the lag was more probably the result of less critical problems of soil erosion in their section of the country.

Ethnic influences are more deeply rooted in the churches than in other organized groups. (See section 7 of this bulletin for discussion of decline in this influence.) Church memberships follow closely nationalistic lines. Indeed, so prominent have been the nationalistic backgrounds of the Lutheran churches that they are customarily referred to by local people as Norwegian Lutheran, Swedish Lutheran, or German Lutheran. In his "History of Goodhue County" (published in 1935) C. A. Rasmussen gives a list of "Present Day Churches," including the follow-

ing classifications: English Lutheran, German Lutheran, Norwegian Lutheran, Swedish Lutheran, and Swedish Mission. The rest of his classification consists of denominational titles without any nationality reference; i.e., Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, etc.

Relationship of Income, Tenure, and Status as a Farmer to Participation—

A relatively large proportion of the farmers in Goodhue County have good incomes and enjoy fairly high levels of living. Consequently, most of them have a sense of equality that tends to prevent marked differentials in group participation. In none of the farm organizations does any one income group seem to dominate, unless it is the large middle income group.

The county agent states that the better farmers are the ones who are most interested in Extension activities. It is the opinion of SCS personnel that a large percentage of their cooperators are farmers who make average incomes and have moderate problems of conservation. Farmers on extremely poor land or on the best land tend to be somewhat indifferent.

Most farm organizations have both owners and renters in their memberships. Although an organization such as the County Home and Community Committee, which is the county-wide leadership group for Home Demonstration activities, draws a majority of its members from owner families, generally tenure appears to exert no great influence on participation.

Attitudes, Values, and Institutions as Factors in Participation—

The organizations of Goodhue County provide several examples of the importance of attitudes, values, and institutions as factors affecting participation. Underlying the extensive organization of cooperatives, one might expect to find certain fundamental beliefs. It is not easy, however, to discover just what

these beliefs are. There is very little philosophy of cooperation in the sense of clearly defined theories. The farmers will say that they formed their cooperatives in self-defense, to eliminate the middle man, or to defend themselves against sharp-dealing buyers. Perhaps the best way to summarize their attitudes toward cooperatives is to say that they believe in getting together to protect and promote their own interests. Underlying this belief is the conviction that one's destiny is in his own hands if he wishes to do something about it. The cooperative is an organizational technique that fits their needs; they have learned how to manipulate it; and they are not doctrinaire about it.

The people show greater devotion to the church than to any other organization. This is especially true of farm people who are members of open-country churches. It is impossible to unravel and evaluate the strands of the cord of devotion which binds the people to this institution. The most we can do is to enumerate a few of these strands, which include family ties, ethnic traditions, satisfactory social experiences that for many years could nowhere else be met, and deeply rooted religious convictions directed toward church loyalty.

The type of educational organization which exists in the county is also supported by deeply rooted attitudes or values. Despite its many disadvantages as an effective educational instrument, the small, one-teacher district school has been able to survive because the people place a high value on direct participation in the management of their educational affairs. For many of them the district school stands as the last symbol of local self-determination. There are also sentimental attachments to these schools, arising from the fact that a number of them bear the names of prominent families or are the places where several generations of the same family have gone to school.

The differential that exists between the county's urban and farm youth in high school attendance seems to be associated with both attitudinal and institutional factors. The high school attendance of farm youth is low. Of rural-farm boys 16 to 17 years old, which is the age group from which high schools should be expected to draw a large number of students, only 42.4 per cent of the farm youth were in school in 1940. In the urban population of the county, 59.4 per cent of this age group were attending school. The record for rural-farm girls 16 to 17 years of age showed 62.8 per cent enrolled, which was better than that of either farm or urban boys. Even so, the percentage (80.3) of urban girls 16 to 17 years old in school was considerably above that of farm girls of these ages.

The attitude of self-sufficiency which characterizes some of the farmers has undoubtedly kept many boys out of high school. Farming in Goodhue County has evolved into a highly technical occupation. In 1945, three-fourths of the farms had tractors on them; in addition many of them have other modern machinery: corn pickers, hay loaders, combines, manure spreaders, and milking machines, as well as other mechanical equipment for barns. Dairy farming demands a knowledge of animal husbandry. Problems of breeding, feeding, and diseases require considerable technical information if a farmer is to be successful. Although there are still a number of farmers who are not very well informed on the best long-time soil conservation practices, most of them possess enough of the "know how" of farming to be proud of it. In fact, some of them believe so thoroughly in their attainment in the technical skills of farming that they undoubtedly tend to minimize the value of high school education for their sons, believing that a boy can learn to make a living on the farm much better than he can by attending high school.

If farm boys and girls attend high school, they must go to the village or town high schools which are not a part of the rural school system and over which their parents have no control. The absence of well established institutional patterns whereby farm boys and girls may easily pass from

elementary to high school is another factor which keeps these boys and girls out of school. Additional reasons include the actual, as well as imagined, difficulties which farm youth face in adjusting to the environment of the village or town high school.

9. *Organizational Relationships*

Relationships of Formally Organized Groups

Table 5 indicates the relationships that exist among 18 of 24 organizations which are county-wide in scope. Three of the 18 organizations, namely the Farm Bureau Federation, 4-H clubs, and Home Demonstration organizations, are really groups of organizations, since they include a number of local units. All five of the general county-wide farm organizations are included.⁵⁸

The Farm Bureau, Home Demonstration organizations, and 4-H clubs surpass all others in the number of groups with which some type of relationship exists from time to time. The number of relationships maintained by these three organizations is augmented by their cooperation with each other. This situation results because these groups are associated with the Extension Service and are utilized by the Service as channels for education and community service projects.

Two service projects account in a large way for the number of cooperative relationships of the Farm Bureau, the Home Demonstration organizations, and the 4-H Clubs. These projects are a county-wide farm safety program and the rural health clinics. Cooperating in the safety program are the Farm Bureau, the 4-H Clubs, and the Red Wing Safety Council (not listed in the

table). The Extension Service and the public schools also participate in this program. The rural health clinics are sponsored by the Farm Bureau, the Home and Community Committee of the Home Demonstration organizations, the County Health Association, the County Medical Society, and the County Medical Auxiliary. The County Public Health Nurse, the Extension Service, and the public schools are also participants in this project.

Eight, or four-ninths of the organizations, have no relationships with any of the others. Indeed, if the table excluded the farm organizations which are associated with the Extension Service, there would be almost no relationships among these formally organized groups which are county-wide in scope.

While organizational relationships in the county are generally cooperative, there are some conflict situations. The more "strictly business" cooperatives probably represent the most important area of organizational conflict, because the competition between the smaller and larger cooperatives has sometimes created antagonistic feelings. Leaders in some of the smaller organizations are critical of the intrusion of the larger enterprises. Indications are, however, that the larger organizations will eventually absorb the smaller ones. Improved transportation facilities and the requirements of economic opera-

⁵⁸ No treatment of the relationships of organizations within the same village or town is undertaken here. In some instances there is a considerable amount of cooperative activity among these groups.

Table 5. Interrelationship of Formally Organized Groups*

| Organizations | County Chapter, National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis | County Coop. Breeders Assn. | County Coop. Electric Assn. | County Crop Improvement Assn. | County Farm Bureau Federation | County Health Association | County Historical Society | County Holstein Breeders Assn. | County Horticultural Society | County Medical Auxiliary | County Medical Society | County Red Cross Chapter | County Veterans Service Committee | Four-H Organizations | Home Demonstration Organizations | Rural Youth | Township Officers Assn. | United Farmers of America |
|---|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| County Chapter of National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| County Cooperative Breeders Association | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| County Cooperative Electric Association | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| County Crop Improvement Association | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| County Farm Bureau Federation | | X | | | X | | | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | | |
| County Health Association..... | | | | | X | | | | X | X | | | | | X | | | |
| County Historical Society..... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| County Holstein Breeders Association | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| County Horticultural Society..... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| County Medical Auxiliary..... | | | | | X | X | | | | X | | | | | | X | | |
| County Medical Society..... | | | | | X | X | | | X | | | | | | | X | | |
| County Red Cross Chapter..... | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| County Veterans Service Committee | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Four-H Organizations | | | | X | | | X | | | | | | | | | X | X | |
| Home Demonstration Organizations | | | | | X | X | | | X | X | X | | X | | X | | X | |
| Rural Youth | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | |
| Township Officers Association | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| United Farmers of America | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

* While all relationships among these organizations may not have been ascertained by the investigator, it is believed that the data presented here are a fair approximation of the situation for the period of about two years preceding the field work.

tion are forcing the smaller enterprises to consolidate. Only the strong ties of long-established, intimate groups prevent the more rapid absorption of the smaller organizations.

A sharp conflict arose recently between two local consumer cooperatives which are associated with larger outside organizations. The conflict threatened to cause serious differences among some of the leading farmers of the county until the mediation of the county agent led to a peaceful solution.

Relationship of Public Agencies to Each Other and to Formally Organized Groups

Table 6 summarizes agency-to-agency and agency-to-organization relationships.⁵⁰ No attempt is made to indicate the character of the relationships which sometimes are of a well established, customary nature. In other instances, the relationship involves little more than an occasional speech by an agency representative at a meeting of an organization. Like table 5, this table presents the incidence of relationships but shows nothing of their character. On the basis of number of relationships, with individual organizations and classes of organizations, the Extension Service ranks highest, with 27. Next is a group including the Public Health Nurse, the Veterans Service Office, SCS, Welfare Department, and FHA, with 10 to 14 relationships. A third group consists of the Minnesota Employment Service, the Weed Inspector, and the PMA, which have from 6 to 7 relationships.

Agricultural Agencies

Extension Service—Table 6 shows that the Extension Service is much more deeply enmeshed in the organized life of the county than is any other

public agency. For this reason, its relationship to organized groups and agencies will be described in detail. The chart (figure 15) on page 77 shows the organizations and agencies with which the Service maintains some type of relationship. These organizations and agencies fall into two major classes: (1) agricultural and (2) non-agricultural. The former can be further subdivided into extension service organizations and nonextension service organizations and agencies. On the chart, nonagricultural organizations and agencies have been divided into organizations and agencies, as have the nonextension service organizations and agencies. There are two groups of extension service organizations: (1) planning and administrative, and (2) educational.

The extension organizations are in a very real sense instruments of the County Extension Service. Most of them were organized by that agency, or if not organized, have been maintained and developed by it as instruments for reaching farm people. For example, the Farm Bureau, which is the legal sponsor of the Extension Service, operates independently in the performance of some of its functions, but the Bureau is greatly dependent on the extension staff for advice in organizational matters and for the planning of its educational activities.

The planning and administrative bodies listed in the first column of figure 15 are concerned with employment of extension personnel and with planning and reviewing programs. The more important of these units are the County Cooperative Extension Committee, the Farm Bureau Board of Directors, the Home and Community Committee, and the County 4-H Council. The organizations appearing in the second column are the primary channels through which the Extension Serv-

⁵⁰ In several instances classes of organizations rather than specific organizations are listed in table 6.

Table 6. Relationships of Agencies to Each Other and to Organized Groups*

| | Agricultural Extension Service | FHA | Minn. Employment Service | PMA (ACP) | Public Health Nurse (County) | SCS | Veterans Service Office | Weed Inspector (County) | Welfare Department |
|---|--------------------------------|-----|--------------------------|-----------|------------------------------|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| AGENCIES | | | | | | | | | |
| Agricultural Extension Service..... | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Farmers' Home Administration..... | X | | | X | X | X | | | X |
| Minnesota Employment Service..... | X | | | | | | X | | X |
| Production and Marketing Adm. (Agricultural Conservation Program)..... | X | X | | | | X | X | X | |
| Public Health Nurse (County)..... | X | X | | | | | X | | X |
| Soil Conservation Service..... | X | X | | X | | | | X | |
| Veterans Service Office..... | X | | X | X | X | | | | X |
| Weed Officer (County)..... | X | | | X | | X | | | |
| Welfare Department..... | X | X | X | | X | | X | | |
| FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS | | | | | | | | | |
| Commercial Clubs (Villages and Red Wing)..... | | | | | | | | | |
| | X | | | | | X | X | | |
| Cooperative Breeders Assn. (County)..... | X | X | | | | X | | | |
| Cooperatives (Cheese factory, consumer, creamery, credit, elevator, and service)..... | X | X | X | | | | | X | |
| Crop Improvement Assn. (County)†..... | X | | | | | | | | X |
| Dairy Herd Improvement Assns. (3)..... | X | | | | | | | | |
| Farm Bureau..... | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Four-H Organizations..... | X | X | | | X | X | | X | |
| Health Association (County)..... | X | | | | X | | | | |
| Holstein Breeders Association..... | X | | | | | | | | |
| Home Demonstration Organizations..... | X | X | | | X | | | | |
| Izaak Walton Leagues..... | X | | | | | X | X | | |
| Kiwanis Club of Red Wing..... | X | | X | | | X | | | X |
| League of Women Voters of Red Wing..... | X | | | | | | | | |
| Medical Auxiliary (County)..... | X | | | | X | | | | |
| Medical Society (County)..... | X | | | | X | | | | |
| National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis (County Chapter)..... | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | X | | X | | X |
| PTA's in Red Wing..... | X | | | | X | X | X | | |
| Red Cross (County Chapter)..... | X | | | | X | | X | | X |
| Red Wing Safety Council..... | X | | | | X | | | | |
| Sportsmen's Club..... | | | | | | X | | | |
| Veterans Organizations (Legion, DAV, VFW)..... | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | X | | | | X | | X |
| Veterans Service Committee (County)..... | X | | X | | | | X | | |

* For the most part, relationships of agencies arising principally from war-time activities have been excluded from this table. If these had been included, the number of relationships for some agencies, particularly the PMA, would have been somewhat larger. In a number of instances, relationships are indicated for classes of organizations. In these cases, any one agency's relationships seldom include all the organizations in a given class.

† Organized in March, 1947, the Crop Improvement Association replaced the County Crop Committee. The relationships indicated in the table were principally with the old Crop Committee.

ice carries on its educational activities. Under the leadership of the Extension staff, these groups also provide recreational activities for farm people and serve as mediums through which these people can render services to their communities.

There is a somewhat tenuous line of demarkation between the planning and administrative organizations and those serving as primary educational channels. The Home and Community Committee is not only a planning group but also serves as an educational channel. While the 4-H Club Federation functions primarily in an educational capacity, it also helps with planning the county's 4-H program. Although the newly organized County Crop Improvement Association⁹⁰ expects to operate principally as a planning and administrative body in connection with certified seed production, it will almost inevitably acquire certain educational functions.

The organizations classified as non-extension serve as secondary educational channels. Although the county agent actively assisted in organizing both the Cooperative Breeders Association, the Holstein Breeders Association, and the Goodhue County Cooperative Electrical Association, none of these organizations can be considered a primary educational channel for extension education. For the most part contacts with the nonextension groups are casual, usually through talks made by the county agent at annual meetings or by way of advice given by the agent concerning organizational problems.

The fourth column lists the county's agricultural agencies with which the Extension Service maintains some type

of relationship.⁹¹ Fairly close relationships exist between the Extension Service, the SCS, and the PMA; but those with the FHA are not very important. The county agent maintains informal relationships with the teachers of vocational agriculture, sometimes participating in their classes, at other times planning activities with them. The county weed inspector has received considerable assistance from the Extension Service in promoting weed control. The county agent sponsors an informal agricultural council which includes representatives of the PMA, FHA, SCS, the Goodhue County Co-operative Electric Association, and the teachers of vocational agriculture. The council meets once a year to discuss common problems and to review programs and accomplishments of the agencies.⁹²

There are a number of nonagricultural organizations with which the Extension Service works from time to time. (See figure 15, column V.) Relationships with these organizations involve either cooperation with Extension in broad community enterprises that concern farm people, or the sponsorship by these groups of an organization or special activity in which the Extension Service is interested.⁹³

According to the chart (figure 15) there are four nonagricultural agencies with which the Extension Service sometimes cooperates. With one of these agencies the cooperation has been on a county-wide project involving farm people. The relationships with the other three agencies include consultation on common problems and participation of agency personnel at meetings of organizations sponsored by Extension.

⁹⁰ This organization was formed in March, 1947, to replace the County Crop Committee.

⁹¹ Included in the list are groups and individuals that can hardly be considered agricultural agencies. Strictly defined, the high school agricultural departments are not agencies, the veterans' agricultural teachers are only so many individuals, and the agricultural council is only a conference group that meets once a year. Despite such discrepancies, it was considered feasible to classify these groups and individuals as agencies.

⁹² The agricultural agencies which are affiliated with the USDA are nominally members of a USDA County Council, but this Council is inactive.

⁹³ The Red Wing PTA's do not come under either of these types of relationships, but are included because the home demonstration agent has done educational work with several of the town's PTA groups.

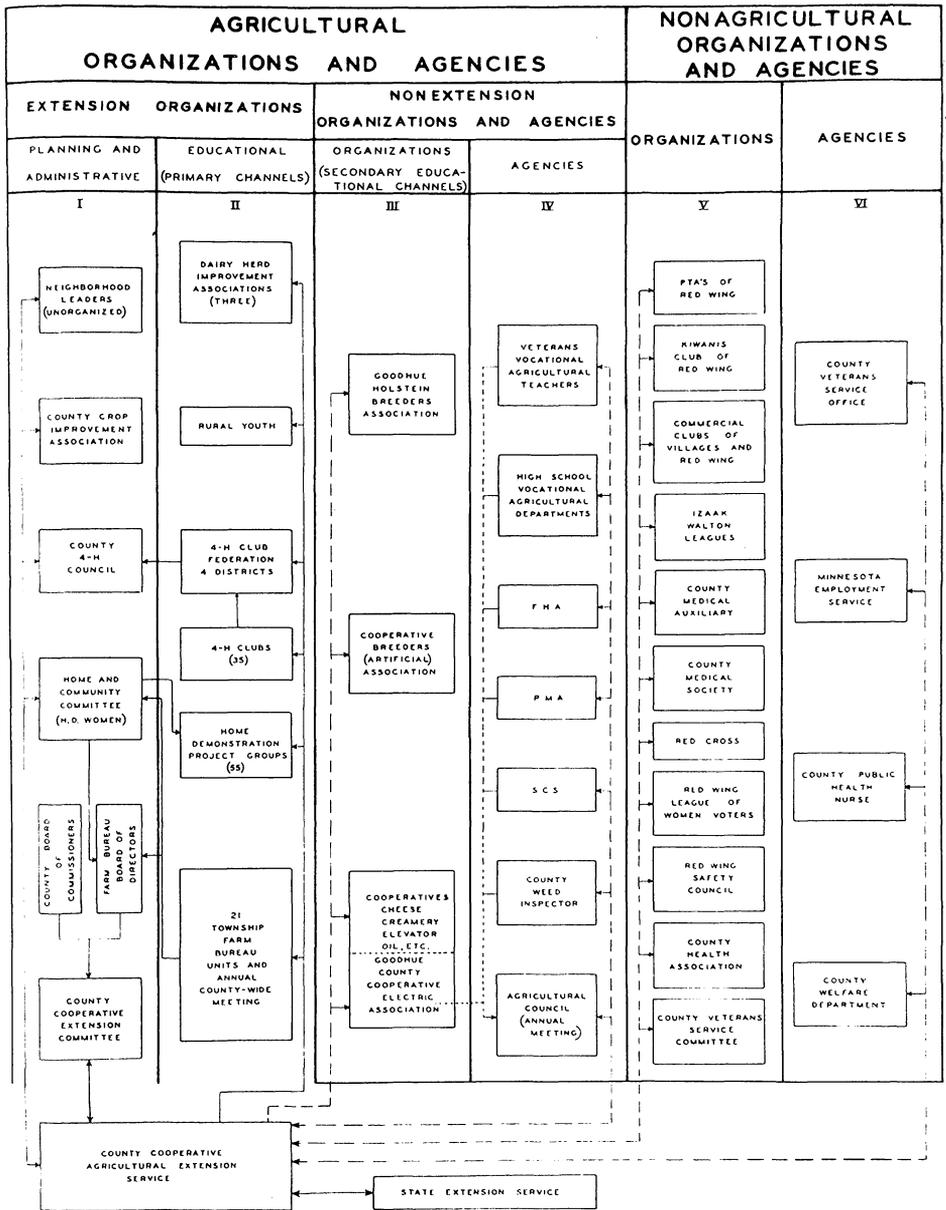


FIG. 15. Goodhue County Cooperative Extension Service and organizations and agencies with which it cooperates

Since the Extension Service has cooperative relationships with some of the churches and with the public schools, these institutions might very well have been included in this chart. They were omitted because their relationship to agencies and formally-organized groups are treated in another part of this section.

Soil Conservation Service—The SCS has its district supervisory boards which serve in an advisory capacity, but its general educational work is done primarily through existing organizations. Most of the agency's personnel consider it better to spend their time with the individual farmer, rather than in maintaining formally organized groups. Nevertheless, the agency does attempt some group work, such as conservation days and demonstration meetings. Personnel of the agency frequently speak at Farm Bureau meetings, and sometimes appear on the programs of 4-H clubs, sportsmen's clubs, and Izaak Walton leagues. Occasional contacts with three other organizations were also reported. The agency has some type of relationship with each of the other four agricultural agencies.

Production and Marketing Administration—The PMA operates principally through its county and community committees. It makes no effort to utilize other organized groups for educational purposes, though the Farm Bureau concerns itself to some extent with the agency's program. The Extension Service and the SCS work closely with this agency. It has also had some relationships with the FHA, County Weed Inspector, and Veterans Service office.

Farmers Home Administration—The FHA operates principally through its county committee and has never attempted to create any formal organizations through which to work with its clients. At annual meetings of the borrowers the past years' activities are reviewed and plans made for the coming year. The agency reported occasional contacts with such organizations as a credit cooperative, the Goodhue County Cooperative Breeders Association, Farm Bureau, 4-H clubs, and Home Demonstration organizations. Members of the

staff undertake to interest their clients in farm organizations and sometimes attend or speak at meetings of such groups. Although contacts are maintained with five other agencies, none of these contacts is especially significant.

County Weed Inspector—The Extension Service works closely with the Weed Inspector, as does the PMA and, to a lesser extent, the SCS. In the performance of his functions, the Inspector maintains contacts with such organized groups as the Farm Bureau, 4-H clubs, service (consumer) cooperatives, and the County Crop Committee.⁶⁴

Nonagricultural Agencies

Welfare Department—A part of the Welfare Department's organization is the County Welfare Board. This Board serves the professional staff in an advisory and policy making capacity. From time to time the Department works on common problems with such local agencies as the Minnesota Employment Service, the County Extension Service, the county nurse, the Veterans Service Office, the FHA, and the courts. It also makes local investigations for, or otherwise assists, outside agencies such as state institutions, the State Veterans Service, and child placement agencies. Occasionally the head of the Welfare Department speaks at a Farm Bureau meeting where he explains the agency's program. The agency has also had working relationships with other organizations, including the Red Cross, American Legion, Red Wing Kiwanis Club, and County Chapter of the Infantile Paralysis Foundation.

County Public Health Nurse—The Extension Service cooperates with the county nurse in promoting the rural health clinics, and the nurse helps the Extension Service in its health program

⁶⁴ This committee is now extinct, having been replaced in March, 1947, by the Goodhue County Crop Improvement Association.

for 4-H clubs. In addition, the public health nurse occasionally works with such other agencies as the Welfare Department, the Veterans Service Office, and the FHA.

The County Health Association is the principal organized group with which the county nurse works. This organization helps finance the salary of a clerk for the nurse and also provides her with an advisory committee. The Farm Bureau, the Home and Community Committee, the County Health Association, the County Medical Society, and the County Medical Auxiliary cooperate with the nurse and Extension Service in promoting the rural health clinics. The nurse is active in the Red Cross and works closely with the county chapter of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. She also does some work with the PTA and Safety Council in Red Wing.

Veterans Service Office—The Veterans Service Office has established working relationships with the county office of the Minnesota Employment Service, the County Welfare Department, the Public Health Nurse, the Extension Service, the PMA, and the State Veterans Administration. Contacts of varying significance have also been made with a number of organized groups, such as veterans organizations, commercial clubs, County Veterans Service Committee, Red Cross, PTA in Red Wing, Izaak Walton leagues, Infantile Paralysis Foundation, and Farm Bureau. Some of these contacts were for the purpose of discussing veterans' problems, others for planning how to serve veterans, and still others for providing specific services for veterans.

Minnesota Employment Service—The Employment office cooperates with the Extension Service in handling farm labor problems, and the County Veterans Service Office refers veterans with employment problems to the Employment Service. The agency sometimes

works with the Welfare Department on problems relating to the employment of the latter's clients or applicants for assistance. The agency has also had occasion to work with other organized groups including cooperatives, Red Wing Kiwanis Club, County Veterans Service Committee, and veterans organizations. It was under the leadership of the Employment Service that the County Veterans Service Committee was organized.

Relationships of Informal Groups to Formal Organizations and Agencies

Recreational activities sponsored by agencies and formal organizations have resulted in numerous informal crowds and groups. These recreational groups and the important role which informal personal contacts play in the activities of formal organizations and certain of the public agencies have already been discussed in detail in section 6.

Natural, informal neighborhood groups, which were already in existence, have not often been consciously utilized by agencies or formal organizations. During the war the Extension Service set up a system of neighborhood leaders, but for the most part these persons represented arbitrarily defined areas rather than natural neighborhoods. Because the Extension Service has followed a policy of organizing Home Demonstration and 4-H clubs wherever possible, irrespective of township boundaries, some of these organizations have been formed on the basis of neighborhoods. (See page 82) There can be no doubt that a number of cooperatives were first formed on the basis of the informal relationships of a small locality group, and some of these organizations are still held together by bonds of this kind.

Relationships of Institutions to Each Other, to Formally Organized Groups, and to Agencies

School

Not many organizations use the rural school buildings as a place for meetings. The schools clear agreements by parents to have their children attend the rural health clinics jointly sponsored by the Public Health Nurse, Extension Service, Farm Bureau, Home and Community Committee, County Health Association, County Medical Society, and County Medical Auxiliary. The county superintendent of schools and the rural school teachers cooperate with the Extension Service, Farm Bureau, 4-H clubs, and Red Wing Safety Council in promoting a county-wide program of farm and home safety. In alternate years the Public Health Nurse conducts eye and ear examinations in the schools.

The village high schools are used fairly frequently as meeting places by organizations of farm people. Their bands and basketball and football teams have made them important recreational centers for both village and farm people. In connection with employment and educational problems of veterans, staff members of some of the high schools work with the Red Wing officer of the State Employment Service and the County Veterans Service Office. The County Welfare Department sometimes deals with the schools in handling welfare problems. To a limited extent, the SCS has utilized the public schools as a channel for its educational work. Members of the SCS staff and the FHA supervisor have occasionally served as resource persons in the agricultural classes offering on-the-job training for veterans.

Church

The sacred and secular tend to be separated in the organized life of Goodhue County. This separation results from two factors: (1) an accommodation whereby people with markedly varying religious beliefs can function together in secular organizations, and (2) a strong belief held by some that affairs of the church and state should be kept separate. While a few of the 4-H clubs have their memberships confined largely to one church, none of the clubs meets in a church building and only occasionally have pastors actively encouraged their formation. Religious ritual is seldom introduced at meetings of secular organizations. Some church buildings are used for meetings by secular organizations—one Farm Bureau unit meets in the basement of a Methodist church and the Rural Youth group has held its annual banquet in a Lutheran Church in Red Wing. The practice is not widespread, however, and may be frowned upon when attempted. Now and then a minister speaks at a 4-H club, a Farm Bureau meeting, or a farm women's meeting. In the villages and at Red Wing ministers sometimes appear at civic clubs, memorial occasions, and other gatherings of this nature. The village high schools usually have a baccalaureate service at which various ministers speak, but these services are generally held in a public building other than the church.

However, in some of the rural schools the teaching of religion is an accepted practice. In such instances all of the pupils are usually of one faith, so that no objection is raised by either church, school officials, or parents. Furthermore, the summer church schools are sometimes held in the rural school buildings.

Public agencies make no great effort to extend their services through the churches, and they would probably meet with resistance if they attempted

to do so. The personnel of the SCS has utilized personal contacts to interest ministers in soil conservation. One SCS worker has taken a group of ministers on a conservation tour. Sometimes the Extension Service contacts ministers for the purpose of interesting them in 4-H work, and in one instance in the past the Service has succeeded in stimulating a minister to influence his community to organize a 4-H club. Occasionally the Welfare Department or the Employment Service consults a minister about some problem. Sometimes the Red Wing Salvation Army and the Welfare Department cooperate on a common problem. The schools and other organizations in two villages recognize one night in the week as church night. Some village and open-country ministers say the high schools are definitely competing for the loyalty and time of the church's young people, pointing out that it is impossible to have a church gathering the same night on which a basketball game is scheduled.

The relationship of churches to secular organizations is affected in part by their relationship to each other. Some denominational groups hold very rigid beliefs about inter-church activities. Because of these views, it is often impossible to hold union services which include all members of the religious community. Only one village and the town of Red Wing have interdenominational ministers' associations. In the village the association meets once a year to plan a union Thanksgiving service, and the Red Wing association is said to be rather ineffective. With churches of different faiths maintaining such rigid separateness, it is easy to see that they might find it difficult to work with secular organizations.

Family

Both formal organizations and public agencies give considerable recognition to the family. Although the official

membership list of the Farm Bureau includes only the head of the family, both husbands and wives attend meetings and participate in Bureau activities. Several local units encourage the attendance of the entire family, and in some units there are large numbers of relatives. Four-H clubs are closely associated with the family. Children have to obtain the consent of their parents to participate in 4-H work. Parents with children of eligible age sometimes accept leadership responsibility because they want their children to have the benefits of club work. Many 4-H meetings are held in the homes of members, and in some instances parents bring their children and remain until the meeting is over. The home demonstration project clubs usually meet in the homes of members. The county agricultural agent frequently refers to families as "good extension families," pointing out how father, mother, and children all participate in extension programs. The SCS conducts a great deal of its education work with the individual farmer and members of his family (sons). Of course, the FHA with its supervisory program has definitely emphasized the family group. Annual meetings of cooperatives are sometimes attended by both husbands and wives.

As a unit, the family assumes considerable importance in many of the churches. In referring to membership, ministers and laymen, too, frequently give the number of families. In some of the churches where the Norwegian and Swedish nationalities constitute a fairly solid parish neighborhood, there are numerous relatives who are members of the same church, and it appears that these kinship ties encourage attendance. Many open-country churches, as well as those in the villages, serve as centers of social life for family and kinship groups. Family groups in the pews at Sunday worship are fairly numerous. Also tending to emphasize family unity

in church membership is the prevalence of denominations which induct their children into membership by confirmation.

Except for annual picnics, Christmas or Thanksgiving programs, and informal afternoon meetings of mothers invited by teachers to visit their schools, the rural schools are seldom the centers of family life. Now when the future of the one-teacher rural school appears to be somewhat uncertain, the family's role in its survival is both a positive and negative influence. Because of family traditions associated with particular schools and because of parental sentiment about keeping small children near home, some families strongly support the continuation of the one-teacher school. On the other hand, decline in size of farm families has so reduced enrollment that it is no longer feasible to maintain many of the smaller schools.⁶⁵

Relationships of Formally Organized Groups, Agencies, and Institutions to Locality Groupings

Section 2 cited some of the important factors in the development of communities around village centers. These factors included the fairly large number of village-centered organizations with farm members, and the efforts of village organizations and business men to foster good relationships between villagers and farmers. In fact, the emerging social structure centering in the villages, but including farmers as well as villagers, is one of the more significant findings of this study. This social structure includes not only formally organized groups but also such institutions as schools and churches. Section 2 of this bulletin described in detail the important role which these two

institutions, especially the high schools, are playing in the development of village-centered communities.

There are relatively few organized groups and institutions that may be identified with the smaller hamlet-centered communities. Some nonfocal (without a center) neighborhoods have 4-H clubs and/or Home Demonstration project groups. In this study, most of the open-country church parishes have been considered locality groups centering, of course, around churches. (See section 2) Goodhue County has a number of these groups. Also the rural school districts have their one-room schools, but most of the districts are characterized by a low degree of group identification.

The agricultural agencies frequently use the villages (as well as Red Wing) as meeting places for farmers associated with their programs. However, the people who attend these meetings come from areas which do not always conform to the service areas of the villages. This situation is well illustrated by the home demonstration leadership training classes and the 4-H district organizations which constitute the County 4-H Federation. The home demonstration training classes are held in some of the villages and at Red Wing, and the 4-H district organizations center around three of the villages and Red Wing. In some instances, representation at the home demonstration classes tends to correspond somewhat with the service areas of the villages at which the classes are held, but in other cases there is little correspondence. The same holds true for the district 4-H organizations. Although some of the Home Demonstration clubs, as well as the 4-H clubs, are organized on the basis of neighborhoods, this is not the result of very much conscious planning. Agencies have much more consciously directed their organizational activities

⁶⁵ The family's declining role in organizations is discussed in section 7 of this bulletin.

toward the villages and Red Wing, but even here they have not been especially concerned with these places as the centers of more or less well defined communities.

Relationships of County to Various Types of Organization

Goodhue County has 24 county-wide organizations. For the most part the membership of these groups is drawn from people living within the county. The degree of correspondence between the membership areas of these organizations and the county area helps to define the county as a social unit. Furthermore, most of the county-wide organizations are affiliated with state or national bodies and, because of the county-identification involved in participation in these larger groups, their members are provided with experiences that tend to develop in-group attitudes relative to the county.

Six of the county's nine public agencies serve an administrative area which corresponds to that of the county, which fact should contribute to county consciousness. Among the agencies, the Extension Service is especially outstanding in developing in the citizens an awareness of their county. This is true because the Extension Service has become a sort of catalytic factor in county-wide projects involving a number of organizations and agencies. Moreover, many Extension activities place the county in a position of rivalry with other counties in the state, thus helping to develop in-group sentiments.

The relationships noted thus far are such that they contribute to the group consciousness of the county. There are other relationships, however, which have produced the opposite effect.

Within the county there are 189 sub-units of government, 155 school districts, 23 townships, 7 incorporated villages, one incorporated town, and 3 soil conservation districts.⁶⁶ With so many subdivisions, some division of loyalty on the part of citizens is to be expected. The people look to the school districts to provide schools; the townships help provide roads and weed control; the villages and Red Wing furnish numerous services such as streets, water, and fire and police protection; and the soil conservation districts assist farmers with the protection of their soil.

Another important influence weakens the people's awareness of the county as a social entity. This influence is the growing community consciousness⁶⁷ that has been emerging around each of the county's villages. Many people are more loyal to these communities than to the county because both their social and economic interests are organized around these centers rather than the county.

Still another factor that has worked against the development of strong county consciousness is the noncentral location of Red Wing on the northeastern edge of the county. Poor road connections between Red Wing and the southwestern part of the county also make it difficult for the county seat to function effectively as a center of county-wide activities. The result has been that there are some sections which have no strong attachments to the county as a whole. In these sections it is difficult to establish and maintain organizations that are county-wide in scope.

While there are several important factors contributing to county consciousness, it seems that those factors which oppose this consciousness have been more influential, so much more so, in fact, that it may be concluded that the people feel the county is only moderately important as a social entity.

⁶⁶ Part of one of these districts is in an adjoining county.

⁶⁷ The people would probably refer to *trade-area consciousness* but from close examination of the situation, the term *community-consciousness* appears to be more accurate.

Organizational Contacts with the Outside

All of the formal organizations sponsored by the Extension Service, most of the county-wide organizations, and many of the village and town organizations are channels of contact with the outside world. As cooperatives have consolidated, or farmers have become members of larger organizations, they, too, have brought the people into organized relationships beyond the boundaries of their county. Likewise, through their denominational affilia-

tions, the churches serve as instruments for contact with the larger world. Most of the county's agencies receive considerable financial support from state and federal funds and are to some extent supervised by state or federal organizations, so that the character of public service which they provide is influenced in a significant way by these larger units of society. These many contacts with the outside are not merely one-way connections serving as instruments whereby the larger society influences the smaller unit; they are also channels through which the people influence society as a whole.

10. *Conclusions*

COMMUNITY LIFE Is Being Integrated More and More Around Village-centers. The village-centers which were formerly simply service centers are broadening their functions. In each is a high school which serves both village and farm families. A number of village organizations include both farm and village members. The number of farm members in village churches is often fairly large and seems to be increasing. Village civic and commercial organizations are actively promoting better farm-village relationships.

The villages have been showing rapid growth in population as they have increasingly become service centers for farm people. This growth is reflected in the general optimism of their leaders. These leaders are trying to minimize distinctions between farm and village people, because they want farmers to become a part of a community centering in the village. This attitude is not entirely unselfish, it is true, but the self-interest is so well mixed with genuine good will that the village leaders are meeting with considerable success in their effort. The process of

integration is far from complete, but it is under way.

Formal Organizations Are Increasing In Response To Needs That Can Be Satisfied Only Through Group Action.

The new cooperatives, such as the Artificial Breeders Association and the Rural Electrification Association, are good illustrations of the necessity for organization to meet special needs. The depressed state of agriculture during the 1930's and the development of technical information whereby the farmer might become better equipped to carry on in a competitive society have not only resulted in the creation of new public agencies but also have increased the activities of existing agencies. Requirements for immediate action and the necessity for contacting many people at one time have induced the public agencies to create organized groups. Moreover, as new agencies were established, they were generally required by law to form local advisory boards so that they might effectively identify themselves with local conditions.

Ethnic Groupings Have Survived in the Church as a Result of Sociological

Characteristics Peculiar to this Institution but Are Relatively Unimportant in Secular Organizations.⁶⁸ The conservative and traditional character of religion, the use for many years of foreign language service, the maintenance of parochial schools, and settlement patterns following ethnic lines are factors which have kept nationality backgrounds alive in the churches. On the other hand, the people's secular organizations have arisen largely in response to needs that were peculiar to America, and hence for the most part have had no ethnic traditions. Indeed, for some types of organization, particularly those with scopes wider than the immediate neighborhood or community, it was necessary to develop accommodative attitudes whereby nationality differences as well as religious differences were minimized.

Democratic Participation in Group Life, the Large Number of Cooperatives, and a Reasonable Degree of Organizational Cooperation Are the Functions of a Relatively Classless Society. A broad participation base characterizes Goodhue County's social organizations. A high degree of economic equality, not unrelated to the predominance of family-sized farms, provides the basis for a relatively classless population. There is also a superstructure of values which gives added support to democratic participation. A sense of equal worth prevails; in general, no class or group is categorized for exclusion.

Since most of the people are on much the same level, they find it easy to work together to promote each other's general well-being. This feeling partly accounts for the extensive or-

ganization of cooperatives. Likewise, organized groups cooperate naturally because their members have common interests.

Although Informal and Face-to-Face Group Relationships Continue to Be Numerous and to Occupy a Significant Proportion of the People's Time, the County has Moved Far Along the Road toward Formalized and Secondary Group Life. Intimate, personalized relationships still predominate in the numerous open-country neighborhoods, open-country church parishes, work rings, and small cooperative organizations. Many informal recreational groups exist, and many of the activities of formally organized groups and of public agencies are promoted through informal, highly personalized "visiting" contacts. However, one cannot escape the fact that formal organization is both extensive and complex. This is true of both the farm and village people. The large number of cooperatives; the extent and complexity of the Farm Bureau, Home Demonstration and 4-H club organizations; the many village organizations, a fairly large number of which include farm members; and the several village-centered organizations that are county-wide in scope are only the outward aspects of the highly organized society found in Goodhue County. Underlying this extensive social structure are basic attitudes, such as "organization is the way to get things done" or "people can help themselves if they will organize to do so." In addition a number of the people are skilled in organizational techniques, including knowledge of parliamentary procedures, constitutions and by-laws, and understanding of the functions of officers and committees.

⁶⁸ While this is generally true in Goodhue County, there is some evidence that ethnic groups do influence extension work and education in other counties in the state. This statement is based on unpublished research now in progress in the Division of Rural Sociology of the Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station.

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