THESIS
on
SOCIAL CONFLICT IN RURAL COMMUNITIES
OF OREGON

Submitted to the
OREGON STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

In partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the
Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE

by
Virgil Davis Jackson
April 29, 1932
APPROVED:

________________________
Professor of Sociology
In Charge of Major

________________________
Head of Department of Economics and Sociology

________________________
Chairman of Committee on Graduate Study
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

It is impossible here to ascribe due credit to the large number of workers who have participated in making the following investigation possible. The writer desires, however, to record his particular indebtedness and appreciation to Dr. Elon H. Moore, for valuable assistance in outlining the problem, for many stimulating suggestions, for the use of his private library, and for constructive criticism and wise counsel at all times.

The writer wishes, furthermore, to express his appreciation to Mrs. Marie H. Jackson, of the Oregon State Agricultural College Library, for showing him some valuable techniques for using library resources, and to Professor R. H. Dann for outlining to him the Society of Friends' attitude toward social conflict.
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Presentation of the Problem.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Review of Theories of Social Conflict.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Contemporary Approaches to Social Conflict in the United States.</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Rural Social Conflict.</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Case Studies.</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Conclusions.</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Bibliography.</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

PRESENTATION OF THE PROBLEM
This study of social conflict in rural communities of Oregon is an outgrowth of the modern community movement and the influence of three books, contacted by the writer. Middletown by the Lynds, Case Studies in Community Organization by Pettit, and especially the American Community in Action by Steiner gave the writer the desire to study the rural communities of Oregon. The writer became convinced that if reliability were to be obtained, the problem would have to be narrowed to a well-defined field. Accuracy and intensive work would then be possible. The recent interest of the Chicago school in social conflict - especially the American Sociological Society's Publication of May, 1931 - gave the writer the inspiration to isolate this phase of group interaction in his study of Oregon communities.

At the outset, a few definitions of terms as they are to be used in this study, seem necessary. McClenahan's1 conception of the community has been accepted as involving the necessary prerequisites to this study: "A community is a social unit with definite territorial boundaries, with common laws, common interests, common privileges and usually with a common organized government... The community may be concretely regarded as a city, a town, a village, a township or a county."

---

The next term to be defined is rural. The writer's conception of this term is expressed in two definitions. The United States Bureau of the Census considers all towns of less than twenty-five hundred as being rural. This is not complete enough for a study of rural communities in Oregon. There are many communities with a larger population, which are primarily dependent upon agriculture for their existence. These communities throw much light on a study of rural social conflict, and for this reason, the writer has included a number of these cases in this report. McClenahan is disposed to have the same idea as to what constitutes a rural community. She says: "A rural community is a social unit composed of a population center, together with the farm families using it as their trading center, with definite territorial boundaries, with common laws, common interests, common privileges, and the latent capability of being organized for cooperative action."

As far as this study is concerned, the term rural community will imply a community of less than twenty-five hundred population, and all larger groupings which are primarily dependent upon a rural economy for their existence.

The sociological survey is an attempt to discover how human societies function. It is a disinterested and detached effort to formulate social laws. It is an effort to paint a true picture irrespective of normal or abnormal

trends. The sociological survey does not extend over into the field of philosophy, therefore, the author has made no attempt to moralize, to reform, or to make suggestions toward public betterment. He has in no way encroached upon the field of the social welfare worker.

It is hoped that the descriptive material of the case studies will be a contribution to rural sociology. Every science or semi-science must start with descriptive material to be used as a basis or foundation upon which to build. Descriptive material of this nature that is collected cautiously, objectively, and accurately will find its way into the future textbooks on rural sociology. One case by itself would not have a great deal of value, but when classified according to its own setting, and compared or contrasted with other communities, it has many connotations to sociology. Collectively, these contemporary studies of rural areas will form the content of rural sociology.

The case study, so far, has been sociology's leading tool. This is especially true in rural studies. Wisconsin, Cornell, Minnesota, Missouri, Michigan, and Washington State have made numerous investigations with the case study method applied to rural communities. Chicago has made similar sociological studies of urban communities. The nature of this investigation falls in line with current sociological practices in the larger
For the purpose of intensive study in some phase of group interaction, conflict tends to be a valuable field for investigation. If we can determine the constructive and destructive conflicts, we can get at the root of community affairs, and we have also given the social welfare worker something with which to work. Conflicts magnify the common life of the community, and the investigator may observe community life in a similar manner to the biologist observing the amoeba through the microscope. This is well expressed by Palmer\(^1\): "Conflicts disrupt the habitual behavior of the group, and in making adjustments the social processes of the group are both intensified and exposed to observation."

A review of the theories of social conflict was deemed necessary for a number of reasons, - to determine which theories would apply to this problem and other problems similar to this one, to discover mistakes and theories which were not applicable to present day community studies; and to determine which of the modern theories were complete in relation to an application to rural communities and which failed in some particular, together with the reasons why they failed. By the organization of this material, gathered from many sources, the writer also hoped to make a contribution by reviewing and making accessible the

\(^1\) Field Studies in Sociology. p.119.
development of the theories of social conflict.

In the discussion of the review of the literature (Chapters II, III and IV) the writer was limited in the source material at his disposal. The facilities of the Oregon State Agricultural College Library were exhausted, as well as material that could be borrowed elsewhere. All references mentioned in the bibliography were utilized for this study. Theories that may have been advanced in books and periodicals not available to the writer are of necessity not considered.

In gathering the material for the case studies, the writer received the cooperation and help of a number of students in the field of sociology. The material on Roseburg and Valsetz was accumulated, organized and prepared by the writer. The investigations in the other communities were made according to the writer's directions by individuals with training in sociology. These investigators had had long contact with the communities upon which they reported, and in most cases, these were the communities in which they were reared. By this contact they were familiar with the inhabitants and the community affairs. From these data, the material was condensed and organized into the form in which it appears in this report.

The cases are limited in detail, but this was due to the author's extreme vigilance in eliminating all material of doubtful origin or accuracy.
The author prepared the following form to be used as a guide by his investigators in their community studies:

OUTLINE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL CONFLICT IN A COMMUNITY

I. Geographical Location and Conditions.

II. Type of Economy in the Community.

III. Historical Background.

IV. Community Traditions.

V. General Attitudes of Groups.

VI. Suggested Areas of Community Conflict:
   1. Religious.
   2. Political.
   3. Feuds.
   4. Ganging.
   5. Fraternal organizations.
   6. Civic clubs.
   7. Temperance organizations.
   8. Organizations for the youth.
      (Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, Y. M. C. A., etc.)
   9. Education. (Over teachers, school board, etc.)
   10. Racial barriers.
   11. Occupational differences.
12. Between farming districts and nearby towns.
   (Town-country conflict)
15. Crime and misdemeanors.
17. Aesthetic interests.
18. Reaction to bringing in new industries.

VII. What attempts, if any, to adjust differences and integrate the community?

VIII. Cautions to be observed in the study:

1. Objectivity.
2. Accuracy.
3. Avoidance of favorable or unfavorable bias or prejudice.

The suggested areas of conflict were selected arbitrarily by the author. His selection was partly influenced by Park and Burgess and by Dawson and Gettys, and partly by suggestions that came to him from his own observation of communities in Oregon of which he was quite thoroughly familiar. The investigators were given the option to use conflicts other than those mentioned in the outline, so that there were no restrictions attached to the study.

Each case, as it appears in Chapter V, is analyzed
in its entirety; and from these cases, some general conclusions in regard to social conflict in rural communities of Oregon are made. The general conclusions are found in Chapter VI.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THEORIES OF

SOCIAL CONFLICT
"In a society in which a stable equilibrium has been achieved, there are, generally speaking, neither poverty, crime, nor vice - no problems and no progress». Therefore, a community lacking the pyrotechnics of social conflict would lapse into lifeless vacuity. This spectacle of social forces arrayed in perennial mutual opposition has for the most part failed to engage the attention of the sociologist, except as a ramification of some other sociological study.

The literature of sociology is replete with illustrations of conflict from the time man began to use written records. However, little attempt was made to subject the concept of social conflict to scientific analysis until comparatively recent years.

In about 100 B.C., Polybius advanced a doctrine of recurring political cycles, and suggested that people associated with one another because of selfish benefits that accrue. This coincides with the theory of conflict and cooperation advanced by a number of contemporary sociologists.

In the sixteenth century, Bodin evolved his theory of the origin of society and government and based it on the presocial struggle of the family - "...Reason and the very

light of nature leadeth us to believe very force and violence to have given course and beginning unto commonweale..."1

Comte advanced the theory that man by nature was unsocial, and hence, prone to conflict. Malthus recognized the fact that conflict would be inevitable when population became great enough to crowd food supply. Karl Marx built a system of economics upon the idea that conflict arises from the class struggle. Darwin promulgated the theory of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. These analyses, with the exception of Comte's, merely isolated one phase of conflict. Comte's treatment of conflict was general and his conclusions superficial. Although each of the four men recognized the field of conflict, and made some contribution, none of them can be credited with formulating a theory of social conflict.

Spencer, perhaps accidentally, at least incidentally, advanced a theory that has been enlarged upon by many sociologists of the past and present. His argument is to the effect that conflict is the original cause of coordination in societies.2 This is an indication that conflict and cooperation or accommodation are two sides of the same thing, - a causal relationship between the conflict and its

2 Principles of Sociology. v.1, p.543.
consequent adjustment.

Bagehot in 1884 says that in the social struggle the group that cooperates the most - becomes the most compact - is the superior. In fact, it is only in cooperative groups that man can make any progress, cooperation being the result of the social struggle (i.e., conflict).

Although sociology is one of the most recent of sciences, early in its history, conflict assumed an important place in European thought. Gumplovicz built an entire sociological theory upon the concept of conflict. His theory, with certain modifications, was carried to Russia and Germany where Novicow and Simmel, respectively, became its leading exponents. In his belief that conflict dominates societal life, Gumplovicz first referred to man in primitive groups. Society began with many primitive groups, each a warring group with a hatred in the relationship between social groups; our civilizations are merely veneers covering, and sometimes inhibiting, our innate characteristics. In intergroup struggles, the weaker are destroyed or enslaved. Enslavement leads to intragroup inequalities, and inequalities in turn lead to conflict. Social classes originate in the subdued and the victorious groups, and until the weaker class is subjugated by the stronger, there remains a potential source of conflict.

In this perpetual conflict between groups, the individuals lose their individuality. In order to control successfully the vanquished, the victorious groups create states, enact laws, and exploit those weaker than themselves. After a time, the enmity between the conquerors and the conquered is alleviated. One group absorbs the language, the religion, and the mores of the other. In brief, Gumplowicz says that conflict, victory and subjugation, mitigation and then amalgamation form a cycle which may result in progress.

Sorokin, in summarizing Gumplowicz's theory, says that "Only through such a struggle has any enlargement of the social group, or any consolidation of two or more groups into one social body, been possible."1

Also, in this theory is advanced the argument that conflict leads to cooperation. In order to achieve progress, however, there must be more conflict, and hence the cycle will repeat itself. In the repetition of such a cycle "...we find an essential process of history."2 "This theory" of conflict, in the opinion of Bogardus, "led Gumplowicz into pessimistic conclusions concerning life. He failed to see that societal life is not necessarily a series of hopeless cyclical conflicts, and that social processes are becoming increasingly subject to human

1 Contemporary Sociological Theories. p. 482.
2 Ibid. p. 483.
control — for good or ill.¹

In Russia, the social conflict theory found an ardent advocate in Novicow who recognized in conflict the physiological struggle that was the basis of Gumplovicz's theory, but he saw in addition, economic, political, intellectual and social struggles. Conflict to him was a perpetual combat, — the influence of the environment upon the organism and the consequent reaction of the organism upon the environment, anticipating the Chicago approach to the field of competition.

Nietzsche has illuminated the field of social conflict. His was a qualitative theory of the will to power tendency: weaker groups of a society unite against the stronger elements. Conflicts are brought about through the clash between the will to power of the stronger and the will to power of the weaker. A cleavage is inevitable between the superior and the inferior whether considered either as individuals or as groups.

Simmel's influence with the University of Chicago has been marked and continuous, with the result that in America he is doubtless the best known of all European philosophers who have worked in this field. Small's General Sociology, written in 1905, contains seven references to him. During the year previous to this, the American Journal of Sociology

in its issues of January, March and May, 1904, carried Small's translation of Simmel's book The Sociology of Conflict. In 1925, the University of Chicago press published The Social Theory of Georg Simmel, by Nicholas J. Spykman. His influence is also felt in the present approach of the Chicago school to the field of conflict as set forth by Park and Burgess as well as by Dawson and Gettys.

In referring to Simmel, Spykman declares: "Groups which are entirely harmonious, and which are composed of elements which have centripetal tendencies only, would not only be impossible empirically, but would have no life process and no structure." Further, conflict produces, modifies, or changes group purposes, group organizations, group actions, or communities of interest. Conflict represents a positive sociological force, whereas dissolutions and repudiations of socialization represent a negative attribute in social forces. The result of conflict is coordination or subordination. In either case an accommodation has been accomplished. A satisfactory accommodation terminates in cooperation; subordination may merely have an outward manifestation of adjustment.

There are often distinct advantages in a struggle between elements within a group. A conflict "...is often the only means of maintaining associations which would other-
wise be unendurable. It is the freedom of the individual to enter open opposition that preserves and protects the integrity of individuality and is a weapon against the tyranny and oppression of others. "Struggle itself deposits elements of civilization." That is, selfish individualistic impulses often contribute something to our culture, perhaps not by themselves alone, but by their fusing or blending with other traits. According to Spykman's discussion, in order to obtain organization, societies require a certain attraction, harmony, association, integration, and cooperation in apposition to a proportionate degree of repulsion, disharmony, dissociation, differentiation and competition on the other side. Such is the philosophy of Simmel with conflict and integration defined as correlative processes.

Abel in describing Simmel's idea of the nature and content of conflict, says: "Conflict defines a situation in which there are activities on the part of A purposing to frustrate action of B, and where in turn reactions of B oppose the activities of A. Since conflict takes place, however, only if the actions of A call forth an antagonistic attitude on the part of B, his attitude or attitudes,

---

1 Spykman, op. cit., p.113.
3 Systematic Sociology in Germany. pp.40-41.
and his definition of the situation as well as those of A enter into the conflict situation. It is, therefore, the combination of these specific elements of content: activities, purposes, and attitudes, that make up the 'form' called conflict."

At this time in France, Tarde was becoming the chief founder of social psychology. Tarde's three great principles were repetition, opposition, and adaptation. For the purposes of this investigation, his principle of opposition will be the only one considered.

He recognized two types of opposition: interference-combinations and interference-conflict. "The first type refers to the coming together of two psychological quantities of desire and belief with the result that combination takes place and a total gain is made. The second type refers to the opposition resulting from incompatible forces. In this case, an individual or social loss is registered."¹ Conflict often passes through three forms, - war, competition, and discussion. Of these three, he classified discussion as the highest and war as the lowest. The culmination of opposition (conflict) is either invention or adaptation.

Another European merits consideration in this review. Ratzenhofer analyzed social conflict as an outgrowth of

¹ Bogardus, op. cit., p.377.
interests. Human interests are the motivating forces in both differentiation and socialization. Conflicts, struggles, class cleavages - all result in cooperation. According to this theory, socialization, itself, is the transformation of conflict into cooperation. Ratzenhofer holds that there is a concomitant relationship between conflict and cooperation. His is primarily a sociological concept of cooperation, but the universality of conflict, arising out of a clash of human interests is noted.

Weise and Weber present two views of conflict as a social process. Conflict as a process of dissociation is advanced by Weise. "Conflict is open, direct opposition, a struggle that shows the highest degree of dissociation; it is a deliberate attempt to hurt or eliminate the opponent." Weise considers two other dissociation processes: competition which is the milder form, and opposition which is a higher degree of dissociation than competition, but a milder form than conflict. Weber considers conflict as a process of social relations. "Conflict" is "a social relation wherein A's behavior follows his intention to assert his own will against the resistance of B."

This concludes a summary of the contribution of European thought to the literature of social conflict. In about 1900, social conflict began to be examined by American

1 Abel, op. cit., p.101.
2 Ibid., p.120.
sociologists. Its treatment in the United States is to be next considered.

A survey of the literature in the United States showed a marked dearth of material in periodicals related to the field of sociology, and an abundance of material in books dealing with general sociology. Books on general sociology constantly reiterated the importance of conflict, but those books dealing with the application of sociology to the problems of life had little or no mention of it.

A check of the files of the American Journal of Sociology disclosed that the first mention of conflict was made in the issues of January, March and May, 1904, at which time it carried serially Small's translation of Simmel's The Sociology of Conflict. Between then and 1908, Commons and Carver made contributions to the field of conflict, after which there was a gap of seventeen years in which the word conflict did not appear in the title of any article. In September, 1921, Victor Yarros contributed an article entitled Isolation and Social Conflict. Since 1921, a number of articles have dealt casually or incidentally with conflict. In contrast, two publications of the American Sociological Society are of especial importance in the emphasis placed upon social conflict, - Papers of the 1930 meeting and the Yearbook of the Section on Rural Sociology for 1930.

Although the Annals of the American Academy of Polit-
ical and Social Science have been published regularly for over forty years, it has not been until within the last ten years that any articles definitely in the field of social conflict have been published.

Much the same story can be told in regard to Social Forces. From its beginning in 1923 to the December issue of 1931, it has had only one title dealing with social conflict and only a few articles dealing indirectly with the field.

Sociology and Social Research has had some incidental contributions to social conflict, but has only contributed one article which can be definitely said to be in the field of social conflict.

The Survey has contributed numerous articles with applications to labor disputes and other social problems, but these have been written with the idea of bettering social conditions rather than building up a theory of conflict.

Whereas, periodical literature has been characterized by a paucity of material on social conflict, books reveal the crystallization of thought and findings on the subject.

The first work published in the United States and written by an American author that had any connotation to

social conflict was The Principles of Sociology, by Giddings. This was in 1896. "Aggregation is but the physical foundation of society. ... It is unnecessary to prove that social intercourse is a mode of conflict. All activity is a clash of atoms or of thoughts."¹ Such a statement shows the influence of Gumplovicz and is prophetical of the importance that conflict is now playing in social thought. Giddings classified conflict into two groups: primary and secondary. "Primary conflict is conquest. It is a conflict violent enough to overcome the independent motion, and often to destroy the cohesion, of one, at least, of the conflicting bodies. Secondary conflict is contention. It is conflict relatively so slight that the conflicting bodies only modify each other's motions and states."² Primary conflict is possible only when one group is stronger than the other or others. "Evolution begins in primary conflict, the effect of which is integration, and completes itself in a secondary conflict, the effect of which is differentiation."³ This supposition is not far removed from the Chicago school's point of view in that conflict may finally result in assimilation (integration) or in a state of secondary conflict which manifests itself in differentiation of behavior,

² Ibid., p.101.
³ Ibid., p.101.
- one phase of accommodation.

In any type of conflict - according to Giddings - there is an impact of attack which is retaliated by a counter attack. When either an individual or a group is attacked, he or they usually respond by a similar attack. Fear or some other emotion may cause restraint, but if the one attacked enters into conflict with the challenger, imitation of method is the result. A boy striking another boy causes the other boy to strike back. An army's successful maneuvers are imitated by its opponent. The suggestion of imitation here, evidently shows the influence of Tarde. If the imitation continues long enough, the conflict groups create a similarity of structure which, in itself, modifies or removes the conflict. Hence, conflict may be an integrating or socializing influence instead of a destructive force.

Groups may find that they are too much alike to continue the conflict, but their association may not bring pleasure. Secondary conflict is always a potential possibility, although the factor of imitation found in conflict tends gradually to assimilate and harmonize. These secondary conflicts are often neither painful nor unpleasant.

Giddings shows the influence of Gumplowicz and Tarde, but the opposite side of conflict was called amalgamation by Gumplowicz, adaptation by Tarde, and assimilation by Giddings. All three men seem to suggest that conflicts
are temporarily adjusted and that they come and go in a
cyclical manner.

The next American to be considered is Small. As the
founder of the Chicago school, his early interest in social
conflict is somewhat indicative of the present day interest
exhibited by the Chicago school in this same phase of
sociology. Mention has already been made of Small's trans­
lation of The Sociology of Conflict, by Simmel. However,
Small's first original work in social conflict came out

"In the beginning were interests."1 Man has six
elementary interests, - health, wealth, sociability, know­
ledge, beauty, and rightness. Many would question Small's
list as constituting man's primary interests, but the fact
that we have any elementary interests is sufficient cause
for conflict. "Every interest tends to be absolute."2
The result is either a conflict of interests or a conjunc­
tion of interests. A conflict of interests occurs when it
is necessary for one group to oppose another group's
interests in order to promote its own. On the other hand,
a conjunction of interests occurs when it is necessary for
the groups to promote each other's interests in order to
promote their own. "The social process could not occur at

1 Small. General Sociology. p.196.
2 Ibid., p.201.
all if a certain measure of the conjunction of interests
did not exist... At the same time, the conspicuous element
in the history of the race, so far as it has been recorded,
is universal conflict of interests."¹ To a certain degree,
conflict and cooperation are functions of each other. When
one is inhibited the other is facilitated. The social
process demands continual adjustment and readjustment to
the changes in conflict and cooperation. Thus the close
connection between conflict and cooperation, which was
discussed by Spencer and Gumplovicz, is recognized by Small
as a vital element in our social process. The important
"...social problem" of to-day "is how to intellectualize
the present conflict of interests, or to transform direct
conflict of interests into an intelligent teleological pro-
gram."² Bogardus in summarizing Small says: "Socializa-
tion, then, becomes the process of transforming conflict
into cooperation."³

This last conclusion of Small's would tend to indi-
cate that at that time he was prone to wishful thinking.
However, he wrote this in a day when objectivity was not
the end in view, but instead, reform and helpfulness were
in the minds of leading sociologists.

Two of the great pioneers of American sociology had

1 Small. op. cit., p.203.
2 Ibid., p.390.
3 Bogardus, op.cit., p.361.
virtually nothing to say in regard to conflict. Sumner recognized the possibility of conflict between the mores of two or more groups. Ward discusses competition briefly, his consideration of competition including contactual relationships. From his viewpoint, competition (conflict) lowers the quality of the units involved so that none of the competitors, be they either instrumentalities or groups, are able to advance as far as they otherwise would. Conflict in this sense is destructive to social progress.

Ross in his Social Psychology, published in 1908, pioneered in the field of social conflict. He divides conflict into two types, silent and vocal. Means of deciding silent conflict are authority, persecution, example, observation and trial. Settling a conflict by authority often only allays the difficulty. If the conflict is fought out until one side wins decisively, there is often no bitterness left and other alternatives have passed beyond recall. Settling a conflict by persecution often leads to martyrdom, and when the reaction sets in, the conflict is apt to be worse than it otherwise would be. To settle a conflict by example implies accepting what someone else has done as a guide to a decision. Settling by observation implies accepting one's observation of others as a deciding factor, and settling by trial implies comparison by use.

Vocal conflict tends toward discussion. Sides that fear defeat dread discussion, whereas those sides with
"Some struggles last indefinitely because of inborn differences between human beings. ... Or, the struggle may continue because it is a duel between an illusion and a paradox."¹ Conflicts may end by one side being eliminated, by a compromise between the parties concerned, or through specialization or partition of territory.

Carver has written widely in the fields of economics and sociology. As his first contribution to conflict was made in 1915,² it is natural that he would have been influenced by previous writers. He suggests that originally conflicts were settled by might, a theory of Gumplovicz; he recognizes the antagonism of interests as a motivating force, a theory of Ratzenhofer and Small; he considers competition much the same as Ward, a rivalry phase of conflict; and he assumes that cooperation is a form of competition, an argument advanced by most of his predecessors. Carver's hope is "...to find out what political and social acts will facilitate our adjustment to the material universe in which we find ourselves, and make our society a strong rather than a weak society."³

According to Carver, the causes of conflict are two: scarcity and self-centered appreciation. The question of

² Essays in Social Justice.
³ Ibid., p.31.
scarcity involves interests. When there is not enough to
give at least minimal expression to all, then an antagonism
arises which is the source of the ensuing conflict. One
of the faults in this connection is that people have either
built up a standard too high for them to maintain or else
their wants exceed the production which is possible. Carver
hopes for a greater adaptation on the part of human-kind,
so that conflicts will not need to continue being settled
on the basis of might. He shows the futility of hoping to
eliminate conflict. Once "there was no struggle for
existence, no antagonism of interests; in short that was
paradise. But the gratification of a certain desire brought
increase of numbers, increase of numbers brought scarcity,
and paradise was lost."¹ However, he sees hope for the
future by adaptive and cooperative processes. Carver is
primarily an economist, and it is not unnatural that he
feels that the economic problem is fundamental, and that
all social and moral problems have their sources in econom-
ic factors.

The second cause of conflict, in Carver's estimation,
is self-centered appreciation. By this, he means a certain
ethnocentrism in which communities or groups will prefer
their own survivals, advancements and characteristics to the
exclusion of others. His desire is to have our conflicts

¹ Carver, op. cit., p.46.
channelized into a form that will contribute to national welfare. Possibilities are cooperation, arbitration and adaptation.

The last individual to be discussed in this phase of the history of social conflict is Cooley. He says: "From the perennial discussion regarding the meaning of conflict in life two facts clearly emerge: first, that conflict is inevitable, and second, that it is capable of a progress under which more humane, rational, and cooperative forms supplant those which are less so." 1 This solution of the problem of conflict is quite similar to that of Carver's.

Conflict is inevitable, so that every meeting of men is a form of it; the best forms of love and marriage embody strife; and man turns toward melancholy when he has nothing more to struggle against. The progress of the world depends upon conflict, but on a conflict that is humane, rational and cooperative.

Cooley elucidates further that conflict and cooperation run hand in hand throughout the social process. Lodge meetings, public welfare groups, and social clubs, in fact, all forms of cooperative enterprises involve elements of conflict. Election of officers, policies of the organization, and programs of activities are all faced with actual or potential conflicts. "It is apparent that both conflict

---

1 Social Process. p.35.
and cooperation have their places in our process of organic growth. As forces become organized they cooperate, but it is through a selective method, involving conflict, that this is brought about.\(^1\)

When a group has acquired a close cohesion, it has usually been the result of some conflict with outside forces, in which it was necessary for the group to unite and cooperate in order to maintain its standards or survive. Often it takes a war to unite the people of a country, and a severe crisis to effect cooperation within a group. \(\ldots\) conflict and cooperation are not separable things, but phases of one process which always involves something of both. Life, seen largely, is an onward struggle in which now one of these phases and now another may be more conspicuous, but from which neither can be absent.\(^2\)

Progress depends on conflict, but conflict under control. Suppression is not the aim. Neither does the amount of conflict correlate with the amount of progress resulting. The function of conflict is to work out a conscious, purposive type of cooperation. Aimless cooperation can only hope for wasted effort; purposive cooperation tends toward readjustment.

---

1 Cooley, op. cit., p.36.
2 Ibid., p.39.
In this brief history, it would appear that social conflict has always been an important element in social phenomena. When properly channelized, it has been considered a potent factor in progress and group welfare. Contemporary approaches to social conflict are to be the subject of subsequent discussion.
CHAPTER III

CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES TO SOCIAL CONFLICT

IN THE UNITED STATES
One of the most illuminating of the recent concepts of social conflict is one presented by the Chicago school. Park and Burgess divide group interaction into four phases: competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. Of these four types "competition is the elementary, universal, and fundamental form. ... But competition, strictly speaking, is interaction without social contact."¹ Competition may be considered as a part of group interaction because it is always involved with one of the other three processes.

When contact between individuals becomes an element in a struggle, the situation passes from a competitive to a conflict process. "In general, then, one may say competition becomes conscious and personal in conflict. In the process of transition competitors are transformed into rivals and enemies."²

"Whenever and wherever struggle has taken the form of conflict, whether of races, or nations, or of individual men, it has invariably captured and held the attention of spectators. And these spectators, when they did not take part in the fight, always took sides. It was this conflict of the non-combatants that made public opinion, and public opinion has always played an important role in the struggles of men."³ Conflicts may involve one or more of the

---

¹ Park and Burgess. Introduction to the Science of Sociology. p. 507.
² Ibid., p. 575.
³ Ibid., p. 575.
following divisions: (1) conscious competition; (2) war, instincts, and ideals; (3) rivalry, cultural conflicts, and social organization; and (4) race conflicts.

Conscious competition arises in those forms of conflict between individuals in which one's personality or status becomes threatened. This may result from pride, class distinctions, or any other form of social distance. When a desired social distance cannot be maintained, conflict is imminent.

War is one of the most obvious forms of conflict. Park and Burgess believe that the discussions in regard to the relation between war and ideals, are timely. There is probably some correlation in both cases, for one's instincts and wishes are easily aroused to a fighting pattern. On the other hand, many of the attitudes in regard to war have been built up in people by a conditioning process. Park and Burgess formulate no conclusion from this controversy.

"Rivalry is a sublimated form of conflict where the struggle of individuals is subordinated to the welfare of the group. In the rivalry of groups, likewise, conflict or competition is subordinated to the interests of an inclusive group. Rivalry may be defined as conflict controlled by the group in its interest."¹ In rivalry, conflict is brought to its highest level, for the lower forms are sub-

¹ Park and Burgess. op. cit., p.577.
limated, and the best interests of society is the outcome. When persons or groups hold their welfare higher than the welfare of society, the situation is no longer one of rivalry, but instead, is a lower form of conflict.

Usually, cultural and political conflict, and the conflict in social organization are conflicts of individual or group interest as paramount factors in a situation. Religious sects are often working against the best interests of the community, either morally, socially, or religiously.

The fourth division, according to Park and Burgess, is race conflict. This is one of the most obvious of conflicts, due to differentiation of physical characteristics, culture, or a conditioned prejudice. Add to this prejudice, a so-called pride, which makes one race unwilling to enter into competition with another race which it adjudges to be inferior. The very fact that one race must take a subordinate position in society is sufficient cause for antagonism and conflict situations.

Park and Burgess consider five conflict groups, - gangs, labor organizations, sects, parties, and nationalities.¹

They find that accommodation is the natural outcome of conflict. "In an accommodation the antagonism of the

1 Park and Burgess, op. cit., p.643.
hostile elements is, for the time being, regulated, and conflict disappears as overt action, although it remains latent as a potential force. With a change in the situation, the adjustment that had hitherto successfully held in control the antagonistic forces fails. There is confusion and unrest which may issue in open conflict. ¹

Accommodation, then, may be only a temporary relief from conflict, but it might pass on to a more satisfactory condition, that of assimilation.

"Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life."²

Each step in social interaction contributes to a sequence in which a condition passes from one stage to the next in a cyclical manner. From this, it may be observed that a potential conflict is always imminent.

Park and Burgess have been the leading exponents of the Chicago approach. Their theory, as expressed in their book, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, has been widely accepted.

Dawson and Gettys in An Introduction to Sociology, have devoted over one hundred pages to conflict. Their

---

¹ Park and Burgess, op. cit., p.665.
² Ibid., p.735.
discussion of conflict is an adaptation of that of Park and Burgess. A number of valuable theses have been written by graduate students of the University of Chicago that have involved one or another of the conflict groups recognized by Park and Burgess. Some of these theses have been published and have become well known contributions to sociological literature, such as The Ghetto, by Louis Wirth, The Strike, by Ernest Hiller, and The Gang, by Frederic Thrasher.

Columbia University is cognizant of the influence of social conflict. MacIver states that "Within every community there is an incessant struggle of diverse and opposing interests. This struggle in itself is not antagonistic to individuality but, on the contrary, is an ever-present spur to it. But under the unequal conditions of privilege and power and wealth it leads to forms of dominance which are harmful to the individuality of those subject to it. Dominant groups whether of the few or the many, impose their thoughtless or selfish control over the rest. They bring to bear strong social pressures under which the less dominant suffer."1 This type of social control may take the form of social ostracism, economic exploitation, or tyrannical laws. He further suggests that whether the community is large or small, united or disorganized, it attempts

1 Society, Its Structure and Changes. p.31.
to express its power, even at the expense of its members. Also, "...social restriction arises from the almost impersonal control exercised through institutions. ... Institutions express the prejudice and superstition as well as the intelligence of their countless builders. ... Institutions may be harmful survivals, repressive of the individuality of its present members."1

The substance of MacIver's theory is that society has to deal with three types of conflict, - economic, racial, and religious. Economic inequality is always ample cause for conflict. The very fact that some individuals or groups must take subordinate positions, is sufficient cause for their opposition. Race consciousness is an ever present danger to societal integrity. Especially important is a conditional antagonism to color. A third threat against community solidarity exists in dogmatic religious feelings and attitudes. An historical reminiscence of religion bears out his conclusion on this point. By this threefold classification, MacIver has apparently left out cultural conflict. It is probably true that religious conflict contributes most to cultural conflict, such as most of the conventions of society. It appears to the writer that his third conflict should have been called cultural, with religious conflict as a subhead under it.

1 Society, Its Structure and Changes. p.32.
Another aspect of conflict, discussed by MacIver, is personal interest versus a prevailing code, and a desire to satisfy two existing antagonistic codes. Either case is more of a personal than a social conflict. However, they merit consideration for if enough individuals are affected by the conflict, it may at any time assume social significance. This is borne out by the following statement: "Mere unlikeness of interests never creates either conflict or harmony, only indifference. Unlike interests of different persons or groups must depend on a more ultimate likeness before it brings them into contact. Conflict and harmony spring out of the common nature of those who enter into such relations. Difference of interest leads to opposition only because it leads to coincidence of like interests."¹

Therefore, according to MacIver who is representative of the Columbia approach, conflicts are ever-present and inevitable. Conflicts may result in harmonies, or they may be subdued by social pressure. This pressure or social control may take the form of ostracism, exploitation, or tyrannical laws.

MacIver is at present giving his attention to a sociological investigation which promises to contribute to the understanding of social conflict. He is conducting,

¹ Community, a Sociological Study. p.117.
for The Inquiry, a conference case study. This study is called Tools for an Intensive Case Study of a Conference, and consists of eleven forms. The purpose is expressed on the first page of Form I: "By a series of case studies of special conferences; by self-studies of conferences in various organizations; and by questionnaires on opinion and experience of both leaders and conference members, it is hoped to discover the factors which make for the success or failure of conferences, and to issue suggestions for planning, conducting, and evaluating conferences in the economic, social, and educational fields." Among the nine forms or one hundred and forty-five pages of mimeographed material are many topics to be discussed in regard to social conflict or relating to it, such as the following quoted:

1. To resolve known antagonisms between races, groups or individuals.

2. To resolve conflicts of practices (e.g., conferences on standardization of products).

3. There are opposing forces at work, resulting in a disadvantage to both or several sides.

4. What is hoped for by way of getting agreement (where disagreement or divergent practice or prejudice exists)?

5. Disruptive forces are at work in an existing organization. (Morale poor, self-seeking, jealousy, agita-
tion, sabotage, lack of faith in undertaking, etc.)

6. It is a situation in which much ill-advised bad feeling exists.

There is an immense amount of original data that could be secured if the directions should be carried out in all parts of the country. However, it is a most difficult task. To achieve accuracy, the conference method calls for men well trained for the work and also calls for a great amount of time and patience. It is hoped that the investigators will be able or willing to give the study sufficient attention to make the consequent conclusions reliable.

With Steiner, we pass from the general theories of conflict to the study of conflict in communities. Steiner has not made a definite contribution to the theory of conflict, but instead has drawn many conclusions from empirical and objective data.

The conflict between traditional sentiments and emotional attitudes is apparent according to Steiner. An example of this takes place when one area of a city invades another area. Any type of conflict may emerge from such a condition. There are numerous other emergencies that may arise in which community tradition is unable to allay. The readjustment, resulting from such a conflict, often brings about changes that would have been thought impossible.
Differences in economic, race, or religious status are dangerous. Feuds continue long after the cause is eliminated. Cliques and factions often grow out of personal rivalries; struggles between dominant personalities often are causes of dividing communities into hostile groups. An open opposition between two banks, two families, or two newspapers have been responsible for causing cleavages in communities that have endured for years.

Community disorganization is a protest against traditionalism. Disorganization may be due to a breakdown in community control or a conflict between groups. One of the most frequent examples of community disorganization is to be found in the small city which is in transition between primary group characteristics and secondary group characteristics. Many county-seats or small industrial communities are "...so highly disorganized that a constructive program finds with great difficulty adequate support." However, "Generally speaking, disorganization not only precedes reorganization but is an essential part of the process of adjustment which must go on continuously in any progressive society." Although disorganization may be a destructive force in a community, it is a necessary adjunct to community progress.

There is always a possible clash between the interests

1 Steiner. Community Organization. p.94.
of the individual and those of the community. Individuals often find it necessary to sacrifice personal interests in order to preserve community solidarity. Steiner classifies as a debatable point the amount of obligation that one owes to his community when its demands are contrary to his own. "Individuals who are inclined to be critical rather than blindly loyal may be coerced into line by ridicule and derision or by appeals to their economic interests."¹

Not all community conflicts are destructive. Many tend to unify and promote solidarity. "The community must be thought of as composed of diverse elements, all more or less dominated by unlike or perhaps antagonistic interests. The inevitable conflicts that result from such a situation cannot be regarded as disturbing forces that tear down and impede progress. They play also a constructive role, since these conflicts relieve tensions and pave the way for accommodations and adjustments that make it possible for opposing interests to exist side by side with a minimum of friction and make their contributions to local improvements."²

Lindeman's contribution is found in his book entitled Social Discovery. He considers conflict and cooperation

---
¹ Steiner. Community organization. p.118.
² Ibid., pp.118-119.
as two parts of the same process of adjustment. "The adjustments which groups make are largely in relation to other groups."

1 Before the adjustment is complete, two sets of interests are involved, and the antagonism of interests results in conflict. "When one group opposed the interests of another group, the implication is that the challenging group considers its interests to be of a higher order of validity than those of the group which it opposes." Such an opposition is necessary in order to evaluate the interests of the factions involved.

Although the reality of conflict is unquestioned, Lindeman believes that we have failed to make constructive use of it. An understanding of the processes of conflict is one of the first steps in finding a way to use it. He thinks that this has been neglected in the past. He concludes that one of the best means of studying group actions and interactions is through the analysis of conflict.

"But, the point is that there has been no experimenting with conflict. The historical observation that mankind has known a long acquaintance with conflict is not a logical reason for attempting to dismiss it; rather it is an added reason for beginning to understand its processes." It was with this same thought that the study now being pursued was undertaken.

1 Social Discovery. p.145.
2 Ibid., pp.145-146.
3 Ibid., p.157.
The Study of Community Conflict, published under the auspices of The Inquiry, was sponsored by Lindeman. Although he did little actual work on the book, many of his ideas are embodied in it. It was hoped that an awareness of community life would solve some of its problems. With case material as a basis, the book is divided into four chapters: The Conflict Mind-Set, Discrimination of Intrinsic and Derivative Issues, Minimizing the Conflict Mind-Set, and Integrating Community Interests. The background of each chapter consists of an analysis of experiences in many communities. The result is a picture of the community in action, a cross-sectioning of life. Communities were studied in the simpler aspects, for it was thought that these conditions would be apt to recur in any community regardless of the issues of the conflict.

According to this study, conflict is seldom discovered in the offing; it comes out in full bloom before being realized by its participants. There is a great need for a technique by which the underlying factors of the "conflict mind-set" can be discovered. One advantage of studying a disintegrated community, following the ravages of conflict, is to find out some of the things not to do. After observing the mistakes brought about by conflict, The Inquiry feels that it is better able to study the background of the situation or the discrimination of issues.
The Inquiry is of the opinion that no iron-clad rules for the prevention of conflict can be discovered. Any technique must be subject to change to fit particular situations; any method by which the "conflict mind-set" can be minimized is a step in the right direction. An important factor that faces the community leader is a need to anticipate conflict before it arrives. With this knowledge, he must have, in addition, the ability to harness the energy that would normally go into the conflict, and sublimate this energy into the integration of community interests.

The Inquiry's study is incomplete, but it is a forward step. In the introduction, it acknowledges its incompleteness, and expresses the hope that in the future, not only the social scientist but also the layman will make contributions to social life and social discovery.


Of the various organized religions, the Society of Friends deserves mention because its attitude toward
social conflict is an important factor in its organization. The Friends strive for the elimination of social conflict, both in their condemnation of war and of strife in any form or degree, as is shown by the way they conduct their own meetings.

In all business meetings debate is open to all who wish to make contributions or protests. Sometimes vociferous arguments ensue. After the debate is over, the clerk writes up what he deems to have been the prevailing thought of the meeting. He reads this to the group. No vote is taken. If anyone objects about a clause, a paragraph, or the opinion in its entirety, he is at liberty to protest. A new debate may be the result. The clerk may make some changes or he may leave his original opinion as it was. As long as anyone protests, no changes can be made to that which the clerk considers as being the will of the group.

Weight of opinion is always considered. A man whose opinion is usually valid, or who has had a great deal of experience along some line, such as finance, will often find his suggestions considered by the clerk to be more valuable than the opinion of a number of other men. The following story illustrates this point. A Friend described a situation in which an elderly member of the group, who was highly esteemed, might have caused by the weight of his opinion, conflict and division in the
organization if a certain measure were brought up for discussion. It was feared that others might possibly acquire the same view as the one man had. The group waited for over twenty years, until this man had died, before considering the matter.

The Society of Friends has no constitution and by-laws, although they have a regular procedure for conducting business meetings. A method of social control is evident in the queries which are sent out to the various members. These queries relate to behavior. One which tends to definitely eliminate conflict is the following: "When differences arise, do you make earnest effort to end them speedily?" ¹

One measure of the efficacy of such an attitude toward conflict is the degree of success which it attains. In England, it has achieved marked success among its members. In the United States, the clerks and members have not always been sufficiently cautious to prevent a break. Several instances of a split in a particular group of Friends have been noticed; but on the whole, their organization attains an unusual degree of accommodation, assimilation and cooperation. How much of this attitude could be applied to the work-a-day world can only be surmised. It is possible that villages and small rural communities

¹ Quoted from a conversation with Professor R. H. Dann, Oregon State Agricultural College.
could profit greatly by even making an attempt to inaugurate some of the spirit of this attitude in their churches, grange meetings, and social gatherings. In larger communities, with their great diversity of interests and widened range of inequalities, such a Utopian social theory would probably meet a complete failure. In a small homogeneous group, however, there is much to be said in favor of the Friends' attitude toward social conflict.
CHAPTER IV

RURAL SOCIAL CONFLICT
The objects of this section are to determine to what extent the various theories of social conflict are applicable to the rural community, and to review the little that has been done on conflict in a rural situation. In regard to the first aim, it would seem clear that the theories and contributions of the Chicago school, MacIver, Steiner, and Lindeman would hold equally well for both rural and urban communities. This statement would be debatable, but would probably be upheld by the Chicago school, which holds that there is no rural sociology, but merely sociology applied to the rural situation.

From each of the contemporary sources, the universality of conflict is stressed. From the various excerpts previously quoted, all undoubtedly agree with MacIver: "For every individual there is always present the necessary choice between conflicting interests of his own; for every community there is always a conflict of interests among its members, its associations and groups."1 Each of the contemporary sources likewise agree that the chief end of conflict should be adjustment or cooperation. Hence, they would probably be in accord with this statement also by MacIver: "The development of a community involves the gradual transformation of conflicting and parallel like interests into concordant like interests through the

1 Community, a Sociological Study. p.118.
establishment of secondary common interests." This, then, is the problem and its solution.

Conflict is one of the causes for the breakdown of community solidarity. A study of rural community conflict is timely. According to Steiner: "On every hand there is so much evidence of the breakdown of solidarity in rural areas that one is inclined to regard as exceptional or peculiar a rural community that retains the undivided loyalty of its citizens both old and young." Education and travel cause many to rebel at the irksome and limited social conditions and contacts of rural areas. Friction and jealousy are easily aroused "where life is intimate and interests few." The very nature of the small community, with its limited and often too intimate contacts, is sufficient cause for friction, jealousy, and open conflict.

Various rural organizations are subject to conflicts from within. Kolb and Wiledon discuss three areas of conflict in these rural organizations, - leadership, factionalism, and opposition from outside the group. Some people will support anything they can lead and oppose anything in which they have not been given the controlling

2 Community Organization. p.110.
3 Ibid., p.305.
4 Special Interest Groups in Rural Society. In Research Bulletin, no. 84, of the Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station. p.53.
When a leader opposes a particular cause, factionalism, according to Kolb, arises frequently out of the religious backgrounds of those involved. The question of card playing and dancing is frequently a source of contention. A cleavage of this nature may cause dissension long after the problem has been apparently settled. Kolb and Wiledon's suggested solution includes an elaborate system of controls, a development of group pride in the organization, and the embodiment of standards for the members to follow. The third form of conflict, due to the opposition of interests outside the group, tends to solidify the group in its struggle with the outside group. It is a unifying force more often than a disorganizing one.

Unifying forces may impede progress more than disrupting forces, however. In those rural areas where the younger and more intelligent people leave for the city, there seems to be more cohesion and less progress. Older groups are more conservative, and younger groups more subject to change. Bruce Melvin says: "In villages where the older people predominate and control the group, action is standardized, lacks spontaneity, and is usually conducted by one of the institutions or well recognized organizations."

The matter of conflict in relation to the consolidated

---

school has been referred to by C. E. Lively: Neighborhoods are incessantly at war over the location of the consolidated building. Diverse culture groups thrown into the same consolidated district often wage inter-neighborhood conflict, which at times become disastrous to community welfare."¹ Steiner discusses a conflict over school consolidation in Long Creek.² He shows that social and economic levels, argument over location, fear of higher taxes, personal rivalries, church rivalries, and pride in old traditions all played a contributing part in community cleavage and its concomitant conflict. After the school was built, the conflict continued, and was even taken up by the children, and given expression in play groups, athletics, and other school activities. Those who most bitterly opposed the consolidation took every advantage to undermine the confidence of others in the venture. Steiner believes that any scheme that tends to run counter to old community traditions will suffer a similar consequence.

Hypes describes a conflict arising out of the opposition existing between an "over-lord" of a rural community and the school teacher.³ The school board was subse-

² American Community in Action. pp.246-263.
vient to the wishes of "Squire X". The school teacher was a farm boy of eighteen, and had had no experience. His idea of discipline was to make free use of corporal punishment. A granddaughter of "Squire X" attempted to flirt with the teacher, but was rebuffed. Later the teacher had occasion to reprove her together with a number of other pupils. She caused her brother to violate a number of school rules, with the result that the teacher resorted to corporal punishment in disciplining the boy. "Squire X" attempted to have the teacher removed, and in the conflict that followed, the town became divided. The teacher was threatened with arrest and mob violence, and was actually arrested on two occasions, but released. The outcome was that "Squire X's" arbitrary power in the community was finally broken, and later teachers did not have the disciplinary problems which had been characteristic of this school.

Religious prejudice plays a part in rural social conflict. Mt. Gilead had a strong school system, and many desired to form a consolidated district and take in three nearby communities. An influential Baptist opposed the move because these three other communities were predominantly Methodist, and he did not want the Baptist children to associate with the Methodist children. It

---

finally became necessary to consolidate, and the question then arose as to whether the school should be located in Mt. Gilead or in one of the other communities, any one of the three being less suitable than Mt. Gilead. Mt. Gilead was selected, but conditions were far from harmonious, and finally involved the school board, the principal and school activities. The entire conflict was the result of the opposition to a progressive move by a prominent religious leader.

Steiner discusses Ferrum\(^1\), a small cotton mill town in North Carolina. There are three factions in this town. There is an influential element, who is progressive and would like to create a community solidarity. A second group is the skilled workers, such as the carpenters and mechanics, who have successfully blocked every effort made by the progressive group. The third group is composed of the mill workers, who hold the balance of power. The chief area of factional wars has been in relation to the schools, - superintendents, principals, teachers and school buildings. This is a case of complete group rivalry, in which one group opposes everything that the other offers, regardless of merit.

Conflict may be of a passive type as well as active.

---

\(^1\) Steiner. American Community in Action. pp.134-152.
Hoffer describes a case in which no conflict appeared on the surface. A possible reason for the latent condition of the conflict was the lack of any clear-cut issue that would bring it to a head. The town was friendly to the farmers, but the farmers were antagonistic and non-cooperative. Land values had declined, prices for farm produce had lowered, the town was taking on some urban aspects, and the farmers suspected the chamber of commerce program of being an effort toward domination. There was no open hostility. Hoffer describes the conflict as being one of avoidance and secrecy. Newspapers did not mention it; leaders would not discuss it; and everyone was hoping that if it were ignored, it would die out of its own accord. Because of the attitude of avoidance and secrecy of those engaged, the conflict became known to few except those who were involved.

Ross discusses town-country conflict. "The farmer drives into town with his wheat or hogs and asks some buyer, 'What are you paying for this today?' Later in the day, with the proceeds in his pocket, he enters the store of the hardware dealer or implement man, picks up a desired object and inquires, 'What are you asking for this?' The fact that whether he sells or buys the farmer has been

letting the other fellow do all the pricing exhibits in a nutshell his economic passiveness.¹

Ross also calls attention to the fact that laboring classes have united; railroads no longer practice rate cutting; merchants and manufacturers cooperate. In contrast, the farmer's cooperative organizations are few. Wealth is becoming centered in urban areas, and the condition of the farmer continues to be one of dependency. Through service clubs, such as Kiwanis or Rotary, businessmen develop a we-feeling with one another, but the farmers, being scattered over a wide area, find it difficult to meet at regular intervals. The contrast between the two groups are evident. Ross sees no class trouble, but he recognizes that "...the conflict causes waste of effort and wealth, sacrifices innocent bystanders, disorganizes the community and stirs up devastating passions."²

Burr suggests that town-country conflicts usually date back to the pioneer period.³ The merchants of Trenton spoke of their trade territory. They were concerned with profit without regard to service rendered, with the result that the farmers began to feel that they were being exploited. The farmers suspected the merchants of meeting secretly to fix prices and to blacklist certain unfortu-

nate farmers who temporarily could not pay their bills. To make matters worse, a farmer's loan company charged a commission that was not fixed, but was determined in relation to the need of the farmer for money. The farmers began to order goods from mail order houses; and through their Grange and Farmer's Union, they ordered car-load lots of goods at wholesale prices. The merchants first ridiculed and condemned the farmers, and then refused the farmers credit. They felt that it was an imposition for outside agencies to usurp their territory. Both groups are now trying to understand their conflict, and the evils of the situation are being eliminated.

Hummel presents a Virginia study of inter-community conflict. Until good roads and the automobile penetrated the region just recently, the country had been in comparative isolation for over two hundred years. Each of three little villages had its own churches and schools. There was little mobility among the people and life was peaceful and quiet. In contrast to other communities observed, this one did not develop a great deal of conflicting interests over changing conditions. A conflict arose over the consolidated school location, but this did not involve hatred or hostility. The banks, business men, and religious organizations of the three communities cooperated

with one another. These people realized that a shift in inter-community relationships had taken place and they were willing to meet the problem.

Hummel observes that "a shift in inter-community relationships is taking place everywhere and it is only by the practical application of the best information we have available that excessive conflict can be avoided."¹ Studies of rural community conflicts are timely, and fulfill a need in sociology. Steiner suggests that "...the modern community movement is a direct product of this conflict with the forces that are undermining the traditional position of the simple community of the past. Under the pressure of this conflict, the older ideas of the community movement are undergoing rapid changes."²

The writer was unable to find in the available literature any study of social conflict in Oregon. Boyd made a study of community life in Lane County, which was published in the Commonwealth Review of 1920. Parsons made a study of the problem of the rural village areas in Oregon, which was published in the Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work in 1928. The Commonwealth Review of July, 1930, carried an article by Reinhardt entitled Rural Community Organization. Some appli-

2 Whither the Community Movement? In the Survey. April 15, 1929. p.130.
cations of the article related to Linn, Washington, and Multnomah Counties without any mention of social conflict being made. The only reference in the literature that the writer had access to was one by Potwin in the Commonwealth Review of March, 1930. This was an article entitled The Community Organization Movement in Linn County. Reference was made that Sweet Home was divided prior to the community organization movement, but no other suggestion of social conflict was given. Since the field of social conflict in Oregon has received little study hitherto, sociological data on the subject should be organized and presented.
CHAPTER V

CASE STUDIES
Map I. Location of the Communities Referred to in the Case Studies.
In Table I, the letter X indicates the presence of a characteristic. The letter D indicates the dominant conflict in those cases in which several conflicts are connected.
## Basis of the Conflicts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Town or Community</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Civic</th>
<th>Civil Rights</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Police</th>
<th>Political</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Stage One</th>
<th>Stage Two</th>
<th>Stage Three</th>
<th>Tolerance</th>
<th>Caution</th>
<th>Cooperation</th>
<th>Latent</th>
<th>Still Active</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Banks</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brush Creek</td>
<td>Linn</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Bloodshed, Murder</td>
<td>Modified</td>
<td>Mostly Legal</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burns</td>
<td>Harney</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Violent</td>
<td>Slight</td>
<td>Modified</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Point</td>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Divided the Town</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>Modified</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clatskanie</td>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condon</td>
<td>Gilliam</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Violent</td>
<td>Modified</td>
<td>Slight</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grass Valley</td>
<td>Sherman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Slight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helix</td>
<td>Umatilla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rivalry</td>
<td>Proselyzing</td>
<td>Violent</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hood River</td>
<td>Hood River</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>Marion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan Valley</td>
<td>Malheur</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Violent</td>
<td>Modified</td>
<td>Slight</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klamath Falls</td>
<td>Klamath</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakeview</td>
<td>Lake</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milton</td>
<td>Umatilla</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Slight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newberg</td>
<td>Yamhill</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Slight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak Grove</td>
<td>Linn</td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Violent</td>
<td>Violent</td>
<td>Modified</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reedsport</td>
<td>Douglas</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Slight</td>
<td>Violent</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roseburg</td>
<td>Douglas</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Violent</td>
<td>Violent</td>
<td>Violent</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shevlin-Hixon</td>
<td>Deschutes</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Violent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telocaset</td>
<td>Union</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toledo</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Violent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valsertz</td>
<td>Polk</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolf Creek</td>
<td>Josephine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total (Eastern Oregon)    | 0103131320036 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total (Western Oregon)    | 13360001322235 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total (Entire State)      | 143931326422611 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

**Table I.**
This section consists of twenty-four case studies of typical Oregon communities. Twelve of these are located in western Oregon, and twelve in eastern Oregon. This selection is in harmony with the geographical conditions. The state is divided by the Cascade Mountains into eastern and western sections. Eastern Oregon differs from western Oregon in soil, climate, products, and in the conditions of life of the respective populations. Ranching, wheat raising, and mining are the chief interests of the eastern section, with the addition of lumbering in three counties - Klamath, Deschutes, and Union. The coast side has most of the commercial cities, lumber and other manufactures, fishing and general farming. In the eastern section, the population is spread thinly over a vast area with few towns. In the western side, the towns have more people than the country; although these towns, on the whole, are dependent upon the rural area around them.

Community studies - similar to those found in The American Community in Action by Steiner - have been attempted in the first three cases, - those of Roseburg, Valsetz, and Telocaset. The other cases are but abstracts of more complete studies. The aim was to isolate the predominant conflict and portray its development. In several communities, it seemed impossible to determine the most outstanding conflict, therefore in order to avoid an
arbitrary selection, the two or three most important con-
fl icts were chosen for discussion.

Besides Roseburg and Valsetz, western Oregon is repre-
sented with cases from the following communities:

Banks.
Brush Creek.
Central Point.
Clatskanie.
Jefferson.
Oak-Grove.
Newburg.
Reedsport.
Toledo.
Wolf Creek.

In addition to Telocaset, communities in the eastern
part of the state which are discussed are the following:

Baker.
Burns.
Condon.
Grass Valley.
Helix.
Hood River.
Jordan Valley.
Klamath Falls.
Lakeview.
Milton.
Shevlin-Hixon.

As a means of ready reference, the shorter studies have been arranged in alphabetical order.

Table I portrays graphically the material to be found in the case studies, and Map I indicates the location of communities studied.

ROSEBURG

Roseburg is the county-seat of Douglas County, and has a population of about four thousand four hundred. The several branches of the Umpqua River which drain Douglas County, provide within their valleys very fertile farming areas. The county is isolated, both geographically and culturally from its surrounding areas. The northern edge of the county is marked by an east-west range of hills, which form the divide between the Willamette and Umpqua Rivers. On the east is the Cascade Range which separates eastern and western Oregon. On the south is a series of hills which separate southern Oregon from Douglas County, while the Pacific Ocean furnishes the western boundary.

This isolation is reflected in the people. The people are among the most conservative in the state. They are eager to let well enough alone. Energy that could well be channelized in a constructive manner has often been dissipated in petty conflicts. This conservatism is not
so noticable to the casual observer, for there are prob­ably more miles of paved streets there than in any other
town of its size in the state, and the buildings in the
business district are creditable for a town of its size.
One notices the conservatism most in the thought of the
people, of which more will be said later.

Roseburg - today - is virtually dependent upon the
farming area which surrounds it. Formerly, its chief
income was from a railroad payroll. It was a division
point for the Southern Pacific Railroad, and about three
hundred families in the city received their support from
this company. In 1926, the division point was moved to
Eugene and so were the families. This was a big blow to
the economic life of the city. The building of a large
soldier's home promises to aid Roseburg in the future;
but at present, it is dependent upon its rural area,
supplemented slightly by tourist trade.

Roseburg was settled about 1850. Then as now, it was
more or less isolated from the rest of the state. The
railroad from Portland was built in the 1870's and Rose­
burg became the end of the line. Stage lines extended
from Roseburg to Yreka, California, and to Coos Bay. In
the 1880's, the railroad was extended to connect with
California lines, and from then till a few years ago, the
chief income of Roseburg was from a railroad payroll as
has been mentioned.
Roseburg serves as a center for a good farming area, but it is too far removed from the markets to make farm products very profitable as an export. It is two hundred miles distant from a large city, and seventy-five miles removed from any city of like size. There are a few incorporated towns in the county, which Roseburg serves as a specialized trade center. These towns are as isolated and as economically handicapped as Roseburg. They have each had a boom period in the past, being represented as rich agricultural districts, but with the exception of the somewhat removed coast area, they have since remained virtually stationary or have declined since 1910. The names of the villages with respective populations are Drain 500, Glendale 520, Oakland 420, Sutherlin 450, Myrtle Creek 400, and Yoncalla 250; Reedsport with 1180 is one day removed from Roseburg by car, and has no connection with the Roseburg economy and has no social contact with Roseburg.

Opportunities are scarce and young people, who stay in Roseburg, are too much influenced by an older generation, and the more intelligent are for the most part compelled to work in positions beneath their capacities. Those with ambition usually go to Portland or to California. Isolation, with conservatism, is the usual thing, but every so often there must be a violent outbreak to take care of unused energies. These start out as petty
dissensions, but often pass over into community conflict. Such is the set-up in Roseburg.

Religious conflicts have been many, but I shall only consider two which have occurred in the last ten years. In 1923, a Four Square Gospel evangelist by the name of Price came to Roseburg, where he remained three or four weeks. Faith healing had reached a boom period. Coue's name was in the paper, and many people in Roseburg had read his book. Price was an Aimee Semple McPherson product, and at this time, Aimee was just beginning to gain her prominence.

Price claimed that he could cure all types of physical ills and demonstrated nightly his prowess in this respect. The Presbyterian minister accepted whole-heartedly, the Christian minister opposed vigorously from his pulpit, and the Methodist minister remained neutral. Many members of the Christian and Presbyterian churches left their particular churches on account of the stand of their ministers. Christians and Presbyterians criticized the Methodists and their minister for not making a stand one way or another. Since the Methodists were also divided, one wing demanded their minister to commit himself. This proved great advertising for Price, who claimed that the Lord was breaking up the other denominations that all could collect under the banner of the Four Square Gospel.

In the stores, at lodge meetings, on the street corners and in the home, all that one could hear was Price.
People either were over-enthusiastic in favor of him or else there was nothing too damning for one to say about him. This broke up friendships of years' duration, many of which have never been resumed. It was the beginning of domestic trouble in a number of homes which finally led to cases of separation and divorce.

The Presbyterian and Christian churches lost much of their membership, and have not yet recovered fully from the clash. The Methodist gained and lost, but broke about even. The Baptist seemed unaffected by the conflict. The Presbyterian and Christian churches discharged their ministers and the Methodist church brought sufficient pressure against the bishops so that their minister was also changed.

The Four Square Gospel built a church and had a large membership. They opposed other religious orders and in turn were opposed. Both sides had a feeling of martyrdom. Religion gained nothing and lost much.

Another social conflict involving religion centered about the Ku Klux Klan. This was not as potent in its influence as the one discussed previously, but was noticeable in varying degrees in all churches of the town. One preacher talked favorably in regard to the Ku Klux Klan on a Sunday evening when the Klan visited his church in full regalia. All the Protestant churches were visited at
different times by groups of Klansmen, who were always
dressed in their uniforms on these occasions. Arguments,
followed by hard feelings, between members of the Catholic
church and various Protestant churches were not infrequent.
In Roseburg, the Klan issue involved all the churches, and
while the conflict did not last long, some scars still
remain.

While the Ku Klux Klan controversy was at fever
height, a school board election took place. The local
board was composed of five members, one of which favored
the Klan. Two of those against the Klan were running for
re-election, and they were opposed by two men who were
favorable. No mention was made as to the good of the
school, but the election hinged on Klan or anti-Klan.
The Klansmen were both elected by large majorities. This
threw the balance of power in favor of the Klan, and the
superintendent offered to resign as did a number of the
teachers. The board allayed the fears of the superinten-
dent and teachers and made it known that they had no
intention of changing the status quo. A conflict that all
but caused bodily injury to all concerned had come to
naught as far as outward appearances were concerned.

In 1917 and 1918, a terrific conflict occurred over
the schools, which carried down through the levels of the
high school. One grade school teacher, the study-hall
teacher in high school, and the high school principal were
not rehired. The summer vacation had prevented any vehement expression, but when the schools opened in the fall, the community became aflame. The principal and grade school teacher had left the town, but the study-hall teacher remained. It was thought that these people had been treated unjustly. Petitions were circulated about the town with the aim of later presenting these to the school board in an effort to have the study-hall teacher restored to the staff. The petitions were signed by the majority of the town's population, and a separate petition presented before the high school group was signed by all but two students.

This situation greatly lowered the efficiency of the school year, 1917-1918, especially in the high school. The superintendent of schools who was partly to blame for the removal was booed upon every appearance before the student body. It was three months before the new high school principal could face the student body without being booed. The result was that the high school was almost a school without a head. The old teachers took turns of being in charge of the study-hall and this probably prevented a riot. The following year, a new principal and a new superintendent brought things back to a harmonious state.

Another school conflict developed in 1930. This arose
when the Junior High School principal was deposed. He had been principal of the Junior High school for seven years, but only had a normal school education. The superintendent had asked him a number of times to take a few summer sessions in some college or better still to take a year's leave of absence to increase his education. This he failed to do and in 1930, he was not rehired. This caused a severe conflict for a few weeks. Petitions were circulated in his behalf. The school board had acted wisely, but there were many who thought he had been unjustly treated, especially after he had been there so long. This conflict finally died out of its own accord, the school board ignoring the petition and the opposition being tired of fighting.

The Umpqua River, Deer Creek, the railroad yards, and the business district cut Roseburg up into six distinct residential districts. Deer Creek separates North Roseburg; West Roseburg is separated by the Umpqua River; the Grove is separated by the railroad yards, and the courthouse area and the south end of town are cut off from each other by the business district. In several cases, races for mayor have caused a hot-bed of dissension and conflict. Precinct conflicts have carried over into elections for county offices. The election of sheriff, county attorney, and county judge have often been decided by the partiality or antagonism of one or another of the districts of the
town. These various clashes have prevented Roseburg from having a new library, because various sections of town are jealous of having it located in another area. The old library is still located in an abandoned dwelling.

About 1924 or 1925, a conflict arose out of the community chest drive. Prior to this time, the people, especially the business men, had been bombarded by various charitable agencies and drives for other organizations. It was decided to give all contributors to the community chest a card that could be put in the window of a home or store. The aim was to get everybody to pay into this and not to pay into anything else.

The community chest included a budget for the Boy Scouts and the Campfire Girls. This caused a great deal of comment, and some people used this as an excuse for not contributing. Finally, it was decided that the names of all those contributing, together with the amounts given, would be turned over to the newspaper editor. This was done and when the names commenced to be published, other people fell into line because they did not want their names to be missed by the town gossips. A few business firms increased the amount of their donations before it got to the paper.

The community drive was a success from the standpoint of the money raised. After that time, there was never any question about a budget for the Boy Scouts and Campfire
Girls being included; but in the first campaign, it threatened the success of the drive.

This did not end the conflict over the first community chest, however. During the year, the head of the Salvation Army was changed. The new man, in the eyes of the community chest board, was spending money unwisely. They refused to turn over any more money that had been set aside for the Salvation Army. Some people arose in angry protest and threatened the board. They said "We intended a part of our contribution to go to the Salvation Army and we are going to see that it does." The board remained firm, however. Fist-fights were prevented when the former Salvation Army leader was sent back to Roseburg. The board was satisfied with the way this man used the money. Payments were again made. An open conflict was eliminated, even though animosity in some cases was not lessened.

The effect of the city newspaper has seldom been the cause of a conflict, but has often been an instrumentality in keeping the conflict aflame. The newspaper by playing one side against the other has had good "copy", and because it is eager to enter into even a potential conflict, it increases its subscription rate and prosperity.

Roseburg would feel at a loss without some element of conflict in the offing. As early as it is in the year, the town is alive from one end to the other in regard to the coming election. It is seldom greatly concerned over
national affairs, but usually becomes very excited over
the county elections, and not infrequently over the mayor-
alty contest.

In spite of all the conflicts that I have mentioned,
the community tends decidedly more toward integration than
it does toward disorganization. These conflicts are not
continuous, and as far as the majority of inhabitants are
concerned, are of fairly short duration. There are always
enough people to start a conflict on the least provocation,
and almost any petty conflict can be enlarged into wide
dimensions.

To my knowledge, no one has tried to integrate the
community. In fact, there is very little reason why they
should. Roseburg is living up to its present potentiali-
ties. It is not far from one of the largest belts of
standing timber in the world, but this could just as
easily be tapped from two other towns in the county.
Unless it be timber, Roseburg has nothing to increase its
importance. Its isolation geographically has caused an
isolation of thought. Under such conditions, an occasional
conflict is no doubt stimulating.

VALSETZ

Valsetz is located in the western part of Polk
County, just west of the divide of the Coast Range Moun-
tains. The area is the center of a vast timber belt, the eastern edge of which has been logged off, but the greater portion which lies west of Valsetz, has not been touched. Lumbering is the only economy of the community.

When the mill closed down, last July, there was a population of eleven or twelve hundred. To accommodate this population, there was one store, one pool-hall, one ranch and dairy, one doctor, one barber, two cook-shacks and one movie. A dentist from Independence came in Saturday night and remained until Sunday night, and thus took care of dental needs. The store, the ranch, the pool-hall, the cook-shack, bunk-houses, and residences were all company-owned. The doctor was hired by the company, the movie house was leased to a mill hand, and a barber shop given over to a barber. In fact, all the real property of Valsetz is owned by the Cobbs, Mitchell Lumber Company.

The elementary school and the high school were housed in one building. The elementary school was one of the training centers for the Oregon Normal School. From twelve to sixteen Normal School girls were in the community at any one time. A dormitory adjacent to the schoolhouse took care of the needs of these girls. Each group of these girls immediately became a part of the community. A very strict regime at the Normal School caused these girls to crave and take advantage of the additional freedom which a term at Valsetz gave them. On the other hand, there
were always quite a number of young men at the mill who depended upon the association of the girls at the dormitory.

The only institution in the community was the Parent-Teachers' Association. The absence of a church or a lodge in the community of its size is very noticeable, but the absence of these institutions did not seem to be felt by anyone.

The Parent-Teachers' Association was the solidifying factor of the community. The matter of social status and clique membership was abandoned in the P.T.A. meeting. Men and women from Camp One, "Snoozeville", Camp Six, and "Mud Alley", and Cadillac Avenue mingled and conversed freely with one another. Committee membership was represented by each section of the community. The P.T.A. cooperated fully with the school authorities and it only had to be told of a school need to make an effort to fulfill it. Unlike most P.T.A.'s, the one at Valsetz never interfered with the program of the school.

There was no law enforcement in the community except an extra-legal social control exercised by the mill authorities. Neither was there a desire on the part of anyone for law enforcement. All kinds of intoxicating liquors ran freely as water, and it was not uncommon for people to have what was called "open house" from time to time. Liquor was made, bargained for, and exchanged
without an effort being made to stop or challenge it. Only a few people had questioned the matter of liquor, or the punchboards and money machines at the pool-hall. They only openly criticized but once, with the result that the mill authorities paid them off and sent them on their way.

Only three matters of social conflict have presented themselves in the community. All related to the school. One conflict was built around the principal who was there during the school year of 1929-1930. He was a graduate of Willamette University, and like his alma mater, he was ultra Methodist. He could not fit into the community, so he tried to make the community over. His efforts to reform the town met with immediate resentment on the part of the populace. Two or three families stepped over to his side, but the rest of the town could say nothing good for him. To make matters worse, his wife did not play bridge, and hence could find no area of contact. The result was that she remained home in isolation, and thus was unable to help her husband. One Monday morning, following a Saturday night dance, the principal found a beer bottle on the school ground. He discussed the matter in assembly and then published an article about it in the high school paper. This threw him into open conflict with all but one family and two teachers. The high school pupils ignored him. He was afraid of the older students, so he publicly spanked a freshman, the smallest boy in high school. The
father of the boy made the announcement that he would "beat up" the principal and accordingly, he waited out in front of the schoolhouse every afternoon for a week in order to carry out his threat. Each afternoon, the principal, in company with a baseball bat, went out the back door of the schoolhouse, crossed back lots and thence home. All the pupils of the school lost respect for the principal. He was ignored in all his policies, and the older boys would not let him participate in baseball with them. Of the two teachers, who did cooperate, one was his high school assistant, and the other was a critic teacher from the Normal school. At the end of the year, the school board removed the assistant teacher and succeeded in persuading the Normal School to remove the principal and critic teacher. By the next fall when the school year commenced, the people were so desirous of having a successful school year that they did everything to cooperate and promote the welfare of the school. The new principal was given assurance by people from all parts of town that they would be more than glad to cooperate in any way.

Another conflict developed over a school board election. The school board was and had always been composed of officers of the mill company. A personal rivalry existed between the manager of the mill and the timber boss. In the spring of 1930, the timber boss ran for re-election, and was opposed by another officer of the
company who received the endorsement of the mill manager. The main part of the community divided on the controversy, but Camp One and Camp Six went solidly behind the timber boss, and in the election he was re-elected. This political conflict, although at fever heat before the election, left no detrimental after-effect. In fact, a few months after the election, a fair degree of friendship existed between the timber boss and the manager of the mill.

The janitor of the school caused a great deal of dissension, and some social conflict ensued. The janitor had been employed for many years by the timber boss, and when he could no longer work in the woods, the timber boss gave him a job as janitor of the school. The janitor would pay little attention to his regular duties and was very lax in the care of the building. When teachers would ask favors of him, they would be ignored. In the matter of the furnace room and the keeping of proper heat for the building, he was very good, but in his other janitorial duties, he was extremely inefficient. He was a great lover of flowers and since he liked to work outdoors, he surrounded the school grounds with rows and beds of flowers. If children disturbed or accidentally stepped on any of these flowers, it was his custom to spank them or give them a shaking. Parents resented this and complained to the principal. The principal, previous to the Willamette University man discussed before, took sides with the
parents and censured the janitor. The timber boss succeeded in causing the principal not to be rehired, the reason being his opposition to the janitor. In the fall of 1930, the new principal was told by the school board that the janitor was a fixture and would have to be put up with therefore. The new principal prevailed upon the janitor to bring all his troubles to him and by praising him in little things, succeeded in securing better cooperation. He was never a satisfactory janitor, but did not stir up any more trouble in the community.

**TELOCASET**

Telocaset is a little railroad station located in Union County at the foot of the Blue Mountains. Isolation of the region made it difficult for the government to detect lawbreakers. This led the first settlers, who were really outlaws, to think that the only law necessary to regard was the kind expressed by their local customs and habits. Later, the community drew homesteaders who came for the purpose of making an honest living. Besides these two groups, are the foreigners who work on the section gangs of the railroad.

To most of the older people, sex problems are the most important topics of daily discussion, and no young girl could have a caller without every one in the com-
nity knowing about it and usually forming the wrong opinions. A good example of this occurred during the summer vacation when a young man spent a week at the home of his 'girl', who lived in the community. On the first day of his visit, a farmer saw the young couple driving toward the city. The first thought that came into his mind was that they were going after the marriage license, and soon the farmers had the young couple married. When the young man left, different stories came out. People were forming their opinions fast as to the reason why he left. Some thought that the girl must not have been as pure as he first thought she was. Others thought it might have been her parents that did not like him, and so on. A few farmers manufacture the most disgraceful stories of a similar nature. They see cars parked on road sides all night long.

Many believe that the younger generation is going to the dogs, and that free love and birth control are the most pernicious practices known to human beings. This comes from the first settlers who themselves have sowed their wild oats in their youth. Two of these families have no children. One family have a daughter who has a very bad reputation and is no longer accepted by young men as a girl they would like to be seen with in public.

Families of this community are very religious. Most of them also believe that girls should be married as young
as possible. The quantity of admirers that one girl has is much more important than quality. Therefore, many girls are married in the community at an early age. Few of the people have had a high school education and only about two or three out of a hundred have been to college.

The racial question is also considered a very live one. The Union Pacific railroad runs through the community. Mexicans and Italians work on the section gangs of the railroad. Some of these workers have become permanent residents and have families. Therefore, the Americans in the community consider it very important to see that their children do not come into too close contact with the "dagos", "greasers", or other foreigners, even though some were born in the community and others have been there a long time. The Americans are especially self-centered because they have never been forced to share affections or attentions or to become social minded. They usually see things from their own point of view and are not readily able to get the other person's or to make due allowances for his interests or his feelings. Their children are often Republicans because their father is; they read the Bible every Sunday morning because their mother does. If they should use their reason or in any way form opinions or ideas different from those of their parents they are criticized for not respecting or loving their parents. Many foreigners in the community are criticized from that
point of view. In the foreign family there are several different opinions or ideas. Every one is more or less individualistic, especially those who are living among the Americans or any other group of people besides the one that they were born in.

Many foreign men who came here first settled down in the community and when they had a permanent job, they sent for their families, so the members of the families are often separated from each other for a period of time. The Americans in the community could not see how any husband could be away from his wife and children for a year or two. For instance, two years ago a young couple in the community were married. Since they had never been to Portland, they chose it as a place for their honeymoon. They were planning a two week's trip. When they had been gone for a few days, the bride's mother became lonesome for her daughter, and the bride likewise became homesick, with the result that the girl was back with her mother within a week. News in the community traveled fast; people remarked: "How happy and proud that mother must be to have reared a child who loves her so much, and could not leave her parents like many young girls are doing now!"

One can imagine how much respect they have for a girl who will be away from her home for years. This is one reason why so few girls go to school. Another reason, which probably is most important as far as girls in foreign
families are concerned, is that the American residents and the foreigners are not on friendly terms. Italians and Mexicans have worked there for some time, and many of them are now foremen of section gangs. Farmers do not have enough work on the farm during the winter season, so they work also in the section gangs. They feel that they should not be working under an Italian foreman and they are continually causing trouble, not only to their boss but to his family. His children are looked down upon in school, and his wife is ostracized.

BAKER

Location and background.

Baker, a town of seven thousand eight hundred, is located in Baker County in the northeastern part of the state. The town was supported by mining, agriculture and stock-raising until about 1900, at which time the lumber industry superseded the other industries. The lumber industry has been on the wane during the past few years, and the city is now becoming more and more dependent upon its agriculture.

Bases of Conflicts.

The population of Baker is segregated into racial, religious and economic groups. Conflicts between these
groups or within these various groups are rather frequent and always potential.

**Conflicts in action.**

The racial groups consist of Chinese, Japanese, and Belgians, besides the native Americans. The Chinese for the most part are engaged in truck farming. Many of the Japanese are proprietors of restaurants and rooming-houses. The Belgians are employed in the mills. Many of them do not speak a word of English. They have their own grocery and meat market and go to town only for necessary shopping. They come into contact with other people of the town merely by virtue of their beer making. None of the classes are accepted by the whites as equals. As long as they keep their places, they are treated indifferently rather than discourteously, but there is always a possibility of a conflict bursting out upon a moment's notice.

Religious conflicts have not been infrequent. Upon a number of occasions, the Catholic and Protestant churches have been antagonistic toward one another over a political election. These conflicts usually subside as soon as the election is over. A terrific conflict was stirred up a few years ago, however, by the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan paraded through the streets, and on various occasions burned immense crosses on the hills east and southwest of Baker. The purpose of these demonstrations was to arouse the
Protestants so that they would be willing to contribute to the new Protestant hospital. It was alleged that when the Catholic hospital was built, everyone was solicited, but only the Catholics were given credit. The funds were secured, and the Protestant hospital built, but not until after a violent conflict had ensued.

A problem that might be called religious - through the fact that the religious element attempts to root it out - is that of licentiousness. At one time the town had a licensed "red-light" district. This was in the "good-old-days" when the saloon element ran the affairs of the town. After a bitter struggle, the houses of prostitution were closed up, but the practice did not cease. The modern successors to the old "mining girls" are still in evidence. Frequently, a hotel is raided - when the religious element arouses enough opposition to make the police officers act - after which the practice shifts to another location in the community.

Only minor conflicts have arisen out of the economic groups of the town. There is the more elite type, which live on first and second streets. Besides this group, there are the families with varying degrees of economic status. The many cliques among these various economic groups often find expression also in the life of their children. The men are more democratic than the women, but among the women's organizations, there have been a number
of minor outbreaks, and conflicts are always imminent.

**Termination.**

At the present time, there are no open conflicts. They have all been successfully adjusted or allayed. No effort has been made to integrate the community, and in fact, with such a diversity of people and interests, such a task would be next to impossible. There are sufficient possibilities in Baker for even the most violent conflicts to develop.

**BANKS**

**Location and background.**

Banks, a town of six hundred seventy people, is located about seven miles from Forest Grove in Washington County. The community is on a good road but off the main traveled highway. Lumber, at one time, was the leading industry, but all the available nearby timber has been cut away. It is now wholly dependent upon agriculture, and the empty store buildings indicate that the town has passed its boom days and is in a state of decline.

**Basis of conflict.**

Only one type of conflict has been evident in Banks, that which arises out of racial prejudice. A Japanese, negro, and Philippine invasion has been out of harmony with
the old regime.

Conflict in action.

In the spring of 1928, a few Japanese came into the locality and leased a farm for a period of five years. This created considerable excitement. At first the common consensus of opinion was that the Japanese were merely advance agents trying to gain a foothold, and would soon overrun the country with cheap labor and ragged Japanese families. There was also the matter of race prejudice. The fact was overlooked that the farmers themselves could stop the influx by refusing to lease their farms; but since the Japanese paid good rental, other farmers leased their properties.

Until this time, the raising of strawberries had not been engaged in by the local farmers. The Japanese planted all their land to strawberries, and as it became evident that this was going to be a profitable industry, the conflict began to assume an aspect of magnitude. Serious trouble was probably averted when the white townspeople were hired to help pick the berries.

This action allayed the problem for two years, but in 1930, Philippine and negro labor was brought in (or came in of its own accord) and the town began to show its dissatisfaction immediately. The feeling against Filipinos was most acute. They were kept out of the local dance-
hall, and were restricted to living in small houses and tents located near the berry fields. Their trade was accepted in the stores, but they were made to feel their supposedly inferior position. The people to whom employment has been possible by the business ability of the Japanese have no complaint to make; neither do the commercial interests who are profiting. Nearly everybody else in the community is viciously opposed to the racial groups, especially toward the Filipinos and negroes. The conflict apparently has shifted to a struggle between two white groups - those who are profiting by the venture and those who are not. As for the Japanese, they are upholding their position with dignity and are commanding respect. They have built up an industry and by hard work and wise management are maintaining it even in a period of depression.

The ancient basis of conflict, that of supplanting the native by cheaper immigrant labor, has broken out anew. Current newspaper reports show the intensity of the conflict. The Oregonian of April 23, 1932, had the following comment: "Threats of a riot in the strawberry fields near Banks brought Sheriff Connell and deputies to the district. ... Sheriff Connell, upon arriving at the scene, discussed the situation with several of the leading citizens and warned them against any move that would incite a race riot and possible bloodshed." The Oregon Journal
of April 24, 1932, had the following comment: "Merchants have advanced groceries to many of the eighty-four Filipinos, who have been working in the berry fields all winter, and they do not wish to see the Filipinos driven out penniless, and without paying their bills." Most of the Filipinos were driven out of town on April twenty-fifth, and the Oregon Journal of that date observes: "Although Filipinos and many white residents believe the Filipinos are being unjustly treated, there is no desire on the part of anyone to precipitate racial clashes."

**Termination.**

The conflict is still active, without any apparent effort being made to adjust the community. A possible solution would be to find employment for those white people who are out of work; but with the total absence of resources in Banks, together with the general depression, this is not a hopeful solution.

**BRUSH CREEK**

**Location and background.**

Brush Creek is about thirty-three miles southeast of Albany in Linn County. It is a narrow valley about two miles wide at the widest point and about seven miles long, and is drained by Brush Creek which empties into the Calapooia River at Crawfordsville. It is a rather typical
agricultural community, the people engaging in the raising of cattle, grain, poultry, dairy products, and some fruit and berries.

**Basis of conflicts.**

Conflicts arise out of struggles between an old pioneer family which has a few followers, and the remainder of the community.

**Conflicts in action.**

About thirty years ago, a large family of German origin settled in the valley. They had very little education and became somewhat separated from the rest of the community. This separation developed into a division of the community - one group consisting of the J----- family and the other of the balance of the valley. This division has continued down to the present day and has been the source of the greatest conflict among the residents, manifesting itself in the school, religious activities, civic affairs, elections, and telephone service.

The J-----s never favored educational advancement and never had a member of their family attend school after the eighth grade. They have continuously discouraged improvements or changes in community affairs. Those people, who constantly worry about taxation and change in the ways of doing things, were attracted to the group headed by the J-----s.
Termination.

No effort has been made to terminate these conflicts, and there seems to be little reason for so doing. When a member of one group meets a member of the other group, he greets him pleasantly, but when a problem arises, the old lines of separation are evident.

BURNS

Location and background.

Burns is located in southeastern Oregon. It is the county-seat of Harney County, the largest county in the state, and has a population of two thousand six hundred. Up to 1926, it was strictly agricultural, with the inhabitants relying solely upon the stock industry as a means of a livelihood. One of the largest stands of yellow pine timber in the world is close to Burns, and since 1926, the lumber industry has increased the importance of the community.

Bases of conflicts.

Conflicts are the outgrowth of either struggles between individuals and groups over property, or the antagonisms arising out of the two local newspapers.

Conflicts in action.

The first apparent conflict occurred between the
large landholders and the small homesteaders. The trouble resulted in many battles, both physical and legal, over such matters as range and water rights. To this day there are a number of lawsuits between the large landholders and small homesteaders. One great difference has taken place in the last few years, however. The early conflicts resulted in some bloodshed and murders, whereas the present conflicts are less violent.

A serious rivalry, which is not entirely eradicated, arose between the cattle owners and the sheep raisers. Each group attempted to obtain as much pasture land as possible for themselves, and thus deprive the others of that much. Very serious difficulties were barely averted.

Conflicts are frequent between the followers of two influential newspapers. These conflicts continue their expression in two of the lodges, the editor of newspaper Y being a member of one lodge, and the editor of newspaper Z belonging to the other lodge. Lodge A serves as a center for social gatherings and attempts no political organization. Lodge B advocates the repeal of prohibition, and many of its members have been convicted for violation of the eighteenth amendment.

Termination.

The strife between the cattlemen and the sheepmen has, for the most part, been eliminated or brought under
control. Each group saw that the best land was not necessarily that which the other group was occupying. Most of the open range land was transferred into national forest reserves. The Forest Service of the United States has assigned the land impartially. Social conflicts over property rights have been almost entirely eliminated. Those conflicts arising out of the newspaper followings and lodge groups have little chance of adjustment as long as the attitudes of the people remain as they are today.

CENTRAL POINT

Location and background.

Central Point in Jackson County is the home of some eight hundred people. The town has declined until it is in a "rut". The Pacific Highway runs through the main street of the town. The merchants exist through the winter and live during the summer from tourist trade.

Basis of conflicts.

The conflicts arise out of a static mental condition on the part of the inhabitants and an unwillingness to cooperate.

Conflict in action.

There was a conflict, which closely resembled a feud, between the grocery store men. There are five grocery
stores, each with an average of about a hundred customers. Competition is very keen, but every merchant is so in debt that he cannot afford to leave the town, so they all remain trying to eke out a living. One merchant refused to cooperate and caused all the trouble. He gives credit to almost everyone, lives in the store and opens it at all times of the day and night. He is the nightmare of the other four grocers who attempt to run their establishments on a cash basis and close up on Sundays and holidays. They fought each other on every occasion that presented itself.

For a number of years the school board kept a simmering conflict in abeyance. While this board was in power, it killed all ideas of a propaganda concerning a new gymnasium and improvements in the school. Later a new board was elected and a tax voted for a gymnasium which saved a situation that might have caused open conflict.

Termination.

The old conflict between the grocery men has not been satisfactorily settled, although the situation now appears to be one of toleration rather than that of conflict.

CLATSKANIE

Location and background.

Clatskanie is in Columbia County on the lower Columbia
River Highway about sixty-four miles from Portland. It has a population of over seven hundred people. The main industries are lumbering, fishing and farming.

**Bases of conflicts.**

Conflicts are either religious or between conservative and progressive factions.

**Conflicts in action.**

On all questions of local improvements, the town splits into two fairly well-defined groups. The conservatives are composed mostly of the elder members of the village, whereas the progressives are composed mostly of younger men.

There is considerable conflict between the churches. The Methodist is the pioneer church; the Presbyterian is composed mainly of the richer and more cultured people; the Catholic church has a very small membership. The greatest conflict lies between the two Protestant churches. The churches do not care to mingle either socially or in respect to religion. Union meetings have been attempted on several occasions, but these were unsuccessful due to immediate conflict.

**Termination.**

The progressive element seems to be gaining a substantial majority. The conservative element may soon tire
of the struggle if they find they can no longer be re-
warded by an occasional victory.

The opposition toward the Catholic church is more one
of toleration than of conflict. The other churches can be
expected to continue with petty conflicts as long as their
present membership remains intact.

CONDON

Location and background.

Condon is a town of about one thousand inhabitants.
It is located in Gilliam County. It is in the midst of a
wheat belt and is the largest town within a radius of a
hundred miles.

Basis of conflict.

The minister of the Congregational church and the Ku
Klux Klan was opposed to the other churches of the town.

Conflict in action.

The minister of the Congregational church increased
his attendance by the addition of Klan members. The Klan
became seething with emotional excitement which swept
through the churches. Antagonism became intense. People
who had been neighbors for years would not speak to one
another. New businesses sprang up until there were two
of each in the town, - one owned by a Klan member and the
other by an anti-Klan. There were dissensions and fights in every lodge in town. The school board could not agree in hiring teachers. When election time came there was a near riot. The minister kept the Klan members provoked by showing them notes which threatened his life. It was later proved that he had written them himself.

Termination.

Gradually the Klan lost faith in its leader as did his regular congregation. He left town and the conflict subsided and now seems to be ended.

GRASS VALLEY

Location and background.

Grass Valley is a town of slightly over two hundred people. It is in Sherman County in a decidedly isolated district in the wheat belt.

Basis of conflict.

Its origin was the dissension among the school board members.

Conflict in action.

The chairman of the school board was one of the more progressive farmers of the community. One member was a Baptist and took his fundamentalism seriously. The third member was the wife of a doctor, who lived on flattery and
favored those who pandered to her vanity. This school board would not rehire the teachers and made unsatisfactory replacements. This caused considerable social conflict, but not of a violent nature.

**Termination.**

This conflict soon subsided for none of the teachers or school board members had sufficient following to continue the struggle.

---

**HELIX**

**Location and background.**

Helix, with a population of some two hundred, is located in Umatilla County about seventeen miles from Pendleton. The town is dependent upon the surrounding wheat area for its existence.

**Basis of conflict.**

The struggle arose out of a church quarrel between the Baptist and Christian denominations.

**Conflict in action.**

The new school principal and his wife began attending the Baptist church. They soon established themselves as leaders, with the result that some of the former leaders could not take such a prominent part in church affairs. Enough antagonism arose so that the principal and his wife
stopped attending the Baptist church. The Christian church willingly accepted them and allowed them to assume a position of leadership.

Enough animosity arose that a Baptist faction attempted to prevent the rehiring of the principal. The principal remained for five years during which the conflict continued with varying degrees of intensity.

Termination.

Attempts have been made to unite the two churches, but not all the members of either group are willing to forget the controversy.

HOOD RIVER

Location and background.

Hood River, the county-seat of Hood River County with a population of about two thousand seven hundred, lies just east of the Cascade Mountains. It is the trading center for a rich fruit country, and maintains itself chiefly from its rural area.

Basis of conflict.

Religious animosity between two Protestant churches is the chief source of conflict.

Conflict in action.

About fifteen years ago, the Methodist church was
the largest and most influential one in town. About three
blocks down the street the Congregationalists built a
large, stone building equipped with a pipe organ which was
the only one besides one to be found in a theater. Not to
be outdone, and determined to keep their prestige, the
Methodists built a new building which was larger, finer and
more beautiful than that of the Congregationalists. The
church was also supplied with a pipe organ. Group rivalry
began in earnest.

As the months passed, the Congregational membership
increased. The Methodist membership came to a standstill
or gradually decreased. Many of their influential leaders
left and entered the Congregational church. No one partic­
ular thing can be assigned as a reason for this. This
may have been due to a mediocre quality of ministers which
were being sent to the Methodist church. The Congrega­
tional church now took first place in the community. On
gaining the ascendency, the Congregational church changed
its name to Riverside Community Church. This was done to
make their position more secure and to satisfy its many
diverse elements. As there was no Presbyterian church in
town, the community church drew widely from this group.
Rivalry, competition, and conflict increased as time went
on. Ill-feeling became more intense. Eventually, after
each faction had become less disturbed, the affair re-
solved itself into a condition of toleration.
Termination.

The conflict has not been terminated. The Congregationalists have made several advances toward the Methodists with the aim of uniting the two denominations. The Methodists seem to want to keep their identity, and as they still feel outraged, it will be only a question of time until the conflict may again become active.

JEFFERSON

Location and background.

Jefferson, a town of about four hundred people, is located in Marion County. The former business enterprises have diminished in importance because of increased transportation facilities and proximity to two large towns. It is dependent upon a farming area.

Basis of conflict.

The trouble arose over the management of the library which is sponsored by the Woman's Club.

Conflict in action.

The Woman's Club gave a benefit to raise money for the library. The evening of the benefit, Mrs. P------, the secretary-treasurer of the club, asked Mrs. M------, who had charge of the library if she (Mrs. P------) should handle the money and record the benefit in the secretary
book. She was told curtly by Mrs. M---- that she should have nothing to do with the proceeds which were for the library funds. Mrs. M---- had aroused the resentment of another woman previously that night. Mrs. P---- and the other woman began talking about it to their friends. The friends took up the issue. They did not go to the library board openly, but began to complain among themselves that the club knew nothing of the management of the library. This was not true, for a full report was given periodically. Most of the talking was done by newer members of the club. This conflict almost caused a rupture in the Woman's Club, which had it materialized, would have taken away the means of support of the library.

**Termination.**

Tact and open discussion of differences counteracted the harm done by a well meaning, but tactless, woman.

**JORDAN VALLEY**

**Location and background.**

Jordan Valley, with a population of about three hundred, is located in the eastern part of Malheur County. It is situated in a fertile valley seventy miles from a railroad and isolated from trading centers by very poor roads and miles of arid waste lands. It is the trading
center for the sheepmen and cattlemen of the nearby ranges. More recently, it has been the center for those engaged in the Owyhee irrigation project. Fully seventy-five percent of the town's population is Basque, who proudly call themselves Spanish.

Bases of conflicts.

Mild conflicts arise between the Basques and the Americans over religious and racial differences. Feuds among sheepmen and cattlemen are not uncommon.

Conflicts in action.

A few mild conflicts of short duration arise over racial barriers. No American who wishes to maintain his social status marries a Basque; the American who defies tradition becomes one step above any strata of Basque society, and one step below the American's. This is usually accepted by both groups. The general attitude of the American group is one of tolerance or scorn, but the Basque admires and aspires to be a part of the other group. Conflicts are always potential, occasionally occur, but are never serious.

Every Basque is a Catholic as are a few of the American families. The Catholic group is strong. The one Protestant church is a community church of about thirty-five members, too poor to afford a pastor. It is composed mostly of Methodists and Presbyterians. The little group
fears a breakdown and possible abandonment. Frequent misunderstandings without serious difficulties occurred between the two churches.

Feuds arose among the sheepmen, especially between the Basques and the Americans. Long standing ones over range and water rights had been carried on between the cattlemen and sheepmen. However, the number of the feuds have become greatly decreased in recent years.

Termination.

The religious and racial differences between the Basque and the Americans have not reached a state of accommodation. Toleration is the usual condition, but outbreaks occur occasionally. Since these are never serious, there is little need to make efforts toward integration of the community.

The feuds are anachronisms of pioneer days, when men took the law into their own hands. The new generation must gain complete ascendancy before these feuds will entirely cease.

KLAMATH FALLS

Location and background.

Klamath Falls in Klamath County is located in the heart of a well irrigated farming area, with abundant forests close by. The population is about sixteen thou-
sand. It has had a big boom period during the last ten years, and has grown faster than it could make civic improvements. This condition has given it many of the characteristics of the frontier.

**Bases of conflicts.**

Conflict arise out of violation of law, especially such crimes as robbery, liquor transactions and prostitution.

**Conflicts in action.**

Many robberies were made without a single clue being found. Thousands of dollars worth of merchandise and money have been stolen; even robberies were made where two safes weighing several hundred pounds apiece were moved from buildings and were never seen again. Enough pressure was eventually brought to bear against robbery so that better law enforcement was brought about.

The prevalence of prostitution has been an ever-present factor. Social pressure was finally strong enough to clean up this vice, but the girls involved went to Dorris, a few miles south. When things quieted down, they returned. Many socially minded people have not given up the fight to eradicate the community of prostitution, but while the conflict is going on, a number of houses of prostitution are prospering.
Termination.

Lawlessness is now not so evident, but this community has more than its share, and in spite of efforts to stamp it out, it will probably continue as long as the community supports a frontier type of people.

As far as the prostitution is concerned, the majority of the community evidently favors its continuance, as efforts to close up the places are met with vigorous protests and open conflict from other sources. Those interested in reform have been unable to get the local peace officers to be mindful of their duties. The situation finally resulted in action by the state police. The Oregon Journal of April 12, 1932, says: "State policemen stepped in Monday (April eleventh) and notified all girls in the "restricted" district to pack and move out of town ..."

LAKEVIEW

Location and background.

Lakeview is the county-seat of Lake County, and has a population of about seventeen hundred. It is approximately seventy miles from Klamath Falls on one side and about the same distance from Burns on the other side. It is dependent upon an agricultural economy.
Basis of conflict.

Political squabbles, especially those in regard to the schools, are the chief sources of conflict.

Conflict in action.

Social conflicts are prominent at each election. Every time a new school-board member is to be elected there is a special enhancing of conflicts. A few years ago, bonds were issued to build a new high school building. Two locations were suggested. A great deal of effort was brought about by the partisans of each. This carried over into open hostility between the two camps. Even after the matter was decided, the hostility continued for some time.

Termination.

This conflict subsided, but in the elections this fall it is expected that more conflicts will arise.

MILTON

Location and background.

Milton, a town of about sixteen hundred, is in the northern part of Umatilla County. As a prosperous fruit and farming center of eastern Oregon, it has drawn from widely diversified groups for its inhabitants.

Basis of conflict.

Conflicts center around religious differences.
Conflict in action.

The strongest religious group is the Seventh Day Adventists. The observance of differing days for worship is the major point of conflict, for this involves the desecrating of the Sabbath for both opposing factions. The town has never been split wide open, but there have been many social conflicts between individuals, families and groups. The mayor is an Adventist, the treasurer and city manager are of other political groups, and the council is about equally divided. In spite of this division, there is little conflict in the management of city affairs.

Termination.

The majority of people tend to tolerate the opposing factions, but there are many dissenters who will not give in, with the result that many small social conflicts are continuing indefinitely.

NEWBURG

Location and background.

Newburg, a town of about twenty-nine hundred, boasts twenty-four churches. It is located about forty miles south of Portland in Yamhill County. The countryside around the town is made up of small villages and farms. Farming is the chief industry upon which the community is dependent.
Bases of conflicts.

Conflicts center principally around the churches.

Conflicts in action.

With its twenty-four churches and an average of about one hundred people to the church, this community has many petty religious conflicts. The oldest and best organized church is the Society of Friends, and there is little dissension within their group. Their group is the strongest in the community. The greater part of the religious conflict centers around a group of mill workers. Some of the denominations which have arisen within this group are of the minor sects including the Four Square Gospel, the Holy Rollers, the Church of God, and the Nazarenes. Each of these faiths conducts revivals and camp meetings. In contrast to these groups are the Methodists, Christians, Baptists, and Presbyterians. Among these many denominations, there are conflicts arising or recurring continually. The Catholic church has a very small membership due to the fact that in the neighboring town of St. Paul nearly the entire population is Catholic.

Termination.

The people consider themselves to be very religious. They mention their twenty-four churches with a great deal of pride. It has been within recent years that the old
"blue Sunday" laws have been abolished. The people do not seem to realize the extent of the conflicts involved, for they are usually small and of short duration, such as the episode several years ago over the teaching of evolution in the schools.

OAK-GROVE

Location and background.

This community is in Linn County, four miles from Albany. Improved roads have made the people more a part of Albany, hence the community has become somewhat socially disintegrated. Several areas of social conflict are evident.

Bases of conflicts.

Religious extremes are usually the underlying causes of conflict, although numerous other types of minor conflicts have broken out. The dominating personality of the leader of a small faction and the vigorous opposition to his group by the rest of the community make conflicts imminent. The puritanical W----s are usually lined up against the rest of the neighborhood. Ill-will grew up as this family tried to interfere with neighbors who worked on Sundays rather than attending church. The W----s were reinforced by two families of relatives and a Mennonite family. With this group, there was a common
bond of strict adherence to religious ideals and a discrediting of anything bordering on the supposedly sacrilegious or irreligious. Most of the farmers had to farm their little places on Sunday or not at all as they worked out the rest of the week. Several did not own cars and were hesitant about driving their horses to Albany and being labeled as "country hicks".

A second conflict had its roots in a community club. This organization was somewhat civic in nature. One of the club's activities was the giving of monthly programs at the schoolhouse. Any member of the community could take part in the programs; and each month, nearly everyone attended except the W----es and their friends, whose objections were that the plays and entertainments were too rough. The leaders of the club built a raised stage in the schoolhouse, provided a roll curtain, and dressing rooms. As no admission was charged for the programs, solicitors went about the neighborhood seeking contributions to pay for the improvements. Nearly everyone contributed except the W---- faction. Later an especially attractive program was arranged, and B----, W----'s nearest neighbor and a self-appointed peace maker, persuaded W---- to take his family to the schoolhouse. At the door, W---- was turned away by S----. From then on the rift was wide and deep. S---- and W---- were not on speaking terms. The rest of the community sided more or
less openly with one or the other.

A third conflict arose over a school teacher, the original families again dividing into the same two camps. The teacher, before every holiday, worked out a little program to be given by the children. Most of the parents favored such work maintaining that it gave the children an opportunity to appear in public and thus overcome their bashfulness. But W----'s children came home and recounted the things they had to do in these programs which had no connection with reading, writing and arithmetic. W----'s group raised a great stir over the inefficiency of the teacher, with the result that she resigned in mid-year.

Termination.

The conflict over religion is now latent. Nothing was settled, but the W---- group are no longer hostile in this respect. The community club has disbanded, so only a few hard feelings remain. The school teacher left the community. That there will be another break might almost be predicted as a certainty as long as the W---- faction and the opposition remain in the neighborhood. Both sides are extremely stubborn.

REEDSPORT

Location and background.

Reedsport is located in western Douglas County, about
four miles from the ocean, and has a population of nearly twelve hundred. The communication facilities of the town are provided by a branch line of the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, the Roosevelt Highway, and the Umpqua River Highway which is the connecting link between the Roosevelt and the Pacific Highways. Lumbering is the major industry with some farming and fishing providing toward the upkeep of the community.

Bases of conflicts.

The conflicts are mostly either of a commercial or an educational nature.

Conflicts in action.

One of the major conflicts is between the mill owners and the laboring class. The laborers resent the fact that in periods of prosperity, many men are imported from Portland, after which the mills will close down for several months. The owners feel that they are reducing costs, whereas the laborers feel that they are being imposed upon and are at the disposal of the owners at any time for any emergency. This conflict was increased by the onset of the recent depression. In the period of prosperity, just preceding the depression, many families purchased homes in the community, upon which they are now unable to pay taxes. Many workmen are now losing their homes, and the social conflict has become bitter.
A second social conflict resolves itself in a struggle between an ultra-conservative school board and the pupils of the high school. The high school students are allowed only three dances a year, and all parties of any sort are strictly chaperoned. The school-board is defeating its own desires, for the pupils hold private parties or drive to Marshfield to a public dance. Beach parties are common.

A third conflict lies between the commercial fishermen and the sportsmen. The sportsmen claim that the commercial fishermen are threatening the salmon with extinction. They have succeeded in getting the legislature to pass several laws limiting the commercial fishermen. Both factions have resorted to propaganda.

Termination.

The conflict between capital and labor is still bitter with no efforts being made toward adjustment.

The conflict between the school board and the high school pupils is being allayed. Some of the more progressive citizens are making an effort to adjust the situation.

The conflict between the sportsmen and the commercial fishermen will continue until the sportsmen have their way.

THE SHEVLIN-HIXON COMMUNITY

Location and background.

The Shevlin-Hixon Lumber Company supports a community
of about eight hundred, which is located in Deschutes County about twenty-five miles south of Bend and about fifteen miles north of Lapine. It is served by a good graded road to the Dalles-California Highway, which is the main route between Bend and Klamath Falls. Besides one store, lumbering is the only industry in the community.

**Bases of conflicts.**

The conflicts in this community have their roots in either a disregard for prohibition or racial animosity.

**Conflicts in action.**

Feuds are not infrequent. These people often take offense at the least provocation, and even the mention that one does not like the taste of another's beer may lead to serious developments, although very few homicides have been committed. Hostility has also arisen over the competition involved in securing the attention of attractive women in the camp.

Demonstrations of ganging are quite evident among the men as well as the adolescents. Men have loose organizations which have among their activities carousing, "crashing" parties, and thieving. Boys' groups - at certain times - become great nuisances. As their activities grow, they tend to become more bold, going to the extent of law breaking.

The inhabitants are all Caucasians, and their dislike
for an oriental or a negro is so strong that when one comes into the community, conditions are made so unpleasant that he soon leaves.

Termination.

No effort is made to stamp out the wide use of liquor, and until this is done, the present types of conflicts cannot be terminated. If this were done, there would be no assurance that conflicts of another nature might not develop to take their places. This community is predominantly male and they evidently feel the need of artificial activities to fill their leisure time. As far as the boys' gangs are concerned, they are suppressed from time to time, only to get into other mischief later. The company could do much to change this situation if it would make a few provisions for offering an outlet for new experiences of a socially acceptable nature.

TOLEDO

Location and background.

Toledo, the county-seat of Lincoln County, the center of the largest spruce mill in the world, is a rapidly growing town of twenty-one hundred people. The town is like many other mill towns of similar size, with its main street, several grocery stores, meat markets, restaurants, dry-goods stores, bank, post-office, and pool-halls. The
schoolhouse is built on the top of a hill, the town is near the bottom, and even lower than the town, are the sawmills. The town is dependent upon the lumber industry for its existence.

**Basis of conflict.**

The conflict grew out of racial differences due to economic competition of Japanese laborers, who constituted cheaper help and threatening a general lowering of wages.

**Conflict in action.**

In 1927, the largest mill of the town built a section of houses for a large group of Japanese laborers, but the American mill workers were so enraged that the same night the Japanese arrived, they were attacked and violently driven out of the houses and forced to leave town. The conflict was of a short duration, but a seething mob spirit prevailed at the time. The officers of the town and county used a "hands-off" policy in the affair. The district attorney refused to participate in the proceedings and no arrests were made. Any effort on the part of the officers would have been met with violence, as the mob was in no frame of mind to be reasoned with in regard to the Japanese invasion of Toledo. This section of company houses, called Tokio, is now occupied by American workers.
Termination.

This conflict ceased shortly after the Japanese left the community, but if other foreign labor were imported, it would doubtless be active immediately. Efforts to import cheap labor of any kind arouses immediate resentment, so that social conflicts over economic conditions are always potential.

WOLF CREEK

Location and background.

Wolf Creek is located in the extreme northern part of Josephine County. It contains about three hundred inhabitants. The Pacific Highway passes through the main part of the village. The people of this community are very frugal, for there are no natural resources or good farming land in the vicinity. Farmers have to combine ranching with day labor for wages, in order to eke out a living, hence the farms are poorly managed.

Basis of conflict.

The changing attitudes and the desire for new experiences have been responsible for the community conflicts.

Conflict in action.

The paving of the highway through the community opened up a new world to the younger people. Automobiles
bearing license plates from California, New York, and other states stimulated among the younger people a desire for new experiences. They wanted to imitate city ways. The result was an excessive amount of drinking, petting, and kindred activities in an effort to achieve sophistication.

The major conflict of the community developed over religion, dominated by the Methodists. The social events of the younger people had been restricted to the several meetings at the church each week. Many people, especially the younger ones, began to lose interest in the church as they gained interest in drinking, dancing and wild parties. Those who remained with the religious faction began to condemn all non-conformists. As with primitive groups, if one member of a family strayed from his religious precepts, the remainder of the family was blamed. A remark characteristic of the thought of the community was made about a son of a drinking parent: "He is a nice boy; too bad that his father is bad". This boy was as good as any in the community. By such unjustified comment, several boys developed inferiority complexes. This religious conflict carried over to envelope the school activities and into negotiations for public improvements.

Termination.

No effort has been made to adjust the community. The chief recommendation is the provision of wholesome activ-
ities for the younger people and guidance of their interests. To accomplish this, the parents need to be educated to a semi-modern point of view on life. The church could then do much to improve the situation. If animosity were lessened, the school would be a constructive force toward the termination of the conflict.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS
Findings from the examination of social conflict attempted in this study, resolve themselves into three types. First, are those that have resulted from the analysis of the case studies in relation to their geographical conditions, economy and types of conflict; second, the applicability of the various theories of social conflict to the present investigation; and third, subjects for future investigations in this phase of sociology, especially those pertaining to Oregon, that have been suggested by the present report.

In regard to types of conflict, what differences exist between eastern and western Oregon? Out of the twelve eastern communities, three (or twenty-five percent) registered an educational conflict, whereas the twelve western communities registered six. Conflict between conservatives and progressives were one for the east and three for the west. The west also led in the matter of differences over public improvements and public welfare, there being two each for the west and none for the east. The fact that the west had more conflicts in regard to education, conservatism, public improvements and public welfare is what might be expected from a study of the geographical conditions and economy of the two sections. Educational conflicts would tend to center in those places where groups were more compact. Conservatism has not had the opportunity to stamp itself upon the
communities of eastern Oregon as it has in the western part due to a shifting and more scattered population. Eastern Oregon still has many aspects of the frontier, and does not tend toward public improvements or public welfare to the extent that is characteristic of the western section.

In contrast, eastern Oregon registered three cases of feuds, one case of ganging, and three conflicts arising from situations of law violations. The western part of the state had no evidence of these three types of conflict in the cases studied. These conflicts follow naturally from the background of vigilante days and many struggles over land and range rights.

Are any significant differences to be found between the different areas of eastern Oregon? All three of the feuds, the one case of ganging and two out of three cases of lawlessness are to be found in the southern one-half of this section. Better communication facilities, closer towns, and a more rapidly changing conception of life is to be found in the northern part. The southern half has few good roads and is a very sparsely settled area. This country is rapidly changing, however, for these types of conflicts are modified and less frequent than in the earlier days. Especially is this true of feuds as the cases for them are being eliminated.

What significant differences are to be found in the
various regions of western Oregon? Clatskanie, representative of the lower Columbia River area, has conflicts over religion and conservatism, but one example is insufficient from which to draw a conclusion for this area. The representatives of the coastal area are Toledo and Reedsport. Both of these communities have conflicts over occupational and economic interests, but this is due to the fact that both have lumber industries out of which the conflicts grow. Toledo and Reedsport are typical coastal lumber communities; but since there are many communities along the coast not of this nature, Reedsport and Toledo cannot be considered as characteristic of the entire coastal region.

The Willamette Valley area is represented by Brush Creek, Jefferson, Newberg, and Oak-Grove. Taken as a group, the conflicts characteristic of these communities have nothing significant to offer in the way of comparison or contrast. Newberg and Jefferson are small towns, whereas Oak-Grove and Brush Creek are more or less open country areas. Both Oak-Grove and Brush Creek have conflicts arising out of dominant personalities, and this fact may suggest similarities for the open country region of this area.

Southern Oregon is represented by Roseburg, Wolf Creek and Central Point. Nothing of significance was observed by comparison and contrast of these three communities.
From an analysis of the case studies of western Oregon, there is little or nothing to be gained by subdivision into smaller geographical units.

How do the lumber milling communities compare with one another? Oregon's leading industry being lumbering, it is not unnatural that eight of the communities partially owe their existence to the lumber industry, - Baker, Burns, Clatskanie, Klamath Falls, Reedsport, Shevlin-Hixon, Toledo, and Valsetz. Although comprising one-third of the cases, they contributed only one-twelfth to religious and educational conflicts. Baker and Clatskanie had dissensions over religion, and Reedsport and Valsetz over education. One-half of the occupational disturbances were made by Baker, Reedsport and Toledo. Baker, Shevlin-Hixon and Toledo were responsible for one-half of the racial conflicts, and in the matter of feuds, ganging, and law violations, this group was the worst offenders. Burns and Shevlin-Hixon contributed two out of the three feuds; Shevlin-Hixon was the only case of ganging; and the only conflicts arising out of law violations were in Baker, Klamath Falls, and Shevlin-Hixon.

Is it possible to draw any conclusions by distinguishing between those conflicts based on personality and those on interests? Three communities - Brush Creek, Central Point, and Oak-Grove - centered their conflicts around dominant personalities. The data are not clear as to what
extent these conflicts were due to the interests of the leaders and to the mere desire of these leaders to show authority and satisfy their ego. Educational conflicts in Roseburg and Valsetz appeared to center around likes or dislikes toward individuals rather than the interests of the school. This was true to a lesser degree of the other educational conflicts. The religious conflicts were apparently due to clashes of interests rather than oppositions of personalities. The Jefferson club conflict was primarily due to a clash of personalities. The data, in respect to other types of conflict, are insufficiently detailed from which to form conclusions. The writer does not feel justified in making any connotation in the comparisons between conflicts of personality and interests. It seems now that it would have been advisable to have included this distinction in the directions to the investigators.

Evaluation of the various theories of social conflict in the light of this investigation is the objective of the second group of conclusions. Out of the twenty-four studies, this investigation disclosed thirty-seven major conflicts. Fourteen of these are still active; nine are latent, being subdued temporarily; seven have reached a stage of toleration; two have passed into a state of cooperation; and five have been terminated due to the elimination of cause.
The Chicago approach appears adequate to explain the phenomena of this investigation. Conscious competition arose in many cases, threatening the personalities or status quo of individuals or organizations. This was especially noticed in those conflicts of conservatism, religion, race, and dominant personalities, in which group pride or social distance could not be maintained without an open struggle. The first advanced stage from conscious competition, in these cases, seemed to be that of inter-group rivalry. Open conflict followed naturally.

Cultural and political conflicts, and the conflicts in social organization grew out of group interests. These interests often worked toward the detriment of the community, - either morally, socially, or religiously. Those conflicts which especially worked against the best interests of the community were those of an educational or religious nature.

Race conflict in Oregon was striking. Six cases comprised virtually one-sixth of the major conflicts. Group pride, with the Americans unwilling to enter into competition with foreigners which they adjudge to be inferior, is the prevailing background for these conflicts. Adding to the intensity, is a lack of understanding between the races or nationalities due to cultural, religious, and occasionally, language barriers. Conflicts in Oregon, it is observed from the previous discussion, involve three of
the four divisions of conflict classified by the Chicago school.

Park and Burgess consider five conflict groups, -gangs, labor organizations, sects, parties, and nationalities. This, to the writer, seems to be the weakest point of the Chicago approach. The explanation of Park and Burgess\(^1\) is not clear to the writer, but he suspects that they would include conflict groups in education, clubs, lodges and politics under parties. This inclusive use of the term appears to be somewhat questionable.

In contrast, the Chicago approach is strongest in its fourfold classification of group interaction. As mentioned before, the Oregon cases have their origins of social conflict in conscious competition. The next interaction process was one of rivalry and then open conflict. Fourteen of the conflicts are still active; but of the other twenty-three, twenty-one can be classed under accommodation and the other two under the Chicago definition of assimilation.

The five Oregon cases in which the conflict was eliminated, the seven in which toleration resulted, and the nine which are now latent, all fit nicely into the Chicago classification of accommodation. It is recognized that conflicts tend gradually to eliminate themselves. A state

---

1 Introduction to the Science of Sociology. p.643.
of accommodation is then reached. Groups often see the wastes of conflict and finally decide that it is easier to tolerate than it would be to oppose. Seven such cases are represented in this study. Latent conflicts are temporarily reduced to a state of accommodation, although a conflict is always imminent.

The two cases of cooperation found in this study agree with the Chicago conception of assimilation. Following the different school conflicts in Roseburg and Valsetz, a we-feeling and a desire to work together for a common cause was developed. The writer feels that in these two cases, cooperation is the better term; but that they do come within the province of assimilation. Whether the racial antipathies will ever pass to a condition of assimilation is for the future to observe. Only in one case out of the six has a state of accommodation been achieved. The writer feels unjustified in making a conclusion in this respect.

On the basis of this investigation, the Chicago approach seems adequate for the interpretation of social conflict. If one accepts their definition and conception of terms, the rest follows naturally. In limiting conflict groups to five, however, they have made a simplified division to the detriment of a more exact differentiation.

MacIver's approach calls for consideration. MacIver's threefold classification of conflict as being economic,
racial, and religious is inadequate to interpret the present study, although twenty-three out of the thirty-seven major conflicts may be placed within these categories. Just where MacIver would place education or political conflicts, opposition to law or vested interests, feuds or ganging is uncertain unless he feels that these are always the outgrowth of one of his three classifications. In the Oregon study, many of these conflicts did occur as an outgrowth of or appeared simultaneously with religious, racial, or economic troubles. However, the civic club conflict in Jefferson, educational and political conflicts in Roseburg and Valsetz, and the conflicts over law violations in Baker, Klamath Falls, and Shevlin-Hixon apparently have little or no connection with racial, religious or economic differences.

In defense of MacIver, it should be stated that he made no claim for his classification as being an all inclusive one or as being applicable to an interpretation of a community study. His attempts in the conference case study may eventually result in a working hypothesis for the study of group interaction.

Other writers discussed in this report have formed no complete theory, nor have they purported to have formed a complete theory of group interaction and the part that conflict plays in it. The contributions of many have been small, but when weighed collectively, have been the basis
for working rules, laws, and generalizations, which after all are the foundations of a true science. The contributions of some have been inaccurate or erroneous, but instead of adverse criticism, these men should be considered as having saved future investigators from a trial and error process.

One mistake which now seems evident to the writer is in regard to the idea that conflict and cooperation are opposite sides of the same thing, or that conflict and cooperation move from one to the other in a cyclical manner. The wide acceptance of this theory demonstrates how individuals yield to suggestion, instead of testing out experimentally; for example, Polybius advanced this thesis in 100 B.C.; Spencer and Bagehot accepted it; Gumplowicz built his entire philosophy of conflict upon this assumption; Small recognizes the relationship; Cooley further elucidates that conflict and cooperation run hand in hand throughout the social process; and Lindeman considers conflict and cooperation as two aspects of the same process of adjustment. In contrast, this study revealed only two cases of cooperation proceeding from conflict, whereas twenty-one cases fall under the head of accommodation. Of course, this particular investigation has the limitation of being studied over a very short period of time.

The Chicago school evidently has the best theory of
the relationship of conflict to group interaction.

In conclusion, attention is called to the third of the three types of deductions derived from this investigation. There is a great need for a technique in community studies by which the underlying factors can be discovered. The study on Community Conflict published by The Inquiry, is a step in this direction; the writer agrees with the opinion of The Inquiry that no iron-clad rules for the prevention of conflict can be discovered. Any technique must be subject to change to fit particular situations. This factor, however, does not lessen the needs for techniques that will present, minimize, or adjust conflicts; but it does imply that in any case study, the reservation should always be held that the discovery of new facts may alter the solution of a case.

There is much data to be secured and organized in respect to social conflict in Oregon. This investigation has been concerned with the outstanding features of social conflict in the rural communities. There is a need of further cases in both eastern and western Oregon to substantiate, modify, or disprove the findings of this study. Especially illuminating would be long time studies of particular conflicts in particular communities, carefully depicting each stage of the conflict with its attendant ramifications. A continuation of the present
study covering more rural communities would lead to
greater accuracy by reason of a greater number of cases.

There is also need for the study of social conflicts
in the urban areas of the state. The city of Portland has
many communities. An ecological and case study of these
communities would doubtless yield valuable results. The
urban areas of Astoria, Oregon City, and Salem, as well as
the college communities of Eugene and Corvallis might be
studied in this manner. The phenomena of social conflict
yet to be observed and recorded is unlimited.
CHAPTER VII

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Abel, Theodore.  
*Systematic Sociology in Germany.*  

Baldwin, Bird T., Fillmore, Eva, and Hadley, Lora.  
*Farm Children, an Investigation of Rural Child Life in Selected Areas of Iowa.* pp.29-31.  

Barnes, Harry Elmer, and others.  
The History and Prospects of the Social Sciences.  
New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1925.

Bodenhafer, Walter B.  
*Cooley's Theories of Competition and Conflict.*  
American Sociological Society: Publication.  

Bogardus, Emory S.  
*A History of Social Thought.*  
Los Angeles, University of Southern California Press, 1922.

Bookwalter, John W.  
*Rural Versus Urban, Their Conflict and Its Causes.*  

Bowman, LeRoy E.  
*Community Organization.*  

Burgess, Ernest W.  
The New Community and Its Future.  

Burleson, F. E.  
*Community Chests in Small Cities.*  

Bushee, Frederick A.  
*Principles of Sociology.* pp.121, 138-139, 460, 463.  

Butterfield, K. L.  
Some Social Trends in Agriculture.  
Carver, Thomas Nixon.
The Basis of Social Conflict.

---

---
, and Hall, Henry Bass.
Human Relations, an Introduction to Sociology.

Commons, John R.
Is Class Conflict in America Growing and is It Inevitable?

Cooley, Charles Horton.
Social Organization.
New York, Scribner's, 1909.

---
Social Process.
New York, Scribner's, 1918.

Dawson, Carl A., and Gettys, W. E.
Introduction of Sociology.
New York, Ronald Press, 1929.

Dealey, James Quayle.

Devine, Edward T.
Industrial Conflict and the Local Community.

Earp, Edwin L.
The Social Engineer. pp.48-58.
New York, Eaton & Mains, 1911.

Ellwood, Charles A.
The Psychology of Human Society, an Introduction to Social Theory.
New York, Appleton & Co., 1926.
--- Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects.

Emmott, Elizabeth B.
London, Friends' Book Centre, 1929.

Fairbanks, Arthur.
New York, Scribner's, 1901.

Folsom, Joseph K.
Social Psychology.

Giddings, Franklin H.
The Elements of Sociology. pp.73-75.
New York, Macmillan Co., 1898.

--- The Principles of Sociology, an Analysis of the Phenomena of Association and of Social Organization.

--- Readings in Descriptive and Historical Sociology.

Gillette, John M.
Rural Life.
American Journal of Sociology. v.34. May, 1929. pp.1089-1098.

Gillin, J. L., and others.
New York, Century Co., 1928.

Groves, Ernest R.
An Introduction to Sociology.

Gwin, J. B.
Community Relationships.

Hart, Kinmont.
Community Organization. pp.10,117.
Hartman, Edward T.
Village Problems and Characteristics.
pp.234-243.

Herskovits, Melville J.
Race Relations.

Hiller, E. T.
The Strike.
Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1928.

Hoffer, C. R.
Understanding the Community.

The Inquiry.
Community Conflict. (Preliminary edition)

Kolb, J. H., and Wileden, A. F.
Special Interest Groups in Rural Society.
Wisconsin. Agricultural Experiment Station.
Research Bulletin, no.84. pp.53-57. 1927.

Lichtenberger, James P.
Development of Social Theory.

Lindeman, Eduard C.

Lively, C. E.
Changes and Trends in Rural Neighborhood Life.

Lynd, Robert S., and Helen Merrell.
Middletown.
McClenahan, Bessie A.  
*The Changing Urban Neighborhood.*  
Los Angeles, University of Southern California Press, 1929.

McCormick, Thomas C.  
*Major Trends in Rural Life in the United States.*  

MacIver, R. M.  
*Community, a Sociological Study.*  

---  
*The Elements of Social Science.* pp.65, 136-141.  
London, Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1921.

---  
*Society, Its Structure and Changes.*  

Melvin, Bruce L.  
*Age and Sex Distribution in Relation to Rural Behavior.*  

Mukerjee, Radhakamel, and Sen-Gupta, Narendra Nath.  

Odum, Howard W.  
*Folk and Regional Conflict as a Field of Sociological Study.*  

---  

Orgaz, Paul A.  
*Causes of Social Revolutions.*  

Palmer, Vivien Marie.  
*Field Studies in Sociology.* pp.119-121.  
Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1928.
Park, Robert E., and Burgess, Ernest W.
Introduction to the Science of Sociology.
Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1921.

Park, Robert E.
Personality and Cultural Conflict.
American Sociological Society: Publication.
May, 1931. pp.95-110.

--- Chapter 1, pp.3-52, in Research in the Social Sciences, by Wilson Gee.

Parsons, Philip A.
New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1924.

Reynolds, C. N.
Competition and Conflict Between Races of Differing Cultural Standards.
American Sociological Society: Publication.
May, 1931. pp.81-89.

Reynolds, J. B.
City and Country.

Ross, Edward Alsworth.
Conflict Between the Learned and the Ignorant.
Sociology and Social Research. v.14, no.4.
March-April, 1930. pp.303-309.


--- Roads to Social Peace. (The Weil Lectures, 1924, on American Citizenship)
Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1924.


Tarde, Gabriel.
The Laws of Imitation. (Translated by Elsie Clew Parsons) pp.16-33.

Social Laws, an Outline of Sociology. (Translated by Howard C. Warren) pp.68-143.

Taylor, Carl C.
New York, Harper & Brothers, 1926.

Thrasher, Frederic M.
The Gang.
Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1927.

Ward, Lester F.
Pure Sociology. pp.203-212.

Whitehouse, W. W.
Evolution of the Community.

Williams, James Mickel.
New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1925.

Wirth, Louis.
The Ghetto.
Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1928.

Wood, A. E.
Community Problems.
New York, Century Co., 1928.

Yarros, Victor S.
Isolation and Social Conflict.
American Journal of Sociology. v.27. Sept., 1921. pp.211-221.

Young, Kimball.
Contribution of Psychiatry to the Study of Group Conflict.