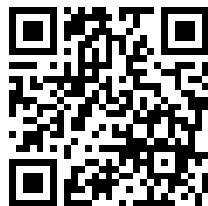

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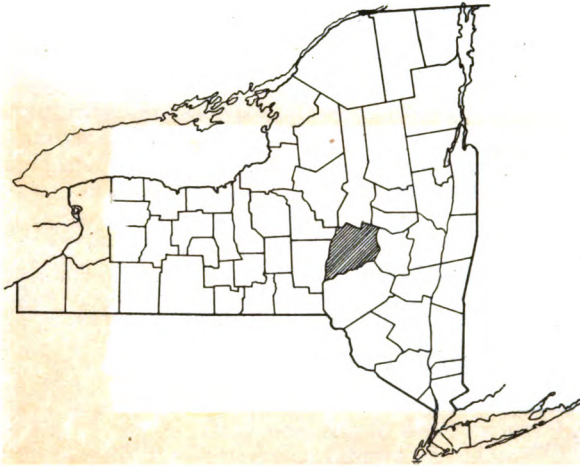
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The Social Areas of Otsego County, *n. y.*

Dwight Sanderson and Warren S. Thompson

In cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture



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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Description	3
Topography	3
Soils	4
History	5
Population	5
Transportation	6
Agriculture	7
Neighborhoods	9
Method of investigation	9
Number of primary groups	10
What a neighborhood is	11
Analysis of replies to neighborhood questionnaires	11
Study of individual neighborhoods	13
Classification of neighborhoods	22
Conclusions	24
Communities	27
Method of location	28
Community areas	30
Larger community areas	32
The community as a unit for school administration	34

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THE SOCIAL AREAS OF OTSEGO COUNTY

DWIGHT SANDERSON AND WARREN S. THOMPSON

The investigation on which this publication is based had its inception in a study of the neighborhood groups of Otsego County. Early in the course of that study it became apparent that, in order to fairly evaluate the social significance of the neighborhoods, a knowledge of relations in communities and other social areas was essential. An attempt was made, therefore, to locate and map the more significant areas of human association in Otsego County. Two general classes of social areas may be distinguished: first, those of voluntary associations such as granges, lodges, churches, clubs, and societies of all sorts; and secondly, locality groups determined by topography and centers of social interest, such as communities and neighborhoods.

Many voluntary associations are confined to a single community, but an equal number include parts of two or more communities, while others include individuals with special interests scattered throughout the county or some part of it larger than a community. It is the life of these voluntary associations which is ordinarily considered as the social organization of a community or a given area.

Recently, however, it has come to be appreciated that the unorganized, informal association of locality groups is equally significant in determining culture and social relations. Custom and tradition, folk ways and *mores*, social habits and attitudes, play a larger part in determining the behavior of mankind than do voluntary choices and purposes. These are the factors which largely condition the social organization of a given area, and are the product of association in more or less definite localities. Because the locality group is informal, has no legal boundaries, and usually has no organization which gives it identity in the minds of its people, its significance in their lives has not been commonly recognized. But there is a growing appreciation of the importance of the community as a unit for the better satisfaction of human desires, and a deepening sense of responsibility and loyalty to it.

This investigation attempts an analysis of the locality groups of Otsego County based on the areas in which its people now associate.

DESCRIPTION¹

Topography

Otsego County is slightly southeast of the center of New York State, and is included in the watershed of the sources of the Susquehanna River.

¹ Much of the material under this topic was taken from Farm Bureau Circular 11, *Otsego County: An Account of its Agriculture and its Farm Bureau*, by Floyd S. Barlow. The authors also received constant help from Mr. Barlow while making their investigations.

Its topography is similar to that of the other southern-tier counties, consisting of broad ridges and long, wide valleys. The valleys are from 1000 to 1400 feet above sea level, being higher in the eastern and northern parts of the county. In the western part of the county the higher ridges are from 1800 to 2000 feet high, with occasional hills from 2000 to 2100 feet high; but east of the Cherry Valley Creek the ridges rise to more than 2000 feet and the higher summits are from 2200 to 2300 feet in height (figure 1). The northern boundary of the county is practically on the divide between the Mohawk and Susquehanna Valleys, and the larger streams all flow in a southerly direction. The Susquehanna River rises in Otsego Lake and receives Oak Creek (draining Canadarago Lake), Cherry Valley Creek, and Schenevus Creek as it flows to the southern boundary of the county. Here it bends westward near Oneonta, and receives the Otego, the Otsego, and some smaller creeks as it continues in that direction. At the southwestern corner of the county it receives the Unadilla River, which forms the western boundary and is fed by Wharton and Butternuts Creeks. As can be seen by comparing figures 1 and 3, topography is the chief factor in determining the social areas of the county.

*Soils**

The northern townships of the county, Richfield, Springfield, and Cherry Valley, are just south of the limestone belt of New York State and their soils are much influenced by it. The upland soils of the northern and north-central parts of the county are of the Ontario and Wooster series and are much more fertile than those of the southern part. The three townships Unadilla, Otego, and Butternuts, in the southwestern part of the county, have a red shale soil in the higher lands. The upland soils of the remaining southern and central parts of the county are gray in color, but are otherwise generally similar to the other soils and are likewise low in lime and organic matter. The better-drained southern hill soils are of the Lordstown and Lackawanna series, while most of the seepy slopes and table-lands are Volusia silt loam, Norwich silt loam, and Canfield silt loam, soils common throughout the uplands of southern New York and needing lime, fertilizers, and drainage.

The valley soils consist of outwashes from the ice lobes of the glacial period, and of recent alluvial material deposited by the present streams. The former give rise to either Chenango or Fox gravelly silt loam, depending upon the amount of lime present. Most of the alluvial soils are either Genesee or Holly silt loam, the latter being poorly drained. The Genesee soils are adapted to general farming and trucking. The valley soils are very fertile, due to their favorable topography, their high organic content, and the presence of lime from the limestones to the northward. They produce excellent crops. The most desirable soils of the county, topographically as well as productively, lie in the valleys or on the easily accessible slopes, but their area is small compared to the broad expanse of upland soils.

* From information furnished by Dr. H. O. Buckman, Professor of Soil Technology, Cornell University.

*History*³

The first settlement in Otsego County was made at Cherry Valley in 1738. Other settlements were made at Middlefield in 1755, Hartwick in 1761, Edmeston in 1773, Morris and New Lisbon in 1773, and Laurens in 1774. For many years prior to the American Revolution, Otsego County had been the western frontier of the colony, the Unadilla River forming the western boundary recognized by the Stanwix Deed of 1768, from the Iroquois to the English. It was the natural highway which the Indians were accustomed to travel between the Mohawk and Susquehanna Valleys. When they remained loyal to Great Britain, it became the scene of numerous encounters between the colonists and the Indians, which culminated in the Cherry Valley massacre of 1778 and finally led to the famous punitive expedition of General Sullivan.

The county was set off from Montgomery County in 1791 and consisted of the Otsego and Cherry Valley divisions. Eleven of the present townships were organized in the last decade of the eighteenth century, and seven were organized in the following decade.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century settlers poured in from New England, and the maximum rural population was reached in 1830. At that time the county included most of the communities now existing, many of them with local factories which have been long since abandoned. In 1829 there were twenty-eight post offices, as compared with fifty-three at present.

The development of the county was very largely due to the foresight and public spirit of Judge William Cooper, for whom the county seat is named, and the region has been made famous by the *Leatherstocking Tales* of his gifted son, James Fenimore Cooper.

The construction of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad was possibly the most significant event in the history of the county, giving its inhabitants the means of transportation to Binghamton and Albany. Business opportunities improved in the villages along the railroad, and the city of Oneonta became the principal commercial center of the southern two-thirds of the county.

Population

The changes in the population of the county are shown by decades in table 1. It will be noted that the maximum rural population was reached in 1830, and that from then until 1880 the population remained almost stationary. Since 1880 there has been a decline of 10 per cent in the total population and of 38 per cent in the rural population, with a corresponding increase in the proportion of the urban population. The

³ Beardsley, L. *Reminiscences*, p. 1-575. 1852.
 Smith, R. P. *Historical and statistical gazetteer of New York State*. 1860.
 Beers, F. W. *Atlas of Otsego County, New York*. 1868.
 Bailey, W. T. *Richfield Springs and vicinity*, p. 1-227. 1874.
History of Otsego County, New York. (Published by Everts and Farriss, Philadelphia, 1878. Introduction initialed "D. H. H. Cooperstown.")
 Shaw, S. M., ed. *A centennial offering; being a brief history of Cooperstown*, p. 1-240. 1886.
 Sawyer, John. *History of Cherry Valley from 1740-1898*. 1898.
 Halsey, F. W. *The old New York frontier*, p. 1-413. 1901.
 The pioneers of Unadilla Village, p. 1-323. 1902.
 Birdsall, Ralph. *The story of Cooperstown*, p. 1-425. 1917.
 Cooper, James Fenimore. *The legends and traditions of a northern county*, p. 1-263. 1921.

TABLE 1. POPULATION OF OTSEGO COUNTY, NEW YORK, BY DECADES
(UNITED STATES CENSUS)

Year	Total	Native white	Foreign-born	Total urban	Rural		
					Total	Native	Foreign
1920	46,200*	43,712	2,366	14,307	31,893	30,572	1,321
1910	47,216*	44,780	2,329	9,491	37,725	36,137	1,588
1900	48,939	46,645	2,294	7,147	41,792	.....	.....
1890	50,861	48,338	2,523	6,272	44,589	.....	.....
1880	51,397	48,747	2,650	3,002	48,395	.....	.....
1870	48,967	46,234	2,733	.....	48,967	46,234	2,733
1860	50,157	47,701	2,456	.....	50,157	47,701	2,456
1850	48,638	46,831	1,807	.....	48,638	46,831	1,807
1840	49,628	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1830	51,372	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1820	44,856	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1810	38,402	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1800	21,343	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

* Includes Negroes, Indians, Chinese, and Japanese.

people of Otsego County have always been predominantly of the native stock, mostly from New England and eastern New York and New Jersey, and in recent decades the percentage of foreign-born has steadily decreased on the farms, so that outside of Oneonta there are only about half as many foreign-born as in 1880. Of the 2366 foreign-born in 1920, slightly more than one-third (857, including 254 in Oneonta) were from Great Britain and Canada. The most numerous of the non-English foreign-born were: 94 from Denmark; 243 from Germany; 379 from Italy; 68 from Poland; and 142 from Russia. Of these, 2 from Denmark, 58 from Germany, 240 from Italy, 47 from Poland, and 95 from Russia, were in the city of Oneonta. There are practically no colonies of farmers of foreign origin in the county, with the exception of a colony of Danes in Laurens, most of whom are native-born, and a colony of Welsh in Plainfield, also mostly native-born. Although each of these colonies has its own churches, the farmers mix freely with their neighbors and are among the best citizens.

According to the classification of the federal census, which counts all places of less than 2500 as rural, the county is entirely rural with the exception of Oneonta with a population of 11,582, and Cooperstown with 2725; together these places give to the county an urban population of 31 per cent.

Transportation

The Delaware and Hudson Railroad runs the entire length of the county along the southern border, and has a spur to Cooperstown, the county seat, and another to Cherry Valley. The Southern New York Railway, an electric freight and passenger road, crosses the center of the county from Oneonta through Cooperstown to Richfield Springs, and from there continues to Herkimer, on the New York Central Railroad. The New York, Ontario and Western Railroad traverses the Unadilla Valley on the west side of the river and enters the county with a short spur

to Edmeston, thus furnishing a railway outlet for that part of the county which drains into the Unadilla River. The Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad has a branch from Utica to Richfield Springs.

The state highways follow the valleys, connecting the principal community centers, and comprise a system of more than 400 miles, as shown in green on figure 2. In December, 1919, the Board of Supervisors adopted a comprehensive plan of county-township improvement of roads (shown on the same map), as encouraged by Sections 320 and 320A of the Highway Law of the State of New York. The act of the supervisors provides that the county pay three-fourths of the cost and the townships one-fourth, for the improvement of the roads specified, the county to contribute not more than \$5000 to any township in a year, and the roads to cost not more than \$5000 a mile. The county also agrees to apportion to the towns \$100 a mile annually for the maintenance of such improved roads. Under this act most of the towns are building a mile of stone road each year, and in a few years the county will have an excellent system of roads connecting all the smaller communities with one another and with the state highways.

Agriculture

The 1920 census shows 4770 farms in Otsego County with an average area of 120.2 acres, 15.7 per cent of which are operated by tenants. Of the total area of 645,760 acres in the county, 573,287 acres are in farms, of which 388,679 acres are "improved" land. The number of farms has decreased 22 per cent since 1880. During the same period there has been an increase of 14 per cent in the size of farms, while the number of acres farmed has decreased 11 per cent. The percentage of tenancy is but little more than half of what it was in 1900. According to the 1920 census the average farm with buildings is valued at \$4840, or \$40 an acre. The average farm value, including buildings, implements, machinery, and livestock, is \$7620.

The principal farm income is from dairy products, the county ranking sixth in the State in the number of dairy cattle. Consequently, hay and forage crops constitute nearly 50 per cent of the value of all crops grown. Although many farms sell some hay in favorable seasons, it is a leading cash crop only in the northern townships.

From 1860 to 1900 Otsego County was one of the leading hop-producing sections. After 1900 the production of this crop decreased rapidly, though in 1910 the county produced more hops than any other county in New York State. In the past decade, however, this crop has practically disappeared and it is now of negligible importance, having decreased 91 per cent for the whole State from 1910 to 1920. In his interesting *Legends of a Northern County*, James Fenimore Cooper, III, calls attention to the influence of hop-growing on the county, which may well be noted, as it was an important factor in the social organization of the county.⁴ Cooper says (pages 109-112 of reference cited):

⁴For an exhaustive consideration of the social influence of hop-growing, the reader is referred to *An American Town*, by James M. Williams (doctor's dissertation, Columbia University, 1906), which describes a community in the neighboring county of Schoharie.

For years hops made this country rich, and built many of the great farmhouses still standing. The Otsego County hop was considered the best grown in the world. Every one grew hops and it was thought that they couldn't be grown anywhere in this country except in our neighborhood. Extraordinary profits were made and it was not unusual for a hop grower to make the value of his farm out of one crop. Prices once reached one dollar and sixty cents a pound and the cost of production was about twelve cents. The crop was a very speculative one, which added to its interest. Buyers came from everywhere and thousands of "pickers" from the neighboring cities.

This hop-picking time was not without its suppressed excitements. Much hard liquor was absorbed and the usual number of free fights resulted. Before and after the actual picking began and finished, great crowds of tramps and city toughs gathered in camps in the woods and rumors of intended raids on the town were frequent.

Then the change came; it was found that inferior hops could be grown on the Pacific Coast and elsewhere. Our Otsego growers were undersold and gradually the hop industry shrank; the growers failed and the yards were plowed up. Farms, which in the writer's youth changed hands readily at twenty-five thousand dollars, now fail of a buyer at five. Notwithstanding its speculative character, the days when "Hops were King" were the Golden Age of Otsego County and Cooperstown. With the collapse came poverty to many—farms were abandoned and money loaned on them was lost.

For the past fifty years the relative importance of the dairy industry has been steadily increasing, until it is now the leading agricultural enterprise. In 1920 the dairy products were valued at \$6,952,501, as compared with \$8,571,422 for all farm crops. Poultry products also furnish a large part of the farm income. The county ranks seventh in the State in poultry products, which in 1920 were valued at \$1,188,074. The complete statistics for the 1920 census are not yet available, but it seems probable that the total value of all agricultural products in Otsego County amounted to a value of approximately \$20,000,000 in that year.

Agricultural interests are well organized in Otsego County.⁵ The first grange was organized in 1886, and there are now 28 subordinate granges with approximately 3000 members. The Dairymen's League is strongly organized, with 29 branches and 2388 members, representing 26,993 cows, or 50 per cent of those in the county. The County Farm Bureau Association was organized in 1913, and, through its manager and assistants, has been the most important factor in developing the agriculture of the county during the past decade.

TABLE 2. STATISTICS OF FARMS IN OTSEGO COUNTY, NEW YORK, BY DECADES (UNITED STATES CENSUS)

Year	Number of farms	Average size (acres)	Number operated by owners	Per cent operated by tenants	Total farm land (acres)	Improved farm land (acres)	Total value of land and buildings*
1920	4,770	120.2	3,942	15.7	573,287	388,679	\$23,087,785
1910	5,346	111	4,145	20	592,531	446,731	19,155,737
1900	5,634	108.7	3,994	28.9	612,224	470,787	16,838,510
1890	5,854	101	4,309	....	593,169	466,809	20,399,440
1880	6,096	105	4,861	....	641,050	503,903	23,103,474
1870	5,717	106	.....	....	606,488	450,742	33,512,709
1860	5,695	107	.....	....	619,223	459,615	.....
1850	.....	.....	.....	....	548,162	376,868	12,560,142

* The data in this column seem to be comparable as far as we can ascertain, but there may be differences in method of computation in different censuses.

⁵This topic is fully discussed in Farm Bureau Circular 11, already referred to.

TABLE 3. PRINCIPAL FARM PRODUCTS OF OTSEGO COUNTY, NEW YORK, BY DECADES (UNITED STATES CENSUS)

Year	Wheat		Corn		Oats		Buckwheat		Potatoes	
	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels
1920	1,349	25,501	3,646	183,920	21,272	594,929	6,815	113,129	5,606	626,206
1910	34	621	7,695	308,096	28,742	827,095	8,450	188,855	7,946	1,059,120
1900	320	5,620	9,769	414,450	25,539	1,002,190	5,251	99,220	6,369	753,613
1890	420	7,181	8,539	292,469	33,453	910,418	8,144	168,060	7,704	426,204
1880	3,974	50,629	11,785	373,047	35,152	952,047	7,781	132,774	7,234	610,083
1870	.....	40,292	.....	250,901	.....	990,727	.....	130,692	.....	626,836
1860	.....	106,552	.....	93,259	.....	1,244,550	.....	185,953	.....	562,372
1850	.....	76,652	.....	290,608	.....	921,989	.....	105,353	.....	500,372

Year	Hops		Hay		Dairy cows 2 years old or over	Value of dairy products	Total value of livestock	Total value of farm products
	Acres	Pounds	Acres	Tons				
1920	.....	.....	170,669	304,941	52,184	\$6,952,501	\$9,085,823	.....
1910	2,801	2,287,388	147,566	171,414	50,525	2,826,725	4,852,883	.....
1900	7,038	4,115,300	148,226	179,886	52,057	1,793,836	3,414,454	.....
1890	7,749	4,698,687	159,055	213,392	51,992	.....	3,215,380	\$4,418,880
1880	9,118	4,441,029	150,483	187,982	48,827	.....	3,125,696	5,284,929
1870	.....	2,919,629	.....	188,274	45,603	.....	5,308,286	.....
1860	.....	3,507,069	.....	124,369	36,847	.....	2,845,929	.....
1850	.....	1,132,052	.....	113,209	29,958	.....	2,148,130	.....

NEIGHBORHOODS

This study of the social areas of Otsego County was begun as one of several investigations of the significance of the rural neighborhood as a social unit, arranged by Dr. C. J. Galpin, in charge of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, who cooperated with the writers in the plan and support of the investigation.⁶ The *neighborhood* is commonly recognized as the primary group of human association larger than the family, although heretofore we have used the term somewhat indefinitely, and no exact studies have been made to determine its function in rural society. The primary purpose of these investigations is to ascertain through systematic study just what forms a rural neighborhood and how the neighborhood group functions in rural life.

Method of investigation

The cooperation of the rural school teachers was enlisted in the study, and their assistance, as well as that of the district superintendents, is gratefully acknowledged. Through them cards were taken by the school children to the farm homes of each district, bearing the question, "What is the locality in which you live ordinarily called among the people? (This name does not refer to the village, town, or city within a few miles of you, but rather to your country neighborhood, such as 'Robert's

⁶ A similar study of Dane County, Wisconsin, has been made by J. H. Kolb. (*Rural Primary Groups. A Study of Agricultural Neighborhoods.* Wisconsin Univ. Agr. Exp. Sta. Research bulletin 51. 1918.)

Corners,' 'Taylor Settlement,' 'Blue Valley,' etc. If your locality has no such local name, please indicate how you would describe your location.)" This card was filled out by some one on each farmstead, with his post-office address. A map of the school district was sent to each teacher, and on it she drew the approximate boundaries of the district, and located the houses by numbers corresponding to those placed on the cards. In this way the locality names were obtained for the whole county, with the exception of a few districts along the county boundary whose schools are located in adjoining counties.

These local maps were then transferred to a map of the county and a line was drawn around each group of farms using the same locality name. As no maps of the individual farms are available and as their boundaries do not run on section lines, it is impossible to map the exact boundaries of the farms using the same locality name, and the areas shown in figure 3 are only approximate, so as to include the homesteads using the same locality name. Localities in which less than five farms used the same local name were omitted, as in many cases only two or three farms used a name such as "Jones' Corners."

A county map on a scale of three inches to the mile was then prepared, on which all farm homes and school districts were plotted and the names of the families were written. Sections of this map for each township were sent to the township clerks and supervisors, for correction. Good cooperation was received from about two-thirds of the town officials, who made numerous corrections of house locations and of roads, and their assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

A questionnaire was sent to the teachers for each locality group which might form a neighborhood, with the request that it be filled out by the trustee or some leading citizen familiar with the neighborhood. Of these questionnaires, 150, or 64 per cent, were returned, and, although the replies are of very unequal value, yet in the aggregate they give a very good index of the characteristics of these local groups.

Number of primary groups

The completed map shows 222 locality names used by 3177 houses; 42 local names used by less than 5 houses each, in a total of 171 houses; 43 village centers with 845 farmhouses so near the villages that they used the village name for their locality; and 950 farmhouses outside of areas having any local name; making a total of 5143 houses shown on the map of the county. The 1920 census gives 4770 farms in Otsego County. The excess in the number of farmhouses shown on the map is due to the fact that many vacant houses, which are not abandoned, are shown, as well as tenant houses which are not on separate farms; and in some few cases village homes are indicated, since in such a study it is impossible to make an exact classification of farm homes without personal visitation. These results show that about 62 per cent of the farmhouses are located in areas having locality names, about 16 per cent are so near villages that they use the village name, and about 22 per cent have no local name or use a local name which is common to only three or four houses.

What a neighborhood is

It is obvious that the mere using of the same locality name by six or a dozen farms does not necessarily make them constitute a neighborhood; it may be a mere geographic name of location, and no social ties may exist among the families. Some criterion of what constitutes a neighborhood must therefore be established before we can proceed to any evaluation of its social significance. In his study of rural primary groups in Wisconsin, Dr. Kolb defined the rural neighborhood as "that first grouping beyond the family which has social significance and which is conscious of some local unity," and a committee of the American Country Life Association has described it as "a geographic group of farm families having some distinct local social cohesion."⁷

The mere use of a common name, as "Taylor's Hill" or "Sperry Hollow," indicates a certain consciousness of local unity or of a certain local cohesion. But is it sufficient to constitute a neighborhood? Just how much consciousness of local unity or cohesion is necessary in order that a primary locality group shall be considered a neighborhood? In attempting to answer this question, the authors recognized as two possible attributes for distinguishing neighborhoods, first, the amount of neighborliness and the degree to which it was common to the whole group, and secondly, the common activities of the group, or whether it functioned as a group. To ascertain these facts for every local group by personal visit was deemed impracticable, and the authors endeavored to obtain them by two other methods: first, by a questionnaire concerning each possible neighborhood sent to the school teachers, and secondly, by a personal study of a limited number of neighborhoods fairly representative of different types.

Analysis of replies to neighborhood questionnaires

The answers from the 150 neighborhood questionnaires received from the teachers were tabulated. Many of the teachers answered the questions themselves, and the answers indicate that some of these teachers were not well acquainted with the neighborhoods described; some of the questionnaires were filled out hastily by a trustee or some other resident. The evidence is therefore of very unequal value and is by no means accurate. But in the aggregate it is of sufficient value to indicate certain general conclusions. The totals and averages of these 150 neighborhoods are:⁸

1. The neighborhoods average 12½ homes; the average for the county is 14.
2. The areas of the neighborhoods average 2¼ square miles.
3. Names of 71 neighborhoods are derived from families of early settlers or prominent persons; 19 are named from creeks, lakes, and hills; 2 are named from nationalities, 2 from churches, 5 from mills, and 1 from a post office; the names of 14 are from an unknown source; and 24 are classed as miscellaneous.

⁷ Proceedings, First National Country Life Conference, p. 128. 1920.

⁸ In this discussion, as a matter of convenience, the term *neighborhood* is used for all the locality groups under consideration. It is understood that the final criterion of what constitutes a neighborhood is to be established later.

4. One-half of the neighborhoods (75) have the same name as the school district, and the neighborhood and the school district are practically identical in area.

5. That there has been no change in their designation for an average of 87 years is reported by 113 of the neighborhoods. The county was settled for the most part in the period from 1790 to 1810.

6. The institutions recorded in the following table have been important in the life of these neighborhoods:

Neighborhood institutions	Number of neighborhoods in which institutions exist	Number of neighborhoods in which institutions are closed	Total number of neighborhoods in which institutions existed at some time
Churches	15	8	23
Schools	95	15	110
Granges	7	1	8
Blacksmith shops	5	2	7
Saw and grist mills	12	5	17
Cheese factories and creameries	6	1	7

7. The answers to the question as to what activities the people of the neighborhood join in, were as follows: farm work 19, church 11, Sunday School 2, school 13, socials and home parties 11, dancing 3, Dairymen's League 5, grange 9, farm and home bureau 6, miscellaneous 8, no neighborhood activities 38, no answer 20.

8. The answers to the question concerning the chief influences which give identity to the neighborhood included the following as the chief factors (the figures in parenthesis indicate the number of times each factor is mentioned in all replies; those not in parenthesis refer to the number of times each item was given as the chief factor): school, 38 (45); kinship, 36 (38); hills, 17 (34); valleys or hollows, 12 (25); isolation, 9 (13); church, 6 (8); grange, 5 (7); roads, 4; farmers' nationality, 2; miscellaneous, 3; no answer, 6.

9. In reply to the question asking whether the people of this neighborhood get together in any way at their homes, the answers were: yes 68, frequently 1, seldom 30, no 40, no answer 6. Among the items mentioned in these replies were: house parties 16, socials 9, ladies' aid 4, family gatherings 4, church work 3, dances 5, home economics club 5, husking bees 2.

10. In reply to the question asking whether the people of the neighborhood visit one another, and, if so, how much, the answers were: yes 36, yes often 21, occasionally 30, seldom 7, not much 38, no 7, with relatives 5, no answer 4; 57 gave an affirmative reply, and 75 visited a little. Six replies stated that visiting was done on the telephone.

11. In reply to the question asking for the names of leaders in the neighborhood, 81 gave the names of 141 men and 40 women, 38 reported no leaders, and 31 gave no answers.

12. In reply to the question asking whether the men in the neighborhood helped one another in their farm work, 132 reported that they did,

12 stated that they did not, and 3 stated that they did a very little. As forms of work in which they assisted one another, there were named, in order of frequency, threshing, silo filling, haying, harvesting, cutting corn, cutting wood, drawing milk, exchanging tools, butchering, planting, digging potatoes, cutting ice, shoveling snow on the roads.

13. In reply to the question concerning the influence of the neighborhood in the affairs of the larger community or town—that is, whether its wishes had more or less influence than other sections of the community or town—139 stated that the neighborhood did not exercise any special influence in the affairs of the larger communities, and 11 stated that it did.

14. In reply to the question as to whether the schoolhouse was used for any neighborhood meetings, social evenings, public exercises, Sunday School, or any events other than school purposes, and, if so, how often and in what way, 26 replied that the neighborhood had no school or that it was closed; and 95 reported that no such use was made of the school; 8 schools were used for Sunday School or church, 9 for Christmas and holiday entertainments, 5 for picnics at the close of school, 3 for school entertainments, and 3 for occasional socials; 3 answered "occasionally." Of the 122 schools reporting, only 3 or 4 indicated that the school was making any definite effort to do more than the regular school work. This was about the same proportion as was found in a study of the schools of Tompkins County.

Study of individual neighborhoods

Before undertaking the study of individual neighborhoods, one of the authors drove over a large part of the county to gain some personal knowledge as to their situation. He talked with the manager of the county farm bureau, with district school superintendents, and with others, about the more significant neighborhoods, and had the benefit of the knowledge gained from the 150 questionnaires already described. A selection was made from the information thus obtained, and the authors made a personal study of 16 neighborhoods in 1920 and 1921.

Five neighborhoods forming the southern half of the town of Westford, which seemed to be fairly representative of a certain type of locality group in which the neighborhood has become chiefly a name, were given the most intensive study. These were selected because they seemed to be distinctly recognized by the local people as neighborhoods, and because at present four of them have no local institutions since the schools have been consolidated. Also, the interest in one of them was aroused because it was the birthplace of Andrew S. Draper, former Commissioner of Education of the State of New York. Three of these neighborhoods are located in valleys, one is on a hill, and one is at the junction of a valley and a hill. Their identity is largely due to topographical features.

With the exception of "The County," each home in these five neighborhoods was visited, and as far as possible a schedule was filled out. These schedules were then summarized, with information obtained from individuals. It is believed that such a schedule, filled out by personal interviews at the homes, is of value in gaining a general impression of neighborhood life, although from their experience the authors are convinced that the reality of neighborhood life can be determined only by

one who is able to live among the people for a considerable length of time. Real characteristics cannot be ascertained by direct questions. The reality of the neighborhood lies chiefly in the neighborliness of its people.

A detailed analysis of the life of these neighborhoods is not attempted here, but some of the more outstanding facts are of interest. The five Westford neighborhoods included 44 homes. This section has been settled for about 100 to 125 years. In 4 of these homes the present occupants had lived for more than 25 years, and 18 homes were the birthplace of the husband or the wife then living there. Thus in one-half of the homes at least one of the present occupants had lived for at least 25 years. Thirteen families, or 30 per cent of the total, had lived in their present homes for less than 2 years. In 11 homes the husband or the wife was a descendant of the original settlers. Three families were related to others within the individual neighborhood by marriage, and 11 families were related to others within the individual neighborhood through one parent being a brother, a sister, or a cousin of other parents in the neighborhood. Thus, 14 of the homes, or 32 per cent, were closely related within the individual neighborhood. These facts are shown in table 4.

TABLE 4. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE, AND RELATIONSHIPS, IN FIVE WESTFORD (NEW YORK) NEIGHBORHOODS (1920)

Neighborhood name	Number of houses	Length of residence				Relations in neighborhood	
		Under 2 years	Over 25 years	Born on place	Descendant of settlers	By marriage	Brothers, sisters, cousins
Draper Hill	7	1	..	3	2	0	0
Deerlick Valley	9	3	1	4	4	0	2
Darling Hill	8	3	..	3	2	2	2
Greenbush	11	3	2	6	1	1	5
The County	9	3	1	2	2	0	2
Total	44	13	4	18	11	3	11
Per cent		30		50		25	
							32

These neighborhoods do not seem to have any definite social function. A generation or two ago there was distinct neighborliness among them, particularly with regard to neighborhood parties and home business, but these are largely a thing of the past. The neighborhood has been absorbed by the larger community. The social interests of the people are drawn by the village center of the community, and they visit relatives and friends in other parts of the community and elsewhere more than in their immediate neighborhood. There are no neighborhood institutions and the people have no common activities. Thus these areas, which were formerly distinct neighborhoods, are now merely locality names.

A study was made also of the neighborhood of Angel Hill, immediately adjoining Exeter Center, which is similar in type to the Westford neighborhoods but has a rather more distinct identity. Although personal visits were not made to all the homes in the Angel Hill neighborhood, the facts obtained indicate that about the same conditions of permanency and relationship exist there as in the Westford neighborhoods. These

facts are significant because, with such a length of residence and such a degree of relationship, there is much more probability of neighborliness than in a locality occupied by newcomers.

Exeter Center in Exeter Township, and *Brighton's Corners* in Richfield Township, are good examples of what is here distinguished as *hamlet neighborhoods*. Concerning Brighton's Corners, the *History of Otsego County* (page 5, footnote) says:

The first village settlement in the town of Richfield was made at Brighton, about the commencement of the present century. In the year 1808, the Great Western Turnpike was extended westward from Cherry Valley to Brighton; and between this place and Albany, a distance of sixty-eight miles, there were in 1810 seventy-two public houses, or inns, and these were nightly filled by emigrants on their way west, and also by the farmers of this region, as Albany was the chief market for their wheat and farm produce. Brighton was at one time a flourishing village, with four stores, one grocery, and two public houses. The first postoffice in town was established at this place in 1817, Jonathan Morgan, postmaster. It remained in Brighton sixteen years, when it was removed to Monticello or Richfield, where it has remained ever since.

The *Gazeteer* of New York for 1860 states that there were at that time fifteen houses and a church at Brighton's Corners. In 1920 there were but seven or eight houses in the hamlet, two of which were vacant, a school, and a church building. There were only six children in the school then, and only three in 1921. Fifty or sixty years ago the buildings included a store and a blacksmith shop. The houses within a radius of one and a half miles, about fifteen in all, belong to this neighborhood. The families are no longer interrelated to any great extent. Most of the present inhabitants have settled in the vicinity within the past ten years. Up to 1918, Methodist and Presbyterian ministers from Richfield Springs preached in the church every Sunday, to from 25 to 35 persons. From then until the summer of 1920, when a minister from Richfield Springs held services every Sunday afternoon, there had been no preaching. Up to about 1919, occasional entertainments, "speaking," ice-cream socials, and other gatherings, were held at the church.

Exeter Center consists of about 15 homes, of which 8 or 9 are clustered in a hamlet at the four corners, where there are a Methodist church and a one-room school. Formerly there was also a Presbyterian church, organized as a Congregational church in 1806, but it was abandoned many years ago. Exeter Center was once the only voting place in the township, but the township is now divided into two voting districts with polls at Schuyler Lake and West Exeter. A small hall, formerly the town hall, is frequently used for basketball games, parties, and other social purposes. Some twenty years ago there was a creamery, which later became a cheese factory. This drew milk from a considerable area. Formerly there were also a store (which has been reopened within the past year), a blacksmith shop, and a wagon shop. According to the *Gazeteer* of New York for 1860, Exeter Center had two churches and a population of 106. In 1920 a stone road was being built by the township from Schuyler Lake, where most of the trading and banking is done and where there is also a high school. West of Exeter Center the people go mostly to West Exeter. Exeter Center has farm- and home-bureau organizations and a very definite neighborhood life.

Several of the more outstanding neighborhoods in the county were studied, to determine their activities and relations to the community.

Some of the more important activities and characteristics of these neighborhoods are here briefly described as the best examples of strictly rural neighborhoods and of the conditions which encourage their maintenance. The farm and home bureaus have their work well organized in all these neighborhoods, which are recognized as "communities" for their purposes.

Pierstown is about six miles north of Cooperstown, where most of its business is done and which is its natural community center. It is slightly farther from Richfield Springs. It includes about 36 families and approximately 150 persons, almost all of American stock, scattered over an area extending halfway to Cooperstown on the south, and from a mile and a half to two miles west and northwest of the school. It is bounded by hills on the north and west and by Otsego Lake on the east. At the neighborhood center there is a good district school, but the chief neighborhood activities center in the grange hall. The grange has a membership of about 100. It has a good building, equipped with a kitchen, a dining-room, and a hall, with a stage, which seats about 200. A small grocery store is kept in the basement. The regular meeting of the grange is held here every fortnight, a Sunday School is held every Sunday, and preaching services are conducted once a month or oftener. Also, the young people hold half a dozen dances during the year, the grange has an annual dance, and socials and suppers are frequent. The farm and home bureaus, the Dairymen's League, and the ladies' aid society, also hold their meetings here. At Christmas the grange, the Sunday School, and the three district schools cooperate in an entertainment which is attended by the whole neighborhood. For all of these occasions the grange furnishes the hall, with heat and light, free of charge, so that it is a real social center. The grange has a good degree team, and the lecturers' hour furnishes good programs in which the members have been trained to participate. The grange has also taken an active interest in making an attractive grange exhibit at the county fair, and its members are interested in raising farm and garden products, in canning fruits and vegetables, and in raising flowers, for this exhibit. The people have been encouraged to take part in these neighborhood activities, so that each expects to do his share. The home bureau has brought the women together more closely in specific occupational interests.

Fly Creek Valley, or Upper Fly Creek as it is sometimes called, in the northern part of Otsego Township directly west of Pierstown, is also a grange neighborhood. The area in which the name *Fly Creek Valley* is used locally extends north and south along Fly Creek for about four miles, and has a width of a mile to a mile and a half. But most of the areas known as *Fitch Hill* on the southeast, *Metcalf Hill* on the east, and *Twelve Thousand* on the west (figure 3) belong to the Fly Creek Valley grange, and, since its hall is their social center, the real grange neighborhood is about two miles wide (figure 4). The southern edge of the neighborhood is about two miles from the village of Fly Creek, which is the community center for the southern two-thirds, while residents in the northern third trade mostly at Richfield Springs, about four miles to the north. The grange neighborhood consists of about 50 families, of which 27 are in Fly Creek Valley proper. These families comprise about 200 persons, mostly of American stock but with a few Croatians who mingle freely in the neighborhood life. There are no improved roads

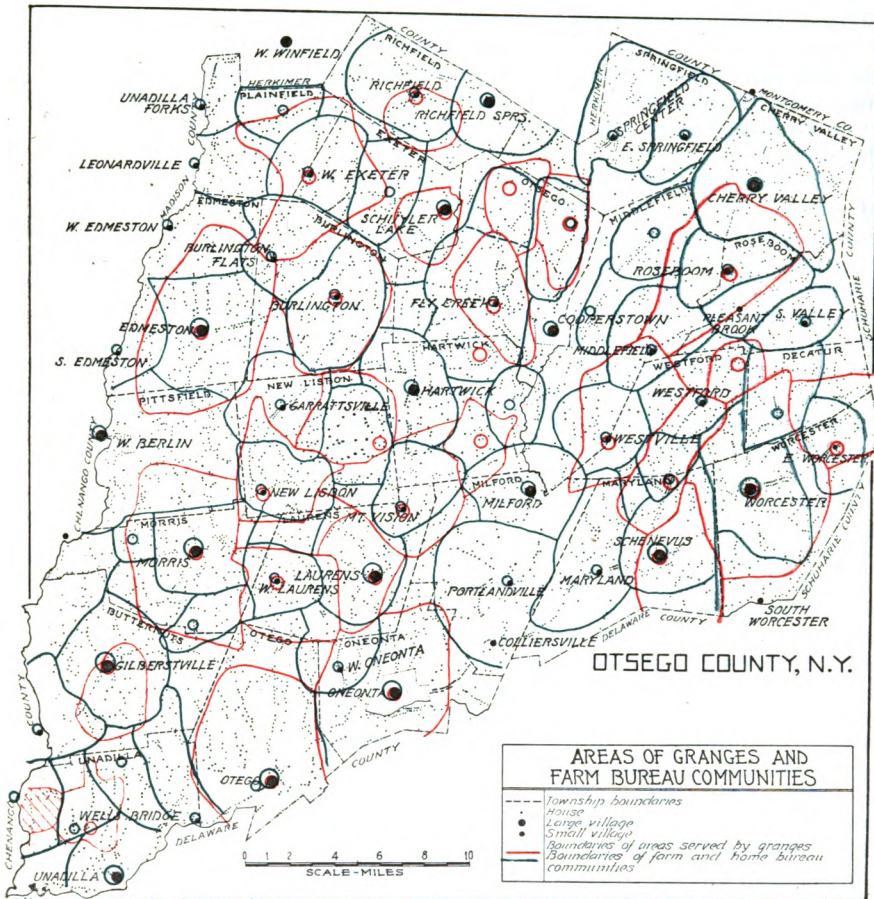


FIGURE 4. AREAS OF GRANGES AND FARM BUREAU COMMUNITIES, OTSEGO COUNTY

within the neighborhood or between it and the surrounding community centers, so that it is physically isolated; but the town plans to improve the road from Fly Creek.

One of the first Methodist churches in the county was organized at Fitch Hill in 1813 and a building was erected in 1835. In 1881 this church was extensively repaired, but owing to a division of opinion about its location the people of Fly Creek Valley withdrew, and in 1882 erected a church less than two miles north, and about three-quarters of a mile south, of the present grange hall. The Fitch Hill church was abandoned in 1902 and the Fly Creek Valley church was abandoned several years ago. Both structures are now going to pieces—monuments to neighborhood factions. At present a clergyman or a layman from Richfield Springs preaches to the people of the grange neighborhood at the grange hall every two weeks, but there is no church organization.

Sunday School is held weekly at the grange hall.

The grange hall has only recently been built, and was not painted at the time when it was visited. It is owned by a stock company of grange members, and has an assembly hall with a small dining-room and kitchen. It is equipped with a piano, a pool table, boxing gloves, a stage, and draw curtains.

The grange meets fortnightly on Saturday nights with an attendance of 40 or 50 out of a membership of 85. The girls and boys are encouraged to come to the meetings and take part in all but the business and the ritual so that they may join the grange as soon as eligible. The members participate actively in the lecturers' hour, and outside speakers are frequently engaged. After the grange meetings the young people dance and entertainments are frequent. Often the young men gather at the hall and cook their own suppers and play pool and other games. At Christmas the grange and the schools give an entertainment. The home bureau meets at the hall once a month, and farm bureau meetings also are held there. As at Pierstown, the people take an active interest in producing a grange fair exhibit. There is relatively little visiting among the families at their homes, the social life centering largely at the grange hall.

Hinman Hollow, in the central part of Hartwick Township, is a similar neighborhood with its life centering in the grange hall, although the school has more social activities, and no preaching nor Sunday School services are held. The neighborhood extends about two to two and a half miles east and west, and three miles north and south, among the hills on the divide, about midway between Milford and Hartwick, which are each about four miles from the grange hall. The neighborhood has about 40 families including about 160 persons, of whom 85 are grange members. The business of the southeastern part of the neighborhood is mostly at Milford and that of the northwestern part at Hartwick, while the northeastern corner goes to Hyde Park and Cooperstown. The community areas of these centers divide the neighborhood along these lines, chiefly determined by topography and roads. Although it is not quite as active a neighborhood as the two preceding, its neighborhood activities are so similar that further description is unnecessary.

Rogers Hollow, in the west-central part of Unadilla Township, is another strong institutional neighborhood with both grange and church. The latter is possibly the stronger factor in the neighborhood life at the present time. The neighborhood extends northeast along Rogers Hollow Brook from the Unadilla River for about four miles. On the south it is bounded by steep hills, but to the north it has a width of approximately two miles. The homes giving Rogers Hollow as their locality name are shown in figure 3, but the church and the grange draw from the southern half of the Ideuma area to the north and to the northwest. Most of the neighborhood transacts its business at Unadilla, about five miles from the church, but the western fourth goes mostly to Sidney, which is only two and a half miles from the western end. There are no improved roads in the neighborhood or over the hills to Unadilla, but at the western end a state road connects it with Sidney. This area includes about 35 families with about 200 persons, of old American stock, the original settlers having come from New England. There is a good grange hall and many of the

people belong to the grange; but the neighborhood life centers largely in the work of the Friends' Church, due to the able leadership of its present pastor, who resides next to the church and has no other charge. During the period of this pastor's leadership, beginning in 1917, the church—which prior to that time had been rather decadent, with only occasional preaching and no other activities—has become a real community church and has enlisted the interest of almost all the people, 90 per cent of whom are connected in some way with its Bible School. In 1920 the people raised about \$3000 for the work of the church. The building and the parsonage are in good repair. There is a library of about 200 volumes. The extension committee of the church takes a lead in promoting neighborhood activities and cooperates with the grange and the farm and home bureaus. Stereopticon lectures are often given at quarterly meetings of the church, which all attend. Lectures, dinners, and entertainments, with an attendance of sometimes 150, are frequent. In the fall the people hold a neighborhood fair, at Christmas a musical entertainment, and in the spring a community picnic. Two or three cottage prayer meetings are held each week, and these are social as well as religious, for some of the people who do not attend church offer the use of their homes to their neighbors. The young people's Bible class has a monthly social for its members at one of the homes. The farm and home bureaus and the Dairymen's League have local organizations and cooperate actively with the church and the grange. Through the efforts of the pastor, a pig club was started for the boys before the junior project work was organized throughout the county. This is an excellent example of what a country church with a resident pastor can do for the life of a fairly isolated neighborhood.

West Branch, in the north-central part of Otego Township, is a neighborhood whose identity is due chiefly to the church. It extends along the west branch of Otsdawa Creek for about four miles, and is from a mile to a mile and a half in width. Most of the inhabitants live in the valley. There are about 30 families with 125 persons, practically all of old American stock, the original settlers having come mostly from Rhode Island about 1800. The main road is being macadamized by the county, largely through the influence of the residents of this neighborhood. There are two one-room schools in addition to the church, but no other institutions except a creamery. Business is done in Otego and Oneonta. Many of the residents belong to the Otego grange and those who attend high school go to Otego, which is the community center. The church has no room for social gatherings, which are held entirely in the homes. Neighborly visiting has been customary for many years, and the residents expect to entertain neighborhood gatherings in their homes. In the winter evenings whole families visit one another, and some entertain at Sunday dinner. The Christian Church was organized in 1830 and the building was constructed in 1835. It gave rise to a second church about three miles west, at Center Brook, which was built in 1870 but has been discontinued. The pastor, who resides in the near-by parsonage, holds services every Sunday morning with an average attendance of 50.

The social activities of the neighborhood center around the four organized Bible classes and the ladies' aid and missionary society. The four classes have a meeting once a month, when they study the Bible lesson

for an hour and then have a social hour. The people are very frank to say that it is the social hour with refreshments which they care the most about. These meetings are held at different homes. In addition to the monthly combined meetings, each class occasionally has a social to which every one in the neighborhood is invited. These are ostensibly money-raising enterprises, but actually they are held because the people like to get together. During the winter there is always one social gathering each week, and often two or three. The ladies' aid and missionary society meets once a month. This meeting is held in the middle of the day and the men come to dinner. The influence of the church organizations tends to include every one in the neighborhood in the gatherings at each home, rather than only the immediate neighbors and family relations, as was the tendency when visiting was spontaneous and unorganized. Due to the social life of the church being carried on in the homes, the hospitality and friendliness characteristic of country neighborhoods a generation or two ago seems to have been encouraged and perpetuated.

Plainfield Center is a Welsh settlement which centers around the Welsh Congregational Church and occupies the central part of Plainfield Township. The neighborhood has a much larger area than that which uses the locality name, and includes parts of the locality areas on the south and the west. The church draws attendance from an area extending half a mile to the north and for a radius of three miles east, south, and west, including the localities of Spooner's Corners and Huntley's Corners on the east, Plainfield Hills on the south, and Phillips District on the west. But many families in the eastern part of this area attend church in West Exeter, so that the parish boundary does not define the neighborhood. Possibly the area organized by the farm and home bureaus, which includes the area marked Plainfield Center and the two school districts to the south called Plainfield Hills, more nearly represents the limits of the neighborhood, extending three and a half miles north and south, and two and a half miles east and west, with the church toward the northeastern corner.

The church is about three miles from West Exeter, nearly four miles from Unadilla Forks, and about as far from West Winfield. These community centers draw persons from the three sides of the neighborhood, their boundaries dividing it about equally, so that business, school, and social relations outside of the neighborhood go in three directions. This is due to the fact that the neighborhood lies among the hilltops, and slopes to these centers.

The church area includes about 60 families, but the farm- and home-bureau neighborhood includes not more than 40. The region was settled early in the nineteenth century, as there was a church at Plainfield Center in 1829; but the Welsh settlement commenced about 1860 and the Welsh church was built in 1861. Half a century ago the settlement included a store and a post office, but at present there are only a half-dozen houses, including the church parsonage, at the center.

The church has 109 members (there were 105 in 1878), and has an average attendance of 75 at morning and 30 at evening services. The Sunday School averages about 60 members. The older people speak Welsh, and that language is used at the morning service.

For three or four years the church people have given very successful amateur plays, which have sometimes been repeated in near-by communities. These plays are given in June or early in the fall. The church has senior and junior Christian endeavor societies, a young men's club and Bible class, and a ladies' aid society. The last-named has about 30 members and usually meets at the homes, but expects to meet in the future in a room which has been reserved for it on the second floor of the parsonage. It often holds church suppers with 75 or 80 persons present, and church socials are frequent. During the war there was an active branch of the Red Cross.

There are two district schools in the neighborhood, the district southwest of the center contracting with that of the center. A number of children have been graduated from, or have attended, the nearest high schools in recent years, and the neighborhood has had some college graduates.

The farm and home bureaus, with a membership of 15 men and 25 women, respectively, have been active, with well-conceived programs of work which have been effectively carried out, including an automobile tour of successful farms in neighboring townships, and a voting demonstration for the women. The meetings are held at the homes. A number of the people in the neighborhood are members of the West Exeter Grange, but they find it difficult to attend the meetings in winter. There have been no improved roads, but when the new system of township roads was adopted by the county, 30 of the men were called together one morning, and these men appeared before the town board and convinced its members that the mile of stone road to be built by the town that year should be in their neighborhood.

Physical isolation, nationality, the church, the farm and home bureaus, and exceptional leadership, all strengthen the unity of the neighborhood, which has many characteristics of a community since the interests of its people center in it as much as in the near-by community centers. But as time goes on and the roads are improved, more of the interests of the neighborhood will doubtless gravitate to the community centers.

Maple Grove, situated on the eastern end of the boundary between Morris and Butternuts Townships, immediately north of the West Branch neighborhood, is another hill neighborhood whose life is being revived by interest in a community building, started through the influence of the home economics club, the local home bureau. The center is about four miles south of Morris and as far northeast of Gilbertsville. Business, the church, and high schools draw the residents southwest of the center to Gilbertsville, and those to the north and the east to Morris. The extreme southeastern corner of the neighborhood, extending into Otego Township, is about five or six miles from West Oneonta, and the inhabitants do most of their trading there. The neighborhood includes about 30 families with 125 persons, all of old American stock, and has been settled for at least a century. There are an Episcopal church, which was closed for several years but was recently reopened, a small general store, a blacksmith shop, and a one-room school.

Several of the women, who felt the need of a place where all kinds of social gatherings could be held, discussed the matter until interest was aroused, and after two or three years an old house was finally purchased.

Some of the partitions were removed to make a dining-room and a kitchen upstairs and a hall downstairs. One of the rooms upstairs serves as a nursery for young children whom the parents must bring to the meetings. Some dishes and tables were furnished. The house was bought for \$175, and most of the work and the lumber to make it usable was donated by the men. The women cleaned the house and gave such household articles (tables, chairs, sofas) as were absolutely necessary to equip it. It is being paid for by ice-cream socials, maple-sirup suppers, and other entertainments. The plan is to build an addition so that there will be a larger dining-room upstairs and a larger assembly hall and dance floor downstairs. Many social gatherings are held here under the auspices of the home bureau, with an attendance of from 50 to 90, usually more than the house will hold. There has been no regular time of meeting, but the plan (1921) was to hold at least one neighborhood social gathering each month. The farm and home bureaus hold their meetings in the house, and it is hoped to get some one to preach occasionally. Now that the house is available there are few home parties.

The significant thing about this neighborhood is that a few persons who believe sociability to be beneficial, and who are willing to work, make it possible for the people to enjoy themselves in their own locality without any exceptional leadership. They have simply tried to get the people to realize their most obvious needs and to go to work to supply them, with faith in their neighbors and a desire to make their neighborhood life more enjoyable.

Classification of neighborhoods

As a result of these personal studies of different types of neighborhoods, and of the 150 replies to the questionnaires, the following classification of neighborhoods is suggested:

1. *The hamlet* consists of a group of houses close together, generally not more than one-fourth of a square mile in area, and usually associated with some institution or business. Often in Otsego County, the hamlet is the remnant of what was formerly a larger hamlet or a small village but is now distinctly decadent, such as Brighton's Corners, Middlefield Center, or Exeter Center.

2. *The institutional neighborhood* consists of a group of homes tributary to an institution, such as a school, a church, a grange, a community building, or any two or three of these.

3. *The business neighborhood* consists of a group of farm homes tributary to a store, a mill, a cheese factory, a creamery, a railroad station, or an industrial plant.

4. *The ethnic neighborhood* consists of a group of homes in which most of the people belong to, or are derived from, an alien nationality or race. Plainfield Center is a good example of a Welsh neighborhood. There are not more than a half-dozen neighborhoods in the county which are ethnic groups.

5. *The kinship neighborhood* consists of a group of homes which were originally settled by one family or in which most of the families are now closely related, whose identity is due to consanguinity. Neighborhoods which originated as kinship groups and which have retained the family

name, have frequently become nothing more than local names applied to a topographic locality.

6. *The topographic neighborhood* consists of a group of homes whose identity is due to their being located in a valley or a hollow, on a hill, or near a lake, usually more or less isolated. The fact that a topographic area uses a common locality name does not necessarily make it a neighborhood, and usually it is nothing more than a geographic locality. The conditions encourage the forming of a neighborhood, but whether there is that degree of neighborliness or of any common activities which cause the families to function as a social group must be determined individually, and cannot be presumed merely from the common use of a locality name.

7. *The village neighborhood* consists of the homes so near a village center that they use its name and have no other local designation. The village neighborhood may be distinguished from the homes within the village or hamlet proper, and also from the larger community of which the village is the center and which bears the village name but which may include several other neighborhoods. The life of the village neighborhood is, of course, identified with that of the village, so that it cannot be considered as a strictly separate unit. Forty-six communities with village centers may be recognized in Otsego County, so that there is an average of five neighborhoods to each community in addition to those at the village centers.

It is evident that the hamlet is practically always an institutional neighborhood, that an ethnic neighborhood may have its institutions, and that an institutional neighborhood may be determined by, and receive its name from, its topographic setting; so that no sharp classification is possible. The classes suggested merely recognize the most important factors in creating a neighborhood bond. On the basis of the foregoing classification, the neighborhoods reported on the questionnaires may be grouped as follows:

Type	Number	Per cent
Hamlet	11	7
Institutional—Total	49	33
School	38	
Church	6	
Grange	5	
Business—Total	24	16
Stores	8	
Mills	12	
Cheese factories or creameries	4	
Topographical—Total	29	19
Hills	17	
Hollows	12	
Kinship	36	24

Without personal study of each locality, it would be impossible to determine just how many of these localities really function as neighborhoods. It will be noted that 43 per cent are classed as *topographical*

or *kinship*. Whatever their past may have been, only a few of these localities are now more than local names. In 25 per cent of the total, the school determines the neighborhood. It is doubtless true that wherever there is a district school the immediate locality is more or less of a neighborhood; but very often it is the only bond between the homes using the local name, and the school occupies so small a place in the life of the people that the neighborhood tie is very weak. In many localities where the school has been closed and the children are sent to an adjoining district, the district name is retained, as in the Westford localities described, which are no longer neighborhoods except in name. In view of these facts it seems doubtful whether more than one-third of the areas having local names, as shown in figure 3, can be considered in any sense real neighborhoods, if one considers the neighborhood as a social unit whose families have a greater degree of neighborliness with one another than with families not in the unit, or in which there are any activities common to the group.⁹

Conclusions

On the basis of the information summarized in the preceding pages, the following conclusions with regard to the neighborhood as a social unit in Otsego County seem warranted. These conclusions are not advanced as being true of other regions, though considerable observation of conditions in other counties leads us to believe that they are applicable to most of the more hilly sections of New York.

The hamlet type of neighborhood is persistent because of the investment in its homes and its central location, and usually because of one or two local institutions. Furthermore, it has a history which gives it identity. Many times the hamlet gradually disintegrates but the neighborhood identity is retained, and the neighborhood usually becomes one of the institutional type. If consolidated schools were established at points in the open country, hamlets might grow up around them, as has occurred in the Middle West. But there is little evidence of the formation of hamlets in Otsego County at present.

The business neighborhood is practically gone and there seems little probability of its revival. Formerly Otsego County, like other counties in New York, was dotted with mills, blacksmith shops, cheese factories, and other industrial enterprises which were important as neighborhood bonds. The general distribution of manufacturing establishments in the early days, when many of the present neighborhoods were formed, is well shown by the following table, which was given on a map of the county published in 1829 and based on the preceding federal census:

⁹ It should be noted, however, that most of these locality groups formerly were very definite neighborhoods, and that there is a possibility that if homogeneous and congenial families remained in a locality for some years it might again become a real neighborhood. The definite recognition of a locality area by a local name when the area is determined by topography, usually furnishes a condition which encourages neighborhood life. As previously indicated (page 11), it is practically impossible to determine just which locality groups really function as neighborhoods and which are mere local names. The facts cannot be determined merely by questioning leaders in the community or in the neighborhood. If one asks whether a certain area is a neighborhood, or what neighborhoods there are in the community, and certain neighborhoods are indicated in the reply, it does not signify that the areas in question really function as neighborhoods. Formerly they were true neighborhoods, and, because the name clings to the locality, the term *neighborhood* is still applied to them in local usage. But whether they have any real social bonds can be determined only by a more intimate acquaintance with their life than can be obtained by a casual visit or by direct questioning.

MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS IN OTSEGO COUNTY, NEW YORK, IN 1829

	Grist-mills	Saw-mills	Oil mills	Fulling mills	Carding machines	Cotton factories	Wool factories	Iron works	Trip hammers	Distilleries	Asheries
Burlington . . .	6	9	....	3	4	1	1	....	....	4	2
Butternuts . . .	4	14	1	6	5	1	1	2	....	2	8
Cherry Valley . .	6	12	....	2	3	....	....	....	....	....	3
Decatur . . .	1	6	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	2
Edmeston . . .	2	5	....	3	....	....	....	....	1	2	1
Exeter . . .	1	9	....	2	2	....	....	....	....	....	4
Hartwick . . .	6	14	....	7	21	3	....	....	....	9	1
Huntsville . . .	3	4	....	2	2	....	....	....	....	2	6
Laurens . . .	5	13	....	2	7	....	....	....	1	6	7
Maryland . . .	4	22	....	2	1	....	1	....	....	2	....
Middlefield . . .	5	12	....	4	2	1	....	....	2	3	5
Milford . . .	3	25	....	3	3	....	1	....	1	4	4
New Lisbon . . .	4	12	....	5	8	....	3	....	....	8	....
Otego . . .	2	6	....	2	2	....	....	....	....	....	2
Otsego . . .	6	10	1	3	4	2	1	....	2	6	....
Pittsfield . . .	1	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Plainfield . . .	1	2	1	2	1	....	....	....	....	....	....
Richfield . . .	3	5	1	1	1	....	....	....	....	....	....
Springfield . . .	4	9	1	5	4	....	....	....	....	1	2
Unadilla . . .	4	16	....	2	8	....	....	....	....	2	1
Westford . . .	2	5	....	3	3	....	....	....	....	1	3
Worcester . . .	4	13	....	2	6	....	....	....	....	4	7
Total	76	229	5	62	90	8	8	2	7	56	53

The kinship neighborhood, although still evident, is passing, and with a continuing exodus of native families, and the immigration of foreign nationalities and natives of other States, this type will soon disappear, leaving only a local name reminiscent of the early settlers.

The topographic neighborhood has little more significance than giving a name to a locality, except as its isolation tends to restrict the neighborliness of its people to one another.¹⁰ The degree of neighborliness, especially as shown by visiting among families and by the holding of neighborhood parties, is the chief factor maintaining the identity of this type of neighborhood, and generally if it has no local institutions it tends to become a mere locality name rather than a neighborhood.

Institutional neighborhoods maintain themselves in localities somewhat isolated from the village centers. The stronger institutional neighborhoods, as already described, usually center around a church or a grange. In the majority of institutional neighborhoods the school is the only institution, for fully half of the locality areas mapped (figure 3) are practically identical with the school districts (figure 5). But the school rarely does more than give the neighborhood its identity. Rarely does the social life of the neighborhood center in the school, and when it does it is because preaching services or Sunday School are held at the schoolhouse, rather than because of any social program of the school. With the increase in the consolidation of schools, the one-room district school will rarely develop neighborhood life. It is possible, however, that a judicious location of consolidated schools might place some of them in the open country, so that they might become centers of larger neighbor-

¹⁰ It should be understood that the areas of all the other types of neighborhoods are largely determined by topography in a region of hills; but that the term *topographic neighborhood* is restricted to those in which topography is the chief or only bond determining the locality group.

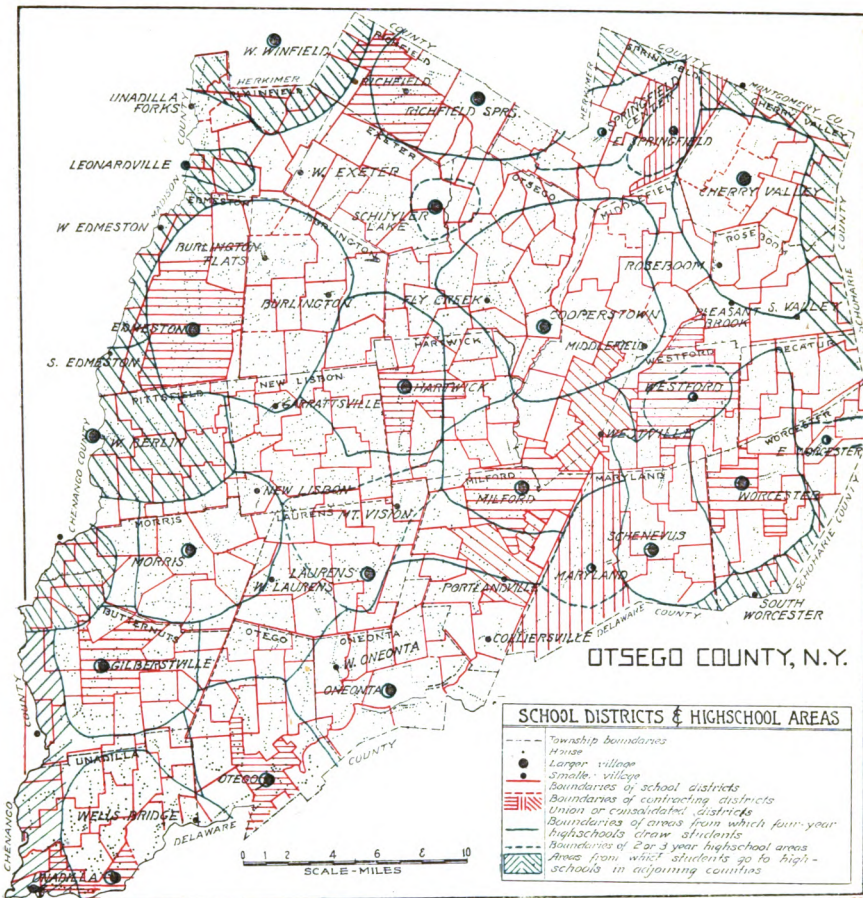


FIGURE 5. SCHOOL DISTRICTS AND HIGH-SCHOOL AREAS, OTSEGO COUNTY

hoods. Almost always the institutional neighborhood maintains itself only where it is so isolated by distance or topography from community centers that it is inconvenient for the people to go to the villages frequently, or where some social distinction makes them prefer their neighborhood society.¹¹

¹¹ Neighborhood isolation may be either physical or social. In many instances, rural neighborhoods near small cities maintain themselves because their people do not readily mix with those of the city. Within three or four miles of the city of Ithaca, in Tompkins County, are a half-dozen institutional neighborhoods, some of which have an active neighborhood life, and this situation has been observed in other parts of the State. A few such neighborhoods may be found near Oneonta and Cooperstown, but the other villages in the county are not large enough to cause such segregation.

There is another type of neighborhood not infrequently found near cities or near the outskirts of villages, which is conspicuously absent in Otsego County. This might be called the *slum neighborhood*, for there are rural as well as urban slums. Small groups of families whose standard of living is distinctly below that of the remainder of the community, who tend to be shiftless, and who often have a considerable percentage of subnormal mentality, are usually found in almost every county. Such neighborhoods doubtless exist in Otsego County, but only one which may be so regarded has come to our attention. This is in an isolated hill section, and we have not confirmed the conditions described to us.

It should be noticed that all of the more successful institutional neighborhoods described herein have a larger area and population than the average locality area in the county. They have an area of from five to ten square miles, and a population of from 25 to 50 families, and therefore are from two to four times the size of the average locality area. This is directly due to the fact that the maintenance of successful institutions requires a larger economic basis than can be furnished by the small neighborhood, and where institutions arise they tend to consolidate the interests of three or four local areas into a larger neighborhood. Of the 221 locality areas recognized in Otsego County, there are not more than 20 or 25 institutional neighborhoods which can be considered as functioning social units. The more important of these are marked in stipple in figure 3.

In general, the rural neighborhood in Otsego County is ceasing to function as a social unit except where its life is centered in some local institution.¹² Where the neighborhood is sufficiently isolated, there is often a distinct advantage in maintaining institutions and strengthening neighborhood life. The farm bureau finds that better results are obtained by organizing such neighborhoods separately, and that a much larger total attendance is secured by holding meetings at several neighborhood centers than by holding only one meeting at the larger village center. Attendance at farmers' institutes often confirms this. The farm bureau has therefore organized local communities or groups in many neighborhoods, known as *farm bureau communities*. Sixteen "communities" of the Otsego County Farm Bureau are such neighborhoods, and thus include a majority of the stronger neighborhoods of the county. The same considerations apply to the work of such organizations as the Red Cross, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the scouts, and the churches. Indeed, from the standpoint of community organization, it seems probable that wherever a distinct locality group is isolated, either physically or socially, from the general life of the community, the process of socialization should commence with the development of neighborhood life. This importance of the neighborhood was very well expressed by Dr. L. H. Bailey in addressing a farmhouse gathering:¹³

A neighborhood comprises the region of neighboring. It is personal. The community represents commonality of interests rather than friendship of folks. I want the community to develop, and to have a better church and school and grange and library; but within the community there may be several neighborhoods, and it is important that the neighborhood activities be not forgotten or overlooked in our grasp for bigger things. A community cannot accomplish much if the neighborhoods are dead or if they are torn by petty dissensions.

COMMUNITIES

In a previous publication,¹⁴ which should be consulted in this connection, the nature of the rural community as a social area was thus

¹² A distinction should be noted between the rural neighborhood as a social unit, and the neighborliness of farm people. The neighborhood may disappear, but as long as farmers own their places and are not frequently shifting, the nature of their work compels a certain amount of neighborliness. We may well give consideration to the place of neighborliness in rural life and how it may be encouraged, although we may see little future for the neighborhood as a social unit.

¹³ Bailey, L. H. *York State rural problems*, volume 2, page 27. 1915.

¹⁴ Locating the rural community. By Dwight Sanderson. *Cornell Reading Course for the Farm*, Lesson 158, page 417. 1920.

described: "A rural community consists of the people in a local area tributary to the center of their common interests. The community is the smallest geographical unit of organized association of the chief human activities." The question at once arises as to what distinguishes a community from a neighborhood, for some of the institutional neighborhoods described herein might seem to be communities under this definition. It must be confessed that no sharp distinction can be drawn, for, as in all classifications of the phenomena of life, no absolute differences exist. In general, the neighborhood has but one or two institutions, or renders but one or two, or at most three, forms of service (such as educational, economic, religious, or social) to its people; whereas the community center usually furnishes most of the services commonly enjoyed by rural people, and is more nearly self-sufficient. However, certain areas which seem to have more of the characteristics of a community than of a neighborhood may furnish but two or three forms of service, and it therefore seems difficult to distinguish communities from neighborhoods by the number of interests satisfied by the local institutions.¹⁵ The only principle for the distinction of *neighborhood* and *community* which we have been able to recognize, is that more of the interests of the people in a neighborhood are satisfied by the institutions and life of the community than by the neighborhood. Thus, several of the strong neighborhoods described herein are divided by the boundaries of two or three communities, and, although the religious or the social life may be chiefly in the neighborhood, yet for most of their business, for secondary education, for commercial recreation, and for railroad transportation, the people are more closely associated with the community centers. As roads become better and automobiles more common, the community centers will doubtless attract a larger share of the people's interests. Even with this distinction, however, the classification is more or less arbitrary, for it is a question whether the interests of the people of such localities as Rogers Hollow and Pierstown are not more largely centered there than in the near-by community centers. Such areas might possibly be classed as *country communities*, as distinguished from the commoner and larger *rural communities* which have village centers, and the smaller neighborhoods which are less self-sufficient and have no institutions or only one.¹⁶

Method of location

The location of community areas is based on the returns from questionnaires received from the farm homes. The following questionnaire was sent to each farm home in the county, with a franked envelope for its return:

¹⁵ Dr. Kolb, in his *Rural Primary Groups* (Wisconsin Agr. Exp. Sta., Research bulletin 51, page 70, 1918), discusses the village as the farmers' service station and shows that it usually furnishes five or more services—economic, educational, religious, social, farmer organization, or communication and transportation; while only a little more than half of the neighborhoods give any distinctive service, and less than two-thirds of these perform two or more of the necessary services.

¹⁶ It seems probable that the country community should be recognized as a distinct type of locality group between the neighborhood and the rural community, but it seems desirable to obtain more evidence from other areas before attempting its definition. Briefly, it is a community with no village center but whose institutions satisfy more of the interests of the people than do those of near-by communities. The most outstanding example of such a country community known to us is Sandy Spring, Maryland, a Quaker community with the highest standards of life, but entirely in the open country. Probably a dozen of the stronger institutional neighborhoods of Otsego County could be so classed as country communities.

Town..... School District No.....

Your name

Your post-office address.....

1. At what place is the store at which you do most of your local buying of groceries?
.....
2. At what place is the store where you do most of your local buying of hardware?
.....
3. At what place is your bank located?.....
4. If you sell milk, where do you deliver it, or to what point is it hauled for you?
.....
5. Where is your nearest railroad station for shipping or receiving freight?.....
.....
6. At what place is the church or Sunday School located which your family attends?
.....
7. At what place is the grange located to which any member of your family belongs?
.....
8. At what place is the lodge located to which any member of your family belongs?
.....
9. Do you have any children attending high school? If so, where is it located?
.....
10. To what village or community center do you and your family go most frequently?
.....

About 1500 replies, representing approximately one-third of the farm homes, were received. Although these replies were not always evenly distributed and information was therefore lacking for small areas here and there, usually the replies were sufficiently well distributed to give a fairly accurate basis for mapping the areas of the different institutions. The replies to questions 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, and 10 were transferred to large maps, so that symbols placed at each farm home replying showed the location of the institutions or services which it utilized. Boundary lines were then drawn showing the areas of each of these institutions or services, as shown in figures 4 to 7. The community areas were then determined by making a composite of the boundaries of the areas for local trade, for the church, and for the village or the community center visited the most frequently. Where the boundary of two communities was in doubt, owing to lack of information or to conflicting information, facts were ascertained several times by a personal visit, and at other times the boundary line was so obviously due to topography that the

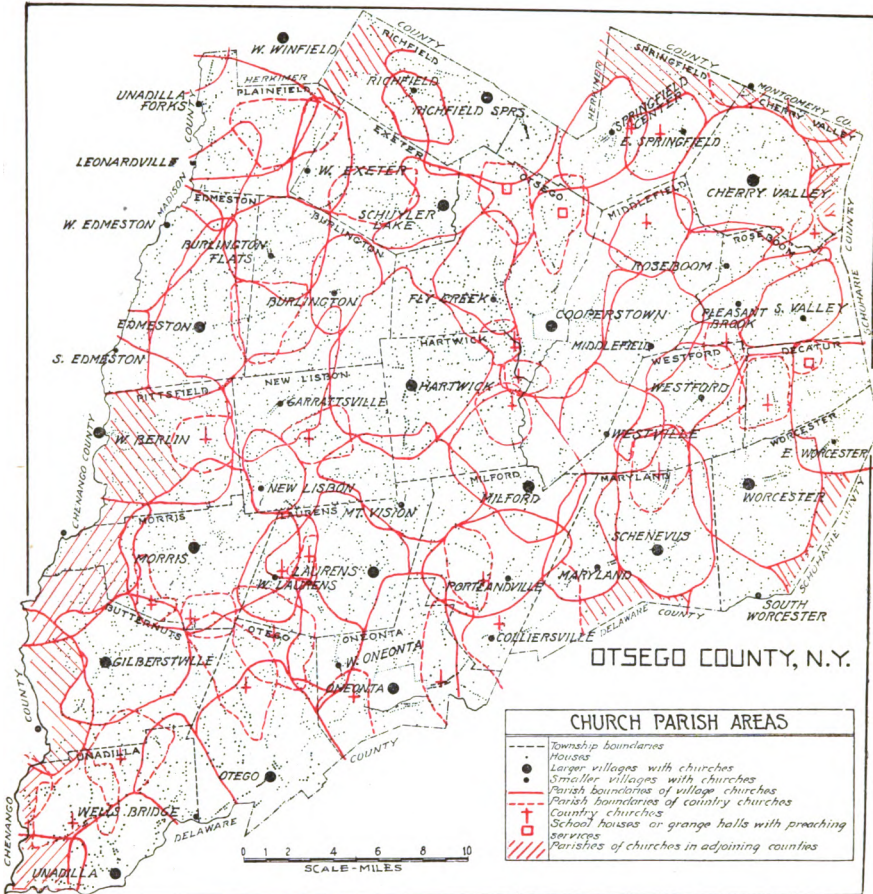


FIGURE 6. CHURCH PARISH AREAS, OTSEGO COUNTY

lines of the watersheds were used. The community boundary lines as mapped are but approximate at best, but it is believed that they are sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes. If replies to such a questionnaire could be obtained from every farm home, it would be possible to map the community areas with accuracy.

Community areas

In general, the community areas are closely coincident with the trade areas of the village centers. The church areas are uniformly smaller than the trade areas, due to country churches and to denominational affiliations. On this basis the county is divided into 43 communities, including the city of Oneonta, as against 24 townships. It will be noted that in general the community areas are quite independent of township boundaries. Considerable differences in the size and self-sufficiency of

the communities are obvious. Thus there are several communities, of which Edmeston may be cited as typical, which cover a relatively large area, furnish all necessary local services, and are usually the centers of smaller neighboring communities for certain purposes. Cherry Valley, Worcester, and Richfield Springs are other examples of this type, which form possibly a third of the total number. On the other hand, there are many smaller communities, such as Westford or West Exeter, where there are one or two stores, one or two churches, possibly a grange hall, a common school (rarely a small high school), and a milk station, but whose people go to neighboring villages for hardware, banking, railroad facilities, drugs, the lodge, and "movies." These smaller communities are not self-sufficient and are in constant competition with the larger centers nearest them. Probably two-thirds of the communities are of this type.

The average distance between the village centers of the communities in Otsego County is 5.1 miles, so that the average radius of a rural community in that county is about 2.5 miles. The population of these village centers is given in the following list:

POPULATION OF VILLAGE COMMUNITY CENTERS
IN OTSEGO COUNTY, NEW YORK, 1920

Burlington Flats 327	Maryland 220	South Edmeston 207
Burlington Green 70	Middlefield 243	South Valley 107
Cherry Valley 728*	Milford 505*	South Worcester 180
Colliersville 110	Morris 420*	Springfield Center 109
Cooperstown 2725*	Mount Vision 258	Unadilla 1157*
East Springfield 210	New Lisbon 221	Unadilla Forks 212
East Worcester 430	Oneonta 11,582*	Wells Bridge 216
Edmeston 749	Otego 540*	West Edmeston 222
Fly Creek 264	Pleasantbrook 127	West Exeter 157
Garrattsville 231	Portlandville 352	Westford 102
Gilbertsville 419*	Richfield 260	West Laurens 112
Hartwick 605	Richfield Springs 1388*	West Oneonta 307
Laurens 228	Roseboom 226	Westville 97
Maple Valley	Schenevus 526*	Worcester 1220
	Schuyler Lake 351	

* Incorporated villages as given by the 14th United States census. Other population figures are as given on the Rand McNally Indexed Pocket Map of New York (1922).

The average population of these rural villages (excluding the city of Oneonta, and Cooperstown) is 380. Deducting the total village population from that of the county, and dividing by 42 communities, gives an average farm population of 416. However, near the boundaries of the county there are many farms belonging to communities whose village centers are in neighboring counties. If the population of these farms is taken into consideration, the average farm population of a rural community will closely approximate that of the village center.

Usually the communities are the natural social areas, whose institutions bind the people together into locality groups. Owing to the hills, the community boundaries are chiefly determined by topography, and most of the community centers are in the valleys. The communities whose centers are on the ridges are all small and tend to decline. Notable examples of such communities are Burlington and West Laurens on the divide between the tributaries of the Unadilla and Susquehanna Rivers.

It is not the purpose of this study to indicate methods of community

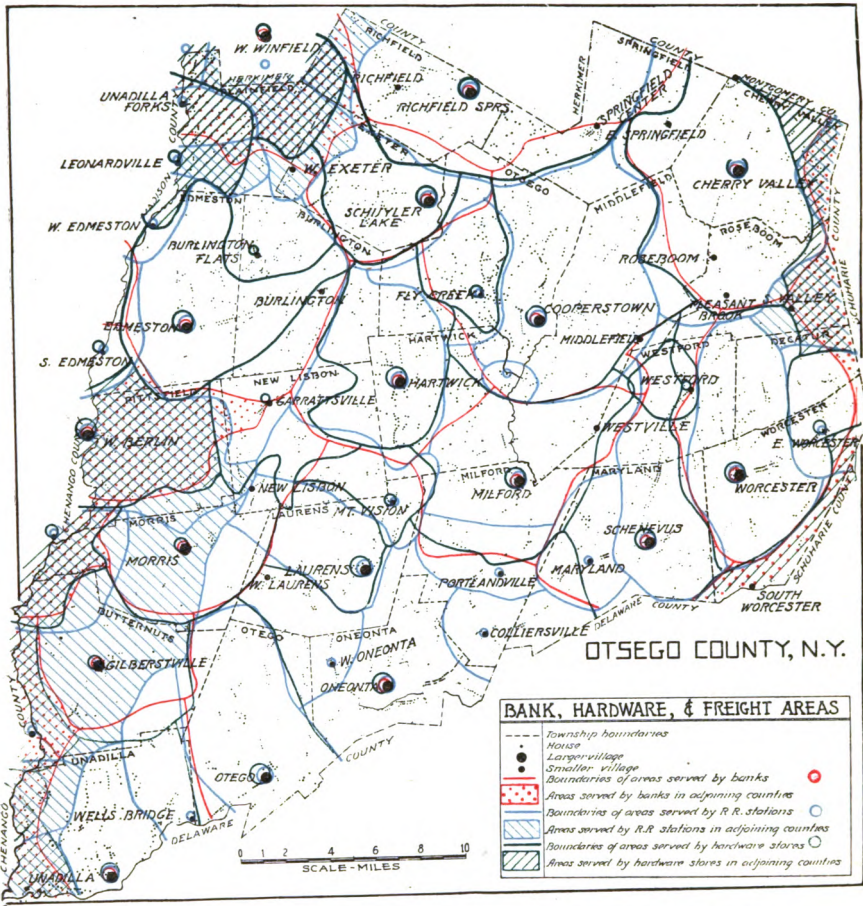


FIGURE 7. BANK, HARDWARE, AND FREIGHT AREAS, OTSEGO COUNTY

improvement or how the facts mapped may be utilized. It is obvious, however, that in the location of roads, churches, schools, granges, or other institutions, and in the organization of the local work of county-wide agencies, a knowledge of the existing social areas will be of practical value.

LARGER COMMUNITY AREAS

The maps showing the centers where banking is done, where hardware is bought, and where high school is attended (figures 5 and 7), show that these three services are common to the larger villages. With regard to these services and others (such as those furnished by physicians, drug stores, libraries, motion-picture theaters, and undertakers), these villages are the centers of what may be termed *larger communities*, which

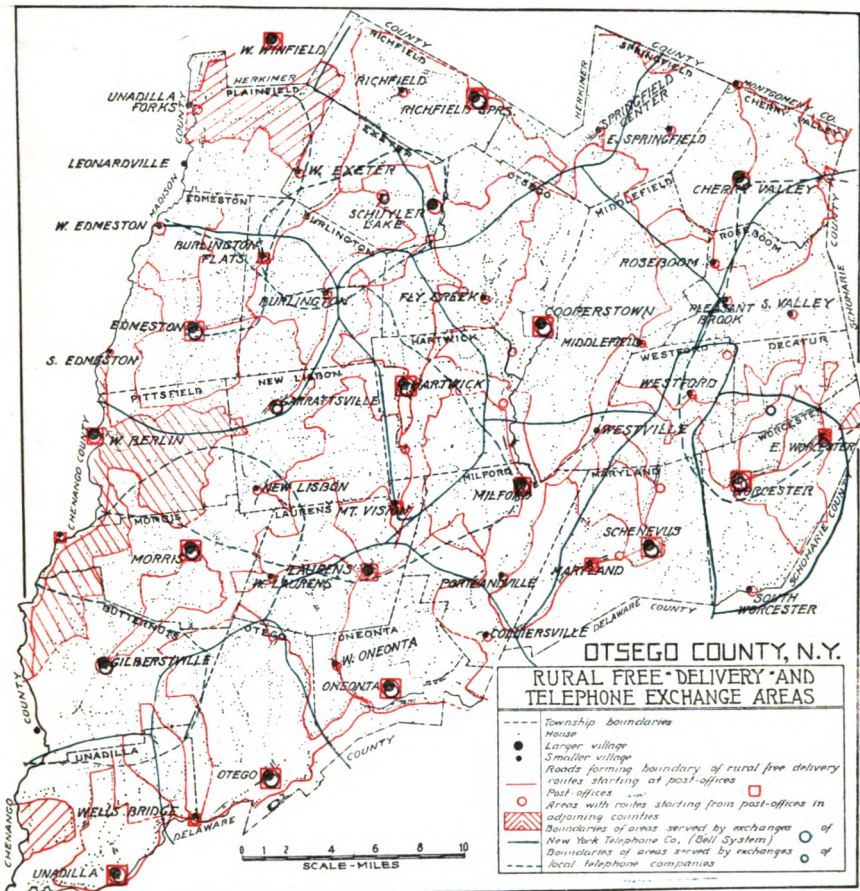


FIGURE 8. RURAL FREE DELIVERY AND TELEPHONE EXCHANGE AREAS, OTSEGO COUNTY

include two or three smaller communities whose villages lack these facilities. Owing to its hilly topography, the community areas in Otsego County are relatively small. They will support certain institutions and services which are used frequently and for which people will not go far, but they are unable to maintain those which require the economic basis of a larger constituency. Without exception, these larger centers are on railroads and are the shipping points for the communities tributary to them. Cherry Valley, Worcester, Schenevus, Milford, Cooperstown, Richfield Springs, Oneonta, and Edmeston, are the outstanding centers of larger communities. Others, such as New Berlin, South New Berlin, and West Winfield, are just over the line, in neighboring counties, and draw from adjacent areas in Otsego County. For certain purposes, such as the location of small hospitals, or districts for public health nurses, and for the location of roads, these centers of larger communities and

the recognition of the areas they serve are of importance.

The areas served by telephone exchanges (figure 8) approximate rather closely the larger community areas of the suggested school communities (as is shown on comparison with figure 9), and it is important that the telephone exchanges should serve the potential social areas. If it is necessary to pay a toll charge for telephoning to persons within a given community, or between closely associated communities, their association is impeded to that extent, and business and other relations thereby tend to be confined to the area served by the exchange. In this respect the exchange areas in Otsego County seem to be well located with regard to the relation of the centers to the areas served.

The same considerations apply to some extent to the post offices from which rural free delivery routes start (figure 8), but necessarily the location of these routes must be largely determined by topography, condition of roads, and railroad facilities. As the improvement of roads makes possible the location of new routes and the re-location of old routes, it will be desirable to make the routes coincide with the social areas. With few exceptions their present locations are fairly satisfactory in this regard. The section from Burlington Center south nearly to Garratts-ville is served by a route from Burlington Flats, although this area is more closely related to Edmeston and has little other contact with Burlington Flats. Around the north end of Otsego Lake there is a route from Cooperstown which extends to Springfield Center. This route might better be served from the latter point or from Richfield Springs when a new route is located to cover the township of Springfield.

THE COMMUNITY AS A UNIT FOR SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

In recent years, legislation enacted by several States of the Middle West has definitely recognized the community as the unit for the local control of educational administration, particularly with reference to community high schools and consolidated schools. The most important recommendation of the Committee of Twenty-One, which has recently published a report of its survey of the rural schools of New York State,¹⁷ is that the community should be the local unit of school administration. The committee proposes that those districts which together form a community shall be represented in a community board of education, which shall have charge of the general administration of the schools of the whole community and shall levy a tax for their support on the whole community. The committee indicates that each community area should be large enough so that it may support a four-year high school at the community center.

From the preceding discussion it seems apparent that not all of the smaller communities of Otsego County would be able to support a high school, and that the community area proposed by the committee would more nearly correspond to those of the present high-school areas of larger communities. There are, however, several communities in Otsego County which at present are practically deprived of high-school privi-

¹⁷ Rural school survey of New York State. By George A. Works. 1922.



FIGURE 9. POSSIBLE SCHOOL COMMUNITIES, OTSEGO COUNTY

leges. Should the recommendations of the committee be enacted into law, there would be a problem in every county of locating the boundaries of these school communities, so that each of them might have a high school at a point accessible to all parts of the community, and possibly one or more junior high schools at minor centers. This recommendation furnishes opportunity for a practical application of the study of social areas, and the facts previously set forth with regard to the social areas of Otsego County should furnish the basis for a definite illustration of their utility. We have attempted, therefore, to outline the areas in Otsego County which would be most suitable as community units for school administration. These are shown in figure 9.

In general, the suitable areas are those tributary to the existing high schools. Only three new communities would seem necessary in order that each community might have a high school. One of these is in the northeastern part of the county, and would include Roseboom, Pleasant-

brook, and South Valley. These communities are now served by the high school at Cherry Valley, but it is too far away to permit of the children's living at home. These three communities form a natural area for school purposes, which might well include Middlefield. But whether its people would prefer to form part of such a school community, or to be a part of the communities centering at Cooperstown or Milford, would be a matter for them to decide and could not be arbitrarily determined. Roseboom or Pleasantbrook would be nearer, but the trade of Middlefield goes mostly to Cooperstown. However, with the completion of the state road now being constructed to Milford, the latter will be much more accessible because of an easy grade, in contrast to the heavy grades over the hills east of Cooperstown.

Another new community would be in the northwestern part of the county, centering at West Exeter. The West Exeter community now has no high schools nearer than West Winfield on the north, Schuyler Lake on the east, and Edmeston on the south, and all of these are so far away that but few children from the West Exeter area attend them. Whether the Burlington Flats community should be included with West Exeter or Edmeston, is again a matter for its people to decide. With Burlington Flats and West Exeter forming a single unit, there would be a sufficient taxable valuation and constituency to support a good high school. Should Burlington Flats prefer to continue to patronize the Edmeston high school, the West Exeter community would have difficulty in maintaining more than a junior high school. The presumption, therefore, is in favor of combining West Exeter and Burlington Flats into one school community. As the affiliations of Middlefield and Burlington Flats are problematic, their boundaries are shown by broken lines.

The third proposed school community is that of West Oneonta, including the West Laurens community and the Otsdawa neighborhood. At present there are almost no high-school pupils in West Laurens or Otsdawa. There is no improved road from West Laurens to Laurens, and Morris is rather far. High-school students from West Oneonta and vicinity now go to the Oneonta high school. Freight for this area is received and shipped at West Oneonta, and much of the local business is transacted there. The new state road from West Oneonta to West Laurens would seem to make possible a school community as outlined in figure 9, providing a road were improved from Otsdawa to the state road.

Several of the community districts would doubtless include one or two junior high schools (7th, 8th, and 9th grades), at such points as Garrattsville and possibly Burlington Green in the Edmeston district, Mount Vision in the Laurens district, Portlandville in the Milford district, Colliersville in the Oneonta district, Fly Creek in the Cooperstown district, Maryland in the Schenevus district, East Worcester in the Worcester district, and East Springfield in the Springfield district.

The Committee of Twenty-One suggests that the location of community areas be made by a committee in each county. In order that such a committee might determine the community areas, it would be desirable for them to have every householder in the county fill out a brief questionnaire, including questions 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, and 10 of the questionnaire given

on page 29. This would give the local trade and church areas, and the approximate areas of the larger communities with regard to existing high schools, hardware stores, and railroad stations. A topographic map, such as is shown in figure 1, is easier to read than the ordinary contour maps published by the United States Geological Survey, and can be easily constructed from them. A road map, with the improved roads in color, should be drawn on a scale of two or three inches to the mile, and on it every farmhouse and the boundaries of the existing school districts should be located.¹⁸ On this map the location of the centers with which each home is affiliated may be indicated by using a separate color for each village or institutional center, and placing the numbers corresponding to the questions beside the spot for each house, each number being in the color of the center which the reply indicates. Thus, Portlandville might be indicated in red, Oneonta in green, and Milford in yellow. If a householder bought his groceries mostly at Portlandville, a figure 1, in red, would be placed next to the dot for his house; if he bought his hardware at Oneonta, it would be followed by a 2 in green; if his railroad station were Portlandville, this would add a 5 in red; if he attended church at Milford, a yellow 6 would follow; if his children went to high school in Milford, a yellow 9 would be added; and, as the family probably goes to Portlandville most frequently for social affairs, a red 10 would end the series. With such a series of colored numbers for symbols placed after each house, it would be possible to draw the boundary lines of the areas of each of these services for each community center, using a distinctive form of line, such as solid, dash, dot, or dash and dot, or a distinctive color, for each service and of the same color as that assigned to the community center. With these boundary lines, and by referring to the topographic map, it would be possible to locate the approximate boundaries of the existing communities,¹⁹ and to determine the probable grouping of smaller communities into larger communities for school purposes. The same procedure would be useful for determining the location of local or branch libraries under a county library system, and for similar purposes where it is desired to locate institutions on the basis of the social areas to be served by them. The replies to such a questionnaire might be readily obtained by getting each school teacher or district trustee to obtain them from the residents of their districts. Each reply should bear a number, which should be placed by the teacher or the trustee, on a map of the district, at the location of the house.

It is to be hoped that the community unit for school administration may meet with general approval, and that it may be established by suitable legislation, for there is no question that it would do more than any other single measure toward the better social organization of our rural communities. Such legislation would give recognition to the fact made obvious by this study—that rural life in New York State has passed from the neighborhood group to that of the community; and it would be as prominent a milestone in rural progress as was the establishment of the school-district system a century ago.

¹⁸ The State Highway Department at Albany is able to furnish Blueprints of many sections of the State on a scale of three inches to the mile.

¹⁹ In this connection the reader should refer to *Locating the Rural Community*, Cornell Reading Course for the Farm, Lesson 158.

NAMES OF LOCALITIES IN OTSEGO COUNTY SHOWN IN RED ON FIGURE 3

- A4 Hoboken
 A4i Mooretown
 A5 Silver Lake
 A5i Wheeler District
 A5ii Lower Dimmock Hollow
 A5iii Dimmock Hollow
 A6 Academy Hill
 A6i Comstock Valley
 A6ii West Hill
 A6iii Hakes District
 A7 Bryant Corners
 A7i Town Line
 A7ii Unadilla Center
 A7iii Ideuma
 A8 Spencer Street
 A8i Martin Brook
 A8ii Mount Pleasant
 A8iii Rogers Hollow
 A8iv Riverside
 B1 Hackley Street
 B1i Phillips District
 B2 Leydsville
 B2i Summit Lake (Edmeston)
 B2ii Spaulding District
 B2iv North Edmeston, or Wright's Corners
 B3 Mill Creek
 B3i Goodrich District
 B3ii Pleasant Street
 B3iii Taylor Hill
 B4 Pecktown
 B4i Cardstown
 B4ii Gross Hill
 B4iii Ketchum
 B4iv Beatty, or Deming District
 B5 Elm Grove
 B5i Ball District, or Chase Settlement
 B6 Hyslops Corners
 B6i Morris Manor
 B6ii Filer's Corners
 B6iii Maple Grove
 B6iv Rootville
 B7i Sisson Hill
 B7ii Pucker Huddle
 B7iii Sand Hill
 B7iv Briar Creek
 B7v Flax Island Creek
 B7vi Sand Hill Creek
 B7vii Hampshire Hollow
 C1 Plainfield Center
 C1i Spooner's Corners
 C1ii Huntley's Corners
 C2 Plainfield, or Welsh Hill
 C2i Brainerds Corners
 C2ii Wharton
 C3 Barrets Corners
 C3i Butternut Valley
 C3ii West Burlington
 C4 Stetsonville
 C4i Brick School
 C4iii Webster
 C4iv Welcome
 C5 Wing District
 C5i Butts Corners
 C5ii Naylor's Corners
 C5iii Gardnertown
 C6 Brewsters Mills
 C6i Pearsalls Corners
 C6ii Gates District
 C6iii Otsdawa
 C6iv Perry District
 C6v Green Street District
 C6vi West Branch
 C7 Mill Creek
 C7ii East Branch, or Otsdawa Junction
 C7iii, C7i Southside (Otego)
 D1 Dogtown
 D1i Richfield Hill
 D1ii Mayflower
 D1iii Brighton Corners
 D1iv Barstow's Corners
 D1v Hyder
 D2 Angel Hill
 D2i Rider District
 D2ii Pleasant Valley
 D2iii Cobblestone District
 D3 Cook Summit
 D3i Scotch Hill, or Porter District
 D3ii Brier Hill
 D3iii Buffalo
 D3iv Wileytown
 D3v Snowden
 D3vi Pigeon Hill
 D3vii White House
 D4 Blue Jay Hollow
 D4i West Side (Hartwick)
 D4ii Jones Crossing
 D4iii Pleasant Valley (Hartwick)
 D4iv East Hill (Hartwick)
 D4vii Patent
 D4viii Texas District
 D4ix Lena
 D4x South Hartwick
 D5 Keyes Brook
 D5i Bloods Mills
 D5ii Pool Brook
 D5iv Falls Bridge
 D6 Upper West Street
 D6i Blend Hill
 D6ii Yager Hollow
 D6iii Gifford Hill
 D6iv Richardson Hill
 D6v Davis Switch
 D7 Oneonta Plains
 D7i South Side (Oneonta)
 E2 Metcalf Hill
 E2i Fitch Hill
 E2ii Allen Lake
 E2iii Fly Creek Valley
 E2v Twelve Thousand
 E3 Forkshop
 E3i Taylortown
 E3ii Oaksville
 E3iii Toddsville
 E4 Phoenix Mills
 E4i Hartwick Seminary
 E4ii Hyde Park
 E4iii Hinman Hollow
 E4iv Chase
 E4v Christian Hill
 E4vi Clintonville
 E4vii Bowe Hill
 E5 Milford Center
 E5i Edsons Corners
 E5ii Dutch Hill
 E5iii Lane Hill
 E6 Barnesville
 E6i Goodyear Lake
 E6iii Cooperstown Junction
 E6iv Hemlocks
 E6v Emmons
 F1 Pumpkin Hook
 F1i Chyle
 F1ii Springfield
 F1iii Summit Lake
 F2 Lake Road
 F2i Thurston Hill
 F2ii Hyde Bay
 F2iii Pierstown
 F2iv Continental District
 F2v Middlefield Center
 F3 Lentsville
 F3ii Bowerstown
 F3iii Whigs Corners
 F3iv Murphy Hill
 F3v Ricetown
 F3vi Pink Street
 F4i Cornish Hill
 F4ii Brooklyn
 F4iii Eggleston Hill
 F4iv Badeau Hill
 F4v Beaver Meadow Road
 F5 Sperry Hollow

F5i Platt Hollow	H1iii Juds Falls
F5ii Chaseville	H1iv Allen District
F5iii Dog Hill	H2 East Hill (Cherry Valley)
F5v Crumhorn Mountain	H2i Chestnut Street
G1 Salt Springville	H2ii First Hill
G1i East Springfield	H2iii Spencer District
G1ii Middle Village (Springfield)	H2iv Center Valley (Cherry Valley)
G2, G2i Stanley District	H3 Eliot Hill
G3 Five Points	H3i Gothicville
G3i Lemon Street	H3ii Honey Hill
G3ii North District	H3iii Sommers District
G3iii Galor Hill	H3iv Gage District
G3iv Hubbel Hollow	H3v Butlers Corners
G4 Draper Hill	H3vi Winnie Hollow
G4i Hubbard Hill	H3x Barton Hollow
G4ii Greenbush	H4 Brooker Hollow
G4iii Deerlick Valley	H4i Elgarine Hill
G4iv Darling Hill	H4iii West Hill
G4v The County	H4iv Brighton
G4vi Wall Street	H4v Decatur
G5 Smoky Hollow	H4vi Thompson District
G5i Elk Creek Valley	H4vii Furnaceville
G5ii Tuscan	H4x Calcutta
G5iii South Hill (Schenevus)	H5 Dugway
G5iv Elk Creek	H5i South Worcester
H1 Van Deusenville	H5ii Hall District
H1i Kellar Hill	H5iii, H4ii South Hill (Worcester)
H1ii McFee	H5iv Center Valley (Worcester)

(Names arranged alphabetically)

Academy Hill A6	Deerlick Valley G4iii
Allen District H1iv	Deming District, or Beatty B4iv
Allen Lake E2ii	Dimmock Hollow A5iii
Angel Hill D2	Dog Hill F5ii
Badeau Hill F4iv	Dogtown D1
Ball District, or Chase Settlement B5i	Draper Hill G4
Barnesville E6	Dugway H5
Barrets Corners C3	Dutch Hill E5ii
Barstow's Corners D1iv	East Branch, or Otsdawa Junction C7ii
Barton Hollow H3x	East Hill (Cherry Valley) H2
Beatty, or Deming District B4iv	East Hill (Hartwick) D4iv
Beaver Meadow Road F4v	East Springfield G1i
Blend Hill D6i	Edsons Corners E5i
Bloods Mills D5j	Eggleston Hill F4iii
Blue Jay Hollow D4	Elgarine Hill H4i
Bowe Hill E4vii	Eliot Hill H3
Bowerstown F3ii	Elk Creek G5iv
Brainerds Corners C2i	Elk Creek Valley G5i
Brewsters Mills C6	Elm Grove B5
Briar Creek B7iv	Emmons E6v
Brick School C4i	Falls Bridge D5iv
Brier Hill D3ii	Filers Corners B6ii
Brighton H4iv	First Hill H2ii
Brighton Corners D1iii	Fitch Hill E2j
Brooker Hollow H4	Five Points G3
Brooklyn F4ii	Flax Island Creek B7v
Bryant Corners A7	Fly Creek Valley E2iii
Buffalo D3iii	Forkshop E3
Butlers Corners H3v	Furnaceville H4vii
Butternut Valley C3i	Gage District H3iv
Butts Corners C5i	Galor Hill G3iii
Calcutta H4x	Gardnertown C5iii
Cardstown B4i	Gates District C6ii
Center Valley (Cherry Valley) H2iv	Gifford Hill D6iii
Center Valley (Worcester) H5iv	Goodrich District B3i
Chase E4iv	Goodyear Lake E6i
Chase Settlement, or Ball District B5i	Gothicville H3i
Chaseville F5ii	Greenbush G4ii
Chestnut Street H2i	Green Street District C6v
Christian Hill E4v	Gross Hill B4ii
Chyle F1i	Hackley Street B1
Clintonville E4vi	Hakes District A6iii
Cobblestone District D2iii	Hall District H5ii
Comstock Valley A6i	Hampshire Hollow B7vii
Continental District F2iv	Hartwick Seminary E4i
Cook Summit D3	Hemlocks E6iv
Cooperstown Junction E6iii	Hinman Hollow E4iii
Cornish Hill F4i	Hoboken A4
Crumhorn Mountain F5v	Honey Hill H3ii
Darling Hill G4iv	Hubbard Hill G4i
Davis Switch D6v	Hubbel Hollow G3iv
Decatur H4v	Huntley's Corners C1ii

Hyde Bay F2ii
 Hyde Park E4ii
 Hyder D1v
 Hyslops Corners B6
 Ideuma A7iii
 Jones Crossing D4ii
 Judds Falls H1iii
 Kellar Hill H1i
 Ketchum B4iii
 Keyes Brook D5
 Lake Road F2
 Lane Hill E5iii
 Lemon Street G3i
 Lena D4ix
 Lentsville F3
 Leydsville B2
 Lower Dimmock Hollow A5ii
 McFee H1ii
 Maple Grove B6iii
 Martin Brook A8i
 Mayflower D1ii
 Metcalf Hill E2
 Middlefield Center F2v
 Middle Village (Springfield) G1ii
 Milford Center E5
 Mill Creek B3
 Mill Creek C7
 Mooretown A4i
 Morris Manor B6i
 Mount Pleasant A8ii
 Murphy Hill F3iv
 Naylor's Corners C5ii
 North District G3ii
 North Edmeston, or Wright's Corners B2iv
 Oaksville E3ii
 Oneonta Plains D7
 Otsdawa C6iii
 Otsdawa Junction, or East Branch C7ii
 Patent D4vii
 Pearsalls Corners C6i
 Pecktown B4
 Perry District C6iv
 Phillips District B1i
 Phoenix Mills E4
 Pierstown F2iii
 Pigeon Hill D3vi
 Pink Street F3vi
 Plainfield, or Welsh Hill C2
 Plainfield Center C1
 Platt Hollow F5i
 Pleasant Street B3ii
 Pleasant Valley D2ii
 Pleasant Valley (Hartwick) D4iii
 Pool Brook D5ii
 Porter District, or Scotch Hill D3i
 Pucker Huddle B7ii
 Pumpkin Hook F1
 Ricetown F3v
 Richardson Hill D6iv
 Richfield Hill D1i
 Rider District D2i
 Riverside A8iv
 Rogers Hollow A8iii
 Rootville B6iv
 Salt Springville G1
 Sand Hill B7iii
 Sand Hill Creek B7vi
 Scotch Hill, or Porter District D3i
 Silver Lake A5
 Sisson Hill B7i
 Smoky Hollow G5
 Snowden D3v
 Sommers District H3iii
 South Hartwick D4x
 South Hill (Schenevus) G5iii
 South Hill (Worcester) H5iii, H4ii
 South Side (Oneonta) D7i
 Southside (Otego) C7iii, C7i
 South Worcester H5i
 Spaulding District B2ii
 Spencer District H2iii
 Spencer Street A8
 Sperry Hollow F5
 Spooner's Corners C1i
 Springfield F1ii
 Stanley District G2, G2i
 Stetsonville C4
 Summit Lake F1iii
 Summit Lake (Edmeston) B2i
 Taylor Hill B3iii
 Taylortown E3i
 Texas District D4viii
 The County G4v
 Thompson District H4vi
 Thurston Hill F2i
 Toddsville E3iii
 Town Line A7i
 Tuscan G5ii
 Twelve Thousand E2v
 Unadilla Center A7ii
 Upper West Street D6
 Van Deusenville H1
 Wall Street G4vi
 Webster C4iii
 Welcome C4iv
 Welsh Hill, or Plainfield C2
 West Branch C6vi
 West Burlington C3ii
 West Hill A6ii
 West Hill H4iii
 West Side (Hartwick) D4i
 Wharton C2ii
 Wheeler District A5i
 Whigs Corners F3iii
 White House D3vii
 Wileytown D3iv
 Wing District C5
 Winnie Hollow H3vi
 Wrights Corners, or North Edmeston B2iv
 Yager Hollow D6ii

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