

PERSISTENCE AND CHANGE IN LOCAL VALUES OF TWO NEW ENGLAND COMMUNITIES*

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ABSTRACT

Two competing and adjacent communities in Maine were chosen for study because their geography, economics, and population facts were so similar, and because there were rich sources of historical data. The study focused on community wholeness. It is a holistic approach to the community through time. Nine hypotheses and four methodological assumptions were used to limit, organize, analyze, and communicate the data. These hypotheses serve to examine the "principle of first definitions." This principle is that the community as a social system originates in the acceptance by persons of common definitions of recurring life situations. Once this period of acceptance can be identified, the sociologist can study persistence and change as the process of evaluative interaction shows persistence in, or change from, these definitions. In such a study, one must look for the effect of these definitions both as they characterize the community as a whole and as they permeate subsystems of the community.

This is a methodological and substantive report on a study of local values in two New England communities.¹

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¹ Anders M. Myhrman, Bates College, and Carle C. Zimmerman, Harvard University, helped develop the conceptual approach in Mark Hopkins relationships with the writer. Milton A. Nixon, Portland, Maine, and E. Robert Kinney, Bar Harbor, Maine, aided in the field work. The period 1798-1924 was explored through historical records; the 1938-1949 period, through interviews. Lack of funds prevented studying the 1924-1938 gap and using census data.

A word of explanation may be needed on the gap between the interviewing period, 1938-1949, and the period for which the historical materials were examined, 1798-1924. The interviews, among other experiences, led to formulation of the hypotheses below, but the interviews were not used as data. Verification or rejection of the hypotheses was made on the basis of the historical records alone. Hence the figures from the 1920 census are relevant. The figures from the 1950 census are not.

The data and most of the conceptual thinking for this paper are found in the writer's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Values as an Heuristic Concept in Community Analysis: A Comparative Study," Harvard University, 1949. This study will

Historical records for the period 1798-1924 were examined in great detail—1798 saw the incorporation of the two places as one town; 1924 saw two sets of dramatic events, the genetic explanation of which could test the validity of various hypotheses. One set of events in 1924 was Eastport's three-day celebration of the Fourth of July, while Lubec reported only a supper in the Methodist Church for observance of the day. The other set of events involved Lubec's purchase of sardine canning factories in Eastport. This purchase displaced Eastport as the dominating center of the industry.

These communities are located on the eastern end of the United States-Canadian boundary in sparsely settled Washington County, Maine. Eastport had a population of 4,494 in 1920; Lubec, 3,371. The area which includes the two communities was organized as a town in 1798, although transient fishermen had come to the area for summer fishing long before. In 1811, Lubec separated itself from Eastport,

be further analyzed and reported as part of a project, *American Community Systems*, carried on by Professor Zimmerman and the author. At that time more extensive acknowledgment of help will be made.

because of differences in values—differences which 1939 interviews found still operating.

While other communities on the coast of Maine were considered, these communities were finally chosen for study for three reasons: First, it was desired to make diachronic (genetic) studies of Zimmerman's hypothesis on community personality as set forth in *The Changing Community*.² Second, the facts of ecology, technology, economics, and population were similar for each community. Third, there were rich sources of data in newspaper files, going back to 1819; local histories; diaries; federal records, because of the fisheries; and state, county, and town records. Intermittently from 1938 to 1949, the writer visited, lived, or worked alone or with colleagues in the towns.

Why diachronic studies? Zimmerman's studies and those of Sanders and Ensminger in Chilton County, Alabama,³ showed that the idea of a dominant tradition could be studied. But the questions arose: How traditional is the tradition? How long does it exist? Is it something readily picked up and just as readily dropped? Is it brought to the community? Does it grow out of mutual influencing in the face of like conditions? Or does some traumatic experience give rise to this "dominant tradition"?

The above studies showed that various processes give rise to community individualities. But, because the studies were scattered and community genesis not made systematically central, the criticism could be made that further ecological or economic or tech-

nological data might upset statements about dominant values. What was needed was an opportunity to make a comparative study of two communities where such situational elements were as similar as possible. By driving the study through time, we could examine both "community individualities" and the effects such "individualities" had on their own economic, political, and other behavioral subsystems.

The main conclusions of this paper, then, deal with the nature of the "community." The paper is open to the charge of overgeneralization. Two considerations led to risking the charge: First, the hypotheses were placed within a sociological tradition. The tradition would function as the old Salic law did for a queen—she could not rule in her own right but could act as a "bridge and a plank" to make her first son the legitimate heir to the throne. Second, the situational similarity of each community within referential contexts, other than the sociological one used, made a comparative, genetic study feasible.

It was not only the similarity of the communities that made possible the testing of the hypotheses, but similar problems or situations, specified below, also were searched for and discovered in order to study the communities' response to specified stimuli.

HYPOTHESES AND ASSUMPTIONS

Nine hypotheses on social origins, persistence, and change, and four methodological assumptions were employed. The nine hypotheses were:

(1) Social change and social persistence are best understood in terms of social values.

(Hypotheses 2, 3, and 4 spell out what might be called "the principle of first definitions.")

(2) The community originates in the common acceptance of like definitions (values) of recurring life situations.

² Carle C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1938).

³ Irwin T. Sanders and Douglas Ensminger, *Alabama Rural Communities: A Study of Chilton County*, bulletin published by Alabama College, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1 (July, 1940).

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(3) Social continuity is given by the persistence and development of these definitions.

(4) The very persistence of social values that gives social continuity may also, in specific instances, lead to social change. In this instance change comes about when a community persists in its ways until it "exceeds the limits of tolerance"⁴ of other systems—physical, technological, political, legal, etc.

(5) These values are operating realities. (This statement is emphasized in the face of a tradition which would insist such values are stereotypes.)

(6) Social values have both diffused characteristics, i.e., confined to no one social subsystem or institution within the concrete community but permeating them all; and they have focal points peculiar to each community.

(7) Integration of a community value system is bound up both in the distribution and the content of the values.

(8) Historical event is the efficient cause of social change when such events:

- (a) Affect values by serving as objects of redefinition.
- (b) Appear as new objects of evaluation.
- (c) Exhaust means independently of the behaviors set up by prevailing values.
- (d) Lead to new evaluations of old means.
- (e) Supply new means to implement or extend old values.

(9) Such historical events also contribute to social persistence when they supply new means to maintain old values.

The methodological and procedural problems that arose with these hy-

potheses involve, of course, the hypotheses, the data, and the mode of study. The most fundamental assumptions made were:

(1) That genetic study would be most fruitful.

(2) That those events in records which had survived fire, flood, and neglect were not merely beads on a chronological string. They represented a continual process, evaluative interaction, at work.

(3) That the abstract concept of evaluative interaction going on in any social relationships was given specific and differential cognitive and affective content by local values.

(4) That statements of persistence and change had to be tied to each other and to specific event through logico-meaningful construction.⁵ The statements were then to be verified in terms of observable behavior.

The manner of setting up these statements for verification or rejection makes it clear that this is no straight historical study, i.e., a recording of anything and everything that happened through time in the areas named Eastport and Lubec. Insofar as possible, all data were examined; but data not relevant to the hypotheses or to alternative explanations were winnowed out. However, anything relevant was kept, whether or not it bore out the hypotheses.

Once the genetic approach had been adopted, it then seemed that the best way to examine the conceptions was to search for data on two main points:

(1) the existence, or lack of it, of values or clusters of values which fitted the local description of such values, given below; (2) the functioning of

⁴ The expression as used here is Zimmerman's.

⁵ See Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (New York: American Book Co., 1937), Vol. I, p. 32.

those values in situations or problems which were:

- (a) Similar and reappearing through time, and which either town could meet without reference to the other.
- (b) Similar for both towns and a solution by one bore on the other's attempt at solution.

WHY THESE HYPOTHESES WERE ACCEPTED FOR STUDY

Some of these hypotheses were set up early, and some, such as "the principle of first definitions," are still being explored. Nor are they all original with this study. Since one cannot give all the negative instances, a recapitulation on how the hypotheses were adopted may be illuminating.

The researchers were led to these various propositions through two routes. First, by the local people themselves. Interestingly enough, their original statements were disregarded by the first research group. The search at that stage was for positive facts of economics, geography, or technology to explain the end results that could be seen, the data of present perception—differences in sights, sounds, and smells to begin with, then other differences as learned. Lubec, for example, controlled the six-million-dollar Maine sardine industry; Lubec people owned three out of four sardine factories in Eastport (the fourth was owned by a Machiasport family); they also owned the fish meal factory in Eastport and the ferry between the towns. Moreover, Lubec owned its electric and water works, had a surplus in the treasury, and used only one-tenth of the amount Eastport did for W.P.A. Yet Eastport was larger and seemed wealthier with its big houses, brick high school, brick library, and brick city hall. Lubec had no library, a tiny town office, and a ramshackle high school. But Eastport

was in the hands of the state. Local residents interviewed thought that there was no mystery to it: Eastport, they said, is a *sporty town* and Lubec a *thrifty town*.

The research group felt the notion an interesting stereotype, but too vague to explain such visibly significant differences. It was only during the second summer's work, in 1939, when Professor Anders Myhrman called attention to the relevancy of *The Changing Community* for these problems, that it was realized the local people might have an explanation which should be investigated.

The appearance of Zimmerman's work opened the second route of investigation. A search for antecedents of his work was begun. This was done both to place the study in its proper sociological tradition and to sharpen awareness of implications this line of thinking might have. The men found most directly related to this line of thought were Spencer, Cooley, Thomas, Thompson, and Sorokin.⁶ Re-reading in and about Durkheim and Znaniecki later led to making some statements more explicit for this paper.⁷ Parsons was useful in meeting some of the methodological problems⁸ and in his emphasis on the heuristic worth of the "small."⁹

The local sporty-thrifty statements were restated as follows: Eastport values emphasized consumptive spending;

⁶ See Du Wors, *op. cit.*, chap. 1, sec. 2, "Precedents for the Hypothesis," pp. 7-20.

⁷ See especially Florian Znaniecki, *The Method of Sociology* (New York: Farrar & Rhinehart Co., 1934), and Harry Alpert, *Emile Durkheim and His Sociology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934).

⁸ See Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), p. 603, for his definition of hypothesis.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Lubec values emphasized saving and profit-producing capital investments.¹⁰ Eastport's reputation was shown to have long historical existence. The writings of Weston (1834), Sabine (1848), and Kilby (1888) constantly refer to the reputation of Eastport as being gay, cultured, etc.¹¹ Letters of visitors, one as early as 1827, use a similar vocabulary or even stronger descriptions of these local values.

Lubec's reputation was found directly stated in written records less often; but from internal evidence of the materials and from records of behavior, reason for the thrifty reputation was shown to exist.

As the study proceeded, there was a constant search for, and examination of, other hypotheses.¹² Space prevents repeating them here, but their elimination forced acceptance of the first proposition, from which all the others stem.

¹⁰ Fourteen years after first hearing these sporty-thrifty statements, the writer still finds it difficult to phrase them adequately. At best, Eastport's constellation of dominant values included a high respect for the fine arts and learning. The community has turned out, and still does, regionally and nationally recognized historians, artists, and writers. At worst, the community values involved an irresponsible hedonism.

Lubec's values, at best, included a high sense of responsibility for community and financial stability. At worst, these values involved a narrowness identified with Puritanism in popular thinking.

The hypothesis that local communities turn out people successful in particular activities needs systematic study. Parsons' statements about economic activity not proceeding at random should be extended, if empirically justifiable, to artistic, scientific, religious, and other social behaviors.

¹¹ William Henry Kilby, *Eastport and Passamaquoddy* (Eastport, Maine: Edward E. Shead & Co., 1888). The book is made up chiefly of the writings on Eastport by Weston, Sabine, and Kilby.

¹² Du Wors, *op. cit.*, "Other Hypotheses on Eastport and Lubec," pp. 62 f.

DEVELOPING THE HYPOTHESES

When other hypotheses advanced to explain the local situation were exhausted, the first general hypothesis remained: Social change and social persistence can be best understood by focusing attention on the analysis of social values. This seemed the only statement of "sufficient reason" left to explain the data. This might be called a summary hypothesis. The others are used chiefly to analyze it and make it more specific.

The "community" originates in the common acceptance of like definitions of recurring life situations. This acceptance of like definitions gives a certain uniqueness, a separateness, a "personality," that marks a community as one and not another. It is the building up of these definitions that gives "individuality" to a social system, a community. Such definitions could be located early in the history of these communities. At first legally one, they split by 1811 as their different definitions toward church, school, and town monies forced explicit differences in action.

The period 1807-1814 saw Eastport as the center of smuggling activities that grew out of the Embargo Acts and the War of 1812. This was a boom, easy-money period. It was followed by the occupancy of the British, from 1814 to 1818. At this time Lubec, on the mainland, was "sealed off" from Eastport, on Moose Island. The early historians appear to support the writer's inferences, from a reading of the source materials, that the patterns of consumption characterizing Eastport were set by the British Army officers during the occupancy. The period, 1807-1818, then, saw values arise that further emphasized the earlier value differentiations between the two towns. This period saw the unmistakable emergence and dominance of "first definitions."

The third hypothesis follows from the first and second: Social continuity is given by the persistence of these definitions. One may consider instead the Marxian "modes of production" or Sumner's "life condition" so often advanced as the source of social continuity or social change. Eastport changed from fishing and trading to fishing, smuggling, and trading. The next period saw fishing and trading as the chief modes of production. Then came fishing and trading and some light manufacturing. Lubec went through similar changes. By 1880, sardine canning, with some manufacturing and small retail trade, had come finally to dominate both towns. By 1924, sardines, tourists, and retail trade alone were of any economic importance in either town. War, peace, depression, fires, tidal waves, and hurricanes hit the communities. Changes in political parties were made. But the visitor of 1827, who wrote a letter describing Eastport as both cultured and sporty, would have recognized the local values of Eastport at any time he might have been there, from 1827 to 1924 or 1939. The differences between Eastport and Lubec in regard to libraries, attitudes toward liquor, Fourth-of-July celebration, town administration, debt, and appropriations; Eastport's eagerness for a new service such as gas or electricity or snow removal at public expense, or new artifacts such as permanent sidewalks, radios, or autos; and the resistance to them by Lubec—all reveal an underlying process working throughout the periods of change in other aspects of community behavior or experience.

Change and continuity are allied. In a social system they are allied through the operation of social values. Nowhere is this seen better than when the very persistence of a value evokes change, as the fourth hypothesis states. Eastport persisted over generations in ways of handling appropriations and

debt. When the city exhausted the limits of tolerance of debtors and wider political and juridical systems, local self-government was lost. Both the reputation of the town and the chances for its members to get local prestige, income, and power from local governing activities were impaired.

The fifth hypothesis was stated explicitly for the sake of clarity. It should be clear now why these values were posited as operating realities. Proof of erroneous stereotypes of Yankees, Jews, Irish, Negroes, and hillbillies does not lead to the conclusion that no groups or social systems can be characterized by a single meaningful statement or group of statements.

The functioning of these values as meaningful in predefining and, therefore, predicting behavior is strikingly evident in all the data presented. Lubec could not maintain a Fourth-of-July celebration. In Eastport, even when no Fourth was planned in 1917, crowds showed up. Eastport's way of handling its debt and Lubec's managing of its debt run back at least eighty years. Lubec's reaction to debt was to pay it off as soon as possible. Eastport, as the data show, would refund and refund, even in prosperous times, in order to postpone cutting down its self-labeled luxuries.

Values affect, and effect, then, social change by acting as rejection-selection standards for choosing among possible modes of behavior. They act as the final causes of behavior, in Aristotelian terms, by supplying the ends toward which behavior is directed. They also act as formal causes, by ruling on the forms of behavior acceptable for achieving those ends. Lubec's rejection of the Fourth-of-July celebration as a means of increasing sales for its retail stores illustrates the proposition. On the positive side, the establishment and reestablishment of bands, city clubs, country clubs, libraries, lycea, etc., in Eastport show selection of these

modes of action rather than others as the consumers of time, money, and energy.

Admitting that some group characterizations are false, one has also to account for the persistence of such ideas for at least these two communities. After accepting the hypothesis for investigation and collecting the relevant data, one must conclude that these self-definitions by the communities are not stereotypes. They are grounded in the reality of concrete fact, episode, event, and process.

These local values were the key to understanding the communities, inasmuch as the communities were independent realities. A consideration of them led to the sixth hypothesis—that such values have focal points and characteristic diffuseness. Both the focal and the diffused values served to place a man in the Eastport or the Lubec community. They also served to delimit the area of each community.

The focal points were found to involve (1) problems or situations common to those calling themselves, or legally considered as, Eastporters or Lubecers; (2) place sentiments peculiar to members of one community and not another; (3) values assigning status in one community while making a non-member at best a “stranger” in the other.

The diffuse nature of local values was shown in the data on liquor and on town appropriations, town services, Fourth-of-July celebrations, Memorial Day, etc. This diffuseness of values was such that the towns’—the sporty town’s and the thrifty town’s—reactions toward these specific issues could be predicted in light of these generalized value characteristics.

The seventh hypothesis on these values pointed out the double meaning of “integration.” A community, as such, will be oriented toward a common set of values. If, among those values, there is a high value on working to-

gether—i.e., using coördinated means to achieve coördinated ends—then from the viewpoint of an administrator, or this study, the community is integrated.

But “integration” must be seen in the light of other possibilities. If highly “individualistic” values dominate the community, they will lead to an “enforced individualism.” Then, while still integrated in terms of common evaluation of ends and means, if such evaluations are not coördinated (structured with reference to one another), the community lacks administrative integration.

Or different stimuli may lead to different reactions toward “administratively integrated” action. Lubec refused to try to get the railroad there. Local people still say the refusal was due to a fear that the railroad would bring in new values, new ideas. Eastport favored the railroad for that very reason. Lubec, on the other hand, raised the money for its own water and electric works, then managed them.

The specific content of values, their distribution, and the type of stimuli are all-important in making statements about “integration.”

The study showed clearly the origin and persistence of these local values through history. It showed that these New England communities have social relations and values which have “shaken down” to give value-defined spatial limits to the community; that community members are highly conscious of local values; and that they have correct cognition concerning the possible effects and meanings of the values. It is worth stressing that both the Eastport-Lubec community self-concepts and a local Eastport-lead-Lubec-lag hypothesis were verified.

Perhaps not so clearly recognized by members of a community is the compulsiveness of social values. Use makes values seem “natural” and pre-

cludes alternatives. Administrators, such as the mayor of Eastport who wanted to cut out the expense of ringing the town bell, had to learn this. Administrative attempts to "go contrary to" local values are vividly recorded in the histories of the communities. In all probability, payment of debt in Lubec was as routine as refunding debt in Eastport. The channels of use and wont make a smooth way even as their sidewalls confine behavior.

After the origin and persistence of a community in terms of values had been considered, the relationship of the social system to events occurring outside it was taken up. The relationship of persisting means and persisting values seems self-evident. The principal focus of attention, therefore, was on changes.

The consideration of changes in terms of a genetic (historic) approach requires a hypothesis tying up historical event and whatever genetic process is considered at work. The embryology of chickens demands, on one hand, that the emergence from the shell be explained by the same process which led up to the emergence. On the other hand, an event taken in terms of a different frame of reference—dropping the egg before hatching, for example—must be shown to have consequences for the process used to explain the emergence. The second event will not only be nonpredictable but also not meaningful in terms of the first until its consequences for the first process are explained by reference to that process.

It was necessary to relate specific historical event and evaluative interaction. The eighth hypothesis was formulated for this purpose.¹³ Physical events—such as fire, flood, and hur-

ricane; changes in markets caused by changes outside the community; changes in technology, such as that which made canning sardines possible—were all related to the communities, logically and meaningfully, in the terms of that hypothesis.

Although some events may constitute a radical change from the point of view of the system in which they happen, still, as the ninth hypothesis held, they may aid in the continuance of prevailing values. The most important economic event in the history of both communities after 1818 was the coming of the sardine industry in 1875-1880. Yet this radical change to a canning economy merely provided the means to retain previously held values.

These historical events can range from the "fortuitous" appearance of an unusually able man to events of war, peace, depression, and boom, and similar occurrences of regional, sectional, or world origin. In this research the local values and their meanings for the histories of these communities were emphasized. But at no time were the communities considered as anthropological groups isolated from Western civilization. These local values are real. They can be studied, just as the local whirlpools can be studied as phenomena occurring in a wider bay and ocean. The whirlpools are terminal events of processes world-wide, universe-wide, in origin. Similarly, these communities were considered as terminals for processes begun far beyond them.

The sardine industry, for example, was established by New York people because they had lost supplies of imported sardines during the Franco-Prussian War. Once the connection is made between sardines and that war, one can turn to the local communities to see what happened there.

¹³ See (8) under "Hypotheses and Assumptions."

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The methods applied in any study must vary as the empirical data sought or available influence research decisions. Clearly, a history of the Trobriand Islanders cannot rely on written records. On the other hand, written historical records, once obtained involve all the problems historiographers, demographers, and other students of written records have had to consider. But the only methods for studying persistence and change seemed to be either cross-section studies at two points in time or a genetic study. The genetic study was decided upon and this meant accepting the difficulties of historical materials.

Historical materials are rough, episodic, and fragmentary. The usual procedure has been to arrange them by "subjects" and in a time-place framework. Because of the "bias toward contemporaneity" of sociologists, such materials and their treatment have been glaringly conspicuous by their absence in recent sociological literature.¹⁴ In an emphasis on "processes" or forms, after Simmel, Park, and Burgess, for example, a conflict today is as "good" as a conflict a hundred years ago. The stimulation to new ideas, the perspective, the hard-thinking in filling out the gaps—all have been neglected by sociologists in America.¹⁵ If this attitude toward greater historical materials and problems exists among sociologists, local history as such has been even more neglected. But the "small" has great significance if put in

the proper setting, as Darwin,¹⁶ Parsons,¹⁷ and others have pointed out.

The attempt here has been to see history as an expression of a continual process, evaluative interaction. The scattered records then become an advantage. The records are random samplings in two senses—in that they are chance survivals of fire, flood, and neglect, and also in the sense that no one systematically saved only those related to some one frame of reference. If they can be logically and meaningfully united, they would seem to show the process of evaluative interaction at work over long stretches of time. It is this process of evaluative interaction that gives rise to local definitions of recurring life situations, and so to the local characterizations which become established both among members and nonmembers of the communities.

The most vexing problem about these local characterizations is the suspicion that they are stereotypes. One reason for a search of writings antecedent to Zimmerman in the sociological literature was to see if such characterization of communities had been advanced by other sociologists. This would not be proof, but would tie the study into previous work. It would also narrow the possibility of some local delusion, i.e., verbal statements that could be ignored in dealing with the communities.

Antecedents having been found, it was decided that the best way to check the accuracy of such local statements was to:

- (1) Interview all orders of participants.
- (2) Investigate the acceptance or rejection of characterizations by members of the communities.

¹⁴ See Howard Becker, *Through Values to Social Interpretation* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1950), p. 186. The present study agrees and disagrees at many points with Professor Becker.

¹⁵ Sorokin and Zimmerman are notable exceptions. For comment on the need for genetic studies in sociology, see Howard W. Odum, *American Sociology* (New York, Toronto, and London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1951), pp. 295 ff.

¹⁶ Charles A. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1876), p. 365.

¹⁷ Parsons, *loc. cit.*

- (3) Undertake a prolonged study of recorded data.

Data recorded without reference to such characterizations were thought especially valuable for checking them. That is, the recordings of the numbers of hens or taxes or holiday celebrations were not done originally to prove or disprove such a concept.

But how were the data explored? The first step in this project, before historical data or any other data were gathered, was that of simply walking about the towns and looking at them. Visual differences between these two towns were striking. To use Sorokin's terminology,¹⁸ these "vehicles" of churches, libraries, post offices, stores, etc., expressed some sort of differences between the two communities. The data showed that these differences were only in part those of economic function. The desire of Eastport to be "up-to-date" has expressed itself in periods even when the "means" were limited by depression. Lubec never felt such a goal to be a value to the extent that money, especially public money, should be spent to attain that goal. Eastport, then, had a more modern look than Lubec, as a tourist-author observed in 1924.

The meaning of the physical stimuli of differences in sights, sounds, and smells to the investigator led to unstructured interviews in the communities. These interviews focused on the question, "How do you explain the differences between Eastport and Lubec?" Residents of all ranges of education and travel experience—salesmen, teachers from the outside, clergymen—were interviewed. With but two exceptions, they all advanced the local sporty-thrifty statements. It was decided that the best way to examine this conception was to look back

through newspapers, and town, county, state, and federal reports for information showing the existence (or lack) of values in two types of situations or problems: (1) where both towns had similar problems, but either one could "solve" them without reference to the other, and (2) where both towns had the same problems at the same time and a solution by one bore directly on the other's attempt at solution.

One matter of interest was the recurring problem of town finances. Town services and debt-handling were among the general categories investigated under town finances.¹⁹ It was found that Eastport had more categories of appropriations, more services (from "ringing the bell" to "shoveling the sidewalks") than Lubec until nearly the end of the period studied, 1798 to 1924. Debt management has already been discussed.

Different reactions to like stimuli were seen in the celebration of Memorial Day. At various times both towns appropriated public money for the observance of this holiday—Eastport \$100 in 1887, for example, and Lubec \$25 in 1904. The very triviality of the amounts precludes cost in itself as an argument to explain Lubec's appropriation being only one-fourth that of Eastport. Similarly, some sixteen items were found for which one town appropriated money before the other. Eastport appropriated funds for twelve of them before Lubec. As would be expected, since it was the thrifty and practical town, Lubec appropriated money for a domestic science teacher, but not a music teacher; Eastport em-

¹⁸ See Du Wors, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-32 and pp. 37-39.

¹⁹ The whole matter of community finances as a source of understanding of community behavior needs exploring. Zimmerman made a start in *The Changing Community*. The Le Play approach to the family is profitable when used in the community. (See Du Wors, *op. cit.*, chaps. 9, 10, and 11. Other papers on this subject are being prepared by the writer.)

ployed a music teacher, but not a domestic science teacher.

The arguments advanced on supplying electricity and water reveal the differences between the communities and the persistent likeness within each. Lubec argued that (1) the money for such projects should be raised at home by selling public bonds to private investors in Lubec and Whiting (the site of the dam to be built), and (2) the profits from the enterprises should also be kept at home. Lubec then set up the projects and managed them. Eastport subsidized private gas, electric, and water companies out of tax funds; but would not itself set up and manage such services.

Similar arguments were used in relation to another problem each had: to supply year-round employment. Eastport would spend public monies to get private firms to locate there. Public funds were invested in hotel and railroad projects. Lubec spent almost nothing for such projects and would invest only when public funds were accompanied by public management. Moreover, Lubec hung on to a winter smoked-herring trade which Eastport once dominated.

The Fourth of July represented (1) a stimulus from national sources common to both towns; (2) competition for retail trade; (3) an expression of life values in the towns. The published arguments in both towns for celebration of the day were that the celebration would attract trade. But the local values were decisive. The occasional attempt of Lubec failed because the liquor and freeing of convention attendant on the celebration "went against the grain" of the Lubec value system. The report on Lubec's biggest Fourth, with town money appropriated for it, comments only that there was too much liquor in the town

"the night before." The Mardi-Gras type of celebration remained peculiar to Eastport. The 1924 celebration was a high point—it lasted from Thursday night through Saturday night, and it was "a sporty occasion."

Sardines, trade, and the railroad represent "either/or" situations. If either town obtained dominance in control, then the other town could not. Of course degrees of dominance are possible, but in fact these three foci of competition led to the clear dominance of one or the other. The data available show that Eastport has held a definite edge in trade, and the railroad is there. Lubec got full control of the sardine business, the important industry, in 1924. Eastport had no savings from which to buy the properties.

These recorded continuities and changes, these likenesses and differences, are expressions of the basic referent in this sociological study of change and persistence—the process of evaluative interaction.²⁰ The concept *evaluative interaction* is related to the general concept *social interaction*, to Cooley's "valuation process," to Sorokin's "meaningful interaction," and to Parsons' emphasis on "norm-oriented behavior" as the object of sociological study. From the point of view of these concepts, any genetic hypotheses developed must be stated in terms of this process. The present study has examined the heuristic worth of some possible genetic hypotheses. Now, of course, further studies are needed, both in communities operating in conscious recognition of historical pasts and in communities without such consciousness.

²⁰ See Richard E. Du Wors, "The Markets and the Mores: Economics and Sociology," *Social Forces*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (Dec., 1948), p. 128.