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Louis A. Ploch

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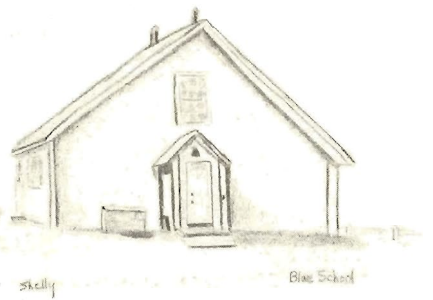
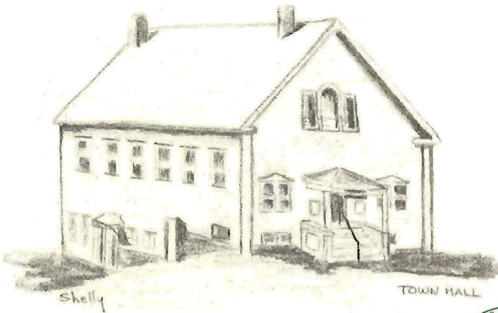
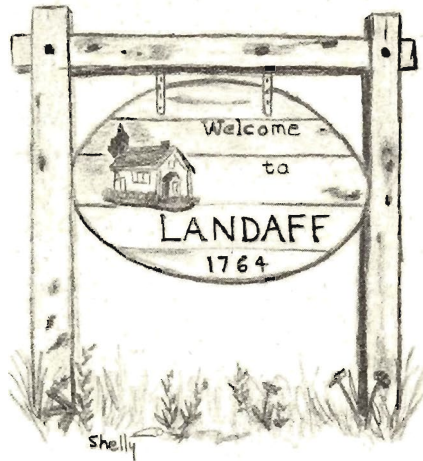
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LANDAFF — THEN AND NOW

Louis A. Ploch



Bulletin 828

November 1989



MAINE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
University of Maine

LANDAFF — THEN AND NOW

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PREFACE

This study of Landaff, New Hampshire, is one of four research projects sponsored jointly by the Maine Agricultural Experiment Station and the Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development. The purpose of the research series is to trace the processes of persistency and change in four northern New England towns. Easton, Addison, and Turner, Maine, were studied by the U.S. Department of Agriculture in conjunction with the Maine Cooperative Extension Service in 1948 (Hay et al. 1949). Landaff, New Hampshire, was one of six communities comprising the series entitled *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community* conducted by the U.S. Department of Agriculture in the post-depression era (MacLeish and Young 1942).

In addition to this publication, through the Maine Agricultural Experiment Station, the results of two of the three Maine restudies are currently available: *Easton, A Town on the Move* (Ploch 1988b) and *Turner—A Study in Persistence and Change* (Ploch 1989b). The Addison study will be available at a later date.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To ensure their full cooperation in this research, Landaff residents and other persons who were interviewed were promised anonymity. In a town as small as Landaff (1980 population, 266) it is inevitable that some of those persons who are quoted will be recognized by their peers. Unfortunately, it is possible that some may be misidentified. I apologize in advance for any inconveniences that may arise.

My sincere appreciation is extended to those who endured the interviewing process—in some cases as many as six or more sessions over a three-year period. The level of cooperation was excellent.

Appreciation is also extended to colleagues at the University of Maine. As always, Mrs. Joan Bouchard did an excellent job preparing the manuscript for publication. Special thanks to the peer reviewers, Michele Marra and Vance Dearborn and to Barbara Harrity, editor, Maine Agricultural Experiment Station. The appropriate and much appreciated cover drawings are the work of Michele Marra.

This publication is made possible through the Maine Agricultural Experiment Station, Dr. Wallace Dunham, Director and Assistant Vice President, the Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development, Dr. Daryl K. Heasley, Director, and the Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics, Alan S. Kezis, Chairperson. My appreciation is accorded to each of them.

INTRODUCTION

As the Great Depression of the 1930s was moderating, it became apparent to many observers that rural communities were undergoing rapid and significant changes. Some rural areas had experienced immigration and/or a reduction in the rate of outmigration. Large numbers were ravaged by loss of population, institutions, and services. Very few communities, particularly those with an agricultural base, were left untouched. In addition to the direct economic effects of the Depression, many of the farming towns had to cope with adjustments related to rapidly changing agricultural technology. In states west of the Mississippi River the emergence of the "dust bowl" compounded the problems.

In 1940, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, in an attempt to determine the effects of the events of the Depression era on rural communities, began a series of studies which was termed Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community. The six communities included in the series were: El Cerrito, New Mexico (Leonard and Loomis 1942); Sublette, Kansas (Bell 1942); Irwin, Iowa (Moe and Taylor 1942); Harmony, Georgia (Wynne 1943); the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania (Kollmorgen 1942); and Landaff, New Hampshire (MacLeish and Young 1942). The six communities were selected on the basis of their perceived degree of internal stability. The Old Order Amish community was judged to be the most stable of the communities. Sublette, Kansas, a "dust bowl" community, was judged to be the most unstable community.

Landaff, New Hampshire "was selected because it is an old community which presumably had experienced a long period of stability which had become considerably disturbed" (MacLeish and Young 1942: frontispiece).

The Landaff monograph, as did the other publications in the series, became required reading for established and aspiring students of American rural communities. Each study offers keen insights into the causes and effects of social changes that occurred over time. This publication is a report of an observational study begun in Landaff in July 1986 and which continued periodically through the spring of 1989. It is an attempt to answer, for Landaff, the question asked by many social scientists: What has happened to the communities included in the USDA's Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community series?

The major methodological thrust of the USDA studies was the participant observation method. An investigator(s) spent a considerable period observing and often participating in the activities of the community. The investigator's observations were supplemented by data from sources outside of the community. In the foreword of the Landaff monograph, Carl C. Taylor, a noted rural sociologist who was the director of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA wrote:

Kenneth MacLeish lived in the community for 4 months and has returned there for short visits several times since. He therefore knows the community quite well. Kimball Young visited the community and interviewed a great many people during a short period. His major contribution is in terms of interpretation of Landaff community in comparison with other communities and with societal and cultural phenomena in general (MacLeish and Young 1942: n.p.n.).

The methodology employed in the current study differed a great deal from that of the earlier research. In this study the author employed, primarily, a key informant approach. Through initial contacts with agents in the Grafton County, New Hampshire, Cooperative Extension Service, the Farmers Home Administration, and the U.S. Soil Conservation Service, knowledge of the community was obtained and contact persons were identified. As each person was interviewed, additional contacts were identified. In the course of numerous two- to four-day periods, interviews were held with at least 36 full-time Landaff residents, one vacation home owner, five state/federal agency personnel whose responsibilities include Landaff, and three Lisbon, N.H., school officials.¹ Among those interviewed were present and former selectmen, school board members, fire chiefs, and chairpersons of the planning board. Because of the traditional importance of farming in Landaff, all the remaining farmers and several former farmers were also contacted. Interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed.

In the Foreword of the Landaff monograph, Carl C. Taylor, director of the USDA Bureau of Agricultural Economics, states:

Landaff, in New Hampshire, was selected because it is an old community which presumably had experienced a long period of stability which had been considerably disturbed, in recent years, by the penetration of the Boston milkshed into that area. The reader will note that the study throws some doubt on the assumption of a high degree of stability in the community in the past and will find that change has not been so great, recently, as had been assumed (MacLeish and Young 1942: n.p.n.).

Taylor's statement provides an appropriate prologue for restudy of Landaff in the mid- to late 1980s. At the time of the 1940–41 study, Landaff was presumed to be about midway on a stability/instability continuum. In the late 1980s, it may also be a "middle" community in terms of stability. Some indicators of a growing instability, however, do seem to be in the offing.

¹ All Landaff students, at least through June 1990, attend Lisbon schools for grades 6–12. Students who live in the section of Landaff on U.S. Route 302, north of the railroad, which is known as The Acre, attend Lisbon schools exclusively; other Landaff students attend the town's Blue School for grades one through five and are then tuitioned to Lisbon.

THE SETTING

The Kancamagus Trail (N.H. Route 112) provides one of the most spectacular vistas of northern New England's annual fall color explosion—the eruption of hundreds of thousands of hardwood trees into a rainbow of colors. For approximately two weeks an almost endless procession of cars, bumper to bumper, proceeds along the trail between its junction on the northwest with U.S. Route 302 and Conway, N.H., on the east.

Probably very few of the motorists travelling on Route 302 from the junction of the Kancamagus Trail (Route 112) would remember that they had passed through the northwest corner of the town of Landaff, N.H., population 266 in 1980. The most observant motorists would have noticed a unique road sign as they crossed the Bath-Landaff border. It is an artistically designed wooden ellipse with the words "Welcome to Landaff, 1764" and, in the appropriate color of Landaff's most prized possession, Blue School. If the tourists had known that Blue School, one of the few active one-room schools in the Northeast, was less than two miles up the Landaff (Mill Brook) Road, they might have made the side trip.

After viewing the school and its new (1988), parent/community citizens-built playground that would be alive with twenty first to fifth graders if it were noon recess, the travelers might wonder where the rest of the town was. If they proceeded along the Mill Brook Road about a mile and then turned left, in about a quarter of a mile they would find themselves at Landaff Center. At the center where both roads change from an asphalt surface to packed gravel, they would find the picture-book Landaff Town Hall (and, as the neatly lettered sign states, the Mt. Hope Grange).² The Landaff Methodist Church, also of picture-book quality, occupies the lot next to the town hall. An imaginative person might think he/she had discovered an abandoned movie set.

To the east of the town hall and church, the visitor would note the most beautifully sited burying ground one could imagine. The old (southerly section) contains the remains of some of the original settlers and numerous Revolutionary War veterans, as well as the weathered stone that is inscribed: "Widow Susanna Brownson was born August 9, 1699 and died June 19, 1802 aged 103 years." Not many towns, large or small, can boast of a resident who lived in three centuries.

Blue School, the Town Hall, the Methodist Church, the former Center School (now the home of the Landaff Volunteer Fire Department), and the cemetery

²Surprisingly, despite Landaff's small population, most of its roads, including some unpaved ones, are marked with sturdy, clearly visible name signs. The interconnected state-maintained roads that comprise a loop through much of Landaff's sparsely settled interior are marked with "stop," "yield," and "steep grade" signs.

constitute all of the town's public structures. In mid-1989, the community's only commercial services (other than two milk shipping farms) were an automobile repair garage, an upholstery repair shop, and a junkyard. The three businesses are on Route 302, the latter two in the section of Landaff called The Acre. The Acre consists of approximately twenty-five families living in a tight, urbanlike concentration. It is so atypical of the rest of the town that the authors of the 1942 monograph (MacLeish and Young) excluded it almost entirely from their analysis.³

As of 1986–1989, the period of the field work for this study, Landaff consisted of approximately 275 persons, most of whom lived off Route 302 in a loosely scattered pattern. Except for the loss of active dairy farms, Landaff has changed physically very little from the 1940s. MacLeish and Young would have little trouble recognizing it nearly fifty years after their study, neither would the residents from the early 1900s or even the post-Civil War period.

At the time of the earlier study, the population of Landaff was just under 400 persons. In 1980, the town's population reached a recorded low of 266 persons. Since then there has been a slow increase. The New Hampshire Office of State Planning estimates that Landaff's population in 1990 will be 282 (center spread). The possibility of Landaff experiencing a boom in housing and population is an increasing concern among the town's citizens.

Understandably, many Landaff residents are concerned about the possibility of their traditional northern New England town being overrun by housing developments. Long-time residents, however, tend to be as concerned about the wants, needs, and values of the new people as they are about the numbers per se. In interview after interview, when questions related to growth and development were asked, the responses were couched in personalized terms. There is an entrenched fear that young immigrants may be a threat to the traditions and values of the community. In later sections, the apprehension toward newcomers, particularly the younger families, and the fear that they may be threats to the traditional roles of two of the most locally important institutions, the volunteer fire company and the venerated Blue School, will be documented.

By the late 1970s and early 1980s most of the persons who had been members of the adult generation at the time of the 1940–41 Landaff study had passed away or were quite elderly. A new generation, many of them sons and daughters of persons who were important Landaff personages in the 1930s and 1940s, had become the keepers of the community's traditions.

In the terminology of the sociologists, C.P. Loomis and J.A. Beegle, the prevailing community attitude had become one more of "boundary maintenance" than of "social-cultural linkage" (Loomis and Beegle 1975). More

³The role of The Acre and its residents will be discussed in following sections and in Appendix A.

community efforts were being made to maintain the past than to expand community horizons. It had become important to protect the inherited institutions and values; that orientation continues in the 1980s. In a sense, to many of Landaff's traditionalists, the present is important because of the past. People with this view tend to regard some of the younger families, especially those with school-aged children, as threats to traditions which were, if not sacred, highly valued. In contrast, the relatively few older families, some of them quite wealthy, who had come to Landaff to retire and to enjoy its natural and social amenities, are generally not considered major threats to the town's accepted ways of life. They tend to blend into the community and are not often vocal participants in public debates about the future of Blue School, the operation of the volunteer fire department, or alterations to the Town Hall.

MacLeish and Young provide an excellent portrait of Landaff as an interactive, meaningful social system in the period just prior to World War II. They also present interesting and valuable data, especially about agriculture and other economic activities from the late 1800s forward. The 1940s study does not contain any information about Landaff prior to the Civil War. Fortunately, since the publication of the 1940s study, Stanley Currier and Edgar Clement wrote a comprehensive history of Landaff (1966). Currier's meticulous research unveils many important aspects of Landaff's early history which are keys to understanding its present. A brief synopsis of Landaff's history prior to 1940–1941, as depicted by Currier in the Currier and Clement volume, will be presented in order to set the stage for a review of both the major conclusions stated by MacLeish and Young about Landaff and the presentation of data of the 1986–1989 study.

LANDAFF — THE WAY IT WAS

If the remarkable succession of events that characterized Landaff's early years had continued into the 1940s it would have vied with Sublette, Kansas, for the dubious honor of being the most unstable of the six communities selected for study by the USDA.

Between 1764 and 1782 when Landaff, after twice being included in Vermont, became permanently a New Hampshire township, the following events occurred:

- 1764—Landaff granted, under the signature of Governor Wentworth of the Province of New Hampshire, "to a group of down country businessmen and speculators who had influence with the Colonial Governor and [who] had petitioned for a township." (Currier and Clement 1966:11).

- 1770—Dartmouth College was granted the township of Landaff. “The first grantees of Landaff had failed to comply with the requirements of their charter so the Governor and Council, without any judicial determination, adjudged that they had forfeited their grant.” (Currier and Clement 1966:17).
- 1774—Landaff incorporated as a township. In the grant, Governor Wentworth directed that “a Tract of Land ... commonly called & known by the name of Landaff ... be erected & incorporated into a Township and enfranchised with the same Powers and Privileges which other Towns within our said Province by law have and enjoy & it appearing to Us to be conducive to the general Good of our said Province as well as of the said Inhabitants in particularly maintaining good order and encouraging the culture of the Land that the same should be done” (Currier and Clement 1966:21–22).
- 1775—The New Hampshire Provincial Congress (organized in 1774) passed an act designating that representation in the Congress from Grafton County (in which Landaff is located) should consist of six “classes” of towns, each with one representative. Landaff was placed in the Haverhill Class along with Haverhill, Bath, Lyman, Gunthwaite, and Morristown (Franconia) (Currier and Clement 1966:26).
- 1776—The Haverhill Class towns refused to be represented in the manner designated by the Provincial Congress. “These towns sought just, fair, and equal representation in the New Hampshire Legislature for all parts of the state, and maintained that the smallest towns had a right to distinct representation” (Currier and Clement 1986:26). Among the provisions that the towns objected to were the demand to “unite for the purpose of Choosing a Representative and Counsellor,” and that the chosen person must possess “real estate of two hundred pounds lawful money; whereas we Conceive that every elector is capable of being elected” (Currier and Clement 1966:27).
- 1777—At a special town meeting in February, Landaff voted not to accede to the instructions of the New Hampshire Provincial Congress. Instead they:
- Voted that this town Appoint Mr. Joseph Warner, Cap^t Nathaniel Hovey and Leu^t Josiah How who are our Commity of Safety to act In our behalf In treating with the Assembly’s Commity and that our s^d Commity do not enter into any measure for accommodation with s^d Assembly’s Commity but In Conjunction with

the United Community whose meeting now stands Adjoined to the 13th of February Instant to be holden at Lebanon and that a copy of this Vote be transmitted to the Assembly's Community as quick as may be (Currier and Clement 1966:27).

1778—Landaff decided to forsake New Hampshire statehood to become (June) a part of Vermont:

Being convinced that they were not to reach a satisfactory agreement with New Hampshire, the towns east of the Connecticut River jointly sought union with Vermont. Landaff was one of sixteen towns who presented themselves, and were admitted, to the Vermont Legislature, when that body was assembled in June 1778. In October of the same year the Vermont Assembly met again, and Landaff was one of eleven Grafton County towns represented (Currier and Clement 1966:28).

1778—Union with Vermont was short lived:

The union with Vermont was sustained by a decided vote, but the following day, when it was proposed to set up the machinery of government east of the river, either by extending to that side the limits of the Vermont Counties or by erecting a new county there, the vote was in the negative on both propositions.

The effect of this action was to deny to the people east of the Connecticut River the equal benefit of the laws. They filed two protests, signed by twenty-four members (12 from each side of the river), and the next day withdrew from the Vermont Legislature (Currier and Clement 1966:28).

1781—Landaff rejoins Vermont:

Three years later the political group that had opposed accepting the eastern towns into Vermont turned around and promised to give them equal rights to rejoin. Following the lead of this proposition, thirty-four towns east of the river took seats in the Vermont Assembly. Landaff was represented by Absalom Peters (Currier and Clement 1966:28).

1782—Landaff became a part of New Hampshire again: “On February 9, 1782 the General Assembly of Vermont [on being advised by the Continental Congress that they had to relinquish the townships east of the Connecticut River] resolved the West Bank of the Connecticut River to be the east boundary of their state, and they relinquished all claims beyond that boundary” (Currier and Clement 1966:28).

Landaff's experience of being twice a part of Vermont provides a note of authenticity to a bit of New England humor which I had always taken to be fiction before reading the Currier and Clement history. The story goes:

First Farmer: Did you hear? We're now back in New Hampshire.

Second Farmer: By gorry, I'm some glad to hear that. I couldn't stand another one of them Vermont winters!

Unfortunately, during Landaff's early days the problems of who really had title to the town and in which state it wished to be located was accompanied by a series of interrelated incidents, some of which were violent. A large proportion of the difficulties revolved around the Dartmouth College claims to the township.

Although the township of Landaff was granted to Dartmouth the "grant did not determine that the College would be located there" (Currier and Clement 1966:19). Several towns along the Connecticut River were anxious to have the College established within their boundaries. Dartmouth's President, the contentious Eleazer Wheelock, also preferred a river town location. Provincial authorities, particularly Governor Wentworth, thought otherwise. After several failed attempts on his part, Wheelock reluctantly became reconciled to the Landaff location. He was determined, however, to let the state of New Hampshire know that he was not particularly pleased with its demands for the Landaff location. In time, he became a major proponent for Landaff becoming a part of Vermont.

More or less simultaneously with the agitation over whether or not Landaff would be in New Hampshire or Vermont, Wheelock and the College found themselves embroiled in a defensive battle. The original proprietors began an effort to regain "their" township, or be recompensed for their loss. In time, they took the latter course. The proprietors' agent negotiated with Dartmouth and offered to sell their interest to the College. President Wheelock agreed to the proposition. The College Trustees overruled Wheelock on the grounds that they had "been assured by Governor John Wentworth that their title was as good as any in Portsmouth (the New Hampshire Capital at that time), maintained that to offer the grantees anything at all would be money wasted" (Currier and Clement 1966:29).

The first grantees were enraged that they were not compensated for their claims to Landaff. According to Currier and Clement (1966:29), to gain some redress, "they sought to sell their claims to its [Dartmouth College] enemies." Because the value of property in Landaff was increasing, a land speculator and his associates found ready sellers among some of the original grantees. The chief speculator, Col. Nathaniel Peabody, encouraged "settlers to move into Landaff and harass those claiming under the College title" (Currier and Clement 1966: 29).

Perhaps the greatest disturbance to peace in Landaff was precipitated by Eleazer Wheelock's passion to have Landaff become a part of Vermont. In a "memorial" (petition) to the New Hampshire committee of safety, John Clark, one of Landaff's earliest settlers, charged that:

no one was allowed to vote in town meetings unless he solemnly renounced all dependance on, or political connection with the state of New Hampshire and took an oath to support the government and laws of Vermont. He further stated that ten men, having received the sop, would carry on the business of the meeting, when perhaps three times that number, who from principal cannot join the faction, are obliged to stand mute (Currier and Clement 1966:30).

Clark continued his appeal by describing how he was set upon one September morning in 1791 by a group of armed "banditti," who seized him while he was on horseback. He was accused "of being against the authority of Vermont and ... that he was an enemy to the College party." Clark describes his capture by stating:

Some were pulling the horse by the bridle, others whipping, some yelling, others firing guns, thus in triumph they carried off the unhappy victim of their malice and after carrying the memorialist about in manner aforesaid, with threats, insults and abuses from place to place, till near the setting of the sun, when the said Eleazer Wheelock, with some other of the rioters, seized violently upon the Body of the memorialist, and by force dragged him toward the house of one Noyce, who was among the gang, whereby the memorialist was most grievously injured both in mind and body (Currier and Clement 1966:31).

In addition to Dartmouth College president Eleazer Wheelock and his brother James, numbered among the "banditti" were the local minister-administrator of College affairs in Landaff and Landaff's representative to the Vermont Assembly.

Problems over whether the original grant of Landaff, or the one made later to Dartmouth College, was legal continued through the 1780s. Currier reports that "in August 1791 [the Dartmouth Trustees] convinced that further resistance would be fruitless, formally and finally relinquished all claims to the township" (Currier and Clement 1966:34). Were it not for this turmoil Landaff, rather than being a largely unknown and unheralded small town in northern New Hampshire, would have probably acquired the popularity and prestige of Hanover, Dartmouth's new home. Based on the conclusions reached in the MacLeish and Young monograph on Landaff and my own observations and experiences in the town, it is likely that "true" Landaffians are content that their town never became a Hanover. In fact, some would be horrified by that prospect.

Despite outbreaks of emotion and even violence in the late 1780s, Landaff continued to draw settlers. As a result the early land speculators reaped consid-

erable profits. For example, "In 1782 Col. Peabody sold a number of rights for prices varying from one hundred to one hundred and twenty pounds for each right—the same rights for which he had paid six pounds in 1778" (Currier and Clement 1966:32). Two hundred plus years later there is no turmoil in Landaff of the magnitude of that of the late 1700s. There is mounting concern, however, that land speculation, housing development, and increasing population will upset the relative tranquility and integration remembered, and perhaps romanticized, by Landaff citizens who were residents at the time of the 1940-41 study.

LANDAFF FROM DARTMOUTH TO 1940 — A SYNOPSIS

As depicted in Figure 1 (center spread) Landaff's population growth from 1790, the date of the first U.S. Census, until 1940 followed a pattern common to most northern New England nonmetropolitan rural towns.⁴ (For an example see *Turner—A Study in Persistence and Change* [Ploch 1989b].) Typically there was rapid growth until 1830–1840 followed by a period of slower growth or stability until 1860–1870. After the Civil War, a period of sharp population decline set in which lasted to the 1930s and 1940s. From this period forward, with few exceptions (see Ploch 1988a), the post-World War II period has been one of rapid growth as urbanites/suburbanites have discovered the "real" rural America.⁵

Landaff's population spurt following the end of the Revolutionary War apparently attracted two interrelated groups of persons—farmers and former entrepreneurs. In a short period of time, hundreds of acres of the less hilly land (and some that today is considered too steep for agriculture) had been cleared for tillage and or pasturage. Additional hundreds of acres were being timbered to feed the growing number of sawmills in Landaff and nearby towns. At one time there were five or six sawmills on Mill Brook, the aptly named narrow stream, which, with its tributaries, drains about two-thirds of the town. There were also several bobbin mills on Mill Brook and its tributaries.

Although potatoes are grown in Landaff today just for family consumption, they were a commercial crop in the 1800s. When prices were high, as they were in 1882, (75¢ per bushel) they were sold as tablestock. When potato prices were

⁴It should be noted that until 1876, Landaff also consisted of the present town of Easton which accounts for the sharp decrease in Landaff's population between 1870 and 1880.

⁵Landaff's failure to experience a population increase as rapid as that of the prototype northern New England rural community appears to be interrelated with three major factors: relatively low birth rates and high death rates related to an aging population; continued outmigration of young people; and the town's location in the far northwest corner of New Hampshire, a relatively long distance from the southern New Hampshire towns which have experienced a population and economic boom since the mid- to late 1960s.

low as in 1892 (25¢ per bushel) many were converted into starch at one of the three starch factories on Mill Brook (Currier and Clement 1966).

For Landaff, perhaps the most unorthodox use of potatoes was to make whiskey. In the early 1800s a local potato grower had a contract to sell a distiller "900 bushels of potatoes the first year, and 1,000 bushels each of the next two years" (Currier and Clement 1966:106). The first year payment was to be one-half in cash and one-half in kind. Potatoes were valued at 20¢ per bushel and whiskey at \$1.22 per gallon; it took six bushels of potatoes to equal one gallon of whiskey. Currier and Clement provide no information on what happened to the whiskey.

The Currier and Clement history of Landaff presents strong evidence that the town's farmers (and almost everyone lived on at least a self-sufficing farm) were extremely industrious. As indicated in the whiskey making episode, farmers were adept at utilizing any potential means of making a living. Maple syrup production was an example. Maple trees were abundant on the hillsides unsuited for cultivation or pasture. Each year family members, from young to old, would be involved in one or more of the processes used to convert the spring sap to palatable syrup.

Most farms had milk cows, perhaps a sow or two, and a few sheep. The sheep provided a source of income, some meat for the table, and wool for the women in the family to weave. The number of sheep in Landaff may have reached a maximum in 1865 when 5,348 head were taxed (Currier and Clement 1966).

It was the milk cow that formed the base of Landaff's farm economy. Some of the milk was converted into butter and cheese on the farm. Landaff's isolated location made it difficult to sell fresh milk. Eventually, some farmers became aware of the need for an expanded market for their milk. There were, in the 1890s, creameries in four surrounding towns. Clement, in Currier and Clement (1966:103), asks the rhetorical question, "Why couldn't Landaff be included." He continues, "In 1893 and again in 1895 there was much talk of getting one [creamery] started at the 'Hollow.' In that immediate area there were over one-hundred and twenty cows; but apparently for lack of capital or initiative, none was organized."

Clement's use of the phrase "lack of initiative" may be correct, but it would be incorrect to conclude that Landaff farmers lacked initiative. It took great initiative to clear the fields with simple hand tools, horses, and oxen. The farmer had little time to help his neighbors. His success depended largely on how hard he and his family worked and how well they succeeded in making the farm a productive unit. It is likely that the fabled importance of New England individuals was largely a product of the need for each farm family to hoe their own row.

The inability of the farmers in the Hollow, or anywhere in Landaff, to form a cooperative creamery was probably related, at least in part, to this sense of individualism. In several sections of their Landaff monograph, MacLeish and Young comment on cooperation, or the lack of it, among the town's farmers. Although there were some exceptions, exchanging work and helping out neighbors in routine tasks apparently never became as institutionalized as it did in many midwestern communities.

Today, although the operators of the remaining commercial dairy farms will help each other willingly in an emergency, they do not regularly exchange labor or equipment. On a day-to-day basis each farm is an entirely independent production unit. In a later section more detail of the operation of the dairy farms will be presented.

Throughout Landaff's history, from its beginning until the pre-World War II period, nearly all its families were involved in agriculture, woodwork, or, most often, a combination of the two. Initially most of the work done in the woods was on one's own property. By the mid- and late 1800s, large land owners were hiring local people to work for them. Much of this woodland was in the sections of Landaff and Easton that are now part of the White Mountain National Forest. Working in the forests for others was a part-time occupation to supplement income, not to supplant farming operations.⁶

As Carl C. Taylor implied in his foreword to the MacLeish and Young monograph, one of the most important forces of change in Landaff was "the penetrating of the Boston milkshed into that [Landaff] area." Farmers who had been generalists now had to become specialists. Level of milk production, cattle breeding, sanitation, proper feeding and housing all took on added importance. In isolated, noncommercialized agricultural areas such as Landaff, the adoption of specialized dairy production necessitated many changes including a shift from a semi-money barter to dependence on the monthly milk check. From a close reading of both the Currier and Clement and the MacLeish and Young publications, it appears that the transition from general, self-sufficing farming to commercial milk production also produced profound cultural changes. In the terminology of Loomis and Beegle (1975), Landaff was transformed from a *Gemeinschaft* (informal, personalized) community to a *Gesellschaft* society (rational, impersonal). The need to produce enough milk to pay for the new machinery, equipment, and fertilizers became an important, if not paramount, goal. Those persons who could not, for whatever reasons, make the transition to the new type of farming either had to leave town or find other ways to make

⁶The larger land owners eventually also hired non-farm Landaff residents. MacLeish and Young identify these workers as "floaters"—short-time residents. The role of the floaters and the reactions of present Landaff residents to MacLeish and Young's use of the term will be discussed in a later section.

a living. Because local jobs were very scarce, outmigration and consequent population loss became a part of Landaff's heritage.

Population Trends

Community change and population change constitute an interwoven matrix. Whenever there are sharp breaks in the fabric of a community (e.g., loss of *the* major industry, discovery of oil, gold, etc.), there will almost always be spurts or declines in its population. Turner, Maine, provides an example (Ploch 1989b). When steam and then electricity supplanted water power as the energy source for manufacturing in the late 1800s, early 1900s, Turner lost most of its industrial base. There was a consequent loss of population. In the 1970s, Turner was "discovered" as an ideal place to live by persons who work in central Maine cities. Since then it has experienced a rapid rate of growth—81 percent from 1970 to 1987.

Although Turner is much larger than Landaff (3,539 to 266 in 1980) their population histories are very similar. Both towns grew rapidly from the late 1700s to the Civil War period (see center spread for Landaff's population history). From the Civil War era to the post-Depression days both towns lost population. Landaff has not yet experienced the full impact of the post-World War II population spurt related to suburbanization as Turner did. There are many indications, however, that it will grow at least moderately for some years into the future.

Unlike Turner, Landaff's post-Civil War population drop was not related to a loss of industry. While it is true that by the time of the 1940–1941 study almost all of Landaff's commercial and industrial base (lumber mills, bobbin mills) had vanished, manufacturing in Landaff never employed a significant number of permanent residents. If MacLeish and Young (1942) are correct in their analysis, the majority of workers in these industries were not stable Landaff citizens, but short-term residents whom they termed floaters.

Landaff's loss of population and its failure to grow significantly in the post-Depression period is related primarily to the demise of farms and farm families. Both the Currier and Clement (1966) and MacLeish and Young (1942) publications document that from its colonial beginnings until the early 1940s Landaff was an agricultural community. Farming was its lifeblood; it was also a way of life. Its major social organization, the Grange (Patrons of Husbandry) was agriculturally and rurally oriented. Who you were and what you were was based on how well you farmed.

Landaff's remote location, limited soil resources, paucity of level land and other requirements for industrial development, and the lack of attractive "fishing" lakes and mountains suitable for commercial winter recreation were detriments to both immigration and population retention. Given these conditions

it is somewhat surprising that Landaff's population did not decrease more rapidly than it did.

Landaff's natural resource base—soil, climate, topography— was, for many years, well suited for relatively small scale, family-operated animal agriculture. This type of farm constituted the town's economic base throughout the 1800s and well into the 1900s. Farms were inherited down through the generations. If a son was not in line to inherit his family's operation, he often struck out on his own, often with family help.

Although many farms did remain viable for generations, Landaff was not spared from the impact of technology and specialization. As the least viable small farms ceased operation, their tillable land was most often utilized, by rental or purchase, by the surviving, larger farmers. These larger operations tended to be specialized dairy farms.

The loss of farms was correlated closely with population loss. By 1940 the population of Landaff had decreased from 506 in 1880 to 389, a decrease of 23 percent. At the time of the Landaff study, MacLeish and Young (1942) counted 38 farms in Landaff. In the 1800s nearly everyone lived on a farm.

In the early 1940s, despite the protracted decrease in farm numbers, Landaff continued to be a farm community economically, socially, and psychologically. The reduced number of farms did mean that some persons, particularly young persons, had to find nonfarm work. For some this meant leaving Landaff and northern New Hampshire for more urban areas. Others were able to live at home, but found work in nearby towns—Lisbon, Littleton, Woodsville.

MacLeish and Young (1942) also note that by the early 1940s a few outsiders (or as one of the informants in the 1980s study termed "the new element") had begun to choose Landaff as a homesite from which they could commute conveniently to their place of work. It was this trend of commuters moving to Landaff that has revived its population growth. The social, economic, and institutional impacts of the new residents will be explored in a following section.

LANDAFF AS PERCEIVED BY MACLEISH AND YOUNG

MacLeish and Young's word picture of Landaff in the early 1940s is not a classic Currier and Ives image, but it does have elements of the stereotype popularized by the famous painters. The authors place a strong emphasis on the quality of family life, the deeply ingrained work ethic, and a community socially centered on the Grange, the schools, and the church. While they discuss some negative aspects of the town, their criticisms are muted. It is not at all unlikely, that many persons reading the monograph have made remarks similar to "Wouldn't that be a lovely place to live?"

One might surmise that the MacLeish and Young publication would have been as well received in Landaff as it was among the academic community. Based on an acquaintance with Landaff spanning some three years, my conclusion is that the town's residents were not, and are not, highly appreciative of their efforts. Among the criticisms was that the researchers were inaccurate in some of their conclusions. That is not unusual—they probably were inaccurate in some cases, at least from a Landaffian perspective.⁷ Another criticism was “he [Kenneth MacLeish] was always writing things down.” This remark may be a clue to the negative criticism per se, as well as to an important Landaff characteristic. As in most rural communities, Landaff developed a highly interrelated set of norms and values. In the terminology of Loomis and Beegle (1975) “boundary maintenance” became a way of life. Outsiders, particularly those who ask questions and who obviously are not going to become permanent residents, are suspect.

A major consequence of boundary maintenance is that it provides a base for community stability and identity. Involved citizens, knowingly and unknowingly, contribute to their town's sense of community. Over time, a strong sense of centrality developed among Landaff people. In effect, their motto became: “The township is ours, and we govern and run its institutions” (MacLeish and Young 1942:98).⁸

The strong sense of local identity that developed among Landaff residents apparently became a counter force to both the loss of Easton as part of the town (1876) as well as to the almost continual period of population decline from 1880 to the time of the MacLeish and Young study in 1940–1941. In the decade from 1860 to 1870, Landaff's population declined from its peak of 1,062 to 882. In 1880 after the loss of Easton, the town's population was 506, exactly one-half of its historic high. Normally, circumstances of this order result in at least a sense of pessimism if not outright dissolution of a feeling of community. Instead, Landaff's sense of community survived the population decline, the loss of its limited commercial services, and the drastic reduction in numbers of farms quite well.

⁷One elderly woman who “married into” Landaff shortly after the MacLeish and Young study was completed remarked, “He [MacLeish] did not know anything about syrup making. He said the sap runs in the spring and fall. Everyone knows it is only in the spring.” There is not a statement of this nature in the MacLeish and Young publication. It may have derived from a remark MacLeish made and that subsequently became part of Landaff's folklore.

⁸If MacLeish and Young's reception in Landaff was similar to that accorded to me, they would have had no reason to assume that they were not well accepted. It is when perceptions are recorded in print that local residents tend to become concerned. A classic example was the reaction in “Springdale” (pseudonym for Candor, N.Y.) to the publication of the well-known study *Small Town in Mass Society* (1960) by Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman. Candor citizens were upset to the point of threatening law suits.

The key to Landaff's strength as a community in the 1940s appears to be a product of its agricultural heritage. Although the numbers of farms and farm families were greatly reduced from earlier times, the community maintained its agricultural ruralness. The Grange, through its twice monthly meetings and its community activities, was a community reinforcing agent. For many years, the annual Old Home Day sponsored by the Grange was the most important event in the community.⁹

By the 1940s the Methodist Church (the sole survivor of a total of four churches in the 1800s) had lost some of its importance as a community institution. Attendance was down. A photograph in MacLeish and Young (1942:74) carries the caption, "Farm people at church in Landaff." The photograph includes approximately the rear half of the church. The visible congregation consists of two middle-aged women, a middle-aged man, a young teen-aged male, and an older gentleman. MacLeish and Young (1942:72) indicate that winter weather was a factor in low church attendance, but they make no such mention for the Grange. They state (1942:75) that in 1940–1941 the Grange had "78 members—almost four times as many as there are in any other organization." Of the church they say, "the attendance [in winter] is very small. As a rule there are between 7 and 10 people present—often only one man among them—the church treasurer. The others are four or five women and some of their children"¹⁰ (MacLeish and Young 1942:72).

Even though its membership and activities were minimal, the church in 1940–1941, as it does in the 1980s, served as an important integrative symbol for the community. If any misfortune befell the church edifice, the community would rally around it. By the 1940s, it had become important in Landaff to venerate symbols of the past. The town hall (1922), which also serves as the Grange's home, the Methodist Church, and the three remaining schools (of a total of seven in 1886) were important links to the past. In a sense the three school districts had become *the* community.

In the 1940s the location of the schools (Scotland, Ireland, Blue) unofficially designated Landaff's three social-psychological, geographic neighborhoods.¹¹ "Scotland" in the northeast corner is a hilly, rugged area of Landaff. Because of the relatively poor potential for farming it was always sparsely populated. Scotland school was its community center. By the 1940–1941 period there was just a handful of pupils in the school. The school, on an unpaved road, was kept

⁹The role of the Grange, church, and schools will be discussed more fully in following sections.

¹⁰Although no one specially mentioned MacLeish and Young's treatment of the church, it is likely that this type of statement created some negative feelings toward the publication.

¹¹The fourth definitive neighborhood, "The Acre," located on U.S. Route 302, is socially and physically separated from "rural" Landaff. Students who live in The Acre attend school in the neighboring town of Lisbon. See the education section for pending changes in that situation. Details about The Acre are noted in Appendix A.

open partly because of the area's inaccessibility in winter. Despite its relative remoteness and small population, (or maybe because of it) Scotland remained an interactive neighborhood. The integration of the neighborhood peaked each summer when a handful of residents would ban together to enter a float in the annual Old Home Day parade sponsored by the Grange.

Ireland school district was located in central Landaff on the edge of a series of rugged hills. The school also served the Center District, the location of the town hall, Methodist Church, and the closed Center School. MacLeish and Young (1942:67) report that the Ireland "school, long there, is maintained because 15 children live within a mile of it." Because the Ireland school served two small residential enclaves, it may not have been as much as a neighborhood as Scotland, but it, too, entered a float in the Old Home Day parade. The third school district, Blue School, also served pupils from two areas: Jockey Hill, the best farming area of Landaff, and the homes scattered along Mill Brook and a small section of U.S. Route 302 in the northwest corner of the town. In the 1980s Blue School is one of the last active one-room schools in New Hampshire.

The Landaff that MacLeish and Young (1942) perceived was a semi-isolated northern New England town that had experienced a long period of population decline. Its major economic base, dairy farming, had shrunk drastically in numbers. Where there were once seven schools, one with an enrollment of less than ten students, there were three. Just a few years after the MacLeish and Young (1942) monograph was completed, only Blue School was operating. The one church still held regular services, but only a handful of persons, mainly adults, attended. The Grange was struggling also, but it was the most cohesive force in the community.

Given these trends, it would be rational to expect that the community was at the brink of its existence. MacLeish and Young (1942) present no hard evidence that the community was suffering from an acute case of anomie—normlessness. They do report that some minor social deviancies did occur, but that the community was far from being imbedded in a hopeless crisis of any kind. The authors maintain that the section of northern New England in which Landaff is located is an area that is "different from the rest of New England climatologically, physiographically, historically, and culturally" (MacLeish and Young 1942:113). They imply that communities similar to Landaff have a built-in survival mechanism. Such a conclusion may be debatable, however. Based on observations over a three-year period, 1986–1989, it appears that the authors' statement, quoted below, is less accurate in the late 1980s than it was in the early 1940s.

This study of Landaff was begun with the presumption that it was a community which once had been rather stable and well integrated and no evidence has come to light which invalidates that conclusion (MacLeish and Young 1942: 115).

Landaff remains, in the late 1980s, a classic northern New England rural community. The basic values and norms of its inhabitants have not changed greatly from those described and implied by MacLeish and Young (1942). There are numerous indications, however, that Landaff is now less stable than it was approximately fifty years ago. This conclusion will be examined directly and indirectly in the sections to follow.

LANDAFF — A PERSISTING, CHANGING COMMUNITY

There are many ways to analyze communities. A traditional method is to perceive them as a series of interrelated institutions; it is the approach employed in this analysis.¹² By analyzing the structure and function of community institutions a comprehensive portrait of the community emerges. Limited use will also be made of both the social system methodology of Charles P. Loomis and J. Allen Beegle (1975) and Roland L. Warren's "Great Changes" (1978). In a forthcoming publication Warren's "Great Changes" will be employed to further diagnose the structural and social changes occurring in Landaff in the late 1980s.

Because of their functional interrelationships it is not possible to determine a rank order for the universal institutions. The order followed in this publication will be economics, government, education, religion, and family. In addition, social stratification (status-role in the Loomis and Beegle [1978] terminology) as it exists in Landaff will also be presented.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF LANDAFF

As indicated in a preceding section, Landaff never developed a commercial complex. Well into the 1940s, agriculture predominated Landaff's economy, but the purchased inputs of farming, as well as those necessary for family and community life, were imported. The peak of Landaff's local economy was reached with a combined general store/post office that was operative until after the turn of the century. Later there was a local dealer who sold animal feeds and bought and sold cattle.

Economics in its various manifestations, however, was and is important to Landaff in terms of its interrelations with the other major social institutions. In this section some of the more "pure" economic aspects of Landaff will be discussed. In succeeding sections, a variety of economic interrelationships will be illustrated.

¹²The commonly accepted, "universal" institutions are: economics, education, family, government, and religion.

Economics in the strict sense of the term permeated Landaff's beginnings. The township was originally granted (1764) to "a group of down country businessmen who had influence with the Colonial Governor and [who] petitioned for a township" (Currier and Clement 1966:11). The purpose of the acquisition was profit. Profits were made from the subsequent sale of lots in Landaff, but as discussed in a previous section, most of the gain went to a speculator. In the late 1980s some former farmland has been sold for development.

It may be that in the near future the thrust of immigration to Landaff, especially by relatively young retirees and affluent persons seeking the scenic and rural ambience of the foothills of the White Mountains, could stimulate a mild land boom. So far, this hasn't happened. Landaff's somewhat restrictive zoning and planning regulations probably could derail any incipient surge in land speculation. The land that is on the market currently is being sold both as individual house lots and developments. In 1986 a widow sold a tract of former farmland to a developer who divided it into 23 two-acre lots, the allowable minimum in Landaff. The reported price was \$5,000 per lot, reasonable by urban standards, but high for Landaff. Sales apparently were brisk, probably stimulated by an advertisement in Boston papers which described them to be "lake front" properties.¹³ Some of the lots were sold, reportedly, sight unseen. If this were the case, the owners might be disappointed when they journey to northern New Hampshire to plan their dream home in the White Mountain foothills. Chandler Pond is a very shallow body of water which is merely the widening of Mill Brook. Just one of the lots has a view of the pond, and it is somewhat restricted. According to a member of the Landaff Planning Board, by the time the new owners have the heavily wooded lots partially cleared, pay \$4,000–\$5,000 for a well, and several hundred to several thousand dollars more for a septic system and landscaping, they will have spent at least \$15,000.

The consequent rise in property values will probably increase local tax revenues, a not unwelcome occurrence. Many long-time residents are concerned, however, about potential economic and social costs to the community. Among questions which were being asked in 1986 were: If these will be permanent homes, how many more kids will we have to educate? What will happen to Blue School—it's already at capacity? Will we have to spend a lot of money to upgrade the fire department? Landaff residents understand that population growth, though it may have beneficial effects, is not without costs.

The shrinkage of economic activities in Landaff is indicative of it becoming more and more the home of commuters. Social and economic change is taking

¹³ All of the lots had been sold, at least once, by summer, 1989. No homes had been built.

place, but at a relatively slow pace—a pace that the community probably can absorb without major disruptions. There are, however, forces at work in Landaff which, while not inherently economic, could produce economically destabilizing effects.

Two examples that will be examined in more detail in later sections relate to the changing school situation and the fire department. In 1985, because of an enrollment increase, the grade spread at Blue School was reduced from grades 1–6 to grades 1–5. As a consequence, more elementary students had to be tutored to Lisbon at extra expense to the town. As Landaff's population grows, especially by an increase in the number of young families with children, it may be necessary to reduce further the grade levels in Blue School. Similarly, the fire department is facing a number of problems with economic consequences. Among them is the need to acquire expensive, updated, mandated equipment.

The school and fire department problems do not necessarily signal that population increase in Landaff will create economic difficulties of crisis proportions.¹⁴ The town is, however, in the midst of a period of accelerated change. The generation that comprised the decision makers and opinion leaders have grown older and, to a large degree, have relinquished their positions of influence and authority. A new generation, a complex of natives, returnees, and newcomers, does not necessarily want to change Landaff radically. They do want some expanded and modernized services which, if obtained, will increase the need for local expenditures.

Agriculture and Forestry

Landaff's most valuable economic asset is its landbase. The agricultural/forestry economy sustained the town for 150 years. As forces beyond local control made farming in Landaff less and less profitable, the number of farms and farmers decreased. The remaining farmers bought the best agricultural land and expanded their operations. The grinding of the economic mill took its toll and continues to do so.¹⁵

In mid-1986, when this study began, there were just five dairy farmers in Landaff—one-seventh as many as at the time of the MacLeish and Young study in 1940–1941. At least two other dairy farms had ceased operation in the previous few months. In 1987 the number was down to three; by late summer 1988, just two farms were shipping milk. At least two other former milk shippers were

¹⁴As of June, 1989, Landaff is facing a serious problem related to the education of students beyond the fifth grade. This situation will be discussed in the education section.

¹⁵In 1989, the owners of one of the remaining farms sold a back pasture that was not vital to their operation because it was worth more to the new owners than it was for farming.

raising heifers. One of them "believed" he might begin to milk cows again if his adult son decided that he wanted to become a full-time dairy farmer.¹⁶

During the late 1980s, great numbers of American farms ceased operation. Most of the farms were in the Midwest and South, where farmers experienced a combination of drought and inability to continue to finance land bought a few years earlier at inflated prices. The farm crisis did not reach Landaff, but there was an increase in the number of farmers ceasing operation. When asked if the loss of farms was related to severe economic problems, a well-informed person with agricultural interests replied:

I would say [it was] for other [than economic] reasons. Not a family has left the farm ... they've sold some animals, then some machinery, then some land, but they stayed right there. None of them had to get out immediately ... so, it was not financial.

Attachment to the land runs deep among long-time Landaff residents, especially the farmers. A third generation Landaff farmer who was beginning to think about curtailing his operations, remarked:

If I wanted to sell off ... I'd sell some of it, but I, you know, hopefully would stay right here. I'm not going to be moving down the road.

One of the factors that has made it somewhat more possible for some farmers to continue operating has been the availability of used, but highly serviceable, farm machinery disposed of by farmers going out of business. One farmer's advice was "If there's something you need, you should attend the sale and see if you can purchase it. Because you know it's money in your pocket." Vanity or "show" is not a characteristic of Landaff culture. Secondhand equipment is economically and socially acceptable. The rationalist viewpoint is, "if it works and you *need* it, then buy it."

There is a general sadness in Landaff that farms and farming have all but disappeared. Among many residents, both long and short term, the increasing scarcity of farmers has not resulted in less interest in farming. The farms remain as both symbols of, and links to, Landaff's agricultural heritage. Most people in the town want to see that tradition continued.

In Landaff the loss of farms is more a cultural than an economic loss. Very few persons in the town, other than the farm families, have been or will be directly affected economically by farm loss. It has been many years since farms were a major source of employment for local people. There never was, in

¹⁶By early 1989 the son had decided not to operate the farm. In mid-1989, through cooperation with Landaff's Conservation Commission, the owner of the farm submitted an application to have some 300 acres of his farmland placed in the New Hampshire Conservation Reserve. If final approval is granted, the owner will be financially compensated for giving up in perpetuity all development rights.

Landaff, an economic infrastructure of any magnitude based on agriculture. The last local source of any needed agricultural supply has been gone for over a generation.

Despite these qualifications, agriculture, i.e., dairy farming, is still important in Landaff. For example, at least until 1986, dairy farms played an important role in keeping land open. If Landaff is to grow, it must be able to attract new residents. The long-established pattern of young people leaving the community as young adults is unlikely to undergo a major reversal.¹⁷ Open farmland which compliments the beauty of the forested hillsides also provides home sites with visual access to the nearby beautiful rolling hills and the more distant mountains. These are the types of natural amenities that will attract new generations of Landaffians.

MacLeish and Young (1942:20) noted, that as farms began to be abandoned in the mid- and late 1800s "lumbermen bought up small farms for the timber on them, and were only too glad to sell or rent them after they were stripped." A variant of this practice continued into the 1980s. In 1986 the three remaining milk producers were utilizing most of the open land in the town. They had purchased some, and rented some. In some cases, so that the owner could keep the land open, farmers are given permission to "hay it" without charge. One farmer remarked "My [the free land] involves something between 60 and 70 acres." This practice constitutes a type of economic symbiosis—the farmers get needed hay, and the land owners keep their fields open. The symbiotic relationship was enhanced by an unstated gentlemen's agreement that each farmer would utilize most of the available land in "his" area.

Farmer-to-farmer cooperation, a type of economic practice, has not been a salient characteristic of the Landaff farm ethos. Cooperation among farmers in Landaff has occurred more because of necessity than from belief in the principle. Landaff farmers in the past and present are more likely to be rationalists than idealists. This is not to say that they will not help each other; they do, but not on the regular, neighborly basis that was once common.

The advent of farm machinery, particularly planters, was a development that stimulated a modest degree of cooperation among Landaff farmers. As MacLeish and Young (1942:38) stated: "certain operators 'trade work' with the few farmers who own planters so that the job can be done more quickly." Economic rationality appears to have been the driving force for the cooperative action.

Emergencies will spur interfarmer cooperation. When a farm experienced a fire in the 1980s, one of the other operators called and offered to replace hay that was lost in the fire. Another farmer helped with the clean up.

¹⁷One informant related that in only one Landaff family did all of its sons and daughters settle in the town. In this case all four had left home but decided to come back to Landaff to raise their families in a rural setting.

One reason that there may not have been closer economic and noneconomic cooperation among the three Landaff farmers in the 1986–1987 period was that each specialized in a different breed of cattle—Holsteins, Ayershires, Jerseys. Each breed has its own characteristics. Those who specialize in a particular breed have more in common with farmers who share that preference than with their neighbors who do not.

Another factor, with a variety of economic aspects, which tends to constrain interfarm cooperation, is the choice of specialized machinery and equipment. Parts of a machine of a particular brand usually are not interchangeable with those of another make. This situation has rendered most farmers' stockpile of used equipment of little or no use to their neighbors. As a result, farmers with little or no outside help, who do not have the time to do their own machinery work, are forced to turn to professional specialists to do most of the necessary major repairs.

Landaff farmers are fortunate in this respect. Although they are quite isolated, several repair services and machinery parts sales outlets are reasonably available. There are machinery dealers located within a half-hour to one and one-half-hour drive. Also available are the services of a modern version of the old-fashioned itinerant Mr. Fixit. A telephone call will bring a fully equipped motorized workshop capable of repairing almost any type of farm machine—"He gets all the parts before he comes, and he has everything, a complete workshop in his van." This service provides savings in two scarce commodities for most farmers—time and money. As one farmer stated, "It works out fine because if you hired someone to come in and take your big tractor to a repair shop, you're going to get a hundred dollars tied up."¹⁸

At least some semblance of economic cooperation continues to exist in Landaff agriculture. The two remaining milk shippers both belong to Agrimark, a confederation of New England farmers that is interrelated with Hood's, the largest milk processor-distributor in the area. One family is active in the organization. Members of the same family have been active participants in the Regional Cooperative Milk Agency (RCMA), an organization of farmers who have successfully fought for over order pricing. Over order pricing is, in effect, a premium paid by milk processors to dairy farmers over the minimum price set by the federal government milk price order. The differential, while not great, does help economically. According to a family member of one Landaff dairy operation, "when you're producing 1,500,000 pounds of milk a year, it makes a welcome difference."

¹⁸Veterinarian services are also readily available, "He comes right up from North Haverhill (15 miles) when we call." The services of an artificial inseminator are also available when needed.

Commercial dairy farming is a highly competitive occupation. Those most likely to succeed are farms where the operation ranks well, compared to the competition, in the quality of soil resources, an amenable climate, proximity to market, and adequate service/equipment infrastructure. In comparison with the Connecticut River towns, located just a few miles distant, and especially, the prime agricultural lands in the Boston/New York milk shed, Landaff farmers have few comparative advantages. If they are to remain in farming, Landaff farmers have to work harder and be smarter than their competition, and at the same time derive a lower level of net income from their endeavors. They may live and farm in a semi-isolated rural environment, but they are competing in a highly urbanized, bureaucratized business environment.

The monthly business statement, which members of the Agrimark dairy cooperative receive with their milk check, is illustrative of the degree that commercial dairy farming now approaches the *Gesellschaft* (impersonal, bureaucratized) model developed by Loomis and Beegle (1975). The following is a partial listing of the deductions made by Agrimark on the gross value of milk shipped to them by a farm couple who constitute *the* labor force on their thirty-cow farm.

Milk Check Deductions

- Employee/Employer health insurance
- Supplies (a flat fee plus a 100 weight charge)
- Equity (members share in cooperative)
- Dues (based on volume)
- Dues (flat fee)
- Promotion fee
- Hauling fee
- Stop change
- Mortgage payment (optional)

According to several former Landaff farmers, the rationality of large milk processors was an important factor in the reduction of the number of farms in the town in the 1950–1960 period. During a round-table discussion in 1988, one person stated that a major reason for the loss of dairy farms was “the requirements on sanitation, and the bulk coolers, and those things.”¹⁹ Another former farmer added, “The bulk tank was the biggest thing that sent a lot of the little guys out.” Another person remarked, “And some farmers went out ... because they [milk processors] refused to pick up their milk.” An example was given of a particular farmer who lost his processor “even though he was producing a lot

¹⁹Bulk tanks are refrigerated milk storage vats, which, in the 1950s, replaced the standard ten-gallon shipping cans. Milk is removed from the farmer’s tank by vacuum directly into a large tank truck.

of milk [but] because he was the only one in that part of town ... it wasn't worth coming for one farmer."

Although many Landaff residents, farmers and nonfarmers, continue to own woodland few of them do their own timber harvesting. Instead, they contract the job to specialists who have invested in the necessary equipment. The majority of timber cutting is on land owned by nonresidents who bought it as an investment. In the words of a regional forester these profit motivated investors "just want to get the wood out." This practice may have long-range negative effects on Landaff, but it does have one positive attribute. Under New Hampshire law, harvested timber is subject to a yield tax. Eighteen percent of that tax is returned to the town. In 1988, Landaff received \$7,382.41 from the yield tax.

According to a Grafton County Extension Agent, the immigrants who are moving into very rural areas such as Landaff want to open up, bring back the land. Most are people who have some money, and that is the key. They want to bring back the land for esthetic reasons and for horses and sheep. They would rather see a nice field than pine scrub.

The esthetic values of the newcomers will likely produce some economic effects. Their desire to keep land open and attractive will, ultimately, raise its value, which in turn will increase the town's tax base. In some rural areas, an influx of immigrants in the 1970s and 1980s drove land values so high that local young people were unable to purchase land and/or remain in their home community (Ploch 1988a). Because of Landaff's isolated location it may not fall victim to this occurrence.

For the foreseeable future, at least, agriculture and/or forestry are not likely to become, as they once were, major economic factors in Landaff. Landaff has moved a long way from the time, according to one probably apocryphal local tale, that "the town hall was built with the sale of the proceeds of hard cider." Landaff's farms and the forests will, however, continue to have economic value in the sense that they provide the town with a rural ambience which has increasing economic value to families who are choosing them over urban environments (Carpenter 1977).

In two sentences in their introduction to the Landaff monograph, MacLeish and Young (1942:3) make several assertions that, while dated and probably overstated, continue to have meaning for the town:

The area in which Landaff lies, considered generally and in reference to the rest of the country, is poor in monetary wealth and in natural resources now that lumbering has greatly declined. It provides to industrial New England milk, cattle, some lumber, and beautiful scenery, but it is of economic significance only to the city of Boston.

Fifty years later, Landaff has little or no direct economic significance to Boston. Its production of timber, milk, and cattle is minimal. No manufactured goods are produced. There are neither retail nor commercial sales outlets, restaurants, or other similar income generators. In spite of this situation, Landaff, and similar rural areas possessing popularly sought rural ambiances do have economic value.

As mentioned in an earlier section, Landaff is beginning to gain population through net immigration. Most of Landaff's young adults continue to migrate to more populated regions—places with more perceived economic opportunities and social amenities. Their places in the community are being filled, primarily by young families with a few children. Most of the adult newcomers are employed in professional, managerial, sales, and services occupations. The majority has some training beyond the secondary level; many are college graduates, some with advanced degrees.

The net effect of this two-way migration pattern is that Landaff has become an exporter of untrained persons, some of whose aspirations and abilities will lead them into the blue-collar and service economy. In contrast, Landaff has become an importer of relatively well trained persons with reasonable income prospects. For many, the homes that they will buy or build will be, in the vernacular of the 1980s, "upscale."

If the flow of immigration becomes considerable, one effect will be a rise in local property values. This event would have both positive and negative consequences. It would increase the local tax base, and thus provide additional funding for needed community services. Contrastingly, it might also raise land and housing values above a level affordable by natives, thus inducing an accelerated flow of outmigration. Whatever the migration patterns become, it is likely for the foreseeable future that Landaff will remain a pleasant residential community with a set of norms and values that are changing, but it will continue to reflect its rural heritage.

GOVERNMENT

Traditionally in northern New England, town meeting and local government were almost synonymous terms. The annual, mandated town meeting, almost always in March despite it being "mud season," was when the assembled townspeople decided what they wanted their elected officials, the selectmen, to accomplish in the ensuing year. For items requiring expenditures, the meeting determined what the amounts would be; after the total was agreed upon no variations were acceptable. At least in theory and, to a great extent, in practice,

town meeting was an exercise in democracy. All eligible voters had an equal voice.²⁰

In Landaff, as in most New England rural towns, the town fathers (selectmen) were, if not the elite, at least an entrenched component of the establishment. MacLeish and Young (1942:79) remark that "there is a definite tradition that in local government the most influential men of the town should be elected to office."²¹

In reality, the role of selectman has become more important as the need to cope with rules and regulations promulgated by higher levels of government has increased many fold. Perhaps because of this necessity, coupled with the decrease in population, and a diminished importance of government-town-community in the life values of local inhabitants, election to the board of selectmen or school board in Landaff is not the long-term commitment that it was until the 1940s. Until relatively recently, when a "most influential" man was elected to office, he was usually reelected for many three-year terms, often for periods of twenty and more years.

As will be discussed in a later section, the social stratification of Landaff has changed considerably since MacLeish and Young made their observations. In the 1980s, in a contested election for either selectman or school board, the major criteria appears to be, "can and will the candidate function satisfactorily in the position?" Several Landaff residents indicated to me that a recent change in the membership of the school board was based on these criteria. Rationality rather than tradition is becoming more and more important in decision making at the town level. To provide a broader perspective on government as it functions in Landaff in the late 1980s a brief historical sketch of its local government will be presented.

The first record of a town meeting in Landaff is dated 1783, more than two hundred years ago (Currier and Clement 1966:37). The official notice calling the meeting reads, in part:

This is ... to notify and warn all the freeholders and other inhabitants of the said Town of Landaff Qualified as the law directs to vote in Town meetings for the Choice of Town Officers to assemble and meet together at the dwelling house of John Clark Esq in said Landaff on Thursday the twentieth day of March Instant at one of the Clock in the afternoon to act on the following articles Viz....

First to choose a moderator to govern said meeting.

²⁰Originally, "eligibility" was held only by males, twenty-one years of age and older who were property owners.

²¹Fifty years later, influentiality is no longer a necessity for election to the office, however, to date just one woman has been elected selectman.

2ndly to choose a Town Clerk Selectmen Constable and any other town officers as the law directs, dated at Haverhill in said County the 4th day of March 1783.

Moses Dow Jus. Peace

Holding town meeting in private homes was a convenient and practical solution to the lack of a town hall. The practice continued until 1802.²²

By 1802 the town had grown enough so that, according to Currier and Clement (1966:38), "it was voted to hold town meetings at the several school houses in rotation." This action was, apparently, a recognition that Landaff had become divided into school districts, each of which in time became a quasi-subcommunity. As late as the immediate post-World War II period, the school district neighborhoods continued to have social and political significance.²³

Although Landaff was completely rural and highly isolated from large population concentrations, as early as the 1790s smallpox had invaded it. The smallpox outbreak gave rise to a type of governmental function which would be unlikely to occur in even the most progressive of small rural towns two hundred years later. Currier and Clement (1966:41) state:

In the warrant for the annual town meeting of 1793, article eight read as follows: "To see if the Town will give their consent that the Smallpox by inoculation may be carried on in said town at the Expense of those persons that are in favor of it and appoint a Committee to Superintend the Hospital and after said Hospital is erected it shall be free for any person to be Inoculated in." At the meeting it was voted "not to carry on the Smallpox."

In the warrant for a special town meeting in April 1793, article two read as follows: "To see if the Town will vote to prosecute John Page for Inoculating persons for the Small pox Contrary to Law and the majority of said Town or to act on that affair as the town shall think proper." At this meeting John Page was elected moderator and it was voted to pass over the article.

Mr. Page apparently was a popular figure in Landaff. At the time of his election, and for many years later, the position of moderator of the annual town meeting was both an honorific and powerful post. In Landaff it became a custom

²²At least one of the homes in which the very early town meetings were held still exists in Landaff. According to Currier and Clement (1966:38) beginning in 1792, the owner, Alexander Hodge, received a "... bushel of wheat for each meeting the town would hold there in the future." A direct descendent of the original owner, a former Landaff selectman for some twenty years, continues to live in the town.

²³Each of the districts would enter a float for the annual Old Home Day parade. The floats were built out of sight for fear a competing neighborhood group would benefit by knowing what the other float builders were achieving. Winning the first place prize was a highly sought goal.

for the first selectman to also be the moderator. MacLeish and Young (1975:78) described the moderator as "the chief officer of the town ... who directs the town meetings and settles problems that are brought to him." This conclusion is somewhat overstated, but there is little doubt that an individual who is both the moderator and a selectman can guide the meeting, and to a large degree, effect his own agenda if he wishes. This potential conflict-of-interest practice has not been utilized since the 1940s.

Road maintenance has always been a major concern for northern New England rural communities. Heavy snows, torrential spring and summer rains, and monumental frost heaves dictate that town roads always need attention, creating a drain on town finances. Landaff's original large size, before the separation of the eastern half of the town in 1876, compounded the problem. A major issue in the 1850s was the building of the Bunga Road, which would give the eastern section of the town much more convenient access to towns to the south. In 1860, at the last town meeting held in the Easton section of Landaff, the Bunga Road partisans elected selectmen who favored building the road. When the election results were announced pandemonium occurred:

Some of the West Landaff voters raised the cry, 'Seize the checklist,' [voter registration list] and a rush was made for it to destroy it and so make the meeting illegal, but as they came toward the rail which enclosed the officers, Sargent Moody drew from the desk a revolver and pointing it at the leaders of the movement, he thundered 'The first man who dares come inside this rail will have a funeral tomorrow.'

William Shattuck seized an old-fashioned chair and pulling it apart, handed the several pieces to his friends to use for defence, if occasion seemed to demand it (Currier and Clement 1966:60).

Town meetings in Landaff no longer get so unruly, nor are they as much of a festive occasion as they were in the early 1940s. MacLeish and Young (1942:79) provide an interesting description of the 1940 town meeting that was:

attended by about 150 people, including children. Approximately 70 of these were qualified voters, in terms of age and residence. Not all voters cast their ballots in the election of each officer. In several instances, fewer than 60 votes were cast. To save time the less important town officers were elected by oral vote. Then officers of the school board were voted upon. When the elections were completed questions of town business and appropriations were taken up. The people of 'the Acre' do not, as a rule, attend town meetings, though many of them are legally qualified to vote. The meeting took all morning and part of the afternoon, and was a 'social' as well as a 'political' affair. The women of the town supplied a dinner for the assembled people, and there was a great deal of talking and visiting among families who had not seen each other for weeks or even months.

In 1986, a Landaff informant lamented that town meetings were no longer as he remembered them in the late 1940s and early 1950s. His description closely parallels that of MacLeish and Young:

When you came to meetings it would be quite a session. A lot of people, farmers, would talk about their problems and how they solved them and things of interest. Women would get together and talk. It would be a pretty busy time. The women put on a dinner, and whenever they were ready, the moderator stopped [the meeting] right there.

In answer to a question whether or not, in the early 1950s, farmers continued to be a majority of those persons attending town meeting, an informant replied:

Well they had the meetings in the daytime, farmers were the majority of people living here. The working [nonfarm] people were employed in the day in factories and things. And they [town officials] had the meeting at nine o'clock in the morning. Preschool children came and played on the floor.

The school meeting began at one. They would recess the town meeting and go into the school meeting. Finish that up and go back to the town meeting. If they had a lot of problems, it might take up to chore time before they got done. It was a mid-day operation and it suited the farmers.

A person who was instrumental in having town meetings held in the evening remarked: "At the first evening meeting I was sitting with a selectman. I said to him, 'Well, George, [a farmer] you can see it made quite a difference in the number of people who came.' His reply was, 'Well, yes, but I can't say they're a better crowd.'"

Currently town meetings in Landaff are more a business occasion than a social gathering. The voting procedures at town meeting have also been altered. Until 1970, according to an informant, "you would go to town meeting and vote until someone had a majority. You could have your own pieces of paper (ballots). I liked the old way better; more cumbersome, but more democratic. Now you can have three people running and one could get 34 votes, and the other two could each get 33, and the one who had 34 would be elected even though two-thirds of the people were against him."

The informant is, of course, technically correct. The reality of the situation in Landaff is, however, that seldom do three persons run for the same office. The problem is getting two persons who are both fully qualified to contest for the office. Election for selectmen and for school board members is now by printed ballot. Willing candidates must file by a specified date. Although individuals cannot formally announce their candidacies at the town or school meetings, write-ins are permissible. At times no one has filed for the office, so the ballots are blank. One informant remarked: "It is kind'a disgusting to find

a blank ballot." He then made a remark that may have had a double meaning: "The new element [recent inmigrants] is likely to file."

Town Meeting

As indicated earlier, Landaff's 1940 Town Meeting was as much a social occasion as it was a legal business meeting. Just eight articles were on the warrant.²⁴ Seven articles constituted specific, substantive matters: highways, tax discount, borrowing in anticipation of taxes, white pine blister rust control, and district nursing. For the 1941–1961 period, on a five-year basis (1941, 1946, 1951, etc.) the number of warrant articles varied from 10 to 11. During the 1966–1986 period the number of warrant articles increased to 21–30, with the exception of 1971 when there were 10.

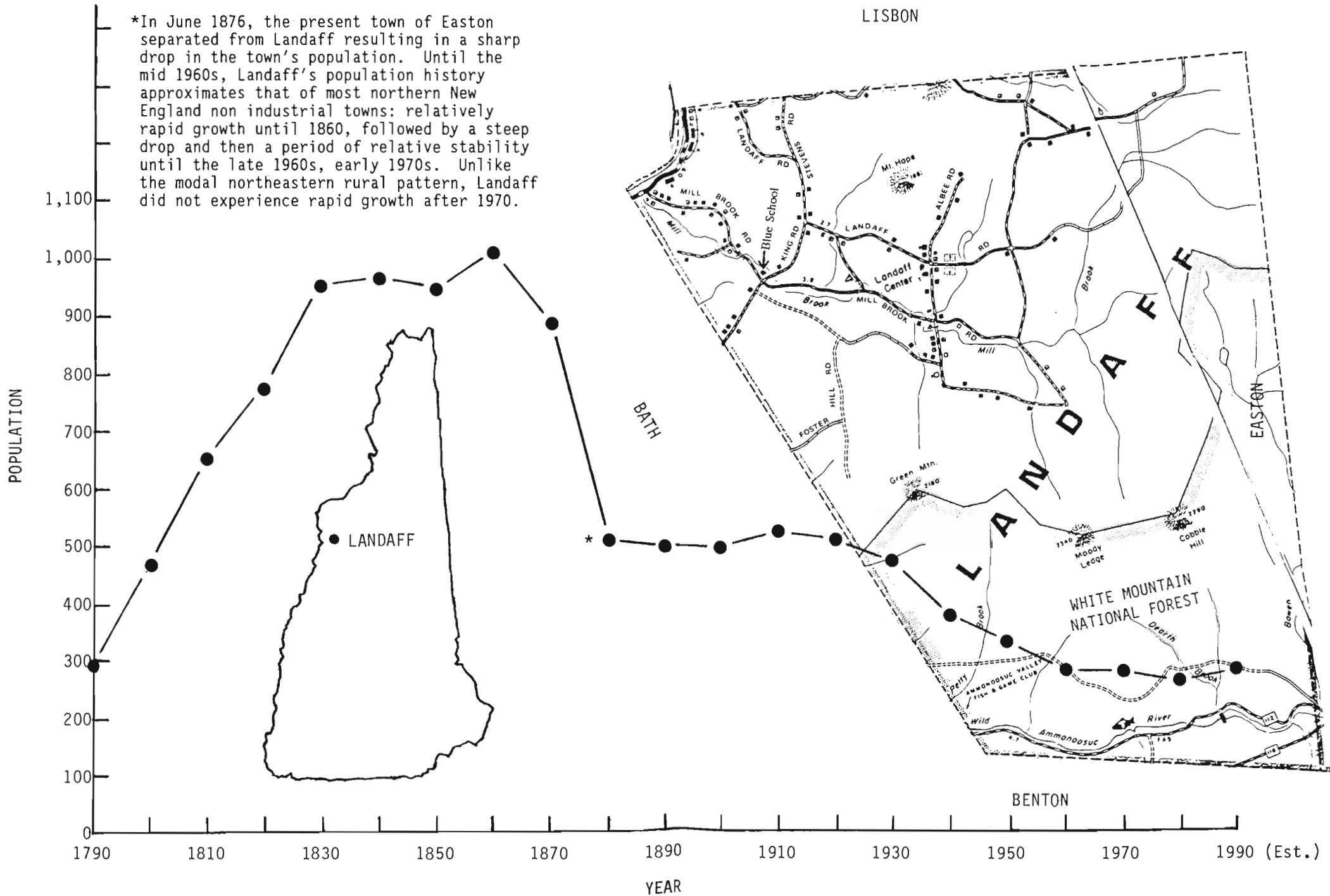
The increase in the number of warrant articles beginning in the mid-1960s, despite the lack of population growth, is an indication that Landaff was drawn into the culture of the larger society. It is no longer a socially isolated New Hampshire hill town, content to have its government involved only in vital housekeeping services. Most of the "new" articles appearing on the town meeting warrants since the mid-1960s fit into two broad categories: social services and planning. Many of the specific articles related to these areas have been either mandated, or offered by higher levels of government. An example of this type of action was Landaff's applying for and receiving federal grants to provide improved water and sewerage facilities for The Acre area.

New social services that are provided by area agencies that Landaff tax money helps to support include a home health agency, a privately operated ambulance service, an area mental health center, and a community action agency. Unlike a number of relatively small, rural northern New England towns I am familiar with, there is general acceptance in Landaff that social services should be supported.

In Landaff there is an unwritten, but apparently well understood, philosophy and mode of operation which is incumbent upon town officers. It may be this elusive code that deters some otherwise highly eligible persons from seeking office. In recent years, the offices of selectmen and school board have not been highly contested positions.²⁵ Because the value system prospective town officers are expected to share and follow is diffuse, it is difficult to define. Certainly

²⁴By a specified date the selectmen must post, in public locations, all of the articles (issues) to be voted upon at the meeting. The notice is the warrant. In recent times all citizens receive a town report that, in addition to the warrant, contains the town's financial report, and the reports of the town officers and committees. Articles are placed on the warrant primarily by the selectmen, but others can be inserted by petition of citizens.

²⁵Another reason for the lack of candidates is the combination of Landaff's small size and the convention that newcomers must earn the privilege of election to town office by a display of general interest in the community, a process that could take many years for some individuals.



being responsible stewards of town funds is one of the major requirements. One respondent phrased his understanding of the situation by stating:

Way back we wouldn't have Democrats. Today we don't even consider the party. Don't even know what party they are. Parties don't enter into elections. [But] if there is a big spender, if they weren't careful enough with the funds they were trusted with, they'd better [rather] have someone else. [But] I've heard them say it's alright to have one person like that, but let's not go overboard and have a majority of big spenders.

A former long-time selectman expressed a somewhat similar philosophy:

I am a conservative, but I couldn't see any sense in saving the town \$500 now and spending \$3,000 six months from now. You got to be able to look a little into the future.

In recent years, one factor that has helped the selectmen keep the tax rate low, and thus maintain their popularity with some constituents, has been the general rise in property values. In a report of the Landaff Planning Board (Town of Landaff Master Plan n.d.:43) it is noted that "between 1970 and 1978, Landaff's value per capita increased 300 percent, second highest in the whole state. Landaff's tax rate (.64) is the lowest of any town in the area."

As are all communities, especially rural ones that are becoming urbanized in many ways, Landaff is faced with increased costs of operation. The largest increases are for services for which, in the past, expenditures have been minimal or nonexistent. For example, between 1970 and 1983, while local school costs increased two and one-half times and road maintenance costs doubled, the cost to the town for garbage collection rose from \$285 to \$4,800, a nearly 17-fold increase, and the cost of police protection rose from \$33 to \$416, an increase of over 12 times.²⁶

Fire Department

From a quick reading of Landaff's annual budget, one might assume from the average allocation to the fire department that it was of no great significance to the community. The fire department is, however, an important component of Landaff, both as a unit of the town government and as a source of social/psychological identification.²⁷ The fire department is not, however, a major recipient of town funds. Since its founding, the department has never had a new engine, a fact in which at least some of the volunteers take pride. They buy

²⁶The cost of operation for the police department in 1988 was \$2,550.36 including \$2,000 for the Chief of Police, \$32 for a deputy and \$336 for equipment including a bullet proof vest (1988 Annual Report, Landaff, NH:30).

²⁷The fire department is a constituent of town government and thus receives funding from it; organizationally it operates independently. Members of the department elect the Fire Chief. Neither the chief or other members receive any compensation.

second- or third-hand equipment and restore it to meet the town's needs. As of 1988, Landaff's newest fire engine was thirty years old. It was bought second-hand from a nearby town. In recalling this purchase one long-time fireman remarked, with pride: "Three thousand [dollars] is the most we ever took from the town."

In discussing the operation of the department with several firemen, it became evident that the "old timers" (long-time members of the department) and the newer members, (most of them immigrants) had differences over spending and funding policies. During an interview with an immigrant who had resigned from the department largely because of his disagreement with policies related to the costs involved by being in a mutual aid compact, he recalled that "One of the old-timers said, 'Well, the reason we started this fire department was to save money, not to put out fires. We didn't want to join with Lisbon [larger, adjoining town].'"

Maintaining the fire department is now recognized as a necessary protection and as a cost-saving feature. As one veteran fireman phrased it, "We could have [fire] protection from Lisbon without the department. But the price, without the department, ...[that we would have] to contribute, and we don't contribute near what we receive, would be phenomenal."

The discussion and vote on an article on the warrant for the 1987 Landaff annual town meeting, revealed the community's depth of feelings toward the fire department and the frictions that existed within the unit. Article 14 read: "To see if the Town will vote to pay the firemen an hourly rate of \$4.00/hour while on **ACTIVE FIRE DUTY**." It was defeated by a vote of 24 to 17.

The article, which was placed on the warrant by the selectmen, not by petition by the fire department, produced friction within both the department and the community in general. Older, traditionally minded Landaff residents tended to be against payment to the firemen not because of the costs involved, but because of tradition: "We never did, and it's a volunteer department, volunteers don't get paid."

Apparently, for a number of the firefighters and some citizens, it wasn't the money that was important. A firefighter who resigned from the department, at least in part over the pay issue, expressed his feelings by saying, "The cost one year might be nothing or [maybe] one hour, two hours a run. That would be eight to ten hours a year. You know, you're only asking \$50 per year, per man. You know, it was really just a token thing."

"Token thing" it may have been, but it stirred friction in the community, particularly between some older settlers and some of the more recently arrived residents. Within a year the rift appeared to be healing. One former firefighter remarked: "the group that is still running everything seems to be getting along fine...the fire department is still a good entity." At least one of the fire department

defectors now responds to fire calls. When asked if the department had once again achieved a full complement of volunteers he replied, apparently with tongue in cheek, "Well, we saved a load of gravel the other day. Not much of the truck left, but the load of gravel was safe."

Another situation that illustrates the civic role of the fire department was its coming to the rescue of Landaff's Old Home Day. After more than forty years, Mt. Hope Grange, whose membership had decreased and grown older, decided not to sponsor the affair, which had become an important local tradition. It was THE community event of the year. Although the Grange continued to participate, the fire department stepped into the breach. It was an action that was generally applauded in the community. There were rumblings the first year when the traditional bean dinner was replaced with a lobster feed. In 1986 the firemen raised \$3,500 for departmental use from Old Home Day. Along with other fund raising events, "We [the Fire Department] raised more than the town gave us."

Roads

In northern New England roads and road maintenance are often the major controversial issues at town meeting, and for good reasons. Generally roads constitute the major expense item, other than education, to rural townspeople. Everyone lives on a road and expects *their* road to be as well maintained as any other in town. As a result, discussion of road articles often gets hot and heavy.

In Landaff, although the cost of road maintenance accounts for approximately one-half of all municipal outlays except education, road items do not appear separately on the town meeting warrant.

Planning

One of the attractive features of life in American small-town/rural areas has been the lack of regulation by units of local government. In northern New England the town meeting form of government long served as an anchor for the values of independence and freedom of action. Inevitably, as physical and social isolation have decreased, urban values and norms have found their way into rural communities. One of the most obvious and, often, most traumatic of these changes has been the adoption by many smaller communities of comprehensive plans and/or zoning. Landaff has a remarkably comprehensive 53-page Master Plan which sets the parameters for the operation of the appointed planning board.

The general regulations and procedures presented in the Master Plan are augmented by the 26-page *Landaff Land Subdivisions Regulations* (n.d.). No doubt the motivations for the Master Plan and the Subdivision Regulations were diverse and not without controversy in the community. To a large degree, both

of these actions are a recognition that Landaff is likely to become increasingly attractive as a residential retirement community.

Planning and zoning are generally resisted at the community level because of their presumed restrictions on the actions of community citizens. In Landaff, planning and zoning appear to have been accepted largely as protective measures rather than for the imposition of restrictions. A case in point relates to mobile homes, an issue that can become highly divisive.²⁸ In Landaff, mobile homes are permitted, but with limitations: "Mobile homes are ... allowed by special exception provided they do not exceed 3 percent of the total dwellings. Mobile parks are not permitted. Minimum lot size is 90,000 square feet [two acres, plus] with a 200-foot frontage" (Town of Landaff Master Plan n.d.:8).

Through 1988 there were just a handful of mobile homes in Landaff. A case was pending that could alter that situation in dramatic fashion. A resident/landowner in The Acre is attempting to create a mobile home park adjacent to the junkyard which he owns and operates. It is the proposed location next to the junkyard that is a major point of the voiced opposition. The Planning Board has recommended that no new single homes be permitted in The Acre because of both the present and future economic development in that area.

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EDUCATION

In Landaff, schools and education are important. One might doubt that conclusion, however, if it were based only on the amount of local funds allocated to education.²⁹ Because of the dense woods, the myriad hills, and the difficulties of constructing and maintaining roads, Landaff early became a community of small, isolated neighborhoods. At one time, seven of them were served by

²⁸A further protective action was taken at the March 1988 town meeting. By a vote of 39 to 32 an article was approved that limits "... to six (6) the number of building permits to be issued in the town in 1988."

²⁹In New Hampshire the costs of educating elementary and secondary students is primarily the responsibility of the local unit of government. A member of the Landaff School Board informed me that they receive "approximately five percent of our costs from the state."

one-room schools.³⁰ The school district and the neighborhood became synonymous.³¹ When Landaff residents spoke about "Ireland" or "Scotland" they were referring to both the school district and to the neighborhood.

As Landaff's population decreased schools were closed, the more remote ones first. By the time of the MacLeish and Young study in 1940–1941, just three schools remained—"Scotland" in the remote northeast corner of the town, "Ireland" in the center of the town, and Blue School in the northwest corner (MacLeish and Young 1942:68). Shortly before the 1940–1941 study, "the most recent school to be abandoned was in the center of town [the location of the Town Hall, the church, and cemetery] because no family in the center district had a single child of school age" (MacLeish and Young 1942:67). A continuing population decline dictated that two of the three remaining schools would be closed in the post-World War II period.³²

In the 1980s just Blue School remains open.³³ Its grade 1 to 5 enrollment fluctuates between 16–17 and 26–27. Probably because of several interrelated trends, the loss and aging of the population, and the consequent weakening of the church and the Grange, Blue School has become both the psychological and physical focus of the community. In a sense, Blue School *is* the community. For natives and long-time residents it serves as a vital link to the past. For newer residents, particularly younger couples with young children, who constitute the majority of recent immigrants, Blue School is their major connection with the community. In sum, whatever your age or length of residence, if you live in Landaff, what happens to Blue School will be of prime importance to you.³⁴

³⁰In 1840, before the eastern section of Landaff became the town of Easton, "there were four hundred and forty students enrolled in Landaff schools" in nine districts, three of which were in Easton (Currier and Clement, 1966:53). Landaff's population in 1840 was 957. In 1840 there were 60 students in the third district, which is the area of the present Blue School. In the late 1980s, the enrollment at the first-to-fifth-grade Blue School, which serves the entire town, except for the 26 households in The Acre, fluctuated from the high teens to the low twenties.

³¹"In the early 1860s each school district was a little town in itself with separate officers responsible only to that district" (Currier and Clement 1966:85).

³²Both buildings remain in use. "Scotland" became a private home and a privately funded environmental center. "Ireland" is a well-kept, attractive, private home.

³³No Landaff informant was able to explain why it was called Blue School. The usual response was "It's always been painted blue." One person did believe that at one time it was painted white. While driving past the school one day with a key informant, I asked if the present school was the original building. In a voice with just a touch of irony in it, he replied, "Oh no, that building wasn't built 'til 1858." The cost of the building was \$725.12 (Currier and Clement 1966:86).

³⁴An exception to this statement relates to the residents of The Acre. In the early 1800s the state of New Hampshire "set off" the approximate one-quarter mile strip that is just a few hundred yards deep that forms Landaff's northwest corner. It is adjacent to the town of Lisbon. Under the terms of the set off, The Acre residents pay their school taxes to the town of Lisbon and their children attend Lisbon Schools. Pending situation, to be discussed below, will alter the situation after June 30, 1990.

Other than the elementary school related to Dartmouth College's short, hectic tenure in the town, Landaff's educational history began, apparently, in the 1780s. Currier and Clement report that "The first mention in the town records of education is that entered in 1784 when it was 'Voted not to raise any money for schooling.' In November of the following year, however, they did vote to raise [appropriate] sixty bushels of wheat for the use of schooling" (Currier and Clement 1966:35). This negative attitude toward the public support of education continued at least until 1799 when at Town Meeting "an article was dismissed which was to see how much money would be raised for schooling" (Currier and Clement 1966:35).

By the 1880s the attitude toward education had become more positive in Landaff: "In 1882 two teachers with Normal School training were hired, and it was said that the benefit was apparent—so much so, that the people of the Center district raised by subscription enough money so that they had an extra term" (Currier and Clement 1966:89).

It is not recorded whether or not the Normal School teachers were boarded, as was the usual practice, at the home of the family who would do the job for the least amount of money: "The board of a teacher was bid off sometimes for \$2 per week, or \$1.75 per week. For a lady teacher it was not so high as for a man teacher" (Currier and Clement 1986:85). Landaff was and is a community in which practicality and rationality are fundamental values.

In the 1980s, the attitudes and actions related to educating young people are far more complex and also more subject to diverse evaluation than either the Currier and Clement or MacLeish and Young publications imply. For example MacLeish and Young (1942:71) conclude that "the so-called 'frills' of modern education receive little approval." Some of that attitude continues to exist in Landaff today, but there are exceptions. The head teacher of the Blue School was raised in a French-speaking, Quebec Province household. He is teaching some French vocabulary to his students, who are enjoying the experience. As early as 1986 there were computers available to the students both during school hours for instruction and after school for recreation. To facilitate computer use, touch typing is taught. One second grader is typing 25–30 words per minute.

School System Supervision

An elected three-person school board is the effective operational unit of the Landaff school system. Since 1952 when the Scotland School was closed, the system consists of only Blue School.³⁵ The terms of office for school board

³⁵By New Hampshire law, Landaff is a member of a School Administrative Unit. The superintendent of the Unit is responsible for the school system meeting state standards and regulations. He does not enter into day-to-day school operation.

members is three years on a rotating basis. One of the dilemmas in Landaff, as in other small rural communities, is that although local control of the school system is a valued right, few qualified citizens wish to assume the duties of a school board member. Those who do choose to run for the office are likely to be reelected for multiple terms if they meet voter expectations. The present chairman of the school board is now in his seventh three-year term.³⁶

As of March 1989, the Landaff School Board consists of a logger/custom spray operator, construction worker, and a housewife/mother. There appears to be a general sense in the community that the board is working diligently to provide the best education possible under the restrictions of a low population base and thus a relatively restricted budget.³⁷

In 1987 the school board appointed a Needs Committee, which includes the board and six additional residents. An attempt was made "to have all factions represented ... [we] tried to have one kindergarten proponent and the older ones." The committee is working to improve and/or expand the Blue School curriculum, the facilities, and the teaching staff. A committee member reported that increased efforts were being made to listen to the requests of citizens and especially young parents, including "new" people who may have "new" ideas. In the same vein a mother with children at Blue School remarked, "We [young parents] are not really radical. We are not much different than they [school board] would have wanted for their kids. We're not radical weirdos or anything like that."

One school board member acknowledged that the Landaff School Board was a powerful voice in the community, and at the annual school board meeting the public would accept the Board's recommendations. A common response to the requests of the board is, "Well they need it, okay." This type of reaction permits the board relatively wide latitude. For the fall of 1989, because of increasing enrollment, especially in grade one, a part-time teaching aide was to be hired to supplement the full-time teacher and full-time aide. The funds to pay the aide will come from an unexpended budget surplus. A school board member said, "People might say, 'How come you have a part-time aide?'"³⁸ We didn't approve

³⁶This person and another school board member are also selectmen. Although the selectmen are the fiscal authority for the town, the selectmen/school board members do not perceive their dual roles to be in conflict. Some respondents do grumble mildly about this situation, but it is not a burning issue in the town. More than anything else, this circumstance appears to reflect the paucity of able and willing candidates for public office among a limited population.

³⁷Unlike some states, New Hampshire is not generous with school subsidies. Approximately five percent of the funds for operating Blue School comes from the state. In Maine, a town with Landaff's population and tax base would receive a subsidy, varying by certain conditions, of from 75 to 90 percent. According to an article in the Littleton, NH, weekly, *The Courier*, September 7, 1989, "New Hampshire ranks 50th in its support of public education."

³⁸Instead of hiring the part-time aide, a very experienced teacher replaced the full-time aide for the 1989-90 school year.

that.' We'll say, 'Well there were seven first graders and we thought it was necessary.' Of course, next year they could cut that \$3,000."

At times the annual school board meetings can get exciting, tempers flair and harsh words can be spoken. But there are unspoken and unwritten codes of conduct that receive general adherence. When normal behavioral norms are exceeded the perpetrators are informed directly and/or indirectly that their behavior is out of order. After one meeting, a disgruntled person asked some of the citizens how and why they voted. This behavior outraged a few voters. One person remarked, "People resent having him ask how they voted and why they voted that way. That's still considered among us hill people our own business."

Blue School

If you have seen a traditional one-room school house you have seen Blue School. Except for its distinctive bright blue siding, Blue School is typical—a solidly built, one-story, frame quadrangle with a pitched roof. The picture appearing in the MacLeish and Young publication (1942:70) is quite accurate in 1989. There are, however, at least two differences, each with its own significances. To the left of the school's front door is a modern waste "dumpster," which is emptied each week. The field to the right of the school has been graded and seeded. Largely through the efforts of the Parent Teachers Organization, the formerly outmoded playground has been updated and enlarged. In addition to the usual slides and swings there are climbing bars, and, as it is termed in northern New England, a humongous tire for the crawlers.

Although the outside of the school has changed very little, its facilities have been improved, and modernized. Some of the changes are noted in the Town of Landaff Master Plan (n.d.:39).

The Blue School is located on the Mill Brook Road about one and one-half miles from Route 302. It consists of a classroom, a furnace room, a storage room, and two rest rooms. The school is surrounded by a small play area with playground apparatus. The school used to be rather primitive, but over the last 30 years, new floors, an oil heat system, running water, and plumbing have been added. Teaching equipment includes chairs and tables, a TV, record player, slide projector, overhead projector, movie projector, cassette film projector, and a Commodore 64 Computer.

The statement is generally correct for the 1986–1989 period. There are now more computers, a microwave, and an area that serves as a library complete with comfortable chairs and sofas. Through a satellite program with the Lisbon schools, a hot lunch is provided each noon. Children who qualify by federal guidelines receive the lunch free or at a reduced rate; the other students pay a minimal fee.

Both the cultural changes internal to Landaff and the increasing role of governmental units superior to local communities are illustrated in a comment by a young mother about an incident at a recent school meeting:

One woman stood up and said, 'How come you have to have a hot lunch in school? When my son went to Blue School I packed him a lunch every day, and gladly. What's wrong with today's mother that she can't pack a lunch every day?' Well that isn't the issue. The federal government has mandated that you have to provide a hot lunch.

In the late 1980s a Parent Teachers Organization (PTO) has been quite active in providing volunteer help for various projects and activities. PTO members have served as volunteer drivers for field trips and to take kids to the Lisbon Library. They were instrumental in providing and setting up recently installed playground equipment. Asked if there would be community opposition to the efforts of the PTO, one active member replied:

No, I think that as long as we're seen as a quiet, helpful organization there won't be any opposition. If we start to fight for some of the change issues, there will be a lot of opposition. I'm hoping that the PTO will be an organization that sort of transcends both groups and can be a helpful organization for whatever.

The "both groups" mentioned in the quotation, refers primarily to long-time settled residents and the younger families with children. Many of these families are relatively recent immigrants. If there is a division among the community, it is between the younger people who wish to see changes and/or improvements in the school system and the fire department and those (mostly older, long-time residents) who prefer little or no change in either institution.

Instruction

If Blue School is a typical example, the instructional program has changed radically in the modern one-room school. No longer does an undereducated, semi-tyrant rule over his pupils with a yard stick in one hand and a McGuffey's Reader in the other. The regular teaching staff for the 18 Blue School pupils (1989) consists of a full-time teacher with a degree in early childhood education, and a full-time, experienced, trained assistant. As mentioned earlier, for the 1989-1990 school year there will also be a part-time assistant. In addition, specialists in speech and music offer additional instruction.³⁹ Both school board members and the regular teachers enthusiastically endorsed this practice.

³⁹ A mixture of economics and values continue to help shape the services and programs offered at Blue School. One parent remarked "For the first time we were having a physical education instructor come out rather than have the teacher do it. But, he's quit because he doesn't get enough money coming out here every two weeks. I just saw the teacher pushing kids on swings as I drove by. He's getting his phys ed, probably."

The Blue School teacher makes excellent use of the space and time available to him. The students in the grade one-to-five school are grouped, usually, by grades, and the teacher and his assistant circulate among them. While there is a constant buzzing, the noise and distraction levels are remarkably low. Standard teaching materials are put to good use, but as in all schools, particularly small elementary ones, the teacher and his/her values and motivations are of particular importance.

The present head teacher in Landaff values the qualities of rural life and makes use of the local environment as well as that of northern New Hampshire. When the weather is conducive, after lunch he takes the kids outside, down by the brook, and reads to them. "It quiets them down and gives me a chance to make sure they are exposed to good literature."⁴⁰ He also takes them on field trips to parks and ski areas.

In the spring of 1989 the fourth and fifth graders had a field trip to Montreal. In a whirlwind day and a half they visited a zoo, an amusement park, the cathedral, historic points of interest, and a major fire works display. The younger students had a compensating trip to a state park.

Intermeshed with these broadening experiences, the teacher uses the classroom and some local residents to introduce his students to aspects of modern society that they might not otherwise experience. For example, he teaches them about problems of social and racial discrimination. He may be doing an excellent job. After a black person came to the school to talk with the students the only real distinctive thing that they recalled was "how well she could type."

Landaff, as a community, takes pride both in the Blue School as an institution and in its students. Almost invariably, if in an interview Blue School was mentioned, the respondents made unsolicited remarks about the quality of the students that the school produces. Most Landaff residents seem to be convinced that "their" students who transfer to the town of Lisbon schools for grades six through twelve are the superior scholars in the Lisbon system. One young couple without children were convinced that "kids from Blue School are smarter than Lisbon kids. When they go into the sixth grade in Lisbon, they are a full grade ahead."

The respondents also believed that "kids from Blue School have an independence others don't have." If true, this characteristic may be related to both their rural rearing and the discipline and values that they learn directly and indirectly in Blue School. The teacher assigns, in rotation, a series of jobs and responsibilities which the students appear to take in stride. One of these duties is to take out the day's accumulation of waste materials to the dumpster. One day, from

⁴⁰A mobile library operated by the state makes regular stops at the school. The kids stand patiently, but eagerly, in line waiting their turn to enter the van. Most come out with an armload of books.

my parked automobile, I watched a girl and boy team perform its duty. They did the task with the ease and efficiency of an adult, but then they slammed the lid, giggled, and ran. Kids are kids, wherever they go to school.

Although it is not a formal part of the curriculum, Blue School children are learning the relationship between responsibility and authority. One of the designated roles for the older students is blowing the whistle and acting as a marshall as the kids return to the classroom after recess. This individualistic role is balanced in many ways by group-centered activities. For example, during the 1989 spring semester, a large banner made by the students and the teacher hung across the classroom. It bore the inscription, "We are all in this together." Surrounding the lettering were the colorful handprints of each student.

The teacher understands that in a one-room school the students are, to a large degree, responsible for their own education: "I as the teacher am just a coordinator. I have the problem of not concentrating too much on any one grade." After observing his classroom on several occasions and from conversations with students, parents, and school board members, I am convinced that Blue School students are receiving a broader and sounder education than the stereotype of one-room schools would lead one to believe.

Identification with Blue School

As mentioned earlier, except for the residents of The Acre, for most Landaff residents, particularly those of twenty or more years residence, Blue School is the community. Asked why there was such a strong feeling toward Blue School an elderly respondent replied:

I guess we just like the glory of having [it]. My children both went there. My husband went there. My daughter was salutatorian when she graduated from high school, so she didn't lack a good education.

We're still determined to keep Blue School, regardless of what it costs. If we hear they are going to mention closing the school at Town Meeting, I don't think there's a family in this town that doesn't hear about it, and if necessary, to vote down an issue to close Blue School.

This person's opinion may be at one end of the continuum, but she is not alone. At a meeting with the superintendent of the School Union to which Landaff belongs, an elderly lifelong resident replied, in heated tones, to a statement that closing Blue School would save the town money:

The Hell with the money. We're talking about kids now. Won't you rather these young people would start out in life with a little fresh air, good water and a lot'a Christian environment. Is that what you are trying to take away from them?

Toward the other end of the continuum there are young parents who appreciate Blue School's importance as a community tradition, but who are vitally concerned about their children's education. They tend to take a more rational view of the school:

If it meets the standards of education that all children need to exist in a world after school, then it should stay open because it's a good institution. But if it doesn't meet those things, whether they cost money or not, why should our children be penalized just because we live in Landaff?

During a round-table discussion with nine persons, all but one of whom had lived in Landaff at the time of the MacLeish and Young study, the fate of the Blue School was discussed. Somewhat surprisingly, the tone of the discussion was moderate. A consensus was reached that if, for any reason, Blue School had to be closed, the town should continue to own it. Among the comments were:

- It should be maintained and it should look nice.
- It could be a library, a health center, or a community center.
- I don't think people in this town will let us do away Blue School.
- "Ireland" School is older [than Blue School] but there are people living in it.

One can be assured that when and if a decision must be made on the future of Blue School that the discussion will be long and emotional. Symbols as deeply imbedded in a community's culture as is Blue School do not easily disappear.

Kindergarten

Until the 1988 decision of the New Hampshire Legislature which in effect will return to Landaff the direct responsibility of educating Landaff students who reside in the small, but densely settled section of the town known as The Acre, the major local educational issue was whether or not the town should support a public kindergarten.⁴¹ For four straight years the proponents for a town-supported kindergarten have, by petition, placed the issue on the warrant for the March school board meeting. Each year the proposal, which has not been supported by a majority of school board members, has been defeated by an approximate two-to-one margin.⁴²

⁴¹The circumstances and possible effects of the cancellation of The Acre set-off will be discussed below.

⁴²A strong advocate of the kindergarten issue blames some of its lack of support on a quirk in New Hampshire law. There are separate check lists [voter registration lists] for town/state/national elections and for the official school meetings. In Landaff one can register to vote at an official school meeting for just two-hours the night before the meeting. Some potential voters are unable to meet that requirement or find it inconvenient. According to an informant, it is the young two-parent working families with young children and who are kindergarten proponents, who are most likely to miss out on the registration procedure.

As with most community controversies, there are multiple pro and con arguments in Landaff on the kindergarten issue. The con arguments are both economic and noneconomic. One person with a stake in the matter related that "people are saying, 'we got to draw the [spending] line somewhere,' and this is where they have decided to draw the line. We've got to cut down on expenses and this is where to do it."

A proponent of town-supported kindergarten education characterized some of the opponents as persons who say "'Our children didn't have kindergarten [so] your children don't need it.' Or they say 'Our children had it because I paid for it, therefore, you have to pay for your own.'"

Perhaps the anti-kindergarten argument that, potentially, could disrupt community relationships to the greatest degree was "We view this [kindergarten] as the first round of a long line of things the young people [read newer residents] are going to ask for. If we can nip this in the bud, they won't ask for anything else."

Although not exclusively, those persons against the town paying for kindergarten tend to be older, long-time residents. The kindergarten proponents tend to be the younger parents. One young, pro-kindergarten parent described his fellows as "the same people who stirred up the fire department [controversy], and whatever. They were for the new lights and everything else. Most of them are our age with children."

One small concession has been made by the school board toward the pro-kindergarten group. The board has decided that if there is room on the regular school bus to Lisbon, and if the parents live on the bus route, kindergartners can ride on the bus—if parents are tuitioning them to Lisbon.⁴³ The board has agreed to this solution according to a board member "as long as it will not cost us anymore. The bus will stop at the Lisbon kindergarten building. I think this is a step in the right direction."

Return of the Set-Off

More than one hundred years ago the New Hampshire legislature "set off" the northwest corner of Landaff to Lisbon. In brief, this act required the town of Lisbon to assume the responsibility of educating the children, with just a few exceptions, who lived in the area of Landaff that became known as The Acre. From that time on, the school tax assessed on home and land owners in The Acre was paid to Lisbon. This arrangement made logistic sense. Most of The Acre

⁴³This arrangement would not be possible if the children were going to the Lisbon kindergarten and the town decides, as is possible, that after June 30, 1990, no Landaff children will be tuitioned to Lisbon by the town. See the "Set Off Issue" below. For a number of years a few Landaff parents have been paying tuition to send their children to the Lisbon school kindergarten. Some have also had their children enrolled in a private preschool in Lisbon.

students were within reasonable walking distance of Lisbon schools. The nearest Landaff school was not only farther, but much more difficult to reach by walking.

For many years the set-off operated with few or no problems.⁴⁴ The children from The Acre helped Lisbon keep its enrollment high enough to satisfy certain New Hampshire school regulations. It also, in recent years, kept Landaff's Blue School from becoming overcrowded.

Some years ago, Lisbon decided to form a cooperative school system with surrounding towns so that their students would have the advantages of a larger school system. At a meeting of Lisbon High School administrators and a member of the Lisbon School Board in 1987, it was stated that, after some failed efforts to form a cooperative with larger towns in the area, "We tried to get Landaff, Lisbon town, Lisbon Special, and Lyman to form our own little co-op here. We went through the mechanics and had a vote. Landaff turned it down."⁴⁵

Although during the discussion the Lisbon school officials voiced little or no criticism of Landaff, it was more than apparent that they felt that the time had come to have the set-off situation terminated.⁴⁶ They told me, more or less confidentially, that Lisbon had initiated procedures to have the Landaff set-off nullified by the New Hampshire legislature. That action did occur, and as of June 30, 1990, Landaff must make alternative arrangements to educate students living in The Acre. The most simple solution, but not a highly popular one in the non-Acre areas of Landaff, would be for the town to pay tuition to Lisbon for The Acre students.

Whatever solution the Landaff School Board devises to compensate for the loss of the set-off (they have the mandated power), school taxes in the town will be higher.⁴⁷ According to a Landaff School Board member, "The amount of

⁴⁴The set-off students are almost all from Landaff's low income area, The Acre. They are enrolled in Lisbon schools from Kindergarten through grade 12. Landaff students who attend Blue School enter the Lisbon system at the sixth grade level.

⁴⁵At a meeting with Lisbon school officials, no disparaging remarks were made about The Acre students or any other Landaff students. In contrast I did hear non-Acre Landaff residents make condescending remarks about both The Acre students and about Lisbon. An example: "Lisbon's a mill town and that has problems in itself [relating to sending Landaff students to Lisbon] because of the class of people that are down there." To some degree the feeling may be mutual. At a meeting in Lisbon related to the return of the set-off to Landaff, one person remarked "Sück it to Landaff, good."

⁴⁶The primary reason for the termination of the set-off was economic. According to a Lisbon school official "the equalized [property] value for the homes of students living in The Acre is plus or minus \$40,000, but it takes \$250,000 equalized value to support one kid. We are losing approximately \$40,000 per year. We are a poor district subsidizing Landaff."

⁴⁷In a sort of tit-for-tat reaction Landaff was able to have the "Bath set-off" also nullified. A few students from the town of Bath attended the Blue School under an arrangement identical with The Acre set-off.

school taxes that we will get out of The Acre will not pay for educating their children. They have about 15 kids. If you figure tuition [to send them to Lisbon schools] is an average of \$4,000 a year, that's about \$60,000 expense, and we would only get about \$27,000 [in school taxes]."

There are (as of late spring 1989) mixed emotions in Landaff as to what the solution to the problem should be. Three nearby school systems, including Lisbon, would accept Landaff students on a tuition basis. From the perspective of Landaff students, parents, tax payers, and the school board, each of the three sites has advantages and disadvantages. The final solution, probably, will be rationally based. In almost any feasible solution, however, there is one variable that is likely to strain the community's rationality—what will happen to Blue School?

Several alternatives have been discussed. Closing Blue School and tuitioning all Landaff students to another system might be the most simple solution. While closing Blue School is a technical option, it is the action that is most likely to generate the greatest social costs to the community. A less drastic solution, which has been discussed, is expanding Blue School in some manner. Among suggestions are additions and temporary class rooms. In addition to arguments against any changes to Blue School there is very little usable, additional land at the Blue School site. A large portion of the present playground would be sacrificed. There would also be serious waste disposal and parking problems.

Whatever the ultimate decision on the fate of Blue School, of more immediate importance (1989) is resolving the dilemma raised by Landaff now being responsible for providing education for the students from The Acre.⁴⁸ As of the late spring of 1989 the sentiment of the community appeared to be to tuition all Landaff students, except those attending Blue School, to one of three nearby school systems. In addition to Lisbon, the towns are Littleton, about 11 miles to the north, and Woodsville, about nine miles south. The Lisbon alternative is the most logical in terms of distance and transportation costs.⁴⁹ It also seems to be the least attractive socially and academically. A typical remark about Lisbon High School was, "It is smaller, and, of course, it doesn't offer as much academically."

Landaff's School Board, the final authority in the matter, has enlisted the help and advice of the board's Needs Committee. As of June, 1989, one well-attended

⁴⁸The Landaff School Board has agreed that Landaff students from The Acre and other areas of the town currently enrolled in grades 11 and 12 in Lisbon High School, will have the option of finishing their education there whatever arrangements are made for other students.

⁴⁹Lisbon High School tuition was recently raised from \$3,600 to \$4,400 per pupil. It is the highest of the three high schools which Landaff is considering. The difference is great enough, according to a School Board member "to offset the difference in transportation costs" to either Woodsville or Littleton.

public meeting had been held. The board appears more than willing to listen to and to evaluate the wishes and suggestions of Landaff residents on ways to resolve their educational dilemma. They are, however, not about to abdicate their decision-making powers—"That's what we were elected for." They are fully aware that it will be a difficult, perhaps an unattainable, task for the community as a whole to reach unanimity on the issue.

In fact, what to do about education in general, and at Blue School in particular, has the potential of creating the greatest rifts in the town since its early beginnings and the controversies related to Dartmouth College and whether Landaff would be in New Hampshire or Vermont.

Conversely, it is possible that through the apparently community-based concerns of the school board and similar perspectives of other persons of influence and community respect, that the solving of the school problem may create a sense of mutuality within Landaff like that which existed when the church, the Grange, and the schools were interrelated foci of community concern, interest, and pride.⁵⁰

FAMILY

In Landaff through the time of the MacLeish and Young study in 1940–1941, farm and family were synonymous terms. Farm families were the numerical majority as well as the role models for other families. They were the stimulators and participants in much of the community's interactive processes. The organizations, and particularly the Grange, which was the most important focus of community participation, were farm family oriented.

Families were not simply members of the Grange. The organization tended to set the tone and the direction of their lives. One's social standing was related to his/her standing in the Grange. George Clement, a prominent farmer and entrepreneur in Landaff, is well remembered as the long-time Master of the Landaff Grange as well as Master of the New Hampshire State Grange. For the majority of the population who lived on farms, family life and the Grange were almost completely intertwined.

Despite the accepted importance of the family as a social unit, and as the arbiter of community norms, Landaff never became the economic and social

⁵⁰On September 26, 1989, the Landaff school Needs Committee and the school board met to discuss solutions to the problems created by the return of The Acre set-off to the town. The meeting was open to the public. After meeting with the Needs Committee, the three-person, elected school board voted to enter into a 12-year contract with the Lisbon School System. No final decision was made whether or not any of the younger students from The Acre would be transferred from Lisbon schools to Blue School.

province of one or a very few families as often happens in small communities.⁵¹ This is not to say that "old" family status has not been important in Landaff. Family heritage was, and continues to be, a variable in the determination of one's social status in the community.⁵²

In Landaff in the late 1980s there are descendents of at least five families who were prominent in the town in the late 1700s and early 1800s. None of these families has the social, economic, or political power of their ancestors, but they do tend to be highly respected as community members.

The continuation of long-practiced family norms in Landaff has been moderated by both the loss of the traditional farm families and the rapid rate of population turnover.⁵³ Currier and Clement (1966:6-7) list the names of 116 household heads who resided in the town in 1966. Twenty-three years later less than thirty families of that generation continue to live in Landaff. The change was related in part to the high number of deaths (approximately 50), which indicates that the 1966 population of household heads was elderly. The rate of outmigration was also high. One knowledgeable respondent observed that in just two Landaff families (excluding *The Acre*) had married adults chosen to return to or continue to live in Landaff.

The failure of young adults to return to or to remain in Landaff is related to two primary factors: the diminution of full-time farms (38 in 1941-1942, two in 1989) and the lack of employment opportunities (particularly white-collar/professional positions) in northern New Hampshire. Landaff's moderate population increase in recent years (see center spread) has been sustained by the immigration of retirees and young couples, many from urban areas. Neither of these population groups are natural replacements for the former Landaff residents. As a consequence, the traditional agricultural/rural family norms of 1940-1941, so well described by MacLeish and Young (1942:28-52), exist only in truncated form in a few of the old families.

⁵¹See, for example, Viditch and Bensmen (1960).

⁵²An interesting by-product of the present study has been the discovery of the residue of feeling toward Kenneth MacLeish, the prime author of the MacLeish and Young study. MacLeish boarded with the then "status" family in the community. If the informants had a favorable attitude toward this family, they tend to view the study favorably. The opposite situation also exists.

At a group meeting of persons who lived in Landaff at the time of the 1940-41 study, one person said of MacLeish, "He always gave us the impression—or quite a few of ... that he just almost felt like you couldn't talk to him because he was just a little above you."

⁵³A person who was raised on a Landaff farm remarked: "The [old farm families] hated to let go, to let the sons take over the farm. I think there were a lot of problems like that. You get to 40 years old and your still working for Daddy—you do as I say. You kinda want to be on your own. I think that was typical."

Perhaps the most significant family change in Landaff between 1940–1941 and 1986–1989 was in the role of farm wives. MacLeish and Young (1942) detail the tasks for which farm wives were responsible, but they make no mention of them doing any farm chores. In 1986, when there were four commercial dairy farms, the wives on at least three of the farms were major components of the farm labor force.

On one farm, the wife was a full work partner, taking part in all aspects of its operation including the customary female role of bookkeeper. On another farm the wife remarked that “I go out about 6:30 in the morning, do the feeding and clean out the stanchions. I never milk. My mother-in-law told me ‘if you start, they will depend on you.’” She also helped with haying. At a third farm, the wife, in 1986, worked off the farm part-time, but she took care of the calves. In 1989 she has charge of the calves and helps with the evening milking. She is convinced that it is necessary for a farm wife to be involved directly with farm operations.

There are young parents on just one of the two farms that were shipping milk in 1989. They hope that at least one of their children will choose farming as an occupation. Perhaps to stimulate this interest the oldest child is enrolled in a 4-H gardening project.

Nearly every respondent in this study, in one way or another, lamented the fact that family farms had all but disappeared in Landaff. They perceived farms as a stabilizing force in the community and as a tie to the past. Most of the older respondents also believed that the present practice of most wives and mothers working out of their homes contributed to community instability. A number of the younger immigrant residents of Landaff fit this pattern. A venerable resident voiced his feeling by saying, “When a woman is earning big money, she’s too independent. She [may] tell her husband, ‘If you don’t like it you can get.’ Now that causes trouble.”

RELIGION

MacLeish and Young (1942:71) concluded that “our best judgment is that churches as such were perhaps never of great significance in the community.” Many older Landaff residents and, to a considerable extent, the history of Landaff, would contest that assertion. Separate statements made by Stanley Currier and Edgar Clement in their history of Landaff (Currier and Clement 1966) indicate that at certain points since its inception in 1800, the Methodist Church was an important component of the community. The 1940–41 period of the MacLeish and Young study may have been one of several low points in the church’s history. By the 1950s there was a revival of interest in the church. The cyclical nature of the church’s fortune is illustrated by its being again, in the late

1980s, at a low ebb in terms of membership, but not necessarily in terms of social significance to the community.⁵⁴

Before analyzing the church's degree of activity at the time of the present study, some of the pertinent historical facts related to organized religion in Landaff will be presented. MacLeish and Young (1942:25) state that, "The churches had lost tremendously in influence after the Revolutionary War so there was no very great incentive for the farmers and the farm families to organize themselves into a congregation and pay money to erect a church building and employ a minister." Landaff's early residents did not conform to this stereotype. The first minister arrived in 1779. In 1780 Dartmouth College established a precedent by subsidizing the minister. In 1789 the town elected a committee "to provide preaching and a sum of money was to be raised for its use" (Currier and Clement 1966:42). The precedent for sharing a minister with Lisbon, as is the present practice, occurred in 1798.

Although the first denominational church (Methodist) apparently was established in Landaff in 1800, the town took action in 1803 to build a town house and "proceed to make sale of the pews by vendue" (Currier and Clement 1966:45).

No records exist to indicate that the town house/church was built. It may have been the apparent early success of the Methodist church that short circuited the building of a town-supported edifice. The Methodist Church membership was 164 in 1802 and 298 in 1808. Landaff's population in 1810 was 650, an increase of 41 percent in 10 years. Apparently the rapid population growth was mirrored in the growth of the church.

Landaff's continuing population growth (120 percent between 1820 and 1850) was no doubt a major factor in the proliferation of religious bodies in the town. Before 1850, in addition to the Methodists, congregations of Free Will Baptists, Adventists and, Mormons had been established. None of them flourished enough to become permanent Landaff institutions. The Adventist and Free Will Baptist churches closed their doors in the middle of the nineteenth century. According to Currier and Clement (1966:48), the Mormons "probably joined the Mormon migration westward in the middle of the nineteenth century. In contrast, Methodism continued to grow in Landaff. In 1840, a new Methodist Church was built that accommodated 300 persons.

⁵⁴The social value of having a church in the community was recognized by a respondent in the MacLeish and Young study (1942:72) who remarked "I like to have a church in town, because it doesn't look good to have a community like this with no church, and new people aren't so likely to come and live in it." It is not unlikely, in the late 1980s, that when prospective residents visit Landaff for the first time that the church and the town hall, in their picturesque rural setting, make a positive impression upon them.

Despite its affiliation with an episcopal-like denomination, the Methodist Church became, to a large extent, a community institution. Currier and Clement (1966:92) remark that "when work was needed for the church, such as shingling the building or cutting up wood for the winter, a day was set and all came for a 'bee.' The ladies put on a dinner and quite often a supper too, with a promenade in the evening." It is likely that some of those who contributed their services at a work bee were not members of the church nor regular attenders. It is common in northern New England for community people, whatever their religious affiliation, if any, to support church projects that are viewed as having significance for the community.

By the early 1900s, church membership was no longer an automatic "must" in the community. The last pastor's family to live in the Methodist parsonage left Landaff in 1918: "From this time Landaff has been supplied by the Lisbon pastor" (Currier and Clement 1966:96). Currently, Landaff is a constituent of a shared ministry that includes the Lisbon Methodist Church and the Congregational Church in Lisbon. Beginning in summer, 1989, church services will be held in four-month blocks, with the four "warm" months allocated to Landaff. This arrangement will save fuel costs at the Landaff church and eliminate the need for Lisbon people to traverse the hills between the two towns during the winter.

Because the edifice built in 1840 was in need of major repair and the church was losing membership, the decision was made in 1922 to erect a new building on the site of the old Landaff church. By July 1, 1923, the new church was in place, and its cost of \$4,480.23 was fully paid. This was a rather remarkable accomplishment in a small community (1920 population, 510) of small farmers with low cash incomes. Remarkable or not there is still a residue of feeling that the old building should have been repaired rather than razed. As one native, whose father was a part of the preservation faction, said in 1989, "There was nothing wrong with it, except it needed shoring up."

For whatever reasons, by the time of the 1940-41 MacLeish and Young study, church attendance and activity had retrogressed from earlier years. According to a newspaper quotation included in the Currier and Clement volume (1966:93) church attendance was at a low ebb in 1935: "Those who attended church [in Landaff] a week ago were none of those attending this week. If they would all go together, there would be good attendance."

Kenneth MacLeish did most of his participant observation in 1940. He reported that there were 20 church members, five of whom lived outside the community, but "in summer, attendance varies from 15 to around 30 on special occasions ... and there is usually only one older man, but two or three grown boys sometimes attend" (MacLeish and Young 1942:72). Perhaps the relatively high proportion of attendance by the small membership was an artifact of

MacLeish's presence. In Currier and Clement (1966:93) it is stated that "the Fourth Quarterly Conference [of the Landaff church] of January 1941, reported the church to be in good condition with an increase in attendance of 69 percent over the previous year; the Epworth League [youth group] was up 40 percent and many other gains were noted."

Despite these gains MacLeish and Young (1942:73) conclude that:

The consensus among men and women alike is that people are no longer much interested in the church as a formal institution. They often explain this by maintaining that work hours are longer and free time is scarcer, so their little free time should be devoted to recreation. It is believed that the place of the church in the lives of the people has been supplanted by interest in other things that did not exist or were not available at the time the church was most dominant.

If there were many distractions limiting church participation in the 1940s, there were more in the 1950s. Surprisingly, despite Landaff's continued population decline (389 persons in 1940, 342 in 1950) church membership and activity increased. Membership was up to 51, but as was the case previously, many members did not live in Landaff.

Perhaps there was a reactivation of the church because 1950 was the 150th anniversary of its founding. The occasion was celebrated in grand style. The featured speaker at the anniversary banquet was H. Styles Bridges, U.S. Senator for New Hampshire. The Sunday church services were conducted by the Bishop of the Boston [New England] Conference of the Methodist Church. The service was held in the Town Hall presumably because it has about double the seating capacity of the church.

The revival of church activity continued into 1951. A displaced refugee family from Austria was welcomed to Landaff and provided with the use of a house donated by a church member. The house was furnished by community families. A Men's Club (which is no longer active) was also established. Their first accomplishment in raising money for the church was staging a turkey supper attended by more than 200 diners. The club also engaged in community service by helping to develop a community picnic area on donated land along Mill Brook that "in the last ten years ... has had much use by community people and by people from out of town as well" (Currier and Clement 1966:94).

In the late 1980s the Landaff Methodist Church continues much as it has for the past fifty years, but with few activities other than church services. As noted above, church services will now be held only during June, July, August, and September. Services for the balance of the year will be held in the Congregational [United Church of Christ] and Methodist Churches in Lisbon. Landaff parents who wish to have their children attend Sunday School must transport them to Lisbon.

An informant was quick to volunteer, when asked about the shared ministry, "We pay our fair share." He added, "The people down in Lisbon feel that we should, in view of the facts that we have a small church, we should give up our services and come to Lisbon. People in Landaff are stiff-necked, so they won't do it."

According to an informant, one elderly woman who has been active in the Landaff church "won't go to church down in Lisbon. That causes a little friction." Several informants related that the usual number of Landaff residents attending church in town varies, from 12 to 20. One person said, "It's not more than a dozen, and to tell the truth most of them are widows."

There are no particular straws in the wind that the Landaff Methodist Church will either grow or decline. Its best hope for growth may rest with immigration. Most of the immigrants are young couples with children. Their concern with Blue School in general, their demands for kindergarten, and their willingness to work with the town and school through the Parent Teachers Organization on projects such as refurbishing the school playground are indications of their commitment to their children. They might also support a local Sunday School and church program.

For the time being at least, it appears that the Landaff Church will continue its role as a valued community symbol, but it will be a direct force in the lives of only a few Landaff families.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

It is the norm in rural communities for the average person (i.e., those in the broad-based middle class) to deny that social stratification exists to any degree within their community.⁵⁵ Social stratification is, however, endemic in American rural communities. In most cases it is not as severe as Grace Metalious describes in *Peyton Place*, her mythical New Hampshire mill town (Metalious 1956). Neither is it usually as definitive as in "Springdale" (Vidich and Bensmen 1960), but all communities are socially stratified, Landaff included.

For Landaff in the 1980s it appears to be more accurate to substitute the term "social differentiation" for social stratification. Except for the quite universal distinction within the community between The Acre and the balance of Landaff, there appears to be very little emphasis on social distinctions.⁵⁶ One example of this lack of emphasis on social differences applies to the general community

⁵⁵For an excellent example of rural social stratification, see West (1945) and Gallagher (1961).

⁵⁶Several Landaff residents, who were familiar with the MacLeish and Young study, expressed to me that they did not fully agree with the author's assessment of social ranking in the community. One person put it bluntly: "I think that prestige business should have been crossed out."

attitude toward Harold Geneen, the most well known person among the town's part-time residents.

Mr. Geneen was a major figure in U.S. corporate circles in the mid-twentieth century. He is most likely to be remembered as the head of International Telephone and Telegraph (I.T.T.), a major U.S. conglomerate. During the early 1970s Geneen gained international notice because of I.T.T.'s alleged involvement in a number of questionable activities. Included were allegations of antitrust violations, unethical contributions to help finance the 1972 Republican Party convention, charges related to the Watergate investigations, and involvement with the C.I.A. in the overthrow of Chile's President Allende.

Mr. Geneen bought the farm that was owned and operated by perhaps the highest status family in Landaff at the time of the MacLeish and Young study. The property is located at a road junction in the Jockey Hill section of the town. It is sited on a hillside with beautiful views of mountains in Vermont across the Connecticut River. The massive yellow house with attached buildings, tennis courts, and swimming pool is the showplace of the community. Mr. Geneen is not often at his Landaff residence, but when he is, his presence is not overly noticed. As one informant stated, "He's just an ordinary person. You see him at the hardware store, he's in blue jeans. He will talk to you, always polite when I've met him."⁵⁷

This lack of awe of a multi-millionaire, internationally known figure may provide a clue to the operation of Landaff's social system. To be accorded high social rank you must earn it. In the past, when the community was much more socially, physically, and politically independent, the selectmen were persons of high status. If they performed well in the position, they were repeatedly reelected, an action which enhanced their social ranking.

Public position was not the only road to social status in Landaff. Old family membership, though not as important as in some rural communities, was, and to an extent still is, status enhancing in the community. It is another characteristic, or rather a combination of characteristics, which has been particularly important in gaining prestige in Landaff. Briefly stated, the person who works hard, is unobtrusive, but community-oriented, especially if he/she has overcome adversities, is accorded a special status.

The late Miss Mattie Chandler best fits that description. Without prompting on my part, accounts of Miss Chandler's quiet contributions to the community

⁵⁷There are several other retired or summer residents who have restored old Landaff homes. The houses are attractive and well maintained, but none are of the "show place" proportions of Mr. Geneen's home and grounds. These persons are also well respected within the community and in a sense occupy a special and relatively high position in Landaff's very informal, nonrigid social status hierarchy.

were mentioned by most of the respondents who knew her, and by some who did not know her personally. It is highly likely that the "Miss White" described in the following quotation from MacLeish and Young (1942:83) was Mattie Chandler. In response to a question by MacLeish about leadership, to a person whom he described as "certainly a leader in many matters" replied, in part:

I'll tell you who would make a good leader, if she had more self-confidence, which she hasn't; and that's Miss White. If you have the patience to wait till she says something, you're going to get something good. She knows a lot, and she doesn't give her opinion unless its asked for, which is the way it ought to be.

Through 1989 Landaff voters have elected a number of women to the school board (one was elected in 1989), but only one woman has been elected to the board of selectmen. Actually, the town may have been a little ahead of its time in regard to placing women in community positions. MacLeish and Young (1942:86) note that "the leader of the 4-H Club and the Master of the Grange are women. Men are listed as church officers, but the women are the active members. Two women hold positions in town government." The authors do imply, however, that in 1940–1941 Landaff was still a man's world: "In short, the government of Landaff in 1940 was in the hands of *men* [my emphasis] who fulfill the traditional qualifications of high status and local parentage" (MacLeish and Young 1942:80).

As in all American communities, one's social rank, position, or prestige is the result of a complex of factors. In Landaff, newcomers, and particularly women, who get over involved by traditional standards, in the affairs of the community are suspect. They have been accused of "taking over ... turning everything upside down." In contrast, there is a respect for both the general roles of women and their legal right to perform small services. This was not always the case.

Until relatively recently Landaff women were never called upon for jury duty. It was a custom of the selectmen not to place the names of women in the box from which jury selections were made. A town clerk decided to change that practice. When he was notified by the Grafton County Clerk of Courts to provide the names of 15 Landaff residents as prospective jurors he "put in about half women and half men." The names of several women were pulled from the box. When the women's selection became known, the clerk was asked how it had happened, "women aren't supposed to be on [juries]." My informant believes "that there are still men in this town who feel they shouldn't be, [jury members] really."

Although there continues to be in Landaff a concern that no one person should become too powerful, what might be termed community-oriented leadership is held in high regard. When a group of nine Landaff residents were asked "What

makes a leader in town?" A person gave a response which was accepted by the group:

Perhaps the ones that go ahead and do when there's something to be done and everybody's sitting back here with their hands in their pockets, and this guy takes charge, and knows it's got to be done and knows and contacts the others, and says, "Would you do this?" and so forth. Maybe that's one variation of it. There's those kind today. I mean, that's just one small incident, but that's leadership, in a way. There's something that has to be done, like there's a sick person over here.'s a leader. He goes, picks up flowers for the funerals for people that die. He's a leader in that respect.

In his area, [if] there's a sick person, and somebody has to go to Hanover with someone. Somebody organizes a ride to Hanover for treatments. That's a leader. That's the kind I'm thinking of. That's why I say there are many leaders in town.

In the interview process for this study during a period of three years, that statement was about as close as I heard as to what leadership is supposed to be in Landaff. While the positions of selectman and school board member are acknowledged to be important, those who fill those roles tend not to be recognized as leaders as much as those persons who engage in informal leadership capacities illustrated in the quotation. If you run for an office and are elected, it is incumbent upon you to do whatever is necessary to get the job done. If you don't do it, you will be replaced. In contrast being helpful and available to your neighbors' needs is the working definition of leadership in Landaff.⁵⁸ As one individual phrased it: "If you're a leader, you're just a leader. You just go ahead and get things done."

The stratification that exists in Landaff is not based to any great extent on differences between those who are well off and those who are not. In general terms there is a belief in the community that there are no poor people in Landaff. There are a few obviously low-income homes scattered here and there, and the town does appropriate a modest sum each year for poor relief, and there are several children attending Blue School who are eligible for free or subsidized lunches. These variations from the comfortable middle-class norm of the community are not a part of most residents' conception of the town.

The situation was apparently different at the time of the MacLeish and Young study. They refer repeatedly to a group of people that they term "floaters." These were short-time residents. Some worked in the mills in Lisbon. Some worked for short periods as farm hands. The majority were woods workers. Invariably, MacLeish described them as low-income, unskilled persons with little regard

⁵⁸The incident, described in the Government section, of many of the traditional Landaffers' resentment toward volunteer firefighters who wished to be paid for duty hours is an example of the local norm that one is expected to be available to help others without compensation or special notice.

for middle-class norms. During the interview process for the 1986–1989 research, each informant who lived in Landaff in the 1940s was asked what they knew about the floaters. Interestingly, only one person could remember the use of the term. He had spent much of his early life in woods-related occupations. His perceptions of the floaters were much the same as those of MacLeish and Young. He confirmed there were few, if any, floaters left in Landaff.

Whether or not MacLeish and Young exaggerated the significance of the floaters to the community, or the current older residents have simply forgotten their existence, is conjectural. What is more significant is that in the late 1980s, with the exception of The Acre residents, there is no group in Landaff considered, ipso facto, greatly different from the residents at large.

This does not mean that social discrimination does not exist in Landaff. For the most part what does exist is subtle and ill defined. If there is group discrimination, it is the modest separation between the native/long-time residents and the younger immigrant families.

Some of the older residents believe that the new people want to introduce too many changes, too quickly, into the community. The heated pro and con arguments at the 1987 Town Meeting over the issue of paying volunteer firemen, and the four consecutive attempts, 1986–1989, primarily by the younger immigrant parents, to get kindergarten into the school have been flash points in developing rifts between the two groups. Any rents in the fabric of the community caused by these incidents appear to be flesh wounds rather than deep lacerations. Some of the firemen who left the company returned in a year or so. Even though the kindergarten issue suffered its fourth straight defeat at the 1989 annual school meeting, a very strong advocate for Landaff-supported kindergarten education was elected over the incumbent for the lone school board vacancy.

In the long run it may not be specific issues between the oldtimers and newcomers which are crucial to the integration of the community. The less pronounced, but real, general feeling of wariness toward newcomers may prove to be more important. One relative newcomer, a northern New England native, expressed the belief that any outsider, even a Woodsville person (nine miles distant) might have trouble being accepted. He also added that if new residents were willing to join local organizations that their acceptance would be accelerated.

From my observations and contacts with Landaff and its people, I would agree generally with that conclusion. It appears, however, that the community as a whole does not have a high level of tolerance for nonobservance of its norms. In the 1980s a middle-aged couple with backgrounds in at least two New England states arrived in Landaff. They bought a tract of abandoned farmland and built a beautiful home in a scenic setting. They devoted part of the house to

a bed and breakfast accommodation, the only one in the immediate area. They expected to be well received in the community. Mrs. _____ did become a ballot clerk for state and national elections, but otherwise their acceptance was minimal. As far as I could determine, the problem was simply that the newcomers personalities and lifestyle did not fit traditional Landaff norms. In just a few years, they left town.

As previously implied, the codes of behavior and values in Landaff are subtle, but meaningful. To become an integrated component of the community, newcomers, young or old, must develop quickly a sense of what the community is. For most people, failure to do so may not result in as severe a sense of rejection as developed by the couple alluded to above. It may be, however, that one's implied designation as part of the "new element" may last for longer than would be anticipated. Landaff is a traditional community in the full sense of the term. It is changing, but slowly.

SUMMARY

Landaff, New Hampshire, was one of six communities included in the series "Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community" conducted by the U.S. Department of Agriculture in the early 1940s. The major focus of the studies was to ascertain the effects of various degrees of stability/instability on the structure and functioning of rural communities.

In the preface of the MacLeish and Young (1942) research on Landaff, the coordinator of the studies, Carl C. Taylor, states:

Landaff, in New Hampshire, was selected because it is an old community which presumably had experienced a long period of stability which had been considerably disturbed, in recent years, by the penetration of the Boston milkshed into that area. The reader will note that the study throws some doubt on the assumption of a high degree of stability in the community in the past and will find that change has not been so great, recently as had been assumed.

Taylor's remarks continue to have relevance for the Landaff of the late 1980s. The Boston milk market continues to have some effects on Landaff, but it is more figurative than real. As of 1989, just two dairy farms were shipping milk, but farms and farming continued to have social and psychological significance in the town. For the average Landaff resident, the town continues to be a rural, agricultural community.

Although the Boston milk market is no longer the major determinant of Landaff's stability/instability quotient, the changes occurring in and to Landaff are primarily the product of extra-local forces.

As Landaff's small, hill-and-valley, dairy farms became less and less competitive, both farm numbers and population decreased. The schools, the Grange,

and the church, all of which were major components of the community's integration, were weakened. Two of the three schools that existed in the early 1940s were closed by the 1950s. The Grange remained a vital force of integration for a relatively long period, but year-by-year it lost its central role. By the mid-1980s it gave up its sponsorship of Old Home Day, the most important event of the year in the town. Sponsorship of Old Home Day was relinquished to the Landaff Volunteer Fire Department.

In a number of ways, the evolution of the fire department symbolizes both the causes and effects of social change in Landaff. At least in part it was created as the result of forces beyond the control of the community. To qualify for mutual fire aid, particularly from the larger and adjacent town of Lisbon, Landaff had to support its own fire company. It soon became a community integrating and identifying force. Although the pool of local young men available for fire department membership was about depleted by outmigration, a new source of manpower was available. A number of male immigrants accepted invitation to join the volunteer force. The integration of both the fire department and the community were reinforced.

In a short period of time, however, the integration between the fire department and the town deteriorated. The department, particularly the new and younger members, became proactive. They wanted the department to modernize its functions, both those that were broadly community based, and those that related directly to fire fighting. For example, the fire department, which had assumed responsibility for the Landaff Old Home Day, instituted a number of changes in that important community institution. The changes were not appreciated by traditionalists. The action that stirred community sentiments the most was the fire department's request for a minimal hourly recompense for firefighters for the time spent answering fire calls. Town reaction was swift and direct—the request was turned down at Town Meeting. As a result, the fire chief and several other young members resigned. The rent in community integration caused by this action is beginning to heal.

Other forces, related directly and indirectly, with Landaff's becoming a rural residential suburb have occurred. They will affect the old level of community stability, and they will be forces in forging a new order of stability. Among them are the strident demands of, primarily, families with young children (most, but not all of whom are recent immigrants), for Landaff to provide kindergarten education. This movement will be affected by the return to Landaff of the responsibility for educating students who live in The Acre section of the town.

For the near future, it is likely that Landaff's population will continue to grow, but at a relatively slow pace. A major factor that will retard population growth is the continuing outmigration of young people in search of better economic opportunities and a diversity of life styles not available in Landaff. Conversely,

the population growth which does occur will be related to the immigration of two somewhat different groups: young professional/white-collar families with children, and older, mostly retired couples without dependent children who are seeking the ambience of rural northern New Hampshire.

For the near future, a curve depicting Landaff's stability/instability is likely to be characterized by a series of modest up and down fluctuations. Over the long run, our prediction is that Landaff will continue to be neither violently instable or stultifyingly stable. Rapid housing or commercial development in The Acre, or over exploitation by outside development forces could affect that prediction. Conversely, the signing of an agreement with Lisbon for Landaff to tuition all its students to the adjoining town for a twelve-year period should prove to be a stabilizing force. As stated in an earlier section of this report, MacLeish and Young would have little trouble recognizing Landaff nearly fifty years after their study. The same prediction, with modifications, may be appropriate for the next fifty years.

APPENDIX A — THE ACRE

In the MacLeish and Young (1942) monograph, the section of Landaff locally known as The Acre is almost completely dismissed. Of their five references to The Acre the most protracted reads:

beginning with the year 1896, the continuing decline of population in Landaff is obscured by the enumeration by census takers of mill workers who live in what is known as "The Acre"—a group of tenement houses built by the lumber company, which by geographical coincidence happens to lie across the town line in Landaff. These workers have never participated in Landaff community life except in a political sense [as legal residents]. Because of the rapid expansion of the lumber industry, this group increased in numbers during the period when the Landaff farm population continued to diminish (MacLeish and Young 1942: 16 f.f.).

The almost total exclusion of The Acre from the MacLeish and Young analysis of Landaff is, at least in part, understandable. Their assignments, as agents of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, was to assess changes in a community which was traditionally agriculturally based. To MacLeish and Young the group of tenant mill worker families was an anomaly—"a geographical coincidence."

The non-Acre residents of Landaff also tend to consider The Acre as a "geographical coincidence." If participation in the larger community by residents of The Acre is taken as the bench mark, the area is, indeed, more of a political anomaly than an integral component of the town of Landaff. No one interviewed in the course of this research who was questioned about the relationships of The Acre people with the town could recall that any Acre resident had ever been a selectman, or a member of the school board, Grange, or church. A few from each group did know (or know "of") members of the other group. The Acre residents tended to know the names of Landaff farmers. Persons living in the interior of the town knew the name of The Acre resident who owned and operated the junkyard on Route 302. Social contacts among residents of the two groups are, for the most part, minimal.

Oddly enough, The Acre is the most generally accessible area of the town. It lies astride the northern New Hampshire northeast-southwest highway (U.S. Route 302). The Acre is, however, physically separated from the rest of Landaff. In the 1940s, as in the 1980s, a large majority of Landaff residents live east of Route 302 in a loosely scattered configuration. Because of road patterns dictated by Landaff's hill-and-valley topography, most of the town's residents, whether travelling north to Littleton or south to Woodsville, bypass The Acre. In many ways, The Acre did and does constitute an "out of mind" situation.

Another reason that residents of the two sections of the town had few social relationships is that through 1989, The Acre children attend Lisbon schools, not Blue School located in Landaff. This situation exists because The Acre was, until 1988, designated as a "set off" by the state of New Hampshire. The term is used to identify a practical solution to a population distribution problem. Generally, the town lines in the state were established during the Colonial period, before much settlement had occurred. Little or no thought was given to the potential problem of school attendance by children living in sections of the town remote from the more settled areas.

The solution to the school attendance problem was to "set off," for educational purposes, isolated sections of one town to a more accessible one. To compensate the receiving town for incurring the added expense of educating children from another town it was allocated the education share of the tax on properties located in the set off. Because the state of New Hampshire bears only a small proportion of public educational costs (an average of seven and one-half percent), the "sending" town tends to benefit from this arrangement. The net effect is to raise local school expenditures in the receiving town and to lower them in the sending town. Particularly before the era of school busing, it was much more convenient for school children from The Acre to attend nearby Lisbon schools than the more distant ones in Landaff.

Because The Acre students did not attend Blue School, its residents tended to be further isolated from the Landaff community. On the other hand, because most Landaff residents had little social contact with persons living in The Acre, and because the town provided it with few services, there was little concern about The Acre within the larger community. Other governmental units are responsible for the two major expenses generally occurred by local governments—education and roads. Lisbon bears the local share of educational costs of The Acre students. The federal and state governments are responsible for the only paved road in The Acre, U.S. Route 302. The section of the highway in The Acre is seldom travelled by residents of Landaff.

One aspect of The Acre was and is of concern to other residents of Landaff. There is a general attitude in Landaff that The Acre represents a classical "other side of the tracks" situation.⁵⁹ In fact, The Acre is on the other side of the tracks. It is a narrow tract, approximately one-half a mile long, in the northwest corner of the town just north of a railroad overpass. It is physically separated from the rest of the town. Physical separation of neighborhoods can lead to social separation as well as the development of misconceptions (Viditch and Bensmen

⁵⁹ A former Landaff constable estimated that approximately 80–90 percent of his calls were to The Acre. Most cases involved intra-family disputes of one sort or another.

1960). To a degree, at least, this phenomenon has occurred relative to The Acre residents and the balance of Landaff.

The gap between the two sections of the town is wide enough so that a number of non-Acre Landaff residents, including some who had held official town positions, volunteered the remark that they would be happy to cede The Acre to Lisbon. In contrast, few negative remarks were made about Landaff as a town or as a community by residents of The Acre. In terms of identification, however, residents of The Acre tend to consider themselves to be members of the Lisbon community. They may be legal residents of Landaff, but because their children attend Lisbon schools, and because many of them shop and work in Lisbon, it tends to be "home" for them.

A major reason why, originally, residents of The Acre were looked down upon (both figuratively and physically) by other Landaff citizens probably was the lack of natural bonds between the two groups. People in The Acre were not farmer/landowners; they were tenant/laborers. Both groups always have been almost exclusively white, but many of The Acre residents were French Catholics. The great majority of other Landaff residents were Anglo-Saxon Protestants. There were few reasons for members of the two groups to interact with each other in meaningful, sustained ways.

An interesting, but perhaps unintentional, illustration of the lack of cohesion between The Acre and the rest of Landaff is revealed by an observation of road signs. On U.S. Route 302, in a pleasant rural setting at the southwest border of Landaff and the town of Bath, there is an attractive, painted and carved wooden sign that welcomes travellers to the community. It carries the town's year of incorporation (1763) and, in the appropriate hue, a depiction of Blue School. In contrast a much different sight greets persons travelling on Route 302 from Lisbon toward Landaff. At the town line they see an unattractive furniture factory on the Lisbon side of the town boundary and a sprawling unkempt junkyard on the Landaff side. In place of a pleasant welcoming sign, the west bound travellers are greeted by just the state-issued, narrow, green and white standard that bears only the inscription "Landaff."

Traffic on Route 302 is quite heavy, numbering in the thousands of vehicles each day. Contrastingly there is very little traffic, particularly by strangers, up steep Landaff Street which leads to Landaff Center from the Lisbon business district. The few visitors who do seek out Landaff Center by this route are greeted at the Lisbon/Landaff town line with a duplicate of the attractive Blue School sign located at the Bath/Landaff line.

In 1986, when the research for this study began, almost all of the houses in The Acre presented a drab appearance. They needed repair and painting, a not unusual situation for tenant houses in mill communities. By the summer of 1987, the appearance of the houses had improved dramatically. Through a federal

housing rehabilitation grant, \$266,859 was spent rehabilitating houses in Landaff, mostly in The Acre.⁶⁰ Most of The Acre houses have been painted and repaired. They now are quite attractive despite their location across from, or adjacent to, a large junkyard, one of Landaff's three commercial enterprises all of which are located on U.S. Route 302, two of them in The Acre.

The housing rehabilitation grant was the second federal grant for which Landaff applied and received in the 1980s. The first one was for a sewer and water project in The Acre. Prior to the sewer installation, some of the houses illegally discharged raw sewerage directly into the Ammonoosuc River. The town of Landaff had to pay a portion of the costs of the sewer and water project, an action not appreciated by some Landaff residents. The housing refurbishing grant, which did not require matching funds, is generally regarded favorably in the community.

Depending upon the ultimate solution of the educational problems resulting from the return of The Acre set-off to Landaff, relationships between The Acre and the rest of the community may improve or retrograde. There is sentiment among some non-Acre residents, including members of the Planning Board to zone The Acre as a commercial area. The motivation for this action would be to offset the increased educational costs redounding to the town because of the need to assume the full costs of educating public school students from The Acre. One informed person, when asked what the general reaction would be in Landaff to the proposal replied, "Quite favorably I believe. Of course, there aren't many votes in The Acre."

This comment reflects a generalized attitude in Landaff toward The Acre. "Even though it's really [in essence] a part of Lisbon, we have to make the best of a bad situation." The incorporation of school children from The Acre into the Landaff school system will provide a testing ground for this presumption. Because enrollment at Landaff's sole school has reached state allowed capacity, if any students from The Acre are assigned to it, there will be a necessary reduction in the number of grade levels from the present one through five. Some Landaff residents would welcome this situation, others would be upset by it.

If The Acre does become an economic asset to Landaff, it is possible that it may become more socially and psychologically integrated into the larger community. In the meantime, The Acre remains to a large extent "in" Landaff but not "of" Landaff. Until some dramatic change occurs, the larger community of Landaff will continue to perceive The Acre as something other than a valued component of the town. As a result, the residents of The Acre will continue to

⁶⁰The original purpose of the grant application, which was stimulated by the area regional development agency, was to rehabilitate only housing in The Acre. Because of bureaucratic requirements, all eligible housing in Landaff was included.

be denied the opportunity to fully identify socially, psychologically, and economically with the town which is their residence, but not their home.

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