Social Organization and Change in a Czech-American Rural Community: A Sociological Study of Snook, Texas.

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND CHANGE IN A CZECH-AMERICAN RURAL COMMUNITY: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF SNOOK, TEXAS

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Sociology

by

Robert Leonard Skrabanek

B.S., Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1942
M.S., Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1947
August, 1949
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

My interest in the field of Rural Sociology and in the study of Greek people was first stimulated by Professor Daniel Russell of Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, to whom I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness.

To Professor Homer L. Hitt, Head of the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology of the Louisiana State University, and my major professor, I am particularly grateful. His ever-patient encouragement and constructive criticisms made it possible for this study to be carried through to its completion.

To Professor Vernon J. Parenton of the Louisiana State University Department of Sociology, whose patient but critical counsel has contributed much towards any merits this study may have, special thanks are sincerely extended.

Indebtedness is also acknowledged to Professors Rudolf Heberle, Marion E. Smith, and T. Lynn Smith, all of whom were my professors in the Louisiana State University Department of Sociology, for orientation in the field of Sociology, stimulating guidance in class work, and a constant willingness to assist the writer by every means possible.

The writer also wishes to express his thanks to Professors Martin D. Woodin and Frank D. Barlow for an orientation in the field of Agricultural Economics.

* Professor Smith is presently director of the Brazilian Institute and chairman of the Sociology Department at Vanderbilt University.
Finally, the author is fully aware of his indebtedness to his fellow graduate students whose names are too numerous to list separately for helpful suggestions throughout the writer's period of academic training and in the course of this study at Louisiana State University.
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze the nature of social organization and change in Snook, a Czech rural-farm community in Texas.

The time interval covered by the study is from 1884 to the present with special emphasis on the year 1948, when the basic survey data for the community were gathered. The primary sources of data utilized are personal interviews and first-hand observation. Individual schedules were enumerated for each family in the area studied, and a lifetime acquaintance with the people and the nature of life in the community is utilized in describing some of the changes that have taken place. For purposes of analyzing social change, the "picture of community life" was "frozen," and the responses of grandfather, father, and grandson are considered. On the basis of the data thus obtained, the change characterizing specific modes of behavior is appraised.

The culture of the group which is given special consideration in this study is rooted in developments which date back several centuries, when different powers ruled in Czechoslovakia at various times. Especially under Hapsburg rule, only small land holdings were left to the peasants. Land was at such a premium that it is almost worshiped by the Czechs even to the present day. Persecuted for their religious and political beliefs, their language and culture suppressed, they were convinced that emigration was better than Austrian tyranny.

The first Czech family arrived in what is now known as the Snook community in 1884. Within the brief span of some ten years, the area was settled by this nationality group, and a Czech cultural island was created.
The settlers set up a community organization of their own so that their native customs, habits, language, social values, and traditions brought with them to America could be preserved.

The principal findings of the study are as follows:

1. Farming may be said to be not only a distinctive form of work with the Czech, but it is also a distinctive mode of life. A few of the traditional farming methods have remained unchanged, but the tractor is replacing the mule, the trailer is supplanting the wagon, and the pick-up truck is taking the place of the automobile as the chief means of power and transportation. Although 95 per cent of the farm family members who are physically able to work assist the family head in the fields, migratory laborers from Mexico harvest a major portion of the cotton crop. Little use is being made of farm credit, since over 95 per cent of the land holdings are debt-free. A high percentage of land ownership exists. Even so, a general change seems to have taken place in the way that the farm operators view their occupation, for it appears that the younger people do not view farming as satisfactorily as do their parents or grandparents. Traditions of farming and land holding, however, are so strong in the community that agriculture dominates the very existence and even a considerable extent molds the attitudes of every Snook resident.

2. It is difficult to discern any clear-cut class structure in the community. In fact, essentially the same situation with respect to social stratification prevails today as was found in the earliest days of Snook's development.

3. The Czech family in Snook operates as an economic as well as a social unit, and family ties are strong. Only seven cases of intermarria
with non-Czechs exist in the community, and the only divorced person was married to an Anglo-Saxon. The average number of children born per wife declines with each successive generation, and the wives who are partners in mixed marriages bear the least number of children.

4. Over four out of five persons who are fifteen years of age and over in Snook's population belong to the Czech-Moravian Brethren Denomination. Gradual changes and compromises have resulted in an ever-increasing use of the English language in the activities of the church. Although the church uses both the English and Czech languages in its activities, the former language is used exclusively in only one church-sponsored organization. Two organizations conduct their business meetings solely in Czech. Today one sermon in English is presented for every four that are in Czech. English is slowly replacing Czech, however, not only in the church but also in other phases of community life. The latter still predominates in Snook's homes, but the younger people are making less use of the Czech language than are the oldsters.

5. The community residents are proud of their modern consolidated high school, but the Czech school also has been an important factor in the lives of the residents in the past. The influence of the Czech school has rapidly declined, however, and it has discontinued operation in recent years.

6. Few changes have taken place in the operation of government and politics in Snook, but the younger people are more active at the polls than are their fathers or grandfathers. Little interest is displayed in either precinct or county elections unless a Czech is seeking an office. Almost all of those who exercise their voting privileges vote the straight Democratic ticket in national elections.

7. The different forms of recreation and leisure time activities have undergone many changes in the past few years. Visiting between families...
is becoming less frequent. At one time, gatherings of many types were attended by every person in the community, but today only a few attend such functions. Although Czech-language publications predominate in Snoo homes, only the older people prefer these to English-language publication. The opposite is true for the younger members of the population. Not only do a larger proportion of the third generation families possess radios, but they also spend more time listening to them than do the older generation families. The young people attend more movies than do either their parents or grandparents. Czech-language pictures in a nearby town are no especially popular, but they are attended more frequently by the older people than by the younger persons.

8. The Czechs belong to many different organizations. Among these the benevolent lodges are the most popular and influential in the community but their importance is declining.

9. Habits in simple living in Snoo are being modified, and the level of living appears to be rising. Comparisons reveal that in general the proportions of families which possess selected household conveniences and luxuries rise with each succeeding generation, the third owning more conveniences than the second, and the second more than the first. Since most of the items considered were unknown to Snoo's residents ten years ago, the conclusion may be drawn that within the past few years the level of living has increased considerably.
Figure 1. Snook's "Main Street" - A View of the Main Business Section, 1948

Note the relative absence of new automobiles. Most of the gasoline pumps which can be seen are manually-operated even though electric power is available.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Nature and Scope of Study

The problems which confront all phases of rural society are largely the result of social change. Indeed, if one were to trace the origins of the growth of sociology, he would be able to show that it arose primarily as a response to accelerated changes demanding social adjustments.1

Many rural Czech communities in the United States have undergone considerable change in the course of the past 60 years. Other rural Czech communities which outwardly appear similar in nature have changed comparatively slowly.2 Nevertheless, all changes - especially those in the social sphere - have had important social, moral, and physical consequences for the rural Czech populations.

The innovations sometimes clash more violently with the traditional folkways and mores than is consonant with the social and moral evolution of


2 Although it is not within the scope of this work to outline any theory of social change or to specify all the types of change which can and do take place in communities, it may be noted that Carl C. Zimmerman states that the forces bringing about social change can be either (1) catastrophic or (2) gradual. (The Changing Community, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938), p. 27.
the community. The characteristic features of the community residents, the rural character and tradition, have in places been unnecessarily wiped out. On the other hand, efforts at progress in other communities have been retarded by conservatism and backwardness. It is no wonder that such a social reality, so widely spread, so many-sided, and so important in its social function has received so much attention from so many different sociological points of view.

The writer has spent most of his life in a Czech-American rural community—Snook, Texas. During the course of this time he has become interested in the sociological relationships which characterize the community. He has observed the changes which have taken place and has seen some of the problems which have arisen as a consequence of this phenomenon. To one interested in the group life of human beings, a question immediately arises as to the nature and significance of the social factors involved, not only in the direct effect upon the people themselves, but also in the group organization which prevails.

This study, then, concerns the nature and extent of the changes in some phases of the social organization of a Czech community in Texas. An attempt will be made to indicate the factors responsible for the changes and to show the effect of these changes on social organization, and consequently on the population. The study is primarily concerned with cultural

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3 Foreword by Josef Zadna in Karel Gall, Sociology of the Cooperative Movement in the Czechoslovak Village (Prague: Speleki Pesce O Blaho Venkova, 1936); p. 5.

4 Among those who have devoted close attention to the study of social change and its effects on population from a sociological viewpoint are Tonnies, Durkheim, Cooley, Sumner, Spengler, Ward, Elwood, Ogburn, and many others.
or social change. If the nature of social change in a rural community is to be understood to its fullest, the objective is best approached from the standpoint of social organization. Therefore, it is essentially a study in rural social organization and social change in a Czech-American farming community.

B. Purpose of the Study

In making this study the investigator has two broad objectives in mind. (The first objective is to attempt to discover the nature of rural social organization in a Czech rural community in Texas.) The second objective is to investigate the nature of social change in the community in question.

More specifically, the purpose of the study is to find answers to the following questions:

(1) What are the characteristics of the community and of the population of the community? (2) What are the special institutions and agencies which play an important part in the social organization of the community? (3) What place does the community occupy in the social organization of the area? (4) Which modes of behavior traditional to Czech people have persisted in this locale of the new world and which modes of behavior have changed? (5) What have been the causes of these persistences and changes? (6) What have been the effects of these changes on the population in respect to group solidarity?
G. Definitions

Some terms have been and will be used which require definition.

The term "social change," for purposes of this study, is used in the broad sense to include both "social change" and "cultural change." Change, in general, is defined as any alteration in the position or the condition of anything from a state previously existent. Therefore social change is any alteration of the previous position of social or cultural phenomena.

In formulating this definition, the writer recognizes the fact that some sociologists make a distinction between social change and cultural change. MacIver, for instance, points out that the two terms have different meanings. Referring to this particular point, he writes as follows:

Social change is a distinct thing from cultural or civilizational change...We must insist that our direct concern of sociologists is with social relationships. It is the change in these which alone we shall regard as social change. When we speak of social evolution, we shall not speak of human evolution, but only an aspect of it, nor shall we mean cultural evolution, but only a concomitant of it.

MacIver then defines social change as: "the changing ways in which human beings relate themselves to one another, the processes which institutions and organizations undergo, the transformation of the social structure and the forces that bring them about."

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7 Ibid., p. 396.
Other sociologists make a distinction between social change and cultural change, but several prominent writers in the field view the two terms as being synonymous. Paul H. Landis, for instance, states that the tendency seems to have been to consider social change and cultural change as terms that may be used interchangeably. He also states that for purposes of some studies, "a distinction may not be necessary since the social and cultural are vitally related." Ogburn is another sociologist who believes that a distinction is not necessary. In fact, he states that: "social evolution includes a large part of the evolution of culture, virtually all but material culture. And if the objects of material culture are the products of social influence and behavior then the evolution of the whole of culture is a part of social evolution." Sims, among many others, also does not make a distinction between the two terms. Writing

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8 Among those who make a clear distinction between social and cultural change are Charles A. Eliot, "Theories in Cultural Evolution," The American Journal of Sociology, XXIII (May, 1918), 780-800; P. Stuart Chapin, Cultural Change (New York: The Century Company, 1926); Dwight Sanderson, Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1942); Rudolf Heberle, "A Sociological Interpretation of Social Change," Social Forces, XXV (October, 1946), 9-15; and others.


10 William F. Ogburn, Social Change (New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1928), p. 60. Ogburn believes that social and cultural change are so inextricably bound together that he writes: "From the point of view of social evolution, it is thought that the studies of changes in culture...is desirable methodology." Loc. cit.

11 Other sociologists who show a close association between social change and cultural change are: Lester F. Ward, Pure Sociology (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903), especially Chapter III; Pitirim A. Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), especially Chapter III; Albert O. Hobs, Social Evolution (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931); Elmer Pendell (editor), Society (cont'd page 6)
on the nature of social change, he states: "Personally, change may take place in any kind of association, but by the study of social change is meant a consideration of that which occurs in groups large enough to present all phases of cultural phenomena."

The term "social organization" has a variety of meanings in the field of sociology. That little agreement exists on the specific nature of the concept "social organization" from several angles, with resultant variations in meaning. These different approaches may be enumerated as follows:

1. Social organization may be looked upon as a social condition in which the associated individuals are in a state of static relationship.

2. Most of the interpretations, however, view social organization in its structural and dynamic aspects as a substantive "going concern."

3. The most frequently-appearing interpretation of social organization is that which views it structurally, that is as a comprehensive and complex mosaic or coordinated set of human relationships in the form of many differentiated groups.


12 Sima, op. cit., p. 199.

4. From another important angle social organization may be viewed processually or operationally -- as the functioning mechanism of existence of associated human beings.

5. From still another angle, social organization may be thought of as a vast cultural complex.

6. Occasionally one finds social organization thought of as social reorganization, that is as a deliberate planned process of strengthening social structure.\(^{14}\)

As Hertzler has demonstrated, social organization may be examined from a number of vantage points. Looking upon the concept as an all-inclusive term, he defines it as follows:

In general, social organization simply means that some sort of continuous and functioning ordering, arrangement, "organization" or patterning exists in the world of associated men. Societies, nations, communities, cities, villages and neighborhoods, institutional and service groups, including families, governmental units, schools, churches and libraries, occupational, class and other economic groupings, health, and recreational, expressional and welfare agencies, all constitute forms of human association, forms of orientation and arrangement and regularized functioning of interrelated human beings. Social organization, in fact, subsumes not only the structure, but also the function, and even the process of society.\(^{15}\)

Parenton, in viewing social organization as an analytical concept, sees the term in this light:

...Social organization is a system of coordinated relationships and activities between two or more individuals. It is sometimes called a web of fulfilled expectations. Here, emphasis is placed upon the relationships and activities rather than upon the person. Since a person is a member of a group only in so far as certain activities and relationships are concerned, social organization then refers to


\(^{15}\) Ibid., p. 13.
persons. In this respect, then, the term social structure includes both cultural structure (which defines the situation in terms of goals and institutionalized means of attaining these goals), and social organization— that is, the activities and relationships by which these goals are to be sought.

On the assumption that the term "structure" means a set of determinate relations between parts, the terms "social structure" and "social organization" are used synonymously in this study. Social organization, as used in this study, then, refers to the framework of institutions, organizations, associations, and agencies which characterizes a given society or area by means of which that society or area functions. The intimate processes of social interaction are carried on in and through this framework.

A "Czech" or "Czechoslovak" as used in this study is defined as one whose nationality derivation is from Czechoslovakia and who is, in the minds of the local residents, a Czech-American. Such an individual is not a Czech. He is an American and is called a Czech only for the purpose of distinguishing between the person of Czech ancestry and those of non-Czech ancestry.


18 This definition of social organization is similar to that used by T. Lynn Smith in "An Analysis of the Factors in Social Organization of the American Agricultural Village from 1900 to 1930," (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 1932) p. 4.
D. Place of the Study in the Field of Rural Sociological Research

The place of the present study in the field of rural sociological research can best be illustrated by the following statement made by Dwight Sanderson on the importance of this subject:

If a knowledge of sociology is to be of any value for purposes of social organization by enabling us to know how to predict collective behavior and thus to better control it for the common welfare, it must include not only a knowledge of the structure and functioning of human society as it is at present, but we must know why and how changes in the social structure occur and how they can be controlled. 19

Sanderson also states that the problems of social change have become so increasingly acute that they form the chief incentive for sociological study. 20 As to the importance of social organization, La Piere is of the opinion that "it is the central concern of all sociological study." 21

A study such as is here attempted should be of value from the standpoint of possible contributions to the sum total of sociological knowledge and theory in that comparisons with rural social organization in other areas are made possible. An effort was made to ascertain the nature of social change in the area, and of the effects of social change upon rural social organization and consequently upon the population.

It is a fact that social phenomena are constantly changing and that the chief reason for being interested in social phenomena is that they are changing. Yet, "no matter what event or agency or group brings about a

19 Sanderson, op. cit., p. 644. In quoting this statement, attention should be called to the fact that Sanderson gives an added meaning to social organization in that he construes its general aim to be the improvement of human relationships and living conditions in the rural environment.

20 Ibid., p. 645.

change in attitudes and interests or persons, the change in attitudes and interests, once made, will in turn have an effect on social organization itself. \(^{22}\) With this central theme in mind, the study should be of value from the standpoint of applied rural sociology. Without a thorough understanding of the nature of social organization and social change in a given area, those dealing with problems of relief, employment, social welfare, health, education, religion, recreation, agriculture, and similar problems cannot intelligently formulate policies.

The desirability of obtaining information on rural social organization and change in a diverse cultural area seems quite obvious. In fact, Sanderson points out that there is a very real need for detailed sociological monographs in the United States. \(^{23}\) He further states that the structure varies so much in different parts of the country and with the age and size of the community that a general description of social organization would be an impossibility. \(^{24}\)

There is plenty of evidence to support this theory. However, this divergence in no way prevents a description and analysis of rural social organization and change in specific areas. In fact, it rather serves to call our attention to the dire need for such studies, for as Lundberg points out: "As our observations and measurements of small influences, both of time and of other factors, on contemporary culture increase in reliability, we

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\(^{22}\) Pendell, op. cit., p. 589.


\(^{24}\) Ibid., p. 503.
shall be increasingly able to reconstruct the course of societal evolution and formulate its laws.  

The question arises as to whether the problem of this thesis has not already received consideration by investigators in the field of rural sociology. This question can be best approached by a brief survey of selected research which has been done in the field.

E. Review of Selected Literature Pertaining to the Subject

Almost two decades ago Sanderson wrote that practically no studies of rural social conditions in the South had been published which had attempted to analyze locality groups. Since that time, however, rural sociological research in the South has been concerned to a considerable degree with one phase or another of rural social organization. Certain aspects of social change have also received some consideration.

In the Southwest, the subject of rural social organization has attracted some attention, particularly in Arkansas, New Mexico, and

26 Sanderson, The Rural Community, p. 499.

27 There seems to be no general agreement as to what states constitute the Southwestern area. As defined in the present discussion, the Southwest is composed of Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico.

28 Two studies by T. G. McCormick are Rural Social Organization in Washington County Arkansas (Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 285, Fayetteville: 1933) and Rural Social Organization in South-Central Arkansas (Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 313, Fayetteville: 1934).

29 Glen Leonard and Charles P. Loomis, Culture of A Contemporary Rural Community: El Cerrito, New Mexico (Washington, D.C., (Cont'd page 12)
Oklahoma. However, not a single Experiment Station Bulletin in this general field has been published in Texas. Furthermore, of these studies, only the three made in New Mexico deal with social organization in a diverse cultural area, and none of them in reality is a study of social change. One could also conclude that no sociological research concerned with a rural Czech-American community in Texas has been published.

Attention should be called to the fact that Czech Farmers in Oklahoma is the only publication in the entire Southwest that deals with the rural Czechs. As such, it is neither a study of social organization nor of social change. It is a comparative study of the stability of a Czech farm group in Lincoln County, Oklahoma. Comparing the Czechs as a farm group with three other non-Czech farm control groups, Lynch shows that the Czech farmer has been less migratory and basically more stable than the control groups. He has also been able to show that the culture conditioning of the Czech group has caused it to make a more successful agricultural adjustment to the problems of a hilly cotton county than the control groups.


30 James Franklin Page, Relation of Town and Country Interests in Garfield County, Oklahoma (Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 194, Stillwater: 1930).


32 Ibid., p. 91.
conclude that their economic ties are closer and stronger than is the case among the native American groups. 33

There is a distinct scarcity of literature dealing directly with social organization and change among rural Czech populations. Commenting on the paucity of published material on this subject among all rural immigrants, Brunner in Immigrant Farmers and Their Children suggests a possible explanation for this phenomenon. He states: "In all the immense volume of literature dealing with the question of immigration hardly any consideration has been paid to those of the foreign-born that live in rural America, about one quarter of the total number. Immigration has been viewed as an urban problem." 34 Despite the obvious scarcity of material in the field, a considerable body of literature in closely related fields exists.

The Sociology of Rural Life 35 by Smith provides helpful orientation for this study, especially part III which deals with rural social organization. This 222-page section of the 634-page volume treats social organization and anatomical aspects of society. Smith's analysis of rural social organization is accomplished by a division of the subject matter into three main parts. The first part is concerned with the relations of the people to the land, that is, the way the population is distributed on the land; the way the land is divided for purposes of surveying and recording; the nature of property rights in land; and the way the land is distributed as to ownership and control. 36 The second part is devoted to an analysis of social

33 Ibid., p. 92.
36 Ibid., p. 207.
differentiation and social stratification in rural society; and the third
is a discussion of the functioning of social groups through established
institutional forms. Smith shows how each of these parts fits into the
framework of social organization in rural areas. The entire section is
well documented. The footnotes and bibliography of the volume proved
helpful in many ways.

The Rural Life Study series was a valuable aid in gaining a
general perspective of the social organization approach to community stu-
dies. This series describes the culture and nature of certain phases of
rural social organization in communities located in six different states,
namely, New Mexico, Kansas, Iowa, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and Georgia.
The six communities studied are samples of a continuum from high community
stability to great instability. At one end of the continuum is an Old Order
Amish Community in Pennsylvania, which is characterized by a high degree of
stability. At the other end is a Dust Bowl Community in Kansas, which is
characterized by a high degree of instability. The other four communities
range between these extremes.

37 Las. cit.

38 Olen Leonard and C. P. Loomis, op. cit.; Earl R. Bell, Culture of
a Contemporary Rural Community: Sublette, Kansas (Washington, D. C., Bureau
of Agricultural Economics, Rural Life Studies No. 2), 1942; Kenneth MacLeish
and Kinball Young, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Landaff, New
Hampshire (Washington, D. C., Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Rural Life
Studies No. 3), 1942; Walter W. Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural
Community: The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania (Washington,
D. C., Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Rural Life Studies No. 4),
1942; Edward O. Moe and Carl C. Taylor, Culture of a Contemporary Rural
Community: Irwin, Iowa (Washington, D. C., Bureau of Agricultural Economics,
Rural Life Studies No. 5), 1942; and Waller Wynn, Culture of a Contemporary
Rural Community: Harmony, Georgia (Washington, D. C., Bureau of Agricultural
Economics, Rural Life Studies No. 6), 1943.
of social change in communities. It is
perhaps the most complete and helpful of any yet published on several aspects
that took place in the community in a 10-year period. These two volumes are
volumes 1 and 2 of the earlier work and are an analysis of the broad change
in society and the findings were presented in the second publication. The second
and third volumes were published in the third volume. The same communities were studied in
American communities, the same groups of communities were studied in

The importance of the 300,000 inhabitants with 60 years, a typical
as the "center of the shifting nature of the economic base." The
been a dominant theme in the history of society, economics, and
described our society as the center of community and in certain cases as a
cases and from a condition to the second
community studies have been able to determine the reasons for
these social organizations as their framework, the authors of these

For instance, Kolmornen

15
Of the literature dealing specifically with Czechs, *The Story of a Bohemian-American Village* by Robert I. Kutak deserves special mention. This 156-page volume deals with the problem of the adjustment of Czechs to their new environment. Its purpose is "to discover whether or not the adjustment of a group of Czech immigrants to a country environment in the new world differed from that made to a city environment in America." Comparing his findings with those of Jakub Horak's in his study of the assimilation of Czechs in a city environment, Kutak concludes that the Czechs who left a country environment in the old world and settled in the rural environment in the new world made the necessary adjustments with less difficulty than those who settled in the city. Kutak's study also deals with certain aspects of change in a Bohemian village community in Nebraska. Although he includes non-Czechs in his sample for study, it is by far the most comprehensive and helpful of any book yet published which deals with social change in a Czech environment.

Horak's doctor's dissertation, which was presented at the University of Chicago in 1920, deals with the assimilation of Czechs in Chicago. His work treats of the adjustment of country-bred Czechs to life in an American city. He shows that the conflicts and social problems of the immigrant are many, and he points out the reasons for the existence of these

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44 Ibid., p. vii.
46 Kutak, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
47 Horak, *op. cit.*
MUP®

The Ocean Pioneers of the Southwestern Hills and Rivers, Inc. 1954.

The account of the ocean pioneers of the Southwestern Hills and Rivers, Inc. 1954,
contribution to American life. Brunner, on the other hand, devotes some
30 pages to a study of a colony of Czechoslovak farmers in Virginia and
furnishes a brief general description of their life in a rural Czech com-
munity.

Other less elaborate works dealing with Czechs are also limited in
number. The studies which have been made have all but ignored the highly
important factors of rural social organization and social change.53

F. Methodology

Since the primary purpose of this study is to arrive at an under-
standing of rural social organization and social change in a diverse culture
area, the first problem confronting the investigator was to choose such an
area in which these phenomena could be studied and described.

Snook, Texas54 was selected as the community to be studied in the
light of several considerations, but mainly because the investigator was
already familiar with many phases of its social life. He has spent most
of the years of his life in the community and was acquainted with the head
of every Czech household in the area.55 As he grew up and left the community

53 A few of the works dealing with some phase of the Czech populations
in general are: Sandor B. Kovacs, "Czechoslovaks in Virginia," (unpublished
Doctor's dissertation, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1939); Glenn
L. Taggart, "Czechs of Wisconsin as a Culture Type," (unpublished Doctor's
dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1948); and Joe Malik, Jr.,
"Efforts to Promote the Study of the Czech Language and Culture in Texas,"

54 The location of the Snook community is shown in Figures 2 and 3.

55 Since leaving Snook, the author has visited his parents and friends
several times each year and on each occasion has participated in its community
life to the fullest extent. He still holds his church and lodge membership in
the community.
Figure 2. Map of Texas Showing Location of Burleson County in Which the Snook Community Is Located
Figure 3. Map of Burleson County, Texas Showing Location of the Snook Community.
the county seat of Burleson County. I f

of a person's nature. Before being

In a community and one of the "bores," however, it is chosen differently to be-

not yet known and therefore observation. Then for the investigator who is well

and the sources of the data utilized are personal observations.

and (3) on observations from local community problems are extended.

and study enough to make the community understand each other

belong to the same neighborhood. A great deal of the population is composed almost exclusively of people who

community! (2) If it is easy to see at a glance, it is easy to grasp

are revealed and some insight from a

some that the community made it a desirable area for study. Because these

which would probably prove most responsive to change, several other changes

would probably affect the greatest percentage and those modes of behavior

study a general idea of the social order in which and modes of behavior which

there was very familiar with the community and had in advance of the

he became impressed with the difference in modes of behavior as they
opinion of the writer, two other factors were more influential in gaining the peoples' cooperation. First, the minister in the local church announced that such a study was to be conducted by one of its members and urged full support of the undertaking on behalf of the people. There is no doubt that this particular piece of "missionary work" helped a great deal, but the fact that the writer could read, write, and speak Czech fluently was the most helpful deciding factor.57 The task of obtaining information proved easier than had been anticipated. Not a single person refused an interview.

The time interval covered by the study is roughly from 1884 to the present, with special emphasis on the year 1946 during which the basic survey data for the community were gathered. The investigator conducted the field work from July to September of 1946. Since that time he has visited the community on three occasions and has secured additional data and checked specific points on each occasion.

The bulk of the data was supplied by the Czech inhabitants of the Snook community. Many hours were spent talking to these people in order to become acquainted with their ideas, to collect additional information, and to record a brief case history of each family.

A rather detailed schedule was formulated58 to bring out evidences of persistence and change in the modes of behavior of Czech inhabitants. For

57 Concerning this point, one Czech farmer made this statement to the writer: "Son, it is really nice that you got all that education and can still talk Czech. You know, a fellow who can do that is just bound to be a good man. One of the most tragic things in life is these young men who leave Snook and get educated and then come back and try to act stuck up just like they wasn't one of us. Nope, I haven't got much use for a man like that."

58 A copy of the schedule used in this study is included in Appendix 4.
purposes of analyzing social change, the "picture of community life" was "frozen," and the responses of grandfather, father, and grandson were recorded. On the basis of the data thus obtained, the degree of change in specific modes of behavior is measured in accordance with the degree to which these modes are observed to either persist or change in each of the three generations of Czechs interviewed. Thus the study is based largely on primary data.

A house-to-house survey of the community was made and every Czech home in the community was visited. Individual schedules were filled out by the investigator for each family head. Altogether 96 schedules were obtained. Out of the total of 96 families from which data were secured, in 7 cases one of the parents was Czech and the other non-Czech. Of the 91 families in which both parents were Czech, the head of the family was of first generation stock in 16 cases; second generation stock in 42 cases; and third generation stock in 33 cases. Since one of the parties to the marriage contract in the 7 mixed marriages in the community was a third generation Czech in every case, the 7 families in question are classified as third generation families.

59 For purposes of this study, it is considered that a first-generation Czech is one who was born in Czechoslovakia; a second-generation Czech is one who was born in the United States but whose parents were born in Czechoslovakia; and a third-generation Czech is one whose parents were born in the United States but whose grandparents were born in Czechoslovakia. In cases where one was born to a Czech couple composed of two different generations, his generation is traced on his father's side, i.e., it is determined by the father's generation.

60 Characteristics of the family heads from whom schedules were obtained are presented in Table I.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>First Generation</th>
<th></th>
<th>Second Generation</th>
<th></th>
<th>Third Generation</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Total Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Total Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Owners</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Renters</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Laborers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired Farmers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Agricultural</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Snook Questionnaire Data for 98 Households.*
Questions concerning individual members of the family were included in the schedule. In some instances information on the family members was obtained from the family head. In other instances this information was secured directly from individual members themselves. In most instances, since all the family members were usually picking cotton in the fields, the investigator was able to get different viewpoints from different members of the family. Although the family head was interviewed in each case, it was mainly through "mama's" help that such minute details as children's ages, highest grade in school completed by individual family members, and so forth could be ascertained. The investigator often ate meals in Czech homes, and this practice afforded a very good opportunity to observe family life in the community more closely.

Over 80 per cent of the interviews were held in the Czech language. Autobiographies of all first generation members in the community were also obtained, and most of the conversations that took place between the author and the inhabitants were in Czech. Almost every night during the author's stay in the community found him in a Czech home gathering information from the inhabitants who were too busy during the course of the day to stop to talk, but who were more than glad to talk about any and everything in general "after supper." Many pleasant hours were spent attending such community activities as community sings, choir practice, lodge meetings, and barbecues, and in the general stores reminiscing about the past, commenting on the present, and speculating on the future.

As stated before, the bulk of the data was supplied by the Czech inhabitants of the Snook community. It was discovered early in the study that little use could be made of census data, since the Census Bureau does not present data separately for communities as small as Snook.
Another source of data investigated was the county newspapers. A few articles were found concerning the Czech population in Snook, but on the whole, little of such material could be used in connection with the present study. Czech newspapers and magazines were also examined, and here again, only limited use could be made of the articles concerning the Czechs. It bears repeating, therefore, that the study is based largely on primary data.

Informal statements and folk talk are interspersed throughout the text. In following this procedure the writer realizes that these informal statements do not offer scientifically valid evidence. They are presented only because they afford valuable insights into the moods and habits of thought of the population. Yet, they are value judgments, and as such are sociologically significant in themselves. It should be clear that no effort is made to prove any thesis through the use of folk talk and personal statements and that they do not form bases for conclusions reached. Kutak, writing on the value of this approach, says that "the subtle inner aspects

61 Two newspapers are printed in the county. They are The Caldwell News (printed in Caldwell), and The Somerville Tribune (printed in Somerville). Both papers are printed weekly.

62 Among those surveyed by the author were Ceskeinlovak and Vestnik, both printed in West Texas.

63 This viewpoint is well illustrated in the classic study by William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1927). For an excellent discussion of this viewpoint, see Herbert Blumer, An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (New York: Social Science Research Council Bulletin 44, 1939). Other sociological studies which have used this method effectively are Albert Blumenthal, Small Town Stuff (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932); James West, Plainville, U. S. A. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945); and many others.
of social life cannot be deduced from hard facts and cold figures. These intangible yet highly important aspects of community life cannot be gotten at with schedules and questionnaires, nor can one describe them with statistical tables.64 Thus comments and informal statements serve a specific purpose in the presentation of this study; that is, they enable the reader to obtain the "feel" and "flavor" of life in the community which cannot be achieved through the perusal of mere statistical data. Attempting to make use of the types of data described, then, the author tries to furnish a description and analysis of social organization and social change in a rural Czech community—thereby contributing in a meager way toward filling one small gap in the available knowledge in the field.

6. Order of Presentation

Toward this end the first step has been to give a general statement of the nature of the problem and to present a survey of selected literature which pertains to the subject. Next, selected factors related to the specific area studied are discussed. These include such factors as (1) location of the area studied; (2) topography; (3) climate; (4) occupations; (5) population centers serving the community; and (6) systems of transportation and communication. This discussion is followed by a summary of historical developments in Czechoslovakia which led to Czech migration to the community and by a summary of the historical development of the Snook community itself. Out of these steps there then follows the description and analysis of the

64 Kutak, op. cit., p. xi.
factors which relate to the central thesis of this study, which may now be restated as follows: to attempt to discover the nature of rural social organization and social change in a Czech-American rural community.
CHAPTER II

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AREA

A. Location of the Community

Within the East Texas Timber country, stretching across the middle of Texas from Louisiana to San Antonio, is a group of counties designated as the Lufkin-Susquehanna Group.¹ Close to the center of this group of counties is Burleson County, an area of 679 square miles. (See Figure 2.)

The area included in this study is limited to the Snook community, which occupies about 15 square miles in the east central section of Burleson County. Roughly, the community is bounded on the north by Federal Aid Secondary Highway 60 between College Station (the location of the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College in Brazos County) and Lyons. Its southern and western boundaries extend to the Post Oak Area, which derives its name from the Post Oak tree vegetation present and which is devoted to the raising of cattle by Anglo-Americans. On the east, it is bounded by Old River, a small stream which evidently comprised the main stream of the Brazos River at one time. The area is drained by Old River, which, in turn, drains into the Brazos River.²

¹ This classification is based on W. T. Carter's natural geographic divisions and the principal soil belts of Texas described in The Soils of Texas (Texas Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 431, College Station: 1931).

² For an ecological description of the area, see Figure 4.
Figure 4. The Ecology of Snook Community, Burleson County, Texas, Showing Pattern of Land Settlement, 1948.

The location of boundary lines of individual farms as drawn here are only approximate. The author was employed by the AAA for three summers in measuring these farms and therefore the boundary lines of individual farms, although only approximate, may be assumed to be reasonably correct.
One of the main problems in conducting rural community studies is the delineation of the area to be considered as a community. Since this study concerns only the Czech ethnic element, however, the task of delineating the community boundaries is not a difficult one. As an ethnic group, the Czechs live in close proximity to each other and are highly successful in preventing non-Czechs from moving into the area that they occupy. Not a single Czech family lives within a mile of the designated boundaries, whereas 95 Czech families live in the approximately 15 square-mile area included in this study. Within this area, with the exception of a small pocket of Negroes located in the extreme northeast corner, there live only three families of non-Czech origin. One of these is a Negro family which works a Czech widow's farm land on a "half-share" basis. The heads of the remaining two non-Czech families in the area are "Americans" who are occupied as high school superintendent and as resident minister of the Full Gospel church in the community, respectively.

In describing the location of a specific community, often distinct neighborhoods are pointed out. Within the community studied, however, neighborhood groupings are not apparent. Being of a common nationality origin, the people do not group themselves into neighborhoods but consider themselves and in turn are considered by others as members of one large community. This particular point is important to an understanding of the nature of social organization in the area.

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4 The Czechs use this term generally to designate the group of people whose basic language is English. In turn, they refer to themselves as "Czechs" although, they, too, are American citizens. It is also interesting to note that the Czech usually does not consider himself a "southerner" (cont'd page 32)
It should be pointed out that Snook is a cumulative community according to Sorokin's definition, as opposed to a "functional association." Specifically, Sorokin holds that the cumulative community is characterized by the presence of two or more social ties or bonds such as: kinship, marriage, similarity in religious beliefs, territorial proximity, community of occupational interests, attachment to the same social institutions, and general living, experiencing, and acting together.

B. Topography and Soils

Such elements as topography, climate, and soils unquestionably exert an important influence upon social organization in this area.

The Snook community embraces two distinct topographical regions, namely, the Blackland Prairie and the River Bottom Lowlands. The line of separation between these two runs approximately north and south near the center of the community. The western half is composed of the Blackland Prairie Division. It is a relatively treeless level prairie with very rich black sticky soils, usually known as "Blackland" or "Black waxy" soil. The eastern half, which is known as the River Bottom Lowlands, is also a relatively treeless area. The few trees that do exist are mainly elm, sycamore, oak, and pecan. The land is level to gently rolling, and its soil is what is locally known as red dish-brown clay. The soils of this community are

\(4\) (continued) but rather a "Texan." For purposes of this study, the term "American" will be used to indicate all whites who are not of Czech nationality descent.


\(6\) Ibid., pp. 307-312.
very fertile and have made the area known as one of the best cotton-producing areas in the county. In contrast to the fertile soils within the area, attention should be called to the fact that the community is bounded on three sides by sandy-lean soil. This area is occupied by Anglo- and German-Americans. 7

6. Climate

Texas weather variety and characteristics are widely recorded in song and story. The old saying, "One just can't tell about Texas weather," holds true for this particular area, as it is variable from time to time.

Snook people enjoy a generally mild climate, although the farmers complain about it a great deal. Recurrent wet and dry spells and light-damaging floods in the river bottoms are sources of constant complaints on the part of a few farmers.

7 The first Czech to settle in the community relates an interesting story concerning this development. When his father arrived to what is now known as the Snook area, he attempted to buy some farm land. The Americans who owned huge blocks of land in the county would sell the Czechs only land that was relatively devoid of trees, for they were of the opinion that a positive relationship existed between tree density and fertility of the soil. As a result of this practice, the Czechs luckily bought the most fertile land for the cheapest prices. Today, the average Czech makes a comfortable living on a fairly small-sized farm, while the Americans appear to have not done nearly as well on the sandy soils of the Post Oak areas.

8 Most of the statistics for this section were obtained from The Texas Almanac, 1947-1948 (Dallas: The Dallas Morning News, 1949), especially pp. 155-156.

In the absence of a weather bureau at Snook, the figures used in this section are the official figures compiled by the United States Weather Bureau Station at Somerville. Somerville is some 11 miles distant from Snook. It is realized that temperature readings and rainfall measurements may not be precisely the same in the two communities. The elevations of the two locations are about the same, however, and little difference in these measurements could be expected.
The mean annual temperature is 68.5°F Fahrenheit, yet temperatures were recorded as high as 100°F Fahrenheit and as low as 4°F Fahrenheit. Variations within different seasons of the year are not great. For example, summer temperatures are likely to vary between 80 and 90 degrees, and winter temperatures are likely to vary between 45 and 55 degrees. Normal temperature during July is 85.1, and during January, 51.4 degrees. Sub-zero temperatures are rarely experienced, but the "northerns" (north and northwest winds) sweep over this area at irregular intervals. They usually cause abrupt drops in temperature, often bringing freezing but not severely cold weather.

The average length of the growing season is 261 days, with the average dates of the last killing frost in the spring being March 25 and the first in the fall on November 12. Seldom do frosts ever occur later than April 1 or before November 1. Therefore, even under these extreme conditions, the time available for crop production is reduced by only a few days.

The rich and deep soil, the relatively long frost-free period, and the topography combine to produce ideal farming conditions in the area. Soils are also favored with rainfall as another element for successful farming. It is located in the sub-humid region of Texas. The average annual rainfall for a 22-year period is 33.7 inches, but rainfall is not very evenly distributed throughout the year. July is the driest month, averaging 1.17 inches, while May is the wettest month, averaging 4.18 inches.

Individual months vary some from these averages, but the community seldom experiences severe droughts. Usually, a shortage of rainfall causes pasture grasses to dry up every summer and the black soil will form cracks from two to three inches in width. This, of course, means a shortage of
pasture grass for livestock, but the cotton farmer looks upon the dry weather favorably, for it is the kind of weather he desires during cotton-harvesting season. Frequent late summer droughts with typically high temperatures afford a condition more suitable for cotton farming than for any other single crop enterprise. The last serious "dry spell" in the Snook area occurred in 1925, a year that most of the farmers use for purposes of comparison when expressing opinions about the weather in general.

In the winter, usually from November through January, rainfall is usually heavier than during the rest of the months of the year. It is seldom that flood waters do much damage to the crops, and soil erosion is not particularly a problem in the area. Rain, however, does hinder activities of the community. In any season there will be some days when it is too rainy or the ground too wet to work outdoors at all. With leisure time on his hands, however, the farmer is unable to take advantage of it for seldom will puddles of water be found on the black waxy soil, but when wet, it forms a gumbo-like mud that makes transportation by modern vehicles next to impossible. It is not uncommon for a farmer in the community to be unable to travel by automobile beyond the boundaries of his farm for a week at a time.

Farmers are not the only people affected. The rural "mail carrier" is often unable to deliver the mail when it rains, and he has to detour around certain parts of the community. To the gentlemen from the city who attempt to drive over the roads in the community after a rain, it more than likely means the assessment of a fee for being pulled by a pair of mules beyond the community boundaries. School children get a few unanticipated

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9 It is said that one farmer keeps his mules within easy "catching distance," "just in case" a city man might attempt to travel the muddy roads.
holidays each year because the buses are unable to travel through the mud. Community activities are geared to the weather conditions, for announcements of such events as picnics, dances, and even church services are accompanied with the proviso: "in case it doesn't rain."

D. Occupations

Occupations in which people are engaged affect the distribution of the population, activities of the inhabitants, the degree of economic security prevailing among the people, and the attitudes of many of the people of any given area. These factors in turn are important in interpreting the nature of social organization in the area.

That the Czech is closely tied to the land is a fact which is borne out in Table I, which was presented in the preceding chapter. More than 60 per cent of the family heads in the community are directly engaged in farming as an occupation. An additional 20 per cent are retired farmers, and of this group, all but one still live on the farm. Another interesting feature of this man-to-land relationship is that all of the retired farmers still own their farm land, with one exception. In this one exception, the retired farmer has divided his land among his children.

Less than 20 per cent of the family heads are engaged in non-agricultural occupations, but over 40 per cent of this group also own farm land ranging in size all the way from 23 to 400 acres.

These figures present a vivid picture of the extent to which the inhabitants of the community are bound to the soil. In addition to farming, about 10 per cent of those who are classed as farmers have other occupations by means of which to supplement their incomes.
The population not actively engaged in farming may be classified occupationally as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired widows</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton ginning (owners and laborers)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saloon operators</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational Agriculture Instructor (Veteran's Administration)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garage (owners and mechanics)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty Shop Operator</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith Shop</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Plant Laborer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile and Farm Machinery dealer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The automobile dealer holds his dealership in Caldwell and the industrial plant laborer works in a railroad-tie plant in Somerville. They travel back and forth to their respective jobs daily.\(^10\)

**E. Service Centers**

Since the construction of an all-weather road in 1944 which links the Snook business area with other larger towns, the small business section in the community has gained in popularity as a trade and service center. Prior to the construction of the highway, most of the merchandise in stock consisted of non-perishable goods. Today, however, the merchandise stores sell a variety of perishable goods, since deliveries of such items as bread and fresh foods are made to the community daily.

\(^{10}\) When asked if it were not rather inconvenient to live a distance of 20 miles from his work, one of them replied: "Yes, it is a little inconvenient, but I had rather live among my own type of people. All of my friends live in Snook and I wouldn't consider moving to town under any circumstances."
Of course, it is to be recognized that the services offered by such a small business section are necessarily limited. Snook boasts only three general merchandise stores, three garages, three saloons, two cotton gins, and one blacksmith shop. If the Czech wishes to construct a new building or repair an old one, he must obtain the necessary materials at Bryan, Caldwell, or Somerville. Broken parts for farm machinery must be purchased outside the community. Frequently, farmers may be overheard to complain: "Right in the middle of my work, I had to go to Bryan to get a new part." No medical or legal service is available in the community. If the resident cannot find time to get his hair cut on a Saturday, he has to "go without."

Thus, the services Snook has to offer are very limited. Yet the inhabitants do not go to neighboring towns often. When they do go to town, they are likely to spend several hours there shopping, for they knew they will not return again soon unless an emergency arises. In spite of its nearness to an urban area, there is a definite remoteness from the humdrum existence of city life; a quietness of solitude and understanding exists throughout the community.

Some ten years ago, the major trade centers serving the Snook area were Caldwell and Somerville. These two towns are both located within the county boundaries. Caldwell, with a population of 2,165, is the county seat of government of Burleson County. It is located approximately 20 miles to the northwest of Snook, and the two communities are linked by an

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In the Wyoming American, 1945-1946, p. 975.

12 Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, p. 993.


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P. 986.

The Wyoming American, 1945-1946

There has been a模范化 shift away from cattle and somtimé the trade good relations within the community, and as a result, in the past 10 years.

or each measure enough to get them. On the other hand, begin how partial

they would lose the community's trade, they have concrete the adoption

sentic. The time for a system or all-region roads were developed in the South com-

nent.

The time it's a system of all-region roads were developed in the South com-

In the past 10 years, however, and neither Caldwell nor Sommerville has made

by an all-region road, the inhabitants feel somewhat enfranchised towards

is loomed approximately 12 miles due South and is also linked with each

12


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P. 986.
The importance of transportation and communication

The economic, social and political ramifications of transportation and communication are profound. In the relationship between transportation and the nature of social organization, it is generally recognized in communication and transportation facilitate in.

F. Transportation and Communication

The importance of transportation and communication

Each locality from diverse sources has been better and practiced

sections at the same time the new communication devices have brought to

and better and have encouraged the growth of a more secular outdoor.

important role in the shift from primary to secondary types of human use-

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forms of group like toward large-scale secondary modes of association.

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on the relationship between transportation and the nature of social organization.

The importance of transportation and communication facilitate in

parade of arrivals for trips made by rail one of the area.

college station (about three miles from Bryan) the usual point of de-

Since school is not served by railroads, the transportation make Bryan or

nearby and timely, the main railroad line to Houston runs through Bryan.

Arrive better places for their produce in Bryan than at other towns

for farm machinery or other equipment may be purchased there. Friesen
some of which have been adopted and incorporated into the local culture.¹⁷

The role of communications and transportation in determining the nature of social organization and change in the Snook community shall be discussed in a later section. The purpose of the present section is to merely describe the nature of these two important elements within the area of study.

As such, systems of transportation and communication are relatively undeveloped in the community. The relative absence of all-weather roads has already been mentioned. Only about 3 miles of the 30 miles of roads are all-weather roads. Furthermore, almost one-half of the farm dwellings are two or more miles in distance from the nearest all-weather road, and over two-thirds of the farm dwellings are one mile or more in distance. This distinct handicap affects farm families, business, and the other institutions in the area.

About one-fourth of the families in the area possess no mode of transportation better than a wagon. The writer has been able to observe that those who possess an automobile or "pick-up" truck seldom, if ever, leave the community boundaries on extended trips. The average resident seldom leaves the community boundaries over three or four hours on any given trip and then only to "hunt for hands" or to "attend to some business in Bryan or Caldwell."

Within the past two years, bus service has been inaugurated between Lyons and Bryan. The bus stops in the Snook business section twice daily, but it appears that not many inhabitants take advantage of this service.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 235.
The community does not have railroad facilities. The rather infrequent traveler must go either to Somerville, Bryan, or College Station to board a train.

Certain modes of communication are relatively undeveloped in the community. For instance, only four families in the community possess telephones, a ratio of roughly one telephone for each 25 families. The telephones are of the party-line, handcrank type which have been outdated in most areas in Texas. Few are the inhabitants who have actually talked on the phone, as it is up to the merchants (who possess the phones) to carry on all business transactions for the community residents. All incoming long-distance calls for community residents are taken by the merchants and then relayed to the individual for whom the call was intended. If the resident's business is of such a nature that he is forced to make a long-distance call, the merchant does the talking on the phone while the resident stands by to furnish information on the nature of the business call and to supply answers to questions directed at him.

Snook does not enjoy a telegraphic or Western Union service. If one outside the area wishes to send a telegram to one of Snook's inhabitants, the telegram must be addressed to Lyons. The Lyons depot agent then phones a merchant that a local inhabitant has a telegram in Lyons and relates its contents to the merchant. The community merchant then relays the contents of the telegram to its intended addressee. If the contents of the telegram are adjudged to be unimportant in the mind of the station agent in Lyons, then the telegram is merely sent out the next day by regular mail service.

Newspapers and magazines are a constant source of pleasure for the community inhabitant. Yet, an inquiry into the nature of the reading
Change and social organization in the community

been on important factor in the nature of society people and advanced metabolism the Greek way of life. These people have
point. Many aristocratic may be found that express the virtues of the Greek

The Greek papers are naturally written from a stronger ethico

But are not as widely read as the Greek papers.

combination. Only approximate 70% of the population subscribed to

subscription to Greek newspapers than to the English dailies and weeklies

material reveals that there are a greater number of individuals...
The culture of the group which is given special consideration here is rooted in developments which date back several centuries. Historical incidents have played an important part in shaping the ethnic fabric of these people, and this fabric, in turn, affects the nature of social organization and change in the area. A knowledge of the past history of the Czechs is essential, therefore, not only for an understanding of the nature of social organization and change but also for a correct understanding of the ethnic character and social structure of the population. With this approach in mind, a brief general description of historical developments in that part of Europe which later became known as Czechoslovakia is presented. Through this medium, light is shed on the life, trials, and tribulations of the Czechs before and after they migrated to America.

The term "Czechoslovak" is of recent origin, dating back to 1918, when the united Czechs and Slovaks proclaimed their independence of Austria and their establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic. Czechoslovakia is made up of four provinces or sections which in times past have belonged to different governments or have been under different political, social, and religious influences for generations at a time. Hence, they have developed somewhat differently. These provinces are Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, and Ruthenia.

1 The term "Bohemia" is geographical and is in no wise an ethnic term. For instance, today the Slavs of Bohemia are referred to as "Czechs." The term "Czech" is an ethnic term, but these people were more commonly known as Bohemians before receiving their independence. They were (cont'd page 45)
A. Background of Czech Migration to America

The Czechs are a Slavic people who have lived continuously in Bohemia and Moravia since the fifth century. Their native land has no outlet to the sea, nor has it ever been far from the tumult and clash of arms. It has been highly sensitive to the disturbances that have shaken Europe, and it has always been exposed to the threat of invasion from its neighbors. In fact, Mareš states that, "Marauding Avars, Magyars, Mongols, Poles, Tartars, Huns, Romans, and Germans have taken advantage of this position at various times, usually trying to impose their current political and religious views on the Czechs, destroying, mutilating, or changing the pattern of life as they found it." Because of this procession of usurpers many people of Czech blood have surnames that reflect the nationality of an invading political power at a given time.

Since the time of emigration from their mother country was during a period of Hapsburg absolutism, a brief review of the conditions as they existed at that time in what was to become Czechoslovakia is presented.

1 (Continued) so named after the country in which they lived. At one time Bohemia was a separate kingdom and was composed of the territory now included in both the provinces of Bohemia and Moravia. The Czechs who migrated to the Snook area came from the province of Moravia, and dislike being referred to as Bohemians. This is not only true of the people who reside in Snook, but seems to be the case with other Czechs in Texas as well. For example, the following excerpt from a personal letter received by the writer from a professor who teaches Czech at the University of Houston bears out this point. Referring to this particular study, he states: "If more Czech-Americans would interest themselves in this subject or field, the term "Bohemian" should soon disappear from all books, newspapers, etc. Dr. Josef Pesek's history book helps to clear up this term that has been 'stuck' on the Czech people - I think it is a shame to use it and we should all work toward eliminating it entirely." (Personal letter of Professor John M. Krivanek to the author, dated April 27, 1949).

Following their defeat at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, in which Bohemian independence was lost to the Hapsburgs, the Czech people were forced to submit to a reign of terror. The triumph of the Hapsburgs was followed by a campaign of intense Catholicization and Germanization. Many Protestants were exiled or persecuted or forcibly converted to Roman Catholicism, and most of their property was confiscated. According to Young, in two years alone, 660 persons were condemned to complete or partial loss of their property and about three-quarters of the land in Bohemia was seized and was either sold by the Hapsburg government or given to generals, bishops, and others who were in the service of the government. Young describes the plight of the Czechs thusly:

All Protestant clergy were driven from the land, together with all those of the parishioners who refused to abandon their creed. Some 30,000 Protestant families were thus sent into exile, losing all their property by confiscation. Only the peasants, bound to the land, were not permitted to escape, for they were needed to work the land of their new masters. They were compelled, however, at least outwardly, to conform to Roman Catholicism, and their risings were ruthlessly suppressed.

The Czech nation was next subjected to a process of denationalization and Germanization. A regulation was handed down stating that in all offices and courts the German language was to enjoy equal rights with the Czech, which until then had been the only language used. Since the political appointees were either Germans or Czechs who were forced to use the German language, it displaced the Czech language at a rapid rate. In fact,

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3 Edgar P. Young, 

4 Loc. cit.
so bent were the Hapsburgs on wiping out the Czech language that Young
makes the following observation concerning their success in attaining the
objective:

Thus given official recognition, and with the encourage-
ment of the Court and of the bureaucracy, the German language
displaced the Czech to an ever-growing extent. The remnants
of the Czech nobility, aspiring after a career at Court for
themselves or for their children, took to speaking German
normally and sent their children to German schools, where
they became properly Germanized. The towns and villages,
depopulated by the counter-reformation, were inundated with
a new spate of German immigrants, and consequently they too
became very much Germanized. Indeed, if it had not been
that the Czech peasants remained tied to the land, the Ger-
manization of the Czech people might well have become com-
plete. This dangerous tendency was aggravated by the dis-
appearance from Bohemia of the greater part of the Czech
intellectuals. Czech literature ceased almost to exist and
with it the use of the Czech language for cultural purposes.
The University...had been handed over for the most part to
the Jesuits, with the result that Latin became the sole
medium of instruction.5

Thus, one might observe that not only were the Czech people perse-
cuted for their religious beliefs but they were subjected to the process
of Germanization in schools, government, and in the church. Concerning
this movement, Marosh writes: "books were destroyed; names were changed;
executions, banishment, exile, and confiscation were the rule. The popu-
lation fell from three million to one million. Thereafter, for a century,
tradition was kept alive only by word of mouth in the huts of the peasant
people."6

5 Ibid., p. 42.
6 Marosh, op. cit., p. 4.
Almost all of those who migrated to the Snook area belonged to the peasant class to which Nareh refers. Although there are conceded to be three different classes of peasants in Czecho-Slovakia, those who migrated to Snook belonged to the "chalupnik" (cottager) class who usually owned about five to twenty-five acres of land and lived in a small cottage. (See Figure 5 for an example of the type of home of some of the "better off" cottagers in Czecho-Slovakia before they moved to Snook.) But "a peasant is something quite distinct from anything that we know in America. On the one hand, he is a link in a chain of family inheritance and tradition that may run back for centuries, with a name, a reputation, and a posterity. On the other hand, he is confessedly and consciously an inferior. It is part of his world that there should be a God in heaven and masters (Herrschaften, Pani) on the earth." 7

Usually, the size of the peasant families was large and the size of holdings small. The father attempted to provide a farm for each of his sons by the time the boys were twenty years old. When the land was divided, each strip was generally partitioned lengthwise in order to insure equality. As a result of this practice of land subdivision, the strips were very narrow and long. 8


8 Sandor B. Kovace, in a paper entitled, Observations and Impressions of the Czecho-Slovaks in Bell County, Texas (unpublished), states that as a boy he used to go out on the edge of town with other boys and try to jump across some of the strips of land that were probably not more than eight to ten feet wide. Balch also states that it is said that the strips are sometimes so narrow that a man must walk on his neighbor's land to lead the plough-horse on his own. Op. cit., p. 40. No hedge, fence, or wall separate the individual land holdings. Each man's share is (cont'd page 50)
One of Snook's families resided in this dwelling in Czechooslovakia before coming to America. It was located near Hokenice in the State of Moravia. It is perhaps somewhat larger than the average cottager's home.
Due to the shortage of farm land, the peasants owned as few animals as possible, for most of the feed had to be raised for them on land that could have been otherwise devoted to raising crops for human consumption. The farmers believed in a subsistence type of farming and most of them had to fertilize the fields yearly.

According to our criteria, the peasant would be said to be "poor." The peasant uses different criteria. True, he may be in debt and his roof may leak, but "he is still a property owner, a taxpayer, a permanent constituent of an old social order, known to and knowing all his associates, and enjoying a respect nicely adjusted to his acres and family." He is head of his large family group which remains not only a social unit, but also, to some extent, an economic unit as long as he lives. Here is seen the so-called gross family in existence.

Kutak describes the life of the peasant family in the following manner:

The villages in which the peasants lived were often one long street with houses on either side. Each morning the men went from the village to their farms to work in the fields. The isolated farmhouse in America did not exist in Bohemia. In the village everyone knew everyone else, and there developed a strong feeling of community. The life of a peasant was an open book to his neighbors. His behavior was regulated by the public opinion of the community. He lived in a primary social group and the social relationships which he formed were very close, strong, permanent, and deep. The life of the group

(continued) marked only by a furrow of about a foot in width which must not be planted. Arguments and tensions frequently flare up when one of the farmers plows even the slightest fraction of land that does not rightfully belong to him.

Ibid., p. 44.
The census revealed that the peasantry lived in poverty. They were persecuted for their rule, the Czech peasantry lived in poverty. Under Austrian rule, the Czech peasantry were better off than Austrian citizens. Under Austrian rule, the Czech peasantry were better off than Austrian citizens.
religions and political beliefs, and their language and culture were suppressed. From steamship company agents, from friends and relatives who had emigrated here, and from articles they read in newspapers, they heard stories of riches and land that were waiting to be claimed in America. Most of all, however, they were interested in the democratic way of life in the new country, where each man could become a land owner and obtain the freedom he so desired. Emigration to America was their only hope for this freedom.12

B. Why the Czechs Migrated to America

The venture of emigration was given long and serious consideration. Notwithstanding very strict police regulations, advertisements, though veiled, appeared here and there telling of the great opportunities in America, giving instructions how to travel and other advice. Capek13 shows that advertisements were numerous in Czech papers, and that others opposed the emigration of their fellow-countrymen. For instance, he presents the following as evidence:

The Praske Noviny of September 16, 1847, edited by Karel Havlicek, admonished the readers not to emigrate. The article is obviously a reprint from the German. If the Czechs, the writer argues, who contemplate going to America, work as hard at home as Americans are known to toil, they will be surprised to find America at their own threshold. The Politické Vesnice Noviny a Cech of September 11, 1849, pleads with the


readers that love of the fatherland, if nothing else, should deter Czechs from migrating. Who but adventurers dare the trip to America, anyway?  

All of the disadvantages of the homeland and the opportunities believed to exist in the new land were taken into account. "The great American dream of the Czech pioneer was not composed of the fabric of material wealth and plenty, but rather it took for substance an unhampered existence, one not shut in by barriers of class distinction." With this main idea central in their minds, many Czechs decided to migrate to America.

Czech migration to America is said to have occurred in two waves in the nineteenth century. In the first, they poured in for two decades following 1848. Most of them went to the northern cities or mines. The second wave of migration occurred near the end of the nineteenth century and consisted mainly of peasants who came with the intention of buying property here and settling permanently, breaking completely away from their native land. Most of the Czechs in Texas and in particular, those in Smoak, belong to this second group of immigrants.

Some of the various reasons for Czech migration to America have already been mentioned. More specifically, however, they may be divided into the following categories: (1) religious persecution; (2) political

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14 *Loc. cit.*


upheaval; (3) military impressment; (4) adventure; and (5) economic opportunity.

Davis is of the opinion that the movement of population from Europe to the United States is, with few exceptions, almost entirely attributable to economic causes.\(^\text{17}\) He states that emigration due to political reasons and religious oppression undoubtedly exists, but even in countries where these incentives prevail the more important cause is largely an economic one.\(^\text{18}\)

A number of Czech emigrants desired to escape military service. Every man, with few exceptions, had to serve his three years under the hated Hapsburgs, and he was forbidden to marry until after his obligation for this service had been fulfilled. Such being the case, many emigrated so that their boys might not be made to serve, or in order to escape their own duty.

Be that as it may, a few case histories are presented so that a better understanding of the real reasons for migration might be reached. These statements were made to the writer in the Czech language and are freely translated by him. The first statement is that of an elderly gentleman who came to America alone in early adulthood.

I was born in Hranice (in Moravia) in 1877. My father was a "chalupnik" (cottage) who raised a large family, and we never were well off.

We were compelled to serve three years under the Hapsburgs in the army. Two of my brothers were compelled to serve before me, and neither of them liked it. When I became of age, according to the law, I had to serve in the army too.

\(^{17}\) Philip Davis, *Immigration and Americanization* (New York: Ginn and Company, 1920); p. 69.

\(^{18}\) *Loc. cit.*
In the army we were treated very badly - for instance, our pay was six cents a day for foot soldiers and eight cents a day for those who rode horses (cavalrymen). We were expected to keep our beards waxed and our boots shined, so that took all the money we made in the army. After buying the wax and shoe polish, we didn't have money left to buy cigarettes. If we wanted to smoke, our folks had to send us money from home to buy our tobacco with. Since my father was rather poor, I didn't smoke. In the army, we got two meals a day. Breakfast consisted of black coffee. We got a very good dinner, including such things as meat and peas, but we didn't get any supper at all.

I was a cavalryman in the army. We usually rode our horses in the deserts, and on rainy days we rode them in buildings which were a solid mass of red and yellow colors (German Colors). One day we were jumping our horses indoors over hurdles, when a cruel ringmaster made me try a jump that I knew was impossible to make. I fell and the horse fell on top of me. The ringmaster cursed me and tried to make me get up and get on my horse, but I couldn't move, so I was taken to the hospital and soon turned loose to shift for myself until I was well enough to return to active duty. Still I couldn't go home to my father for help, for he had all that he could do to make a living for himself. So I went to my uncle's house - bent, broken, and hobbling around with the help of a walking cane.

My uncle had a mill where he ground wheat, barley, and oats, and he also took newspapers from America. One day I saw an advertisement in the paper telling of the wonderful land called the United States. In the same issue, a Czech from Lavaca County, Texas had an article in the paper telling about the operation of a beef club. I remember saying to myself how good a life those people in America must have to be able to raise cattle and kill one to eat and to even divide the beef among themselves. Then and there, I thought if I were not crippled and had the money to go to America I would go there rather than to return to Cracow (to finish out the five months unserved term in the army).

I wrote for information as to how I could get to America. They (a steamship company) wrote back that all that was needed for the trip was 50 "krony" (about ten dollars). But I didn't have that much money; neither did anyone else that I knew. Shortly after that my back began to straighten out and I got a message from
Cracow from the army headquarters to report for a physical examination. If I could pass the physical examination I would return to the cavalry, and if I couldn't, I would finish out my time in a telegraph regiment. I redoubled my efforts to reach America.

I asked my father if he could possibly think of anyone who could lend me the necessary money for the trip to America. He said that he knew that my married sister had saved some money, but 50 "koruny" was so much money! I asked my sister to lend me the money, and she refused to do so, for she and her family had worked so hard to save it. Finally, my father ordered her to lend me the money. She did so, but only after I swore on a cross in her presence that I would repay it. So I finally got my chance to come to America without finishing out my term under those 19 Hapsburgs.

Others gave a variety of reasons for coming to America. One woman gave this reason:

Three of my brothers had come to America to get out of military service. They needed someone to cook for them, so they sent me some money for the trip and I came here. I didn't want to come, but my mother said there were enough mouths to feed at home without my being there too.

One man made this statement:

Someone wrote my father about Texas, and we were pretty heavily squeezed for money. My father didn't like the idea of having to work three days a week for the government for nothing...The Catholics were pretty rough on my family, but the king there granted a grant of religious tolerance. Even so, we still couldn't use bells of any kind, nor could we hold church services in any building that had a church steeple. My father said he just couldn't live in a place like that any longer.

19 As he used a curse word in referring to the Hapsburgs, he quickly added: "God forgive me for using such a word, but even the one I am using is too good for them."
A female member of one of the first families to arrive in Snook Stated:

My parents were very poor. They had to work as "nadenioi" (day laborers). We had such a big family that I would say poorness drove us out."

One of the immigrants who came to America in 1893 gave this explanation as to why his family moved to America:

My mother and father had ten children, and they owned a little farm. We poorer people had to farm the hills and had to do all the work by hand. We raised Irish potatoes and stuff to eat. Our biggest tool was a hoe. Some of the bigger farmers had mules, but there were very few. Everywhere the Germans wanted to teach school in German and to populate the area. We couldn't live on the farm produce, so we had to go to work. When I was 13 years old, I went to work in a furniture factory for 23 cents a day and had to board myself. My older brother had gone to _____, Texas and he wrote to have the family come to America, as things were better here. He sent us the money for the trip. We thought he must have been awfully rich to send that much money.

One of the later immigrants made this statement:

I came to America rather late (1913). In Europe, two families lived in the same room in our house. I started to work in a knife factory when I was 13 years old for 24 cents a day. I really came to America alone to marry my girl friend who had moved here with her parents.

One of the ladies thought that her parents moved to America because they had heard so much about the opportunities in the new world. She said:

My two cousins came back to Europe after living in America for a few years. They told my parents what a good living we could make here. My father arranged for my uncle to send us money for the trip to America, but we had to work for him for three years to pay off this debt before we could start renting land for ourselves.
C. Why the Czechs Came to Snook

The Czechs began emigrating to Texas shortly after 1830. Many individual immigrant families came in the 1840's. The first Czech settlement in Texas was begun at Catspring in Austin County, in 1847. The tide of immigration increased and Czechs came via New Orleans and Galveston with a determination to own productive land and to stay in Texas. They usually brought their families. Some came alone, planning to send for their families later. Few returned to Europe. They began to spread out all over the State, and to the counties just south of Burleson County in 1870. The principal settlements in the county at that time were Novy Tabor and Caldwell. The latter community especially had attracted a large number of Czechs. In the New World, these people were closely bound together and tried to help each other on every possible occasion. The Czechs in Caldwell found out that the Americans had the idea that the black soil they owned was not very good. Therefore, the fertile soil could be bought at a comparatively low figure. They immediately spread the word among the Czechs in the neighboring counties and suggested that the people avail themselves of this particular opportunity.

The first Czechs to arrive in what is now known as the Snook community was the Josef Slovacek family. One of the members of this family,  


21 Ibid., p. 5. Maresh states that at the present time there are ten Czech communities in Burleson County. It is the third most densely Czech-populated county in the state. Op. cit., p. 5.
Joe Slovacek, at that time an eleven-year old youth, still resides in the community. He relates the following story about his family's movement to the area:

From Europe my parents first came to Galveston and then moved to Rose Prairie. We farmed on 37 acres we owned. There were seven of us in the family and since the land was not very fertile, father thought that we should move to a new place where the land was better and where he could farm more acreage. Therefore, he was looking for a new location.

Some Czech people in Caldwell sent word by a peddler that good farm land was available at a cheap price in Burleson County. My father went to see the land and while there bought 120 acres. Immediately upon my father's return, we packed our belongings and started for what was to become our new home. It took us three days to cover the distance in a wagon which was pulled by mules. We arrived here on November 17, 1882. Within fourteen days after we arrived here, two more Czech families moved into the area. They were the Martin Kocurek's and the Joe Mikula's.

Seeing a chance to form an all-Czech community where they would not be bothered by other nationality groups, the first Czechs to arrive in what is now Snook quickly invited their friends and former neighbors to move into the area. They tried to discourage those who were of non-Czech origin. Within the brief span of some ten years, the area was "settled" by this nationality group, and a Czech "cultural island" was created. Some came after being invited by their friends and some came strictly "on their own." But of the various factors involved in moving to the area, the main drawing cards were that they could live among Czechs and could buy land at a reasonable price.

6 The deed for the land is recorded in the County Clerk's office in Burleson County. It indicates that the actual amount of land purchased was 121 1/4 acres. The deed is dated October 10, 1884. The person relating this incident lives on this same land today.
One female resident gives these details concerning the circumstances under which her family came to Snook:

My parents had borrowed money from my father's cousin in Brenham (Washington County) to come to America. So when we arrived in Galveston, we went straight to Brenham to pay off the debt. That took us two years. Then we rented some land from father's cousin for two more years, but the crops were not very good and we still hadn't been able to get ahead. My father found out from another Czech in Caldwell about the good land we could buy here. So my father went to Caldwell and borrowed every penny of the money he had to pay the Americans for the land from a Czech person who owned a saloon there. We moved here and paid it all back in 13 years.

Another person related this story of how her family happened to move to the area:

We were living in _____ (a Czech community in South Texas). A young man who had settled in Snook and owned his own farm was looking for a wife. So our neighbor told him about my sister. They wrote each other and decided to get married. Our whole family had always lived together since we came from Europe and since we didn't want to be separated, we moved to Snook when she got married. We have lived here since.

Perhaps one of the most interesting stories of all is the one told by an elderly gentleman about how he happened to come to Snook:

When the ship got to Galveston, I found that I had to show that I knew somebody in America who would give me a job. Since I was alone and didn't know anybody, I gave the immigration officials the name and address of a man whom I had once read about in the Czech newspaper back home. They believed me and let me go ashore. I didn't know where to go, as I had only $6 in cash money. As I walked down the street, I overheard a couple of Czech gentlemen talking, so I asked where I might go or what they would advise me to do. As my luck would have it, they told me that a Czech named Malina owned the Hotel Texas in Galveston. I went to him and explained my situation to him. He let me sleep there and fed me for about a week free of charge. He was also helping other Czech people out who had no place to go. After I had been there about a week or so, he told me that I should go talk to a certain man and gave me the location of where
he could be found. I went and talked to him. He was from Caldwell and had come to Galveston on a wagon to get a load of whiskey for a saloon there. He offered me a job, so I went along. I hadn't been there too long before I got acquainted with another man in Snook who owned a saloon. He asked me to work for him, so I moved here, got married, and have been farming ever since.

The preceding are illustrative of the personal statements made to the writer by the settlers concerning their background and motives for moving to Snook. A presentation of all of these statements would not be feasible, but a review of them indicates that two things were mainly responsible for the Czechs' settling in Snook. First, they were able to purchase good farm land at reasonable prices. Secondly, they could live among Czechs where their beliefs, practices, and customs could be preserved and where there would be some resemblance of the "good life" as it was lived in the "old country." Some of these customs and traditions have been preserved even to the present day, while others have slowly changed. Even in a community which retained a semblance of the "old country," some adjustments had to be made on the part of the immigrants.

D. Adjusting to the New Environment

"The immigrant arriving at an American port of entry brings with him a national character that has been inexorably impressed upon him by the influences of the group in which he has previously lived. It is not the same as the American national character, nor is it the same as his own national character would have been if he had been brought up in the United States."22

Many an immigrant came to America under the influence of stories and myths of wealth which exaggerated the advantages of a new country. Instead of acquiring wealth easily, he found that he suffered a loss of status, often being ignored or ridiculed for being "queer." Smith states that: "As immigrants with their home-land traditions come in contact with the American culture system, they experience grievous shocks...This is not necessarily due to the drab, sordid, or toilsome life of the immigrant...but because his whole old-world soul, which had been conditioned by a deep-rooted and ancient heritage, clashed at once with the spirit of America."23

As a result of this clash, the immigrant often became self-conscious and uneasy in the presence of Americans and tended to avoid them. He realized that while he was in America, he was not yet of America, but still a foreigner. In fact, he soon realized that his standards of conduct did not fit in the New World, and he was somewhat at a loss to understand the proper, acceptable standards of conduct. As Smith puts it, when they find that "their moral codes and behavior patterns do not fit and are even ridiculed, they are torn by conflicts. If these sacred elements in their lives are no longer true and dependable, then all else is false."24 They then become confused as they cannot follow their established behavior norms and have not had time to take over the new standards. Then, according to Smith,


24 Ibid., p. 69.
"characteristically the immigrant of the United States passes through a period of disorganization."\textsuperscript{25}

The adjustment to the New World, however, was not equally difficult for all immigrants. Those who migrated to Snook, for instance, were successful in settling as a nationality group, virtually unmolested by "outsiders." Naturally the situation was different from that in the homelands in some respects. The scattered farmstead pattern of settlement was far different from that of the highly organized village life at home, but on the whole, the problem of adjustment was not so great as it seemed to be among many other immigrant groups. Although relatively near to each other in space, the immigrants were virtually insulated from the native white population for several decades. The condition of the dirt roads; the absence of bus and railroad transportation; and the lack of communications in the community in its early days of development were factors that permitted the inhabitants to adjust gradually to the New World during a period of over half a century.

Although the process of adjustment was gradual, there were several things that the Czechs missed in their new environment. For example, one inhabitant who came directly to Snook from the old country made this statement concerning the things he missed most:

\textsuperscript{25} Smith, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 62. This immigrant's plight may best be explained in terms of the "marginal man" concept. Robert S. Park coined the expression "the marginal man" for the one who must live in two worlds at the same time. The marginal man may be defined as a person who occupies an intermediate position between two cultural groups; he is on the margin between two cultures or societies that are in conflict and never completely interpenetrate and fuse. Robert S. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," \textit{American Journal of Sociology}, XXXIII (May, 1928); 881-893.
I guess I missed seeing everybody every day most of all. When we first came here, we didn't know too many people, so we missed the people and the life like it was in Europe. Everybody used to live in a village there. We saw them every day and usually met at night at the tavern to drink beer and exchange news. Those were really the good days, but here we didn't get to see another family but maybe once a week or so. We worked in the fields from sun-up to sun-down and didn't feel like walking another three miles to see our neighbors at night. I am telling you; we were really glad when somebody used to give a dance so we could see everybody there. Some one used to give one nearly every Saturday night when we first settled here.

Another person said: "I don't know why, but things seemed to change right after we got here. In Europe we were more friendly and had better times and more fun. We used to have some fun here too, but everybody seemed to be looking out for themselves too much."

One elderly gentleman did not like the way he was treated by the Americans when he first came here. He didn't like "the way the Americans thought we were 'greenhorns.'" In Europe we were respected even if we were poor. We might not have had much money, but by God, nobody laughed at us. But we sure showed them -- look at their farms now and look at ours."

Another old timer exclaimed exuberantly: "What did I miss the most? Well, I'll tell you - that good Czech beer. The beer here had to take a back seat to ours. This is no beer here. Here it isn't good for you. There it is healthy and good for you."

The personal statements just presented are examples of some of the individual aspects of life that had changed with migration to the new country, but they do not reveal all of the heartaches and pains that went with the breaking away from one environment and moving to an entirely new one. The adjustments to the new way of life were hard to make. Differences in conduct
were to be expected, but when a person had to break with many sacred traditions, it was indeed painful. The stories related to the writer concerning the loneliness and heartaches were many. One woman relates that the children liked it here, but her parents did not like it at first. "I even remember that Papa cried once because he didn't like the water here. He said he wished he could get a good drink of that cool water we had in Czechoslovakia." She then added; "But I don't think that it was the water that made Papa cry. He was just so lonesome for the old country that he had to cry and have an excuse for it."

Another woman who was married and settled here had sent for her mother to come to Snook to live with her.

"Mama didn't stay long, though. She didn't like it here and went home, because it was so different here. She didn't want to leave me behind, but Mama knew she never would be happy anywhere else but back in Europe. To her, everybody was so happy and well in comparison with the way it was here that she didn't see much use in having a lot of money if you couldn't enjoy it. I remember she said she had rather be poor and happy than to live like we had to live. She was talking about living so far away from the neighbors and not getting together like we used to in the old country all the time."

One widow in the community who has raised her family and now lives alone said: "When we first came here, I used to get so lonesome for home I would cry. I used to think that if I just had wings I would fly back there and they never would get me to move again."

Thus the Czechs found that life was somewhat different in the New World and that they had to make certain adjustments in making the change in environment. They not only missed the Old World and all that it stood for in their minds, but those that were left behind also missed them. Several of the Czechs corresponded with members of their family who stayed in
Europe and also with former friends and neighbors. Some of these letters indicate not only that the Czechs were lonesome for the old country, but that the neighbors they left behind missed them, too. This is illustrated by the following translated excerpts of a letter from Czechoslovakia.

Referring in the opening section to the present neighbors, the letter states:

Mrs. H____ has already gone to H____. They can not get along with A____. And the old folks thought they would sell their cow and hide their money and they want to get 250 "slytych" (gold pieces) for J____'s death and also want to go away. Now one can see that they are just spinning around in debt as he himself said he owes 500 slytych at the bank, 300 slytych at another, 200 at still another, and even 200 slytych on a cow. They are selling even the cow and we hear that they would like to make a trade with 0____. 0____ would finance them and pay their debts and they would live in 0____'s house, but we do not know how it will come out.

If we knew that you wanted to come back for sure, and that you would come back, and if you would wish to live with us here as we would wish to be with you, then we would buy the place for you if they should sell it. We do not know the price for he might want more than it is worth, for he is pretty tricky. We would like for you to come as that is the reason we would buy it for you.

My wife would be very happy to have your wife for a neighbor again. Now during the (hay) drying season we kept thinking about you. It is a shame the way your old house is being treated. You always were so nice and peaceful, and how is it now? We used to hear your daughters sing and play on the flute and now we hear only fussing and noise.

Dear neighbors, be so good to us and come back to live by us. We will be expecting you for sure but first write to us right away if you are coming and if you are well and how you are getting along there. Once more we wish to repeat that we hope you are all well as well as your children.

An excerpt from another letter indicates that some of the children were missed by their former playmates. "It is a shame that you are not here,
as I would have someone to talk with. My little brother and sister, J__ and R__, think often about G__ that if she were here to come to see them, they would really play. Almost no one comes to see us any more since you left, just the W__'s and old lady F__. Almost every day we recall how either you or G__ or J__ used to come to see us."

Thus as Belch writes, "emigration always involves pain; pain to those who go, and, above all, pain to those left behind." Yet, the immigrants in the Smock community had relatively little time for thinking of home and reminiscing of the past, for their work called for long hours of toil and sweat in the fields for men and women alike. With the passing of time and a nominal amount of success, the Czechs have become adjusted to the New World, and few, if any, would desire to go back to their native land for any reason other than for a visit. For example, the following case is sufficiently typical to be representative of those who migrated here.

He sirree, I wouldn't want to move back to Czecho-slovakia. I wouldn't mind going for a visit, but that is all. After all, we got just what we came for. I go to the church of my choice, my children are all doing well and own their own farms, and I ask you in what other country would that be true today? Look at my clothes. I know they aren't especially fancy, but I have plenty more to wear when these wear out, and what is more, I'll never starve here.

I can't help but remember how I used to have to bow down and tip my cap to the landlord in Europe. Here I do that only when I want to. I'll tell you, young man, freedom is one thing that you young folks will always read about, but you will never know what it really means like us old-timers do.

26 Belch, op. cit., p. 58.
When asked if he did not consider moving back to the old country soon after he arrived here, one farmer replied, "No, I really didn't. With this good land here I just didn't see how I could do any better anywhere else. Here for the first time, I was my own boss and did as I pleased and it takes a lot to beat that."

Another immigrant made this remark:

We had just completed paying off our debt for our passage to America when we arrived in Snook. We started renting land from another Czech. When we moved here, the others saw that we didn't have much, so they got together and gave us pigs, chickens, cows, and such things. Now who would want to go back to the old country when we had friends here like that?

Some of the immigrants, then, had little difficulty in adjusting to their new environment. One of them pointed out that when he became disgusted here, he had only to remind himself of conditions in the old country and he forgot his petty difficulties at least temporarily. Another factor that helped them make the adjustment without too much difficulty was that the general conditions in Moravia had not changed a great deal since they had left it. Many received letters from home full of sadness and details that reminded them that the decision to move to the new country was a wise one.

The following letter from relatives in the old country was received by a family in the community who had sent them some clothes. According to the recipient of the letter, the two families had possessed about the same level of living in the old country. The letter served the purpose of reminding him of the progress he had made here in a relatively short time, and gave him a great sense of satisfaction in believing that he had done much better here than if he had chosen to stay in the old country. A translation of the complete letter follows:
Lovable Godparents,

Accept our best wishes and thank you for the present that you sent. We got it in good condition. There were five pairs of shoes for us and the sixth we gave to T. The girls are glad to get the white dress. You ought to see how they fought for it! (According to the recipient of the letter, white dresses and cloth were a rare luxury seldom afforded by the peasant class). Now I have one pair of shoes, R also one pair, and S also one pair. M and papa also have one pair. And with each pair was one pair of stockings (or socks)!

And the little coats we got just exactly at the right time because S didn’t have any at all. She kept the black one and M and F both wear the gray one.

Papa came out best of all. He got so many clothes and even a pair of shoes. Well, poor fellow, he really also didn’t have anything to wear and he is still sorry that you forgot to mail the pants too. He could really use them. He really doesn’t have any now.

Godmother, if you would ever send anything to L, Mama begs that if you could, then buy two more yards of that material — (the same kind you sent in the bundle). Mama put it away and said that if she had two more yards, she would sew a sheet out of it for the bed. But we cannot buy anything here, for it costs too much. And it is the same way with feather bed (or pillow slips) covers. If we wanted to buy the material for it, the material for one would cost 1,000 “koruny.” If you would have old ones there, even ones you have thrown away, send them to us. At our house, every piece of goods, no matter how old, is welcome.

We hope everything is well with the cousins also and especially little C. Will she join church this coming year? I will join already.

C, send me some of that ribbon. The ones in America are so beautiful. Our neighbors got some.

With grateful wishes,

B.

Excerpts from another letter written to a little girl in Snook by her friend in the Old Country also indicate that all was not well in the environment they had left behind:
Our teacher got your letter and relayed the message to us that you wished us well. Thank you for it. I think of you often. I am lonesome for you. I do not know if you still think of me. Do you like it there? We were surprised when the teacher read your letter that you also ride a horse. (Few of the peasant class were able to afford horses in the old country. The farming operations were performed by hand.) Those plums in the forest you mentioned—that would have been something for us.

Things are pretty bad here just as they used to be. There was a big scare here about the war. Everyone is running away that is able to run away...It rains often here and for that reason there is much mud. During the holidays it was cloudy and muddy. We had a beautifully decorated Christmas tree in church and we also got a little candy. We didn't have much this year but at least we got a little...

Thus we might conclude that when they first came to Snook, the adjustment to the new environment was perhaps not as difficult for the Czechs as it was for immigrants who settled in some other areas of the New World. From the time that the first Czech family moved to the area, the community developed rapidly. Other Czechs moved in, and they lived in close proximity with each other, virtually creating a community life of their own. They had little in common with the natives surrounding the area, and a strong sense of solidarity was obtained through sharing the experiences of the early struggle for peace and security. From a meager beginning, then, the community—its institutions, associations, agencies, and its pattern of life, developed.
Since the Czechs had little in common with the natives, they felt a need for being self-sufficient in the pursuit of their economic and social interests. They had no desire to attend the churches and schools of the Americans near by. They preferred their own churches, schools, and lodges, for it was felt that these institutions could better take care of most of their social and spiritual needs. Here the native customs and habits, the language, and the social values and traditions brought over by them could be preserved. At the time of their arrival supplies could be purchased at either Tusn or Merle, which were only two or three miles distant, but the stores were owned by Americans who were out to make a profit and not necessarily to win new friends. The Czechs, therefore, resolved to set up a community organization of their own. They desired to develop a community where all the ideals, and what seemed to them to be "the really good things in life," brought from their mother country could thrive and bear fruit.

The Czechs lost little time in developing the community. First of all, a cooperative store was organized and a building constructed for that purpose at a location which was at that time known as "Sebesta's Corner" or more commonly as "Sebesta." (See Figure 4). The cooperative store development was followed by the organization of the first benevolent and educational society in the area. This national organization was known as

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27 In the course of compiling the material for this section, the writer obtained several contradictory statements as to the exact dates and chronological order of occurrence of certain historical events. Although the brief history as presented is thought to be relatively accurate, certain minor discrepancies may exist. Written records for a few of the historical events are available, but in the main, statements of local residents comprise the only source of information.
the Cesko-Slovanský Podporující Spolek (The Czecho-Slovak Benevolent Society), and was one of the local units scattered throughout the United States where Czech immigrants settled. It is commonly referred to as the CSPS. It was non-sectarian and proved popular among the inhabitants. Within a few years after its organization, the society constructed a lodge hall near the store.

Next, the inhabitants decided that a school should be built. A one-room school building was completed in 1888 about midway between Sebesta and what is now the business section of the Snook community. Tom Bravanec, who still resides in Snook, was the first teacher in the new school. The language used in the school for the following three years was Czech. In 1891, according to the former teacher, a state law was passed requiring the teaching and use of English language in all public schools. The following statement reveals that this law was not adhered to very strictly:

The state passed a law that we would have to stop teaching the pupils in Czech and change over to English instead. But we didn't pay any attention to the law. We figured no one would know the difference. We got caught, though, when a school inspector showed up unexpectedly. When I saw him coming, I figured that was who it was, so I ordered the pupils to put their Czech books away and to pretend as if they were studying the English book we had issued them. But we didn't fool him. Although he was real nice about it, he told us that we would have to teach at least half of the time in English and could teach the other half in Czech.

Julius Sebesta, another resident of the community, recalled that when he taught school in the same building in 1901, only the English language was used. In addition to the regular school term, however, the pupils attended a Czech school for one month each year when the English school was not in session in order to gain a reading, writing, and speaking knowledge of Czech which would serve them in good standing with their parents and grandparents. The first school building was torn down in 1914, but was rebuilt and renamed the Moravia School. A plaque which is mounted in the present school building reveals that the school board was composed of three Czechs, and that even the county school superintendent at that time was a Czech. A general consolidation movement was inaugurated in 1935, and seven former independent school districts have since joined the Snook School district. In the meantime, the school building was moved and now stands near the business section of Snook. (See Figure 4.) It is now known as the Snook Rural High School, is fully accredited, and operates under a twelve-grade system.

In the meantime, the cooperative store sold out its interests to Josef Slovacek. Two Czechs, named Pujtik and Balcar, constructed a saloon at Sebesta in 1891. Shortly after this time, two brothers, John and Martin Bubac, put up a building and entered the saloon business where the business section of Snook is now located. This was soon followed by the construction of 2 stores and a cotton gin by separate parties who also were Czechs. These business establishments were centrally located in the community and therefore replaced the Sebesta area as the business center.

Prior to this time, the community did not possess a name. It was simply included in a section commonly known to most people in the area as "Mound Prairie." One of the present day inhabitants related the following
story about how Snook got its name:

Since we had a few business establishments concentrated in one place, we wanted our own post office, too. Our first problem was to find out how we could get around the law. It (the law) stated that no two post offices could be located within a specified number of miles of each other. We knew that Dabney Hill had a post office and that it was too close to our business places for both of us to have one. Dabney Hill was a Negro settlement about two miles from the Snook business section. So we did the best thing that we could have done. The man who had the rural "mail-carrier" route in the area was named Snook. So we decided that if we could get a post office of our own, we would name it after him. When he found that out, strangely enough, we had as a post office named Snook, Texas, and the Negroes didn't have any post office at all.

Thus Snook was not named after any of her citizens but rather as a matter of expediency.\(^\text{29}\)

At first the Czechs were pleased with the CGPS fraternal organization. As an organization, it paid out monetary benefits to the sick and beneficiaries of the deceased. The lodge hall was the scene of many colorful picnics, all-day barbecues, and dances. It is difficult to overestimate the value of this organization in the cultural, social, and fraternal life of the Czechs in these early days. One writer speaks of the value of such organizations in the following terms: "The growth, influence, and comprehension of these organizations among the Texas Czechs, beginning with a deep respect for inherent spiritual and educational needs, and functioning now as a movement that touches every phase of cultural, economic, and physical activity, might almost be called a Czech design for American

\(^{29}\) Maresh, op. cit., lists some 34 towns in Texas that have Czech names today; p. 5.
living." The lodge dues were comparatively low at first, but according to a former member, they were revised and the premiums were raised. In the opinion of most of the members, the new rates were too high, so a majority of them withdrew their memberships. The few who desired to retain their memberships transferred them to the New Tabor chapter. This organization was immediately replaced by the inauguration of a local chapter of the Slovenska Podporujici Jednota Statu Texas (The Slavonic Benevolent Order of the State of Texas) on March 17, 1897. It was a benevolent organization that posed no restrictions on membership based on religious or political belief or nationality; however, it forbade the discussion of political beliefs and religious questions at any of its meetings. Regular meetings were held in the CSPS hall continually until November, 1910, at which time a new hall was built on the present site. In January of 1911 the hall burned down and another was immediately built. This one served until June, 1935. It was torn down and rebuilt, and in December, 1935, the new one was dedicated. (See Figure 21.)

It was some time after the Czechs settled in the Snook area before they were able to build a church. Building was costly, particularly at first, since the material had to be hauled from Galveston, a distance of some one hundred and twenty miles. Such being the case, the Czechs usually held church services in the homes of individual inhabitants. As has been shown, this group of people had been persecuted for their religious beliefs

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30 Marsh, op. cit., p. 6.

31 I. J. Gallia, "Jaký Pedali Razli Ceskoslovan na Vybudovani Lepsich Pomorve ve Statu Texas" (The Part the Czechs took in the Development of Better Conditions in Texas), The Vestnik (July 22, 1936); p. 56.
in the old country by the Hapsburgs, and a great majority of them were 
Protestants who wished to worship according to the dictates of their own 
conscience.

A resident of the community relates this story about Protestant 
church services in the early days:

Since we didn't have a church building, we had services in the homes of different people. We used to have services at my father's house when I was a little girl. I remember the minister who used to hold services here was named Juren (Reverend Henry Juren, who arrived in Texas in 1876 from Czecho-Slovakia and settled at Fayetteville, Texas.) Most of the people walked to the services, and if it was a nice day, we would usually have a picnic afterwards. We used to make our church services all-day affairs. I am afraid that the only reason for attending these services wasn't altogether religious in nature, but they were social affairs as well. If it rained and the minister was not able to come, we had services anyway. Whole families sometimes walked six or seven miles just to attend these services and to see their friends and neighbors.

In 1904 the Czech Protestant Churches were united into one Synod called Evangelické Jednoty Česko-Moravských Bratrů (The Evangelical Unity of the Czech Moravian Brethren). In 1913, the inhabitants constructed a church building and became a member of the Synod. The building still stands on the same spot today (see Figure 19.) In it, the Czechs speak their own language and, even today, the church is a vital functioning part of the social organization of the community.

A few of the migrants were Catholics. Although they were definitely in the minority, the Catholics constructed a church in 1917 known as the

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32 Malik, op. cit., p. 15.
Ketolicky Chram Pana Svateho Jakuba (Saint Jacob's Catholic Church).

Services were held intermittently in the church until in recent years, when the congregation became so small that church services were discontinued. The building, however, still stands.

A recent development in the community has been the founding of the Assembly of God church, which is a branch of the Holiness or Pentecostal movement. A Czech minister began this movement in the community, and a small minority of Czechs withdrew from the Moravian Brethren Church and joined it. This group constructed a church in the vicinity of the old Sebesta community in the spring of 1934.

Although the construction of a community store was the first cooperative economic effort of the Czechs, it was not the only such cooperative endeavor. Shortly after the Czechs arrived, they formed a Masova Schusa (Beef Club). The operation of the first such club was so successful that soon two additional clubs were organized. Through this medium of cooperative effort, the inhabitants avail themselves of the opportunity of having fresh beef every week of the year. As an organization the value of these clubs is not only economic, but the clubs also furnish a convenient weekly meeting place for the farmers where they can discuss mutual problems, the weather, the crops, and other matters of general interest.

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33 The term, "beef club," is a local term and appears to be somewhat similar to what T. Lynn Smith and Lauren C. Post refer to as the "country butchery," in "The Country Butchery: A Cooperative Institution," Rural Sociology, II (September, 1937); 335-337.
Thus from the time of the arrival of the first Czech in the area which is now known as Snook, the historical background of the community has been traced. Adjustments to the new environment were not easy to make, but the Czechs seem to have succeeded in building a community which more nearly fulfill their needs than did those from which they came. Today none of them would like to return to Czechoslovakia to live, for they have found the economic and social opportunity which they sought. They appear to be content in this community which has in every sense become their "own."
CHAPTER IV

THE POPULATION

"In a treatise on the sociology of rural life it is essential to give a prominent place to a discussion of the rural population, because any thoroughgoing understanding of rural society and rural life is largely dependent upon a rather full understanding of the characteristics of the rural people themselves." Smith could have expanded this statement and added that the nature of social organization and change is directly related to the demographic characteristics of an area. With this central thesis in mind, the present chapter is presented as an analysis of the population characteristics of this particular cultural group.

In order to render the demographic characteristics of the area meaningful, however, the characteristics of other populations are compared with those of Snook. As Smith points out, "there is little value in demographic comparison...unless the data are first divided by race and residence." Attention should be called to the fact that Snook's population under consideration here is either foreign-born white or native white and resides in an area classified by the Census Bureau as rural. For these reasons, then, the white populations of Burleson County, Texas and the United

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States were chosen for purposes of comparison. In making these comparisons, figures were obtained from two different sources. For the larger areas Census Bureau figures were used, but the Census Bureau does not carry figures for areas as small as Snook. Thus the population characteristics presented for the Snook area were obtained from the questionnaires comprising the basic data for this study. The information for Snook is necessarily limited to the year 1945, because figures are not available for previous years. This handicap naturally impossible a discussion of population trends or changes.

Another limitation is placed on the data presented in that the figures for Snook and the other areas are not for the same year. Since the Census of the United States is taken only at ten-year intervals (in years ending in zero, such as 1920, 1930, 1940, etc.), the latest figures available for the areas other than Snook are for 1940. As has been pointed out, the only figures available for Snook are for 1945. Since it is assumed that some changes will have normally taken place in the eight-year interim, allowances must be made for this difference in comparing the characteristics of the populations. Throughout the chapter, attention will be called to additional technical errors in the data used, but a thorough discussion of them is not presented. ³

³ For a thorough explanation of technical errors in the use of statistical data for population analysis, see Ibid., Passim.
the central facts of demography. They also are crucial aspects of social organization. These items are directly related to such phenomena as number of social contacts, primary or secondary group relationships, social institutions, and thus to the social organization and the nature of social change in a given area.

The total population of the community is 316 (See Table II.) Of this number, 47 (14.3 per cent) live in the village proper, and 271 (85.2 per cent) live in the open country area.

The density of population of the area is less than one-half that of the United States as a whole and less than either that of the state of Texas or Burleson County. For the entire United States in 1940 this index was 64.2 persons per square mile while it was only approximately 21.2 persons per square mile in the area studied. Burleson County has a population density slightly higher than that of the state of Texas (27.0 and 24.3, respectively). Thus Snook's population density is not as great as it is in the other areas mentioned. This is to be expected, however, in view of the fact that all of its population is classified as rural and that there is only one small hamlet in the area studied.

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4 Ibid., p. 3.

5 The term "approximately" is used because the exact size of the Snook community is not known. As previously mentioned, however, it is estimated to be about 15 square miles in area.

6 According to the classification used by the Bureau of the Census, Burleson County possesses no urban population, although some 4,000 inhabitants live in three centers located within the boundaries of the county.
Table II

HOMETOWNS OF THE SONS OF COMMUNITY CLASSIFIED BY AGE, SEX, AND GENERATION, 1946

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<th>Age</th>
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<th>Third</th>
<th>Fourth</th>
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<th>F.</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<th>F.</th>
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Source: Questionnaire data for 958 black households.
B. The Composition of the Population

The population composition of any given area affects all social institutions and many phases of social organization. If one is to fully understand the "whys and wherefores" of social organization and change in any community, he must know the composition of its population. Such being the case, it is logical to devote some space to showing the actual makeup of Snook's population and to pointing out in what ways it differs from others. Among the characteristics ordinarily included in compositional analyses, this study treats age, sex, and nativity. A thorough consideration of these aspects of population make-up should prove helpful to an understanding of the nature of social organization and change in the area.

1. Age Composition

It is obvious that the age composition of a given society exerts a strong influence upon social dynamics and organization. As Smith puts it, "the age structure of the population is of paramount importance because in a great many ways, some of them extremely subtle, age conditions practically every aspect of social phenomena." For instance, where the old

Other elements usually included in discussions of population composition are excluded here. These ordinarily consist of such elements as marital status, educational status, religious affiliation, and others. They are discussed in following sections which trace the changes that have taken place in them.

For an excellent discussion of the social significance of different patterns of age distribution, see Paul H. Landis, Population Problems (New York: American Book Company, 1943); pp. 277-300. Landis is of the opinion that no society can completely ignore the factor of age and understand itself.

are given a prominent place in social affairs, they tend to dominate. As a result of this domination, Melvin says that social and recreational life is "institutionalized, routinized, formal, and patronizing." He further states that where older people predominate and control the group, action is standardized, lacks spontaneity, and is usually conducted by one of the institutions or well-recognized organizations. In fact, Melvin goes so far as to venture the opinion that the predominance of older ages among farmers in New York accounts for their conservative tendencies as compared with the radical tendencies of farmers in the Middle West, where the population is younger.

Thus an inquiry into the age composition of the population studied should prove fruitful. There are, however, specific limitations that are placed on the reliability of data concerning the ages reported. The unreliability of age reporting seems to be universal, but as pointed out by Smith and Hitt, this phenomenon is more characteristic of women than men. Allowance must be made for such errors in the data, especially when comparing age characteristics for a given population with another population.

The distribution of Snook's population by specific age categories is shown in Table III. This table also includes comparable data for the white rural populations of Burleson County, Texas, and the nation. It

10 Bruce Melvin, "Age and Sex Distribution in Relation to Rural Behavior," Publications of The American Sociological Society, XXIII (December, 1928); 93-103.

11 Loc. cit.

## Table III

PERCENTAGES OF POPULATION IN SPECIFIC AGE CATEGORIES FOR SNOOK (1948)* AND THE WHITE RURAL POPULATIONS OF BURLESON COUNTY, TEXAS, AND THE UNITED STATES (1940)** BY SEX

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</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 95 Snook Households.

**Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Population, 1940, Volume II, Part 2, Table 7; Part 6, Table 7; and Part 6, Table 22.
provides the raw material from which age-sex pyramids have been drawn for the same populations. (Figures 6, 7, 8, and 9). Age-sex pyramids are widely used in presenting the essential characteristics of the age and sex distribution of populations and are excellent devices for comparing different populations.

As Smith points out, however, age-sex pyramids have certain weaknesses, and for the purposes of comparing different populations, index numbers are more useful. Using the United States white rural population of 1940 as a norm, index numbers were computed for the populations of Snook and the white rural populations of Burleson County and Texas. These computations appear in Table IV and furnish the raw data for the construction of Figure 10, which shows the relative importance of each age group in their respective populations. Thus valuable information concerning the age structure of Snook's population may be obtained by comparing the pyramids and index numbers for these populations.

In a standard population, discounting migration, there are fewer people in each age group as one progresses upward from the age of one year to 75 years and over, for each year death takes a toll. But Snook's population does not fit this normal pattern. An examination of the illustrations based on the two graphic techniques discloses that its population is distributed from one successive age group to another in a somewhat irregular manner.

The nation's white rural population typically has a concentration of children and a scarcity of people in the working ages. This is also true

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Figure 6

Age-sex pyramid for the White Rural Population of the United States, 1940
Figure 7
Age-Sex pyramid for the White Rural Population of Texas, 1960
Figure 8

Age-sex pyramid for the White Rural Population of Burleson County, Texas, 1940
Figure 9
Age-sex pyramid for the Czech Population of Snook Community, Burleson County, Texas, 1948

Age Period
- 75 -
- 70 -
- 65 -
- 60 -
- 55 -
- 50 -
- 45 -
- 40 -
- 35 -
- 30 -
- 25 -
- 20 -
- 15 -
- 10 -
- 5 -
- 0 -

Per cent Male  Per cent Female
### TABLE IV

**INDEX NUMBERS SHOWING RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF AGE CATEGORIES FOR SNOOK (1940)* AND THE WHITE RURAL POPULATIONS OF BURLESON COUNTY AND TEXAS (1940)**

(United States White Rural Population, 1940 = 100)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Categories</th>
<th>Snook</th>
<th>Burleson County</th>
<th>Texas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>113.6</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>104.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>102.1</td>
<td>106.3</td>
<td>107.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>78.2</td>
<td>105.0</td>
<td>105.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>107.0</td>
<td>104.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>97.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>105.3</td>
<td>106.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>125.7</td>
<td>92.8</td>
<td>107.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>117.2</td>
<td>103.1</td>
<td>106.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>114.1</td>
<td>98.3</td>
<td>98.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>107.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>94.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>86.3</td>
<td>98.0</td>
<td>90.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>132.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>88.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>109.1</td>
<td>86.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>156.7</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>235.0</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-over</td>
<td>86.4</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>72.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data from 98 Snook Households.

**Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Population, 1940, Volume II, Part 2, Table 2; Part 6, Table 7; and Part 6, Table 22.
Figure 10. Index numbers showing the relative importance of each age group for Snook (1940) and the White Rural Populations of Burleson County and Texas (1940) (U.S. White Rural Population = 100).
of Snook's population. However, there are several noticeable differences among the age distributions under consideration here.

A significant contrast exists between Snook and the other populations considered in respect to the very youngest age group. The age group "under 5" in Snook is larger than in any of the other populations with which it is compared. Since we may assume that the migration factor is negligible in children at this young age and that the death rates will probably not vary a great deal in these respective populations, we may conclude that a higher birth rate is reflected in the age composition of Snook's population.

A deficiency in the "20 to 24" age group is typical of all four of the areas compared. However, this deficiency is more pronounced in the population of Snook than in those of the other areas under consideration. Since it is no longer possible for oncoming generations in the area to go out and take additional farm land in the community, and since employment opportunity in other occupations is decidedly limited, it is to be expected that the youths will have to go elsewhere to find employment as long as a relatively high birth rate is maintained. Many studies have been conducted by rural sociologists in an attempt to show the effects of this phenomenon upon the quality of the residual rural population. Perhaps no generalization can be formulated concerning the selective nature of the rural-urban migration of youth that will apply to all situations and circumstances, but one can go so far as to state that it ordinarily tends to skim off at least a part of the best blood in the community. This could not have other than a critical influence upon the institutional vitality and tempo of social change in the area.
The urbanward migration of Snook's youth appears to have gotten underway only recently. In the other three areas noted the age categories above 25 decrease in importance with some regularity as the ages increase, but Snook's population has a particularly marked concentration in some of these ages. The age groups 30 to 34 and 60 to 64 in Snook are especially large. This difference would indicate that until recent years Snook has lost far less of its population through migration than have the other areas considered. The social significance of the predominance of the other age groups has already been noted, and here it is needed only to add that this predominance is an important determinant of the nature of social organization and change in the area.

Another important measure of age composition is the age dependency ratio - the number of persons under 15 and 65 and over for every 100 persons from 15 through 64 years of age. None of the other three populations analysed in this study contain as small a proportion in the dependent ages as does the national total. The age dependency ratio is 56.3 for the white rural population of the United States. It is but slightly higher for the white rural populations of Texas and Burleson County (56.7 and 56.6, respectively). Snook, with a ratio of 65.6 has a considerably higher proportion of dependents than the other populations considered. Thus we might conclude that youngsters and oldsters are proportionately more numerous in the Snook area. This factor should be kept in mind in analyzing the nature of social organization and change in the area.
2. **Sex Composition**

The balance of the sexes not only affects the social and economic life of any given society, but also plays an important role in influencing social organization within that society. The sex ratio is widely used for describing the sex composition of a population. This ratio (the number of males for every 100 females) is relatively free of errors and therefore is one of the handiest tools known to man for describing this phenomenon. The value of the sex ratio is enhanced considerably by its computation for each individual age group in the population. As has been pointed out previously, however, the misstatement of ages will result in some inaccuracies creeping into the reported balance of the sexes in specific age groups. Account must be taken of these inaccuracies in the interpretation of the sex composition of specific ages of the populations considered.

In Figure XI the sex ratios by age of the population of Snook and the white rural populations of Burleson County, Texas, and the United States are charted. An inspection of this chart reveals significant differentials among the sex ratios of these populations.

It is characteristic of white rural populations that males outnumber females. The white rural segment of the nation has a high sex ratio (108.5). Likewise, Burleson County and Texas show a definite preponderance of males. Such, however, is not the case with Snook's population. In this community females outnumber the males, the sex ratio being low, 97.5. Thus, of the

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14 For an interesting discussion on this point, see Landis, op. cit., (especially pp. 272-275).
Figure 11
Sex ratios by age for Snook (1968) and the White Rural Populations of Burleson County, Texas, and the United States (1960)
four rural populations compared, only that of Snook includes more females than males. It is likewise characteristic of the nation's white rural population for males to outnumber females in all of the individual age groupings. This characteristic is also true for both the white rural populations of Texas and of Burleson County, with one exception. In the ages between 5 and 14 Burleson County possesses a sex ratio slightly less than 100.

The sex ratio for Snook's population is somewhat lower than those for the other populations with which it is compared, especially for the ages from 0 to 9 and from 60 to 75 and over. The low sex ratio in the early ages indicates an apparently low sex ratio at birth. In the older ages more widows than widowers reside in the community, and thus above the age of 60, the sex ratio is low; that is, there are more females than males.

Snook's age group "20 to 24" contains the highest sex ratio recorded in Table III - 200. In rural areas girls move to towns and cities earlier in life and in larger numbers than do boys. Thus, in rural areas there is a preponderance of males in these ages.\(^{15}\) This holds true for all of the four populations observed, but Snook's females apparently left in proportionately greater numbers than did the females of the other populations.

The slight preponderance of females in the age group "35 through 39" indicates that apparently the movement of young people from the Snook area

\(^{15}\) For an illustration of this point, see G. Horace Hamilton, "The Annual Rate of Departure of Rural Youths from Parental Homes," *Rural Sociology, Volume I* (June, 1936); pp. 164-179.
during depression years involved more males than females. This situation, however, does not appear to exist during "normal" times.

3. Nativity

Among the characteristics which distinguish and set off one population from another, nativity and origin are among the most important. An overwhelming proportion (almost 98 per cent) of Snook's population is of Czech nationality origin, and this factor more than any other accounts for the presence of the particular modes of behavior which characterize the community.

Since the foreign-born element in the Snook community is concentrated in the older ages, the above statement is especially true. It has been pointed out that where the aged are respected, they are important in determining the nature of social organization and change. Thus the foreign-born have an important bearing on the preservation in rural areas of traditions and standards, for they resist social change to a great degree.

As Landis states: "Unique religious groups, fairly distinct agricultural practices, variations in work customs, in educational traditions, in recreational interests, and differences in thrift and frugality and in progressive tendencies and many other such phenomena can be attributed to the presence of immigrant groups in many rural communities."16

Of the total population of the community of 316 inhabitants, 311 (97.5 per cent) are of Czech nationality origin. Of this number, 18 (5.8 per cent) are foreign-born; 93 (29.9 per cent) belong to the second generation; 120 (35.6 per cent) to the third generation; and 80 (25.7 per cent) to the fourth generation. These figures have important implications in explaining social change since, as Ogburn and Minkoff are able to illustrate, children of immigrants learn new ways better and quicker than do the old people.17 We might perhaps assume that an inverse ratio exists between resistance to social change and the successive generations.

Snook's proportion of the foreign-born (5.7 per cent) is somewhat larger than that found in the nation's rural population (4.5 per cent). As compared with Texas (3.1 per cent), the foreign-born element is almost twice as prevalent in the community, although Burleson County's proportion is higher (6.8 per cent).

In making use of these figures for bases of comparison, however, attention should be called to the fact that whereas Burleson County's foreign-born element includes all of the different nationality groups, Snook's foreign-born element is of one common nationality origin. Thus it may be assumed that the per cent of foreign-born of any one given nationality group in Burleson County will be much lower than the concentration of the one nationality group present in the community. The facts that the foreign-born element in Snook's population is so large and that such a large proportion of the population is of one national origin further affect

the nature of social organization and change in the community. This common background is conducive to greater solidarity and a gemeinschaft-like relationship, and has marked effects on the permanent ideologies and behavior patterns prevalent in the area.

6. The Vital Processes: Fertility and Mortality

Smith states that "the reproduction and mortality rates are of such primordial social significance that together they are designated as the vital processes."\(^{19}\)

Far-reaching in effects are the reproductive and mortality rates in the rural community. When the birth rate is higher than the death rate, for instance, many more reach maturity yearly in most cases than can find employment vacated by the old. This means that the youths must leave the community,\(^{20}\) and that the older members predominate not only in numbers but also in controlling the mores and modes of accepted behavior in the community. As has been previously pointed out, this age factor is a very

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20 The implications for society of this phenomenon have often been discussed. Although some of the social consequences have been pointed out previously in the present chapter, note should be made of the fact that numerous studies have asserted that the "cream" of the rural youth migrate to urban areas. For a discussion of this problem, see, for example, O. E. Baker, *The Outlook for Rural Youth* (U. S. Department of Agriculture Extension Service Circular 223, Washington, D. C., 1935); and C. Horace Hamilton, *Rural-Urban Migration in North Carolina* (North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 295, Raleigh, 1934).
important influence upon the nature of social organization and change in any given community.

On the other hand, when the death rate exceeds the birth rate, employment is usually available in the community and the youths are not forced to migrate from the area. The youths, through their willingness to accept new ideas, often cause social change to take place at a more rapid pace than the oldsters are willing to accept, and conflict often arises between the two groups, thus weakening the social solidarity in the community.

1. Fertility

The rate of reproduction of a population may be measured by three different methods, namely the birth rate, the fertility ratio, and the net reproduction rate. The first of these is usually given in terms of the number of births per thousand of the population, without any refinement for age, sex, occupation, or any other of the characteristics in which populations may differ. Expressed in this manner it is called the crude birth rate.21

As Vandiver among others has pointed out, the crude birth rate is not a very reliable gauge of human fertility, for age and sex difference in the composition of different populations operate in such a way as to reduce its significance.22 The standardized birth rate takes account of

---

21 Since Snook's population is so small, the number of births used in computing the crude birth rate was derived by taking a five-year average of births in the population and by using the total population in the community in 1946.

22 Joseph S. Vandiver, "A Demographic Comparison of Plantation and Non-Plantation Counties in the Cotton Belt" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1946); p. 128.
age and sex differences and thus is a more reliable gauge of fertility. In this study, however, standardized birth rates were not computed since vital statistics data for different residence breakdowns are not available.

A second index of fertility is the fertility ratio. As used in this study it is derived by dividing the number of children under 5 years of age by the number of women in the childbearing ages (20 to 44), and multiplying by 1,000. Although not a perfect measure of the rate of reproduction, the fertility ratio has several advantages over other measures.23

Computations of the two measures of fertility just described reveal that Snook's population is more fertile than are those of the white rural population of either Burleson County, the state, or the United States. The crude birth rates for these populations were computed and are compared in Figure 12. An inspection of this figure reveals that Snook's birth rate is 25.1 whereas the birth rates for the rural white population of Burleson County is only 17.6. For the rural white populations of Texas and the United States, these ratios are 15.1 and 15.6, respectively.

The fertility ratios for Snook's population and the white rural populations of Burleson County, the state, and the United States were computed. The resulting ratios are presented in Figure 13. Snook's fertility ratio (708.3) is much higher than that of the rural white populations of either Burleson County (559.1), Texas (552.5), or the nation (551.4). One should keep in mind that in computing both of the measures of fertility

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23 For an excellent discussion of both the advantages and disadvantages of the fertility ratio, see J. Allan Beagle and T. Lynn Smith, Differential Fertility in Louisiana (Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 403, Baton Rouge, 1946); pp. 7-8.
Birth rates for Snook (1946) and the White Rural Populations of Burleson County, Texas, and the United States (1940)

Class of Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Birth Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Snook</td>
<td>(25.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burleson County</td>
<td>(17.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>(18.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>(18.6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 12

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snook Households
**Source: Vital Statistics of the United States, 1940 Part II, Table 2, pp. 69; 85; and 47.
Figure 13

Fertility Ratios for Snook (1918*) and the White Rural Populations of Burleson County, Texas, and the United States (1940**)

Class of Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Fertility Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Snook</td>
<td>708.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burleson County</td>
<td>559.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>552.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>551.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snook Households
**Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Population, 1940, II, Part 2, Table 7; Part 6, Table 7; and Part 1, Table 22.
used that the data for Snook are for 1945, the data for the others for 1940. During the interim, the birth rate undoubtedly rose. Whether its increase was of sufficient magnitude to account for the observed differences is not positively known. It is the writer's opinion, however, that after allowance is made for this, the fertility of Snook remains significantly higher. This would be expected in view of Smith's statement that the "peaks of human fertility are found in the most remote rural sections of the country."  

2. Mortality

Two principal indexes, the death rate and the life expectation table, are used in the measurement of mortality. The crude death rate is the number of deaths occurring in one year for each 1,000 persons in any given population. Thus its computation is comparable to that of the crude birth rate except deaths rather than births are involved. Just as in the case of the birth rate, age and sex differences in the composition of different populations operate in such a way as to reduce the significance of the crude death rate. Despite this limitation, the death rate is a valuable gauge of a population's mortality.

The "life table" indicates the average number of years that those of any given age from birth onward may expect to live. This index is extremely valuable. Its computation, however, is fairly intricate. Its use is drastically limited in that such tables are not available for small

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Therefore, the crude death rate is relied on to reveal the mortality differences in the populations considered.

Snook's total population is so small and the number of deaths vary so much from year to year that a nine-year average of deaths was computed. A total of 36 persons died in Snook during the years 1940 to 1948. As is shown in Figure 14, this gives the community a crude death rate of 12.6. This rate is somewhat higher than that found in the white rural populations of Burleson County (7.6), Texas (7.3), or the United States (9.5). This mortality differential is probably due to the high proportion of old people in Snook's population, as the death rate for old people is inevitably high.

Smith is of the opinion that "as a simple device for gauging the general welfare of the population the infant mortality rate has few rivals." Therefore, if one is to consider that the infant mortality rate can be applied as an index of rural health, a brief consideration of the existing conditions in infant mortality in Snook should prove valuable. The infant mortality rate is the ratio of the number of deaths of children under one year of age to every 1,000 live births during one year. As was the case in computing the crude death rates in the area, the number of infant deaths in Snook was so small that a five-year average was used for the community. Infant mortality rates were computed for Snook (using the five-year average of infant deaths and births) and for the white rural populations of

25 Ibid., pp. 158-159.

26 This total does not include two deaths that occurred on the battlefronts in World War II. Since these two deaths were resultant from a cause that was not present in 1940 (the base year for which death rates in the other three populations were computed) the exclusion of these two cases from consideration would seem justified.

Figure 14

Death Rates for Snook (1948) and the White Rural Populations of Burleson County, Texas, and the United States (1940)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of Population</th>
<th>Snook</th>
<th>Burleson County</th>
<th>Texas</th>
<th>United States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(12.6)</td>
<td>( 7.6)</td>
<td>( 7.8)</td>
<td>( 9.5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Death Rate

Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snook Households
**Source: Vital Statistics of the United States, 1940, II, Table 2, p. 47; Table 9, pp. 178 and 204.**
Burleson County, Texas, and the United States for 1940. The results of these computations appear in Figure 15.

An inspection of Figure 15 reveals that the infant mortality rate in Snook (31.3) compares favorably with that in the nation (31.8) as well as with that in the state of Texas (36.8). Burleson County, however, has an exceptionally low infant mortality rate (15.0). Since Snook is a part of this larger area, it is obvious that the community falls far behind the surrounding area in regard to this index.

### 3. Natural Increase

The excess of births over the number of deaths in any given area is known as natural increase. Since Snook's birth rate for 1943 is around 25, and its death rate is around 13, the rate of natural increase should be about 12 per 1,000. In other words, if there were no migration, Snook's population would have increased by about 4 persons during the year. However, emigration in actual numbers has doubtless exceeded the natural increase in the past few years and shall probably continue to exceed the natural increase for several years to come.

### D. Migration

Smith states that "migration, or the movement of people from one place to another, is of great social significance. Migration affects directly not only the physical constitution and health of the population but also the social structures and processes of society, and it exerts tremendous influences upon the personalities of individuals."

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28 Ibid., p. 291.
Table 15

Infant mortality rates for Snook (1968*) and the White Rural Populations of Burleson County, Texas, and the United States (1960**)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of Population</th>
<th>Burleson (31.3)</th>
<th>Texas (36.8)</th>
<th>United States (31.8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snook Households

**Source: Vital Statistics of the United States, 1966, II, Table 2, pp. 10, 18, and 96.
Migration is important in many different ways. By disturbing the age and sex composition of a population, it affects marriage rates, breaks down social bonds and institutional ties of the individuals, and therefore influences the church, school, and other institutions and agencies. Within the community studied, migration is responsible at least in part for the disproportionately high ratio of older people in the community. This factor, in turn, has a drastic effect on the nature of social organization and change in the community. The older people are passive in the face of change, and there is a great deal of social pressure applied by the elders toward the maintenance of the status quo in the area.

On the other hand, migration plays an important part in the process known as diffusion. Landis illustrates how important the migration factor is in this respect by stating that "rapidity of mechanical change and to some extent of change in group custom and individual habit is dependent upon efficient methods of diffusion. The natural tendency of habit is to persist, of culture to remain inert to change and only through diffusion is the rate of change speeded up." 29

With this thesis in mind, the topic of migration at this point will be considered under two headings, migration to and from the area. 30

29 Landis, op. cit., p. 304.

30 An exhaustive treatment of migration to and from Snook is not presented at this point, for various factors of migration are discussed in other sections. The topic of farm-to-farm migration will be considered in Chapter V which deals with agriculture as a way of life in the community.
1. Migration to Snook

As a rule, demographers have not been greatly concerned with migration into farm areas. Perhaps the reason for this is that traditionally, rural areas have been heavy net exporters rather than importers of population. However, for the purpose of this study, migration to the Snook area is very important, since the present population make-up of the community is a major force in determining the nature of social organization and change in the area.

Table V bears out the fact that of the 318 inhabitants living in Snook, over 73 per cent were born in the community. An additional 6 per cent were born in the same county, and about 10 per cent in the adjoining county. A total of these would indicate that about 90 per cent of Snook's residents were born either in the community or only a very short distance from it. This figure is significant when it is supplemented by the fact that the inhabitants seldom travel beyond a radius of 30 miles, thus reducing the chances for new ideas to penetrate the community proper. As such, the relative absence of movement into the area can be viewed as a retardant to the process of diffusion and consequently to social change.

Less than 6 per cent of Snook's population born in the United States were born farther away than the adjoining county but not more than

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31 As one old-timer put it: "why should I go farther than Bryan or Caldwell? I'm well satisfied with Snook. I've got everything a man could want right here - peace, friends, and everything. Look what happens to the youngsters who leave it - they go chasing after something they never seem to quite catch. Sure they get good jobs and make money, but they also forget how to speak Czech and how to 'live'. Hope, I'd rather stay here in peace and quiet and let the rest of the world go chasing after something they never will find."
### TABLE V

PLACE OF BIRTH OF PRESENT POPULATION BY SEX AND GENERATION, SNOOK COMMUNITY, 1948*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>First Generation</th>
<th>Second Generation</th>
<th>Third Generation</th>
<th>Fourth Generation</th>
<th>Non-Greeks</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M.**</td>
<td>F**</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>F.</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Snook</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burleson County</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farther than adjoining county</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but less than 100 miles</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 to 200 miles distant</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 to 400 miles distant</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data from 98 Snoon Households.

** M. - Male; F. - Female.
200 miles distant from the community. In fact, excluding the foreign-born, no individual was born outside the state of Texas.

Almost 6 per cent of the population were born in what was to become the republic of Czechoslovakia. Attention should be called to the fact that a majority of this group has lived in the Snook community for 40 years or more. Members of this group, more so than any other, hardly ever leave the community boundaries. They have held most tenaciously to the customs, folkways, and mores of the old country. As shall be pointed out later, they insist that their native language be spoken in church and that certain modes of behavior practiced in their native land be adhered to. Although small in number, members of this group constitute a powerful force and may be considered the virtual dictators of social organization and change in the community.

2. Migration From Snook

The rate of natural increase has been commented on in a previous section. Farm land has been subdivided to the point that a further subdivision would result in a lower level of living than is presently found in the community. Such being the case, a majority of the youths migrate from the area upon attaining adolescence or early adulthood. The majority of the migrants are between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five. 32

32 According to Smith in The Sociology of Rural Life, pp. 186-187, this phenomenon is characteristic of most rural areas.
The parents of 98 Czech households in Snook bore a total of 408 children. Of this number, 34 died, which left a total of 377 survivors. Of this number, 242 (64.2 per cent) of the children have left their parental homes. One should add that a big majority of those children still at home are in the early years of life and have not reached the ages which are most susceptible to migration. Of the total number who left their parental homes, 69.8 per cent left the community, whereas 30.2 per cent established homes of their own in the community. Attention should be called to the fact that six male family heads had left the community and returned.

A review of the figures reveals that Snook's sex ratio is low and yet migration from Snook seems to be selective for females. Of the total number of 162 migrants leaving the area, only about 45 per cent were males, whereas about 55 per cent were females. Another interesting point is that of the 73 who left their parental homes and established homes of their own in the community, 40 per cent were males and 60 per cent were females. Thus one might conclude that the evident low sex ratio at birth is a phenomenon peculiarly characteristic of the area.

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33 These figures refer only to the families residing in Snook at the time of the survey. Thus if entire families had left the community prior to the survey, they are not accounted for here.

34 This number includes among others four males who are in the United States Armed Forces plus two males and one female who were residents of mental institutions at the time of the survey.

35 One of these was a young farmer of about 30 years of age who had held a position in an oil refinery. When questioned as to why he came back to Snook to live, where he would have to be content with a smaller income, he replied: "You know, I never was satisfied away from Snook. I didn't like the things they taught my children in the city and I want them to be brought up more like I was. I'll never be rich here, but those city boys can have the money. I'll at least be my own boss here and get along with everybody."
3. Destination of the Migrants

Figure 16 shows the destination of persons migrating from Snook. An investigation of the places of destination reveals that over 55 per cent of the migrants from Snook settle in Harris County, Texas. The city of Houston is located in Harris County, and it is by far the most popular destination for those leaving the community. The Czechs who move to Houston are able to transfer their memberships to a church of the same religious denomination and to a lodge of the same fraternal order. They are also able to mingle with other Czechs. These combined factors at least partially account for Houston's popularity. A total of 9.2 per cent settled in adjoining counties and an additional 9.8 per cent in Burleson County outside the community boundaries. No migrants to foreign countries were reported, and only six individuals left the state of Texas (See Figure 16).

Of the migrants who left the community, 13.5 per cent of the females and only 11 per cent of the males reside in rural areas, while 86.5 per cent of the females and 89 per cent of the males reside in population centers classified as urban. Thus an overwhelming majority moved to urban areas.

In accordance with the well-known principle, fewer females than persons of the male sex are involved in long-distance migration. This is especially evident for out-of-state migration since four out of the total number of six to migrate beyond the state's boundaries are males.

Thus attention has been called to Snook's demographic characteristics and to selected factors for the purpose of giving a general description of the area studied. The historical background of the community has
Figure 16. Map of Texas Showing Destinations of Persons Migrating From Households Residing in Snook, 1946.
also been traced. It will now be possible to concentrate on the underly-
ing problems of the study which form its central theme; namely, What is
the nature of social organization in Snoek, a Czech-American rural community?
and What are the changes that have occurred in the major manifestations of
life of these people?
CHAPTER V

FARMING AS A WAY OF LIFE

A. The Ability of the Czecho as a Farmer

One of the universal characteristics of mankind is variability. Park and Miller state that "...nationalities differ widely in the details of their conception and practice of life, and even their behavior in connection with general ideals which they hold in common is often curiously and startlingly different."¹

As a people, the Czeches are different in many ways from other nationality groups. As compared with other groups, they attach values to different things and different values to the same things. The value they attach to farming as a way of life, for example, has won them recognition for their achievements in this enterprise. Anderson² found that as a farmer, the Czecho-Slovak farmer far outstripped the native farmer in Virginia. He describes the difference in the following manner:

They (the Czeches) came with little money and without credit. The land they bought was the poorest on the market and had to be cleared of second growth or redeemed from infertility. They had no knowledge of local farming; and frequently when they turned to the natives for advice, they were made the butt of practical jokes.

¹ Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted, (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1921); p. 2.

Today these same foreigners are counted, even by the Virginians, among the best farmers in the region. They are trusted where the natives often want for credit. Their farms are conspicuously attractive and fertile. All about them is farm tenancy, and most of the old Virginian families have been dispossessed of their once famous estates; yet 90 per cent of the farms of the Czechoslovaks are conceded to be free from debt. In their methods of farming, they have outstripped the natives.\(^3\)

Lynch observed very much the same situation in Oklahoma. In a study which dealt mainly with the stability of a Czech farm group in Oklahoma, he noted that some 50 years ago Czechs and native white farmers settled on land which was similar in topography and fertility. The Czechs and native white groups met the problems of the same soil, the same climate and economic conditions, and produced the same crops. Yet the results of a survey of the area revealed that after 50 years of farming, the Czechs had made much more progress than did the native whites in many respects. For instance, the native white groups had more tenancy within them; their land was in poorer condition than Czech land; they had poorer homes and less equipment as a group than did the Czechs.\(^5\)

Favorable reports came from other parts of the country in which Czech farmers are found. A report of the Immigration Commission in 1911 states that: "Reports from various sources...assert that there are no better, more intelligent, or more prosperous farmers in Nebraska than the Bohemians."\(^6\) The same commission report said of the Czechs in Texas that


"the Bohemian is thoroughly respected as a farmer...he stands very well commercially and as a citizen and farmer." Others have commented very favorably on the proficiency of the Czechs as farmers in Texas. In fact nowhere was the author able to find any statement to the contrary.

The Czech forms an integral part of the country of which he is a citizen, and because of that his life, as well as the lives of other groups, is affected by the conditions existing in the country. His opportunities in agriculture are the same as those of his fellow-citizens or other groups of populations. Yet according to the evidence presented he appears to be more successful in his farming operations than do his fellow-citizens. One might then ask the question: Why have the Czechs been so successful in their farming operations? To this question, one might supply several answers, but in the main, there is one which is outstanding. Farming is not only a distinctive form of work with the Czech, but it is a distinct mode of life. It is not only a vocation but an avocation. Using this statement as our central thesis, the present chapter is a description of the farming methods and of the psychical conditioning which are fundamental to the Czechs' successful agricultural career. The changes which

7 Ibid., p. 375.

8 LeRoy Hodges states: "In Texas the Bohemians farm most intelligently and use the most improved implements and methods of cultivation... They form a group of citizens of which Texas is proud, and every effort is being made to induce greater numbers of them to settle in the State." "Bohemians on Texas Farms," Senate Documents, XXIX, Number 595, 63rd Congress, 2nd Session, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914); p. 12. Henry R. Maresch writes that "their greatest contribution has been in the line of agricultural pursuits, and praises of their skill and application are often heard from officials and inspectors of state departments of agriculture." "The Czechs in Texas," The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, L, (October, 1946); p. 6.
have occurred in these methods and in the psychical characteristics in this area are also elaborated upon.

B. The Czech's Agricultural Background As A Conditioning Factor

Among human beings, behavior at any given time is strongly influenced by the experiences of the past, both in the habits of the individual and in the customs of the group. The origin of many behavioral traits are obscure, but they are "...so definitely a part of the national tradition that even the second and third generations of Czeches in the United States, especially in the farming or agricultural communities and neighborhoods, act on the basis of the old world characteristics."9

One of the conditioning factors in the agricultural background of the Czechs was inadequate land resources. This factor created a land-hungry peasantry. Land hunger saw its origin under the Hapsburg regime, for under their rule, only small land holdings were left to Czech peasants. Edgar Young states that according to the last census prior to World War I, in the ex-Austrian territories of Bohemia and Moravia, 1,049,457 small farmers had holdings of under 5 acres each. This meant that over 70 per of all land owners owned only 6.5 per cent of the land area.10 Thus in

9 Sandor E. Kovacs, Observations and Impressions of the Czeches in Eastern Bell County, Texas (unpublished paper, undated); pp. 3-4.

10 Edgar E. Young, Czechoslovakia: Keystone of Peace and Democracy (London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1938); p. 137. As a contrast to this situation, members of the Austro-Hungarian ruling class or individuals or families owned several large estates. "The Schwartenburg families owned 187 estates with a total area of close to half a million acres. The wealthier bishops and religious orders also owned several estates, one bishop being lord of a property measuring 114,394 acres." Loc. cit.
the "old country" family members generally had to combine agricultural pursuits on their own small farms and either outside agricultural labor or a skilled trade in order to exist. The shortage of land affected the Czech very deeply, for it acted as a conditioning factor that called forth the utmost in planning, ingenuity, and hard and long hours of toil in order to secure a living. Land, in fact, was at such a premium that it was almost worshipped. Even today, there is great pride in the ownership of land and ownership itself is a symbol of security. Success, to the Czech, means the ownership of a farm with the necessary buildings and equipment. One can say that traditionally the Czech identifies himself with the soil and considers farming by tradition his rightful occupation. He feels attached to the soil and to his neighbors by ties of a higher and nobler order than a mere economic one. He has suffered a common oppression with his neighbors, and his experience with the soil has been such that he views it and his work with an idealistic feeling. Farming, with its cares, anxieties, and pleasures is so congenial to the Czech that it fills his life so completely as to exclude the idea that farming might be exchanged for another and more profitable employment.

11 Lynch is of the opinion that the Czechs have been conditioned by an inadequacy of land resources for centuries..."until the lessons of thrift, industry, and ingenuity had become a definite part of their cultural heritage." Op. cit., p. 90.

12 The Czechs appear to feel towards their land much the same as Kirsch writes of the attachment of the French peasant to his soil: "... he covets his land with wistful passionate eyes on his Sundays, when he has to abstain from working on it; in going off he turns around to throw at his mistress a look full of passion." William Kirsch, The Jew and the Land (Madison: American Association for Agricultural Legislation Bulletin No. 7, 1920); p. 23.
The Czech is very closely tied by bonds of affection to the soil, and the relationship between the two is very much the same as Kirsch describes the relationship between a Russian peasant and his land:

...he is so closely united to it, and to all the mutations which the land undergoes in the course of the same year, that he and the land are almost living as parts of the same whole.

Nevertheless, (he) does not feel in the least like a bondsman, chained to the soil; on the contrary, the union between the man and the object of his cares has nothing compulsory in it. It is free and pure because springing spontaneously from the unmixed and evident good, the land is bestowing on the man. Quite independently of any selfish incentive, the man begins to feel convinced that for this good received he must repay the land, his benefactress, with care and labor.\textsuperscript{13}

Since land was at such a premium in the old country as much abundance as possible had to be produced from it not only for the current year, but for the future years and succeeding generations. No new land was available if the old land became "worn out." Such being the case, the people moved about but very little. They loved to live on the land and took great pride in keeping it in good condition. This particular trait is a definite part of the Czech farming tradition of today. To a certain extent, one's social status is partially determined in the community by the way he treats his soil.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{13} Loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{14} To get publicly drunk or not to attend church is excusable and not especially frowned upon. The practice of permitting grass to grow in one's field, however, is inexcusable in the eyes of the Czech. This is best illustrated by a farmer who, while being interviewed in his field pointed to an adjoining field which was being worked by an American farmer, saying: "There can't be much to a man who lets his field get in that grassy shape. You can always tell what kind of a man lives on a place just by looking at his field."
Thus with the Czechs, farming is not only the means to an end but an end and a value itself; it is a way of life and not merely a business enterprise. Since farming is a distinct mode of life with the Czechs, it is important to describe the agricultural life and the farming industry which exists in the area and to note the changes that have occurred in the different aspects of farming through the years.

C. Czech Agriculture Today

The Czech's life is greatly influenced by his means of livelihood which in turn affects and molds many aspects of his social contacts, his personal habits, community attitudes, and the resultant social organization. Agriculture, as it exists in the community today, is the product of a well-defined set of habits of thought and behavior patterns which have been built up from earliest infancy in an environment unlike that predominating in most of the United States. Although the matrix of rural custom in agriculture is set, it has necessarily been flexible for it has had to yield slowly to changed conditions and circumstances. Some of the old agricultural patterns have been modified and some new patterns have been at least partially accepted. The accomplishments of the Czech in the farming enterprise have been reviewed. An attempt has been made to explain his success in terms of the attitude he takes towards his land and farming as a way of life. Keeping this background in mind, a view of agriculture as it exists today is presented, and the changes that have taken place in the agricultural pattern are noted.
1. Land Ownership

Most of the Czech farmers came to this country ingrained with a desire to become members of the land owner class as soon as possible. They desired to own more land than they had been able to accumulate in the old country. Land, to their way of thinking, is a symbol of wealth, which is tangible evidence of their success. So deeply is this idea imbedded in the minds of the Czechs that this is characteristic not only of the farmers but also of those engaged in other occupations.

An investigation of Table VI reveals that some 70 per cent of the farmers own their farm land whereas 19 out of 20 retired farmers also own farm land. In this one exception the farmer had owned land at one time but divided it among his children upon his retirement. It is particularly interesting to note that of the 20 family heads in the community who are engaged in occupations other than farming, 40 per cent own some farm land. The combined total of the area of land controlled by this group exceeds 1,330 acres. These figures serve to indicate the relative importance attached to ownership of land in the minds of the Czechs.15 On the other hand, the importance attached to land ownership is not as great today as it has been in the past. It is not as important with the third generation Czechs as it is with the foreign-born element.

15 One young business man when asked why he bought farm land since he was engaged in another occupation replied, "I don't know why I invested money in a farm except that I do know that I have always wanted to own one. Somehow, owning a farm makes one feel more secure. It's more permanent than a business and it is something that everybody can see. You take, for instance, if something should happen to me, my wife and children would always be able to make a living out of the farm whereas that might not be true with my business."
### Table VI

Farm owners classified according to occupational group and generation, Snook community, 1945*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Retired Farmers</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Others</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Owning land</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Owning land</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Owning land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9**</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire data from 98 Snook households.

**The one retired farmer who does not presently own farm land has divided his land among his children.
Over four out of five of both the first and second generation family heads own farm land while this is true with less than one-half of the third generation Csechs. This difference is more apparent than real, however, for the age differential among the generations probably accounts, at least in part, for the differences which exist in land ownership.

Ownership of land did not come easy to the average Csech. Many of the immigrants had to borrow money to pay for the passage to their new homes. The debts accumulated in this manner had to be paid back in terms of years of hard labor. Some of the Smock immigrants had to work for several years before their debts were paid. Then they had to rent land for a number of years before successfully climbing the so-called agricultural ladder.

An average of 11 years was required by the first generation farmers to change their status from renter to that of owner. The second and third generation farmers have required slightly less time to change their status from renter to owner, the time required being slightly more than 9 and less than 8 years, respectively. That land ownership is usually not easily attained is an accepted fact. Yet 32 of the 40 farmers who presently own their farms were formerly renters. This large proportion of former renters who attained ownership required an average of slightly more than 9 years to change their former renter status to the owner class. For so large a proportion of farmers to successfully climb the agricultural ladder has necessarily meant many long hours of hard work and the exercise of thrift, industry, and ingenuity on the part of the Csechs. In fact, so extensively were these characteristics practiced that they have become a part of the cultural heritage of the children even of today.
Present owners in the community acquired their land in several ways. The methods by which these owners came into possession of their holdings were through inheritance, purchase, and a combination of the two. Of the 67 owners in the community, only 8 attained ownership solely through inheritance, 33 bought their land, 25 inherited part and purchased part, and one acquired his by marriage. Since the members of the first generation had to purchase their land and have been in the community only about 60 years, it is only natural that inheritance of property is becoming a more common phenomenon with the passage of time.

There are no fixed rules of inheritance, but money is usually equally divided among the children. When it comes to dividing the land, however, the farmer sees to it that the land all goes to one person as he realizes that a division of the average size farms would result in holdings too small for the children to operate separately. In his way of thinking, the farm must continue under the operation of one of the family members and must not be broken up in small strips and sold. Sometimes one of the girls remains at home and gets married while the rest of the children leave home. In this case, her husband inherits a major portion of the farm and pays the claims of his wife’s brothers and sisters in order to clear the title. As a rule, however, one of the boys in the family remains at home with the parents while the other children either move to the city or locate on another plot of land in the community to take up farming on their own. The one who stays at home with the parents is usually the eldest of the boys or the boy in the family who has expressed a desire to continue farming and eventually take over the farm altogether. He takes care of the owner in his old age and operates the
farm according to the directions and advice of his parents. In settling of the estate, the son who has remained on the farm with his parents usually is willed a lien's share of the farm. This is looked upon as partial repayment for looking after his aged parents. The son then pays the minor claims of his brothers and sisters to clear the title to his farm.  

The 67 owners in the community listed 10,259 acres for taxation in 1948, representing an average holding of about 153 acres. Almost half of all owners hold less than 100 acres, however. (See Table VII.) Only 9 own 250 acres or more, and only three of those own 700 acres or more. Only one individual owns over 1,000 acres. The total assessed value of the land held by the Czechs residing in the community is $142,540.

16 It is interesting to note that in the 20-odd years that the writer has lived in the community he does not recall a single law suit or even a minor argument that has developed over the system of land inheritance just described. The parent's will is accepted without question even though it sometimes appears to favor an individual member of the family.

17 All of the land under consideration here is not located within the designated boundaries of the community. The soil in the community is very fertile and is devoted to the production of crops. Many of the farmers, however, own additional land in the Post Oak area. This land is used for grazing purposes. In fact, none of the larger holdings are within the community boundaries.

18 This figure was arrived at on the basis of records kept in the Burleson County tax collector-assessor's office. On the basis of actual land values in the area this figure is thought to be low. Much of the land is assessed at $10. an acre, and none of it is assessed at a value greater than $30. an acre. If one were interested in buying land in Snook at the present time, however, he would be expected to pay between $100 and $125. per acre.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of Ownership (Acres)</th>
<th>Number of Owners</th>
<th>Percent of Total Owners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 50</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 to 74</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 to 99</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 to 124</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 to 149</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 to 199</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 to 249</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250 to 349</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350 to 449</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>450 and over</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>67</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data from 98 Snook Households.*
Absentee owners control a very small portion of the land in the community. Only 4 Non-Czechs and 3 Czechs are absentee owners, controlling the sum total of 764 acres. One of the absentee group lives in the county, whereas the other six live outside the county in urban areas. Two of the three Czech absentee owners had inherited their land after they had moved to the city, and the third is an elderly widow who lives in Bryan with her married daughter. In all three cases of absentee ownership on the part of the Czechs, the land in the community is being operated by relatives.

2. Farm Tenancy

It is generally conceded that a system of land tenure approximating that in which every man owns the farm on which he lives and works is the ideal to be sought. Gee points out that "...many writers on farm tenancy convey the impression that it is an unmitigated evil." Yet, all farm tenancy is not an evil, for it has been shown that 50 per cent of the farmers in the community who own their farm land have made use of this system as a convenient stepping stone towards ownership. A certain amount of tenancy is inevitable in all settled countries, but where the tenant class is not established as a permanent class, there is nothing particularly vicious about the system. Since this is the case in this area, it is the thesis of this section that tenancy in the area of study is not necessarily an evil. A description of the tenure system in operation in this area follows in the succeeding paragraphs.

---

Farmers who are owner-operators are relatively numerous in the community. This group of 40 in number constitutes over 69 per cent of all operators (see Table VIII), whereas tenant farmers constitute only about 31 per cent of all the operators. These figures compare favorably with those of Burleson County and the state of Texas, in which tenancy proportions are 37.7 and 37.6 per cent, respectively. Almost three out of every four tenants in the community are third generation Czechs, and the degree of tenancy in the first and second generation is low. This does not necessarily mean that the third generation farmers place less emphasis upon owning land, for it is taken for granted that most of them are merely serving a probation period leading to farm ownership. Since the third generation farmers have not been farming very long, most of them are expected to move into farm ownership in due time. For instance, the first generation farmers have occupied their farms for an average of 36 years; the second generation farmers for a period of almost 23 years; and the third generation for less than 10 years.

One reason that tenancy is not necessarily an evil is that so many of the renters work land for relatives. Two out of every three tenants in the community rent land from relatives, and about 45 per cent of all tenants rent land from their parents. Thus a large proportion of the renters in the community are working the land which they expect to inherit. This offers

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21 The third generation renter class includes one farmer who has just begun farming, having been previously employed in industry and having returned to the community to operate his father's farm. Another renter had been married less than one year and has just begun to farm. If these two cases could be excluded from consideration, the average number of years would be even greater.
TABLE VIII

HEADS OF FARM FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO TENURE STATUS AND GENERATION, SNOOK COMMUNITY, 1948*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Farm Owners</th>
<th>Percent of Total Number</th>
<th>Farm Renters</th>
<th>Per cent of Total Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
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<td>12</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data from 98 Snook Households.
an added inducement to these tenants to take good care of the land and
look after it as if it were their very own. It has also led to different
forms of tenure agreements which characterize the community today. The
type of arrangement found most frequently is one under which the tenant
pays one-fourth of his cotton and one-third of his corn for the use of the
land. Under this arrangement the tenant operates with his own work stock
and equipment. Two of the tenants pay one-half of their cotton and one-half
of their corn for rent. Under this arrangement the necessary work stock
and equipment for operating purposes are supplied by the landlord. Two
other forms of tenure are found in the area. According to one of these
arrangements the tenant pays a cash rent for his farm. This form is used
only where absentee owners are concerned. In this situation the tenant is
an independent operator, financing himself and furnishing his own equipment.
Four cases exist in which no specific agreement has been made. In all four
a son rents the land from his father. Under this arrangement, the son usu-
ally operates with part of his own work stock and equipment and part of the
work stock and equipment that belongs to his father. There is usually no
specified amount of rent agreed upon, and the details of the arrangement
are worked out as a matter of convenience to the two parties. In each
case where this type of arrangement exists, the sons expect to inherit the
land in the future.

22 When the writer asked one of the elderly gentlemen if he didn't
think it would be a better arrangement to have a definite agreement with his
son, he replied: "No, I don't think so. The land will be his as soon as I
die anyway. My wife and I get all that we want to eat and we have plenty of
clothes and that is all that we want anyway. As long as I am on earth, there
isn't much sense in coming to an agreement on each bale of cotton and each
row of corn. I am not much help to him anyway except to advise him how to
farm since I have had so many years of experience. But then you know these
young bucks today - sometimes he won't even take my advice. I told him he
couldn't make a good crop farming with a tractor, but he went and bought one
anyway."
It has been pointed out that 18 of Snook's farmers are renters. In addition to these full-time renters, there are 10 farmers in the area who are owners but rent additional land. The sum total of rented land in the area amounts to 1,915 acres, or an average of 69.4 acres per renter. The average number of acres rented by those who own farm land is 64.4, and for those who do not own additional land it is 72.2. Thus where one's holdings are not large enough to furnish a preferred level of living, additional acreage is rented to help out towards this end. One could say that congenial arrangements exist in most of the land tenure agreements. In fact, one could go so far as to say that sometimes the arrangements are so congenial that they do not foster land ownership on the part of the tenants. Friendships have been known to develop between tenants and landlords in the community to the extent that the tenants do not desire to own their own farm but prefer to retain their present status and relationship with their landlord.

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23 One person who rents land in the area owns over 150 acres of fertile farm land in a community some 60 miles distant. When questioned as to why he did not live there on his own farm instead of working here as a tenant farmer, he explained that he had attempted to purchase farm land in Snook but even though no land was for sale he moved here anyway. He gave as his reasons for moving back under these conditions that he wanted to live around his "own kind of people" and "to be near his mother."

24 As a rule, Snook's farmers strive to own their own farms. However, two or three cases have been noted in which relationships between tenants and landlords were so congenial that the tenants appeared to have no desire to change their tenure status. One tenant in the community has rented land from the same landlord for 35 years. Another tenant has rented land from the same landlord for 26 years. That the relationship between the tenant and landlord is congenial is evidenced by the following reply received from one of the tenants when asked if he planned to operate his own farm some day: "No, I don't particularly care to own my own farm. I'm pretty well satisfied here. If I would own a farm, would I be better off than I am now as a tenant? The landlord is good to me and never bothers me about anything and I make a good crop every year. I don't have to worry about losing any land. If I did have a bad year, say like 1925, the landlord would take care of me, so what am I worried about?"
3. Farm-to-Farm Migration

There is relatively little movement from one farm to another in the Snook community. (See Table IX.) The average length of occupancy for all farms is over 15 years. The turnover among farm owners especially is not rapid; rather their occupancy is characterized by a pronounced stability, for on the average they have been living on the present farm for over 22 years. This stability can be explained in the way that the farmer regards his land. To him the farm is not a speculative enterprise, but the land is valued as an asset to be held, to be cared for, and built up in productivity and value as a long-run investment. In referring to the South in general, Vandiver states that "frequent moves from farm to farm characterize the tenant population of the entire cotton-producing area," but the farm renters in this community have been living on the same farm an average of more than 9 years. Even among the tenant class, then, there is relatively high stability in occupancy. Only 7 farmers have occupied their present farms less than 5 years whereas 6 have occupied theirs for 40 years or more. In fact, over one-half of the farmers have not moved since they became married. On the other hand over 70 per cent of them have not moved more than once since establishing their own families. Thus frequent moves from farm


26 The high degree of stability in this tenant group is probably due to the large number of tenants who are related to the landlords. Concerning this aspect, Lynch states: "In general, tenants who are related to their landlords through blood or marriage ties are a less mobile class than tenants who are not." Op. cit., p. 36.
### TABLE IX

**HEADS OF FARM FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO LENGTH OF RESIDENCE ON PRESENT FARMS AND GENERATION, SNOOK COMMUNITY, 1948**

| Years of Occupancy | First Generation Owners | | First Generation Renters | | Second Generation Owners | | Second Generation Renters | | Third Generation Owners | | Third Generation Renters | | Total Owners | | Total Renters |
to farm are not characteristic of Snook's population and excessive moving about is not a problem. 27

4. Techniques of Agriculture

Very little variation in crop patterns exists in Snook since the soil and topography are much the same in the entire area. The main crop harvested by every farmer every year is cotton, but corn is also an important crop. A total of 2,377 acres are devoted to the production of cotton and 1,064 to corn. Thus, on the average, the number of acres per farm operator devoted to these two crops is 41 and 18, respectively. The farmer produces cotton for the market and corn for feed for his stock. These two are the main crops, but the Czech's farm is highly diversified. Actual figures as to the acreage devoted to some of the minor crops are not available, but almost every farmer has a garden, a few fruit trees, a hay meadow, and some of the land planted in small grain, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, watermelons, and garden truck. (See Figure 17 for a typical farm layout.) Seldom are any of the truck products sold on the market but instead, they are either consumed immediately, canned for eventual home consumption, or given away to friends and neighbors. It is not at all unusual for the Czech to send his neighbor a bushel of cucumbers that are the correct size.

27 Lynch, op. cit., found a very low rate of mobility among the Czech farmers in Oklahoma; p. 6. Kovacek, op. cit., offers the following explanation of why the Czech does not move more often than he does: "In the European village community, people do not move around much. They stay in the village and make a living comparable to the rest of the people. This stability carries with it a certain amount of satisfaction of living among one's own people. This may, in part, explain the greater stability of the Czechoslovak farmer in America. The Czechoslovak farmer stays longer on the farm than does the native farmer, whether the farm is owned or only rented." P. 10.
Hay Meadow
5.0 Acres

Corn
9.5 Acres

Truck Garden
5 Acres

Cotton
10 Acres

Fruit Trees and
Garden
3.0 Acres

Corn
4.5 Acres

Sudan Grass and Sorghum Cane
1.0 Acres

Cats
1.0 Acres

Cotton
14.0 Acres

Typical Creek Farm Layout in the Snook Community, Burleson County, Texas, 1948
for pickling or to send other produce that he knows his friend or neighbor does not possess. Through this system of supplying each other with the products that individual farmers do not ordinarily have, the Snook farmers are fairly self-sustaining in the matter of foodstuffs. Most operators try to grow and preserve as much of their food as practicable. Bees are owned by only six farmers in the community, but almost every operator has "home-made" molasses which has been made from the sorghum cane raised on his land.

Livestock has a definite place in the system of diversified farming. As has been previously stated, the black waxy farm land within the community boundaries is very fertile and given over to the production of crops. It is considered a waste of land to have over 3 or 4 acres of the fertile soil in pasture. Therefore, a major portion of the farmers devote as little land to pasture within the community as possible, and a large majority of them possess pasture lands outside the community in the Post Oak area. The pasture land is frequently one mile or even two miles distant from the farm land and most of the cattle and work stock are kept at home only during the periods when they are needed.²⁸

²⁸ The author recalls that as a youth, much of his time was spent taking the work stock from the farm land to the pasture and then back again. When plowing was to be done work stock was kept on the farm and had to be properly fed hay and corn since no grazing land was available on the farm. Each time rain interrupted the work the work stock was taken to the pasture and allowed to remain there until the land was dry enough to plow again, even if it were only for a day or two. During the plowing season, the mules were usually taken to the pasture on Saturday at noon and had to be brought back either late Sunday afternoon or early Monday morning. A conservative estimate of the number of times the work stock had to be driven back and forth from the pasture to the farm would be about 30 times during any given year.
Every farm operator in the community owns at least a few head of cattle, and every farmer owns at least three or four milk cows which are ordinarily confined to the pasture separated from the main farming land.

When a cow comes in "fresh" she is brought home and fed during the time that she is producing. The cows best suited for milking are rotated in such a manner that at least two cows are producing at any given time. Only as much milk is produced as is ordinarily used in the home. Most of the inhabitants drink milk with at least one meal a day and surplus milk is usually fed to the chickens and hogs. Over half of the farmers skim the milk and weekly sell cream in small quantities to the local store. Butter is churned at home by the housewife. The milk cows are not the best producing type as the farmers are more interested in beef production than they are in milk production. The most common breed is the bald face. The main supplementary income is usually from beef cattle. The cattle are owned in small herds from 10 to 25 head, and the average farmer sells about 4 or 5 head each year and slaughters an additional one or two for his own use.

Every farmer in the community owns at least a few pigs, mostly to be butchered and processed at home. The meat is preserved by canning and curing, and the housewife puts up lard which is used throughout the entire year. The Czechs are well known throughout the entire county for a particular way in which they prepare fresh pork for consumption.\(^{29}\) Each time that a farmer

\(^{29}\) The Czechs are especially known for the production of two kinds of tasty, highly-seasoned sausages which have been flavored with garlic. The American people living in the towns in which the Czechs trade are always anxious to pay premium prices for the sausage. Strangely enough, however, the Czechs are not especially anxious to sell the sausage. They will gladly give some to their friends, but they do not care to sell the sausage for a profit.
slaughters a hog for home consumption he sends his neighbor and friends choice cuts of meat, and in turn, he receives the same choice cuts from his friends and neighbors when they slaughter their own hogs.

Chickens are another source of income. Many farmers in the community have a flock which contributes enough money to buy those items of food not produced on the farm. Care of chickens is mostly women's work, and records of costs of maintaining the flocks and receipts are seldom kept. A major portion of the feed for the chickens is grown on the farm.

Although the farms are highly diversified it appears that they are less self-sufficient today than they have been in the past. Soap-making is an art which is fast disappearing. Only one-fourth of the housewives stated that they made soap as often as once a year. Particularly the younger housewives figure that certain finished products can be bought in cans at a saving and often act accordingly. The stores in the community now have daily delivery of fresh bread from the bakeries although 90 per cent of the housewives bake bread in the home at least once a week. Every farm housewife, however, cans and preserves a large quantity of many varieties of food. It is usually the woman's job to pick the berries that she expects to preserve. The burden of "putting up" kraut often falls on her.

30 The author recalls that as the youngest member of the household it often fell to his lot to play an important part in the "making" of kraut. The Czechs are widely known for the flavorful kraut that they produce at home, although the making of it is relatively simple. First, the cabbage heads are gathered from the garden. Then they are cleaned of dirt and damaged leaves and finely shredded into large pans. The shredded cabbage is then placed in successive layers measuring about six inches in depth in a large wooden barrel. As each layer of cabbage is placed in the barrel a few handfuls of salt are added. Before the next layer of cabbage is placed in the barrel one of the younger members of the family climbs into the barrel bare-footed and vigorously "stomps" the cabbage and salt mixture until the liquid which has been formed reaches the top level of (Cont'd page 143)
shoulders. She also often shares in the milking and the performance of many other similar chores. Women's and small children's clothes are frequently made in the home, and the gardens are cared for by the housewife. All of the quilts are made at home, but here the housewife has the help of her neighbors and friends for "quiltings" are frequent in the community.

The woman who performs all these tasks is not looked down upon. On the contrary, her worth as a housewife is often measured on the basis of the amount of work that she is able to do. The phrases "good wife" and "hard worker" are synonymous in the thinking of the average Czech.

Farm work in the community is naturally seasonal. From the beginning of the year until the farmers start planting corn and cotton is the slack season. During this period the farmer's day usually begins around 6 o'clock in the morning. He has such chores to perform before breakfast as feeding the chickens and milking the cows. Breakfast is usually about 7 o'clock, and then the additional chores are performed. Fences, farm machinery, harness, and buildings are repaired. Stove wood is cut and allowed to dry out properly before summer. Then it is hauled to the farm

30 (Continued) the cabbage. Then a few pieces of "kopr" (dill) are added and another layer of salt and cabbage placed in the barrel. Each successive layer receives the same "stomping" treatment as previously described. The mixture is then allowed to remain in the barrel for a certain length of time before it is properly "turned" to kraut. The kraut remains in the barrel and is removed at frequent intervals as it is being consumed.

This method of making kraut is passing out of the picture. Only about 16 per cent of the farm operators reported that they still use the method just described. Most of the households now have pressure cookers and kraut is put up in jars. Several of the males complained, however, that "this modern way of putting up kraut sure put an end to the good tasting kraut the women used to make. They try to argue that it is just as good, but you can't beat the flavor of kraut when it is put up in a wooden barrel like we used to make it."
and neatly stacked. Almost every farmer in the community is a semi-skilled carpenter or mechanic, and most of the repairs to the buildings and machinery are part of his daily work. Dinner is at noon. After dinner, the farmer "takes a nap" for an hour or two. The habit of sleeping after the noon meal is common the year around and is not relinquished even during the busiest seasons of the year. In the afternoon, the farmer either performs his routine work or "goes to Snook" to chat with his friends and neighbors. While there he usually enjoys several games of dominos, taking his game very seriously. Supper is at about 8 o'clock, and he then listens to the radio and reads the newspapers and farm journals for about an hour before retiring.

As soon as the farmer begins his work in the field, his routine becomes more rigorous. He rises earlier in the morning and works later in the afternoon. The land has been prepared for planting in late fall of the preceding year. Corn is usually planted around the first of April, and cotton is usually planted around the middle of the same month. The tendency in recent years has been to plant cotton as early as possible so that the plants may have a chance to become mature before the dreaded boll weevil gets a chance to infest the crop. When the plants are about 3 weeks old, the cotton is "thinned out" with hoes. Men and women alike engage in this operation regardless of tenure status. The women are expected to accomplish as much in the field as the men during the chopping and picking seasons and also to perform regularly their household duties. After the cotton has been chopped, the grass must not be allowed to grow in the field and thus the field is "hoed" and plowed four or five times before picking the cotton. Before the plants reach maturity almost every farmer in the community poisons his cotton to protect it against boll weevils and cotton leaf worms.
In the meantime, corn and the other crops have to be properly tended, although the labor requirements for the cotton crop are greater than the requirement of all the other crops combined. Generally, cotton is "laid by" about the middle of July, and haying occupies a part of the farmer's time before picking begins in the first week in August. Here again, all of the family members work in the fields picking cotton and additional hired labor for picking is required. In the last decade, migratory labor from Mexico has harvested a major portion of the cotton crop for the Czechs.

"Scraping" cotton is a practice which is passing out of the picture in the community, and the cotton stalks are plowed under while they are still green. This operation is usually performed in late November, and the corn stalks are plowed under at the same time. The corn is usually harvested in the latter part of August, and sometimes the stalks are plowed under before the picking season is well underway. Thus with his land broken and ready for next year's planting, the farmer once again enters into the slack season. Only a limited number of farmers plant cover crops for the winter since neither soil erosion nor soil fertility is a problem in the area.

Only 7 of the farm operators receive some sort of income from sources not connected with their farms. Although some of these part-time farmers spend most of their working hours on jobs supplementing their farm incomes, farming operations are not curtailed in any manner. The wife usually takes over the management of those details for which her husband does not have time, and the farm operates just as efficiently as if the family head were

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31 For purposes of this study, a part-time farmer is defined as one who obtains forty per cent or more of his gross income from work off the farm.
devoting all of his time to the farming enterprise.

Not much "hired labor" is used by the Czech farmer. During cotton-chopping and cotton-picking rushes, however, additional labor must be hired. Sometimes a Czech farmer might be "caught up" with his field work. In this case his children are permitted to work for his neighbors for a few days, but a majority of the laborers must be recruited among either the native whites or Negroes. The relationship between the laborer and the farmer is usually friendly, and if the laborer is a white person, he usually has his meals with the family. If he is a Negro, this arrangement is definitely out of the question, but a neighbor's children not only have their meals with the family but may not even go home at night. Although migratory Mexican labor harvests most of the cotton, each farmer usually has his "own" Negro or native white who works for him regularly. The laborer's family is expected to help with the farm work during the rush seasons of the year. The relationship between the laborer and his "boss" is characterized by some degree of permanency even though there is usually no binding agreement between the two. When a laborer begins working for one Czech in the community regularly, the rest of the Czechs no longer ask the laborer to perform work for them, for they feel that he is his "boss' hand" and that it is his duty to work for and to be loyal only to his boss.

The Czech has a natural dislike for all farm programs with which he is acquainted, but he especially has little use for the Works Progress Administration. He feels that the program has merely served as a means of "ruining" his laborers. Feeling that there is no place in our society for such a program, he thinks it was designed only for the shiftless and lazy
people. Of all of the government programs which either have been or presently are in existence, the Czech has been directly affected only by the Agricultural Conservation Program (now the Production and Marketing Administration) and the Rural Electrification Administration. The average person does not realize that the RRA is a government program and gives the city of Bryan credit for its operation. On the other hand, few Czechs are well-pleased with the operation of the ACP. They do not like to be told what they must do with their land, nor do they like the idea of being "given" anything. They feel confident that they can work out their own salvation without government interference, and that if the government wouldn't "meddle" with their farms, they would be better off. Of the 56 farm operators interviewed, less than one-half have a favorable opinion of the ACP. (See Table X.) They look upon this program as a form of relief, and they prefer to stand on their own strength rather than have the government help them out financially.

32 One farmer who appears to reflect the attitude of others concerning the WPA said: "Those programs weren't any good for anything except to spoil our 'hands.' They sure got 'uppity' after they got work on the WPA. They acted like we ought to let them come to work at 9 o'clock in the morning and quit at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. And they even wanted more pay for what few hours they put in. When you did get them to work, they didn't do half as much work as they used to. It looks to me like the government is just working against us. We people that work so hard have to pay the taxes for this WPA stuff in the first place, and then we have to pay the workers more when we can get them to work on top of that. No, it just doesn't seem right, and if they quit the program, it's a good thing. They never should have started it in the first place. Let every man stand on his own feet, I say. I didn't pay for this farm with anybody's help, and I say let the people look out for themselves the way I have to do. Spoiling a man by giving him a soft job with short working hours like the WPA did just ruins him rather than helps him."
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<td>45%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>12%</td>
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*Source: Questionnaire Data from 96 Smock Households.*
Mules have been the chief source of power on Snook's farms in the past, but tractors are either owned or used by almost three out of every four farm operators today. (See Table XI.) There has been some resistance on the part of the older farmers to using machinery and engine power, but the young farmers in the community have managed to convince some of them that the tasks of farm work are made somewhat lighter by the use of machinery. That the older farmers do not take to tractors as readily as the youngsters is borne out by the fact that less than 55 per cent of the first and second generation farmers combined own or work their land with tractors. On the other hand, 96 per cent of the third generation farmers use tractors as the main source of power on their farms. There appears to be no difference in the use of tractor power on the part of the owners and renters, as only slightly more than one-fourth of the members of each of these two tenure classes use animals for their main source of power. Where the tractor is used, it is considered to be the main source of power, although each farmer who owns one also owns at least one pair of mules. Tractors are used chiefly for field work but seldom for drawing loads, for this work is reserved for the mules. The former arduous task of hay-baling has been made much lighter by the use of tractor-powered equipment. In the past, each farmer had to press and bale his own hay with mule-drawn equipment. Today, however, slightly more than two out of three farmers contract

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33 One of the first generation Czechs who does not possess a tractor although he is financially able to buy one made the following statement on the use of tractor power on the farm: "I just don't think that a man can make as good a crop with a tractor as he can with a good team of mules. They are too heavy and pack the land too much and you can't plow close enough to the cotton with them. Anyway, just look around (Cont'd page 151.)
### TABLE XI

**Heads of Farm Families Classified According to Type of Power Used on Farm**

**and Generation, Snook Community, 1948**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
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<th>Tractor</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<th>Animal</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent of Total Number</th>
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<td>42</td>
<td>73</td>
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<td>27</td>
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*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snook Households.*

**Where a tractor is used, it is considered as the main source of power, although tractor owners usually own at least two work animals in addition.*
to have their hay baled by four of the farmers in the community who have "pick up" hay baling equipment which is tractor-powered. Some of the "custom" farmers in the community possess other than the accepted usual equipment which is tractor-drawn.

Every tractor owner possesses diskng, harrowing, cultivating, and plowing equipment. Two farmers possess binder and thresher attachments and they contract with other Czechs to harvest any small grains that might have been planted in the community. The tractor is being put to new uses each year and it will probably continue to replace the animals as a source of power on the Czech farms in the future. (Note in Figure 18, for example, the extent to which the traditional mules and wagon have been replaced in hauling cotton to the gin.)

In recent years, farmers have found the "pickup" truck to be useful in their type of work. It is an invaluable vehicle which is fast displacing the wagon for hauling livestock or different objects which are a part of the common tasks on any diversified farm. Over 30 per cent of the farm operators own a "pickup," and almost one-fourth of them use it as their sole means of transportation. (See Table XII.) Many of the farmers feel that it is a waste of money to buy an automobile when the pickup doubles

33 (Continued) and see who it is that has most of the tractors in Snook. They are mostly run by the young bucks that are too lazy to get down and work like some of us do. Tractors are all right for breaking land, but for any other farming operation, I'll choose a mule any time. There are times when you just can't do as good a job with a tractor as you can with mules." When it was pointed out that those who use tractors appear to get the same yields that he does, the farmer quickly answered: "Well, they can have their tractors and I'll take my mules."
Ten years ago, the cotton was hauled to the gins in wagons which were pulled by animals. Note the change that has taken place in the past ten years—today, the farmers haul their cotton to the gins in pick-up trucks, or in trailers which are pulled by either a tractor, an automobile, or a pick-up truck.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
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<th>Automobile Number</th>
<th>Percent of Total</th>
<th>Pickup Truck Number</th>
<th>Percent of Total</th>
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<th>Percent of Total</th>
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<td>64</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3**</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 95 Snook Households.

**The three who possess no mode of transportation (other than wagons) are renters and use mules as the chief source of power in their farming operations.
as a pleasure vehicle and is a means of saving the farmer hours of backbreaking labor.\footnote{One second generation farmer stated: "I don't see why I should buy a car. Everybody knows me in the community for what I am and I am not out to impress anybody. I guess everybody knows that I don't have any debts and could buy an automobile if I wanted one, but I really don't need one. My pick-up will take me and my wife anywhere we want to go— to church, picnics, dances, or any place. Besides that I am always hauling stuff in it. Every time we go to town we usually bring back some feed or cement or lumber or something like that which would mess up a car. I also haul stock in it, and this year I had a trailer hitch put on it and haul two bales of cotton to the gin at the same time. My neighbor even used his for 'pulling' corn this year. Dollar for dollar, you just can't compare a car with a pick-up when it comes to farming."}

Although the tractor and the pick-up are fast coming in use in Snook, hand labor is constantly needed. All of the cotton is picked by hand. During the course of the interviews, not one person reported that they were interested in adding a cotton picking machine to their growing list of new improved types of farm machinery. None of the farm products with the exception of hay and small grains are harvested mechanically, and all grass in the field is hoed by hand. This, of course, is to be expected, for the average size of holding is too small to warrant the adoption of the more costly types of mechanical equipment. Thus a large amount of field work is to be done by hand. The women and children are expected to do a large amount of this work and customarily are to be found in the fields alongside the head of the family. The American women in the surrounding area think that the Czech is cruel to his wife and subjects her to long hours of work which they, themselves, do not ordinarily have to do. They fail to understand that this is merely a part of the Czech tradition and
that the women expect to work hard and perform any tasks which they feel will help the family accomplish certain goals. Over 98 per cent of the farm family members who are physically able to work in the fields help out the family head. 35 The only two people who are physically capable of working the fields but do not do so are wives of third generation farmers. Although these figures reveal the extent to which the different family members help out with farm work, it should be added that women do not participate in certain types of farm work which they had been accustomed to doing in the past. It is only seldom that women work at such tasks as hay-baling and corn picking today, and almost never does a woman do any plowing.

The farmers have a deep-seated tradition of assisting one another in their farm work. Over one-half of the farm operators reported that they still "swap" labor with another person in the community, but over two-thirds reported that they had practiced this form of cooperation before so many of the Czechs began contracting to have their hay baled. About 40 per cent of the operators own some type of farm equipment cooperatively with another inhabitant of the community. (See Table XIII.) Proportionately more of the younger farmers own farm equipment cooperatively

35 In the course of conducting the survey, the writer observed two women who reported their ages as being 66 and 69, respectively, picking cotton in the hot sun. One of them had what would appear to be between 40 and 50 pounds in her cotton sack at the time. When asked if the cotton wasn't getting a little heavy, she replied: "Yes, it is a little heavy. It seems that I can't pick nearly as much cotton or carry nearly as big a load as I could just a couple of years ago. My son fusses that I shouldn't even be picking cotton, but I don't know what I would do to pass the time if I wasn't. I have been used to working hard all of my life and I do not expect to quit now. These young women have to work a little too, but not nearly as hard as we used to. Why, my daughter-in-law can't even pick as much cotton in a day as I can right now. But it is no fault of hers. It is just that the young folks do not believe in working the way that we had to."
### TABLE XIII

**Heads of Farm Families Classified According to Cooperative Ownership of Farm Equipment and Generation, Snook Community, 1948**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Own Equipment Cooperatively</th>
<th>Do Not Own Equipment Cooperatively</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent of Total Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snook Households.*
than is true of the older operators. All of those who possess equipment under this arrangement share the ownership with other Czechs, and over 90 per cent of them share the ownership with relatives. The equipment owned under this cooperative arrangement ranges all the way from a home-made ditch-grader and two-row cotton stalk cutter to a set of tractor discs and poisoning machines.

Bookkeeping is practiced by only a few farm operators, and the books that are kept are elementary and far from complete. A few especially important transactions are recorded from time to time, but not enough information is kept so that the farmer might be able to determine whether he has achieved a net gain or loss during any given year. The women keep books on individual enterprises such as poultry and dairy products, but here again, they are far from accurate as the bookkeepers fail to take into account the amount of feed consumed by the flock or cows that was raised on the farm. Commenting on the keeping of records, one of the farmers stated: "Ever now and then mama writes something down, but she really doesn't keep books. If I had to take the time out to write everything down, then I wouldn't have any time left to 'farm.' Keeping books is just for college boys who farm from a book anyway. We real farmers don't need any books to know where we stand."

"Book farmers" are the target of many time-worn jokes in the community. Pamphlets and bulletins from the State Agricultural Experiment Station find their way in to the farm homes occasionally, but little use is made of them. In the mind of the average Czech, developing new methods and practices under experimental conditions "just isn't the same as it is when one tries to apply them on the farm."
The farmers are reluctant to adopt the practices recommended in the college bulletins. Yet, if a new method is actually demonstrated rather than put in print, they usually are willing to adopt it.

Most of the farm operators use short-term credit to a considerable extent. Although it is available to many of them in the larger towns, they avail themselves of short-term credit only in the local community. Such credit as is used is generally for buying groceries, and debts are paid in full annually when the cotton crop is harvested. The people do not want for credit as they are trusted by the local merchants. Should one of the inhabitants become delinquent in the payment of his debt, this fact becomes known to every individual in the community. It reflects not only upon him but affects all of the members of his household. Such being the case, every effort is exerted so that one’s debts may be paid.

Little use is being made of long-time credit. Preceding World War II, the mortgage was the chief means of long-time financing, but only three farmers stated that they had a mortgage on their farm at the present time. Due to the increase in farm prices during the last decade, many farmers were able to pay off debts of long standing, and over 95 per cent of the land holdings

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36 One farmer in the community received an Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin which described a new method of curing pork. The first step in the process was to place the meat in a salt solution and allow it to remain in this solution for a few days. He read only to this point in the bulletin, for in his own mind, he was convinced that the "college fellows didn't know what they were talking about." In the meantime his neighbor visited with another Czech farmer outside the community who boasted of a new method of curing pork. This person made use of the same process described in the bulletin. The neighbor obtained the "recipe" from his friend and the farmer who had his doubts about the workability of the method described in the bulletin adopted this same method on the recommendation of his neighbor and still uses it today.
in the community are free of debt.

The people are very conscious of the price of cotton. They are well informed on the latest developments in farm prices, and prices furnish one of the chief topics of conversation. Almost all of the farmers who possess a radio listen to market reports daily. These reports are usually broadcast while the farmer is eating his noon meal, and he does not have to take time out from his regular work routine to hear the broadcasts.

In a previous section, it was stated that land values in the community are generally high. The number and good condition of the out-buildings on the farms are partly responsible for these values. The average farmer possesses separate buildings for the hogs, the chickens, and the cows. Stalls are available for the work stock in the barn. In addition to these, a small building for the storage of potatoes is usually owned, and without exception, every farmer has a "smoke house" in which cured meats, lard, and canned goods are kept. The automobile or "pick-up" truck is always kept in a separate building. The barns are usually large and furnish the desired amount of storage space. A breezeway extends throughout the length of the building, and trucks or wagons may be driven through the barn, thus making for greater ease in unloading. Farm machinery is usually stored in the breezeway when this open space in the barn is not otherwise in use. On the ground floor four to five separate rooms are available as storage space. Hay and fodder are stored on the upper level. Different products such as corn and maize are conveniently stored so that the work stock may be fed with the least amount of effort.

Since the land is fertile, little use is made of either commercial fertilizer or barnyard manure. The barnyard manure is usually allowed to
accumulate and is removed to the fields as a sanitary measure rather than as a measure of soil improvement. This is far different from the value which was attached to barnyard manure in the old country. 37

Farming As An Occupation is Becoming Less Popular

Changes in several practices in Snook which are related to the farming enterprise have been pointed out. However, changes are not confined only to agricultural practices. A general change seems to have taken place in the way Snook's inhabitants view farming as an occupation. Almost 90 per cent of the first generation inhabitants in Snook are either farmers or have retired from the occupation. The proportion for the second generation family heads is slightly less, also being over 90 per cent, but only about two out of three of the third generation family heads are engaged in farming as an occupation or have retired from farming. Thus, on the basis of this comparison, it can be concluded that farming as an occupation is not as popular with the young people as it is with their parents and grandparents.

Each farm operator was asked that if he were a young man and were starting out in life all over again, would he farm or would he choose another occupation. Of the total of 58 operators, over three-fourths stated that they would farm, whereas less than 15 per cent stated that they definitely would choose another occupation. The rest were undecided as to what they would do. A break-down of these figures indicates that

37 One of the first generation farm operators stated that barnyard manure was so valuable in the old country that every effort was exerted towards its preservation. A method had been devised and used on every farm by which the manure was liquified and placed in tanks until it was spread on the land.
those who are the most dissatisfied with farming as an occupation are members of the third generation, whereas first generation Czechs are the most satisfied with this way of making a living. Almost every farmer qualified his answer to the question. A variety of opinions exist as to whether farming as an occupation is a good way to make a living. The following are a cross-section of the opinions ventured by the farmers on the subject. One of the first generation farmers stated:

Sure I would farm again. In the first place it is all that I know how to do. But even if I did know another trade, I'd still rather farm. I don't know of any job where you can be your own boss like you can on a farm. I can go around dressed in my work clothes and work shoes all the time except when I go to church or town, maybe. But I guess the best thing of all is that I do not have to bow down to anybody.

One farmer who has not been especially successful in the occupation had the opposite viewpoint:

Farming is just a lot of hard work and nothing else. I can not seem to make ends meet, and yet I work as hard as anybody else does. You take a job in town - you get paid every week and you know just how much you have got coming. Here, a fellow works harder and longer hours and he still might be broke at the end of the year. I believe I had rather be a carpenter or a bricklayer or something like that.

An older second generation Czech seemed to feel somewhat differently about the work:

Yes I would farm again, but I wouldn't work myself to death like I used to. These young fellows, they have the right idea - get a tractor and a lot of machinery and not work so hard. I used to laugh at these young kids farming such an easy way, but if I had a chance to start all over again, I'd farm that way too.

One was uncertain as to what he would prefer. He expressed his uncertainty in the following manner:
I just don't know what I would do if I could start
all over again. Farming is too much hard work and a
fellow doesn't get enough out of it. Yet if I did some-
thing else for a living, I guess I'd have to live in a
city, and neither me or my wife would like that. Some-
times I think of my brother in Houston and all of the
money he is making, but I sure wouldn't want to stay
there. We went to visit him once, but we didn't like
it there. Every time my brother comes to see me he
always tells me how lucky I am that I stayed on the
farm, so I really don't know what I would do.

As an after-thought, he added: "Aw, I guess I had rather farm.
At least I am free to change if I don't like it, and I am still here."

Although there are a variety of opinions concerning farming as a
life work, most of the farmers like it. So far as can be determined, the
sentimental attachment to the land is rather strong. It appears to be
strongest among the farmers who have lived on the land for some time, but
everyone mentions the fact that "the soil is richer here than anywhere
else in the county," and "the soil is good enough to make a bale of cotton
per acre." Even the attitudes of those who are occupied in non-farming
enterprises are deeply influenced by the land and by farming as a way of
life. Most of them have grown up in the community and have worked on the
farm as youngsters and their attitudes and opinions may be said to be cha-
acteristic of the farming populace. In short, agriculture dominates the
very existence and influences the attitudes of every community resident in
"much the same way that mining does a village in which the whole population
derives its living from the mine."38

38 Earl H. Bell, "Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Sub-
lette, Kansas," Rural Life Studies; 2 (Washington, D. C.: United States
Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1942); p. 55.
CHAPTER VI

INSTITUTIONALIZED FORMS OF ORGANIZATION

"Social organization, the most intricate and complex of the components of society, is the central concern of all sociological study."¹

The organizational component of any society, however, may be examined from a number of vantage points.² One of the approaches according to which organization may be analyzed is in terms of the institutionalized systems³ of a society, for the basic organization of every society includes some highly institutionalized systems of human relationships. LaPiere is of the opinion that institutions "...are the most complex, rigid, and significant aspects of the organizational component."⁴


² For an excellent discussion as to how institutions fit in to the organizational framework and the different media through which organization may be studied, see Ibid., Chapter XIV, "Social Organization," pp. 334–363.

³ It is sometimes difficult to make a clear distinction between institutionalized and non-institutionalized forms of organization. For example, certain aspects of associations may reflect well-developed institutionalized patterns. (For instance, the association known as the Beef Club in Snook.) The author is cognizant of this fact, and the delineation of institutionalized and non-institutionalized forms is in general an elastic and flexible one. Concerning this point, Hertzler states that an over-emphasized dichotomy between institutions and associations exists, and that it "has also been noticed that in practice in the vast majority of instances - so many in fact that the contrary is exceptional - they appear as a bipartite whole." J. O. Hertzler, Social Institutions (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1946); p. 26.

⁴ LaPiere, op. cit., p. 339.
Through institutionally devised means culture is carried on, transmitted, and perpetuated. Commenting on the importance of institutions, Hertzler states:

Institutions are the agencies whereby the life of a given society is maintained and perpetuated. They minister to man's permanent and natural needs; they are the chief adjusters to environment; they are the primary regulators of habits and relationships; and are the chief agencies making for the survival of groups. This makes them vitally important "going concerns..."

It is clear then that organization can be effectively examined in terms of the institutionalized systems of human relationships. The present chapter will focus attention on social organization from this particular viewpoint.

Although social institutions, for the most part, tend to persist and to become inflexible and survivalistic, they, rather than being characterized by static rigidity, are changing to a greater or lesser degree all the

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5 J. O. Hertzler, op. cit., p. 240. Hertzler also contends that an understanding of social institutions is necessarily vital to an understanding of social organization. Concerning this viewpoint, he writes thusly: "Social institutions are the most deeply entrenched and most vitally important elements in social organization. Whenever we examine the behavior of individuals and groupings in the light of what they do uniformly, continuously, and persistently in the interests of satisfactory living and working together we get into the field of social institutions. There is much justification for the contentions, (1) that the various tasks involved in social organization are summarized, epitomized, and focused in social institutions; (2) that the social organization of any culture area exists in and is reflected by its prevailing institutions; that it can, in fact, be defined by an enumeration of social institutions and (3) conversely, that the basic orientation of social institutions is their strategic position and function in social organization." Ibid., p. 23.

time. According to Hertzler, "One of the patent facts forced upon the social analyst is that most institutions change slowly and with much resistance to the forces of change." Although social institutions are relatively permanent, they - like organization - undergo constant modification.

A variety of definitions of the term, "institutions," can be found in sociological literature, and no two definitions appear to give precisely the same meaning to the term. Hertzler, however, has constructed a kind of composite conception of social institution as it is defined in sociological literature. Drawing from the separate definitions of numerous authors, he constructs the following "working" definition of the term:

Social institutions are purposive, regulatory and consequently primary cultural configurations, formed, unconsciously and/or deliberately, to satisfy individual wants and social needs bound up with the efficient operation of any plurality of persons. They consist of codes,

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7 Hertzler, op. cit., p. 210. LaPiere, op. cit., writes that: "the resistance of an institutional system to change of any sort is not, of course, the resistance of an abstract pattern of human relationships. It is the resistance of members of institutional groups, actual, living people who struggle to maintain the institutional forms." P. 344.

8 The definitions of the term usually vary with the point of view employed. Harry E. Barnes describes social institutions broadly as "the social structure and machinery through which human society organizes, directs, and executes the multifarious activities required to satisfy human needs." Social Institutions (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942); p. 29. Robert M. MacIver and Charles Page define social institutions simply as "the established forms or conditions of procedure characteristic of group activity." Society (New York: Hinehart and Company, Inc., 1949); p. 15. For a review of the different points of view concerning the term, see Florian Znaniecki, Chapter VIII, "Social Organization and Institutions" in Georges Gurvitch and Wilbert E. Moore (editors) Twentieth Century Sociology (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1945); pp. 172-217.
rules and ideologies, unwritten and written, and essential symbolic organizational and material implementations. They evidence themselves socially in standardized and uniform practices and observances, and individually in attitudes and habitual behavior of persons. They are sustained and enforced by public opinion, acting both informally and formally, through specially devised agencies. 9

The importance of societal institutions is in the functions they perform, and the great social institutions are centered around the basic needs of man. 10 Thus the more important institutions in the community studied are the family, religion, education, government, and agriculture. 11 Agriculture has been dealt with in the preceding chapter. After a brief summary of social stratification in Snook, the remainder of the social institutions will be treated.

A. Social Stratification in the Community

In all human societies from the most primitive to the most modern, persons are accorded differential status. According to LaPiere, "no organization can exist without some sort of distinction arising between the various individuals who are incorporated into that organization." 12 Even

9 Hertzler, op. cit., p. 4.


11 The writer realizes that this does not exhaust the list of social institutions in the area. Different authors vary in their opinions as to which institutions are the most important, but the ones discussed in this chapter appear to the author to perform the particular functions that are the most necessary for life within this cultural group. This list follows very closely the idea that John F. Cuber has concerning the relative importance of institutions, for he writes: "Sociologists generally regard the family, government, religion, the economic system, and education as the basic, important institutions of a society." Sociology (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1947); p. 389.

12 LaPiere, op. cit., p. 450.
among ethnic groups whose people are strongly united and very much alike, social stratification exists, for various groupings manifest themselves, each group having its special attributes and social status. During the course of relations with members of another ethnic group the differentiations do not appear so distinct, but within each group differential statuses are accorded to different persons.

(Through the years, with but few exceptions, the Czechs have managed to remain virtually insulated from intimate contact with the native white population which surrounds the area. As has been illustrated in previous chapters, they have their own organizations and agencies in which the native tongue is used. This naturally excludes the native whites from active participation in most of Snook's organizations and gatherings.) Thus the two groups have remained strangers to a certain degree even to the present day. The native whites praise the Czechs for such virtues as hard work, honesty, and thrift. They even admit openly that the Czech is a good farmer and that his economic status is, on the average, very good. Yet he is not "their kind" of people. Neither would the Czechs nor the native whites be flattered by mutual comparisons, for each group recognizes in itself a certain

13 Here Parsons' definition of social stratification is adopted. As defined by Parsons, social stratification is "the differential ranking of human individuals who compose a given social system and their treatment as superior and inferior relative to one another in certain socially important aspects." Talcott Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," American Journal of Sociology, XLV (May, 1940); p. 841.

14 William F. Ogburn and Meyer P. Ninkoff, Sociology (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946); pp. 306-307, state that "the simplest definition of status is that it represents the position of the individual in the group...Since status is position in a group, a person may have as many statuses as he has group affiliations."
kind of superiority. The native whites are proud of their Anglo-Saxon background and think that the Czech is "funny" in his ways and customs. On the other hand, the Czech is proud of his ability as a farmer and feels that his people have every right to feel "better" for they have succeeded in "showing up the Americans" in many ways. In the main, however, the relations of the native whites and the Czechs are marked by friendliness, and some of the barriers which have existed between the two groups in the past years have been broken down. One of the main factors in this breakdown is the consolidation of the schools, for here for the first time, the children were able to participate in different activities together daily. The barriers, however, have been very slow to break down and the distinction between the two groups remains very clear at the present time.

Since only one Negro family lives in the community, and the head of this family is commonly known as a "good nigger," the race question is not very pronounced in Snook. A few Negroes live adjacent to the community boundaries in the Brazos Bottom area, but they do little "trading" in Snook. Thus with the exception of isolated cases where they hire Negro labor, the Czechs have little contact with the colored people. Within the past decade, migratory labor has harvested most of the cotton for the Czechs, so they are in no sense dependent on the Negro. In the past some of the Czech farmers have failed to make as great a distinction as the native whites would like for them to have made between their Negro, Mexican, and native white laborers. Their failure to make a clear distinction has caused the native whites

15 One of the evidences of this breakdown is the fact that seven cases of intermarriage exist in the community today. All seven of the Czechs involved are third generation sons and daughters.
to criticize the Czechs as "being too easy on the Negroes and spoiling both them and the Mexicans by treating them as equals." The younger Czechs appear to be more sympathetic towards the Negroes, although less than one month prior to the time that the author made a survey of the community an incident took place which served to "remind the people that the Negroes ought to be kept in their place more." During the course of the survey, each family head was asked his opinion of whether or not Negroes should be permitted to vote in the general elections. The answers to this question were recorded and furnish the data for Table XIV. Only 11 per cent of the family heads definitely stated that they thought Negroes should be permitted to vote. The largest proportion of all generations which are opposed to their voting are the members of the first generation. Not one of this group thought that they should be permitted to vote, but two of the

16 This statement, or a similar statement was made to the writer several times by Czechs. The incident referred to was the stabbing and killing of a Czech individual who was an officer of the law by a Negro resisting arrest. At the time of the survey the ire of the community residents was raised against Negroes and perhaps accounts, at least partially, for the high percentage of people who thought that Negroes should not have the right to vote in general elections.

17 Most of the answers to the question were qualified by the Czechs with such additional statements as: "The niggers are getting too smart as it is. If we let them vote, no telling what they would do next." One person who agreed that they should be permitted to vote hastily added: "But they ought to vote in a separate place from the white people. The whites and the Negroes ought not to have to vote at the same place." When one resident stated that the Negro should not be permitted to vote in the general elections, the author asked him if Mexicans should be permitted to vote. To this question he replied, "Yes." When asked what the difference between a Mexican and a Negro was, he stated: "Well, a Mexican is a citizen, but the Negro isn't." When informed that the Negro was a citizen of the United States too, he replied: "I don't care then, I still think that a Negro shouldn't be allowed to vote."
TABLE XIV

OPINIONS EXPRESSED BY SNOOK'S FAMILIES WITH RESPECT TO NEGROES VOTING IN GENERAL ELECTIONS, ACCORDING TO TYPE AND GENERATION OF FAMILY HEAD, 1948*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>First Generation</th>
<th>Second Generation</th>
<th>Third Generation</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>35</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire data for 98 Snook households.
second generation and nine of the third thought that they should have this privilege. On the basis of the figures recorded in Table XIV, the conclusions can be drawn that prejudice towards the Negroes is decreasing at least to a limited degree. 18

If one were to inquire of the Czechs about the nature of the class structure in Snook, they would state that "one man is as good as another," and that no class distinctions exist in the community. These statements, however, are not true, for even in the early years in this country class distinctions existed among the Czechs, although they appeared to be at a minimum. Although it is still difficult to discern any clear-cut class structure even today, some element of class differentiation does exist.

In the early days of Snook's development so long as a man worked hard and was honest no basis for stratification existed. Over 4 out of 5 of the present-day farm owners were formerly renters, and many young men engaged in day labor. As a result, no stigma is attached to hard work and unpleasant tasks. A goodly portion of the girls who leave the community engage in domestic service, and the boys work at menial tasks in the cities. So long as they conduct themselves "properly" and are able to save a part of their wages and send gifts home occasionally, these occupational pursuits meet with no objections from the parents. 19 Most of the

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18 The author realizes that this is not by any means a true measure of race prejudice, but it does indicate a relaxation of the rigid standards on the part of the son and grandson as set up by the immigrant group.

19 One could even go so far as to state that the parents are proud of their children's occupations as servants. It is often with great pride that a mother in the community relates how well her daughter is liked by her mistress in the city. She often refers to her daughter's employers as "Mr. and Mrs. So-and-So" and likes to boast "how they said they just wouldn't know what to do if our daughter quit working for them."
inhabitants assume that sooner or later the girl will marry a nice young man, and that the boy is merely working in order to accumulate capital.

Thus by the standards of the community as a whole, the principal criteria for class distinctions are shiftlessness, unreliableness, and dependency. On this basis, the class differences among the inhabitants are two in number. They include: (1) the farm owners; the young farm tenants (or those who have not been farm tenants for too many years); and the people who operate businesses, and (2) the farm tenants and day laborers whose status has not changed in many years. The class structure, then, is not formalized, and a general feeling of sympathy rather than snobishness exists on the part of the people who are more successful in their occupational pursuits. The people are not conscious of any social grouping, and everyone in the community attends the same social functions without distinction. The population has been stable and the people have all known each other for years. Most of the inhabitants realize that certain members of their group have been more successful than others, but the people in the community meet the same occupational problems, and the wealth appears to be fairly equally distributed. Family descent and long residence are of little importance, since most of the ancestors were relatively poor and all of them settled in

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20 Two of the families were reported as having received food and clothing from the "relief people." This practice is frowned upon by every other Czech in the community, for he feels everyone "ought to stand on his own feet. If he has got to get food and clothing from the government, then there can't be much to him."

21 The exact number of years that a person may be a renter or a day laborer and still be accorded upper class status is relatively uncertain in the Czech's mind. If a man has "hard luck" or some unfortunate experience in his occupational pursuits, he may be a tenant for over 20 years and still be accorded upper class status.
Snook at about the same time. Thus, there has not been much reason for the development of social classes in Snook. In fact, one can state that as far as social stratification is concerned, almost the same conditions prevail as were found in the earliest days of Snook's development. Instead of thinking in terms of different social classes in the community, the average Czech thinks in terms of all of the members of his ethnic group as being members of the in-group as opposed to all other out-groups.

The form of leadership is usually closely linked to the class structure. Just as in the case of class distinctions, it is difficult to discern any clear pattern of leadership in the Snook community. Although most of the individuals do not recognize an active leader, they are influenced and guided by the actions and opinions of a few persons who are held in high regard by them. Since the seeking of personal counsel is rare, the leadership pattern refers mainly to the officeships in the local organizations.22 Few, if any, individuals can command the support of the entire community, but several leaders can be pointed out. Almost all of the leaders are older men and most of them are members of the second generation group. In the main, however, there seems on the surface to be little personal desire for leadership. If nominated and elected to an office in one of the organizations, a man usually tries to serve only one term. At the next election, if renominated, he usually attempts to withdraw his nomination.

22 One person was instrumental in starting a cooperative gin movement in Snook, but outside of this one endeavor, no new organizations have appeared in the community in several years.
on the basis that "the jobs ought to be passed around. I served my
required time, and now it is time for somebody else to get the job."
In such cases, however, the leader is usually careful to suggest an
erlder person as a successor, for a younger man might wish to alter
some of the customary ways in which the meetings are conducted. Thus
leadership in the community has remained in the hands of the older men,
and in this respect, the pattern of leadership has changed but little.

B. The Family in Snook

The family is probably the most important form of social grouping
in existence. Almost all of the habits, interests, and customs of the
individual are transmitted to man through the family. It contributes
heavily to the development and the fixing of the individual's personail-
ity and ..." it is seriously to be questioned whether any other in-
stitution or organization compares with the family in respect to its
conditioning influence, or whether any influence brought to bear in
adulthood can wholly erase the stamp placed on the individual during
his childhood." Although the family has given over much of its res-
ponsibility to other agencies, many sociologists assert that it remains
the most important unit of society.

The family of today in Snook operates not only as a social but also
as an economic unit. All of the members except the very young cooperate in

23 Grove S. Dow, Society and Its Problems (New York: Thomas Y.
Crowell Company, 1935); p. 380.
making a living on the farm. Children are assigned regular tasks or chores which they carry out conscientiously even before they have reached school age. As has been pointed out, almost all of the labor on the farm is performed by the family members. Women and children feel strongly that they should help earn the family living, and they contribute their talents accordingly. Many tasks are left completely in the children's hands and the division of labor is clearly defined. The work routine of the average farm family can be likened to a smoothly-operating machine.  

Operating in close harmony as an economic unit and working all day long in the fields side by side creates family ties that are very strong. The father is head of the household and responsible for the welfare of all of its members so long as they remain at home. As long as he is active, he holds his position as head and his decisions are respected and seldom questioned by the children. To the outsider he appears to "work" his wife and children very hard and to "boss them around" a great deal. In reality, however, this is more apparent than real. As the family head, the father does assign difficult tasks to the children, but he feels that this gives them a greater sense of responsibility, and he often relates

26 Before a youth asks the parent's permission to spend a night with his friend, for example, he first arranges with his brother or sister to "do" his work for him. This calls for binding agreements on the part of the two agreeing parties and the youth asking the favor must return it at a future designated date.

27 So deeply is the patriarchal system ingrained in the minds of the Czech that years after the father has passed away, decisions are often based on "what papa would have done or wanted if he were still living."
with a deep sense of pride the amount of work his youngsters and wife perform.28

The family head seldom makes decisions without first consulting his wife. To the outsider, it appears that the wife is only the minor partner to the marriage contract, but in reality, she is consulted in all matters of importance. She knows about the rotation of crops and is asked to give an opinion on which cattle should be kept and which should be sold. She is consulted on every expenditure to be made on farm machinery and new equipment. In short, the husband and wife depend upon each other and share the responsibilities of the home and farm. She is her husband’s companion and intimately familiar with all of the details of farm management.

Relations between family members are usually congenial.29 The children are typically well-mannered and relatively unspoiled. They are taught that hard work, thrift, politeness, and honesty are virtues that every young Czech should possess. Through a delegation of responsibilities, they are made to feel that they are a vital part of the family economic

28 One has to linger in the saloon on a Saturday afternoon only a few moments before he hears such common expressions as: “My Johnnie picked 300 pounds of cotton one day this week,” or “My Frank chopped twice as many rows as the Negro we had hired.”

29 Jokes are often shared by all members of the family and friendly rivalries exist between the father and son. Often the son tries to talk his father into adopting some new practice in farming, but the father good-naturedly “joshes” his son about his “book methods.” Sometimes, as a 4-H club project, the son is allowed to have his own hogs or other animals. These are usually more expensive animals and the son realizes more profit than the father does from his own stock. When the son reminds the father he did better by farming “from a book,” the farmer is forced to admit it, but he usually adds: “you might be able to do that once or twice, but for all-around farming, I’ll stick to my own method.”
organization. Few are the secrets of individual members, and the financial condition of the family is discussed openly. Each child is made to realize what the financial status is and often he eliminates unreasonable demands. A "share and share-alike" attitude is instilled into the child, and he often willingly gives up "notions" that he should have a new suit because he feels that some other member of the family needs one more than he.

Not one boy has ever run away from a Czech home in the community. When one of the boys feels that he has reached the age when he should be allowed to leave his parental roof and desires to do so, this fact becomes known to every member of the family. Stock must be taken of how his leaving will affect the economic unit. If the father and mother decide that his services cannot be spared, usually special arrangements are made for the son whereby he is allowed to rent some land on his own or he is entitled to a certain specified portion of the cash crop produced. If it is decided that he should be allowed to leave home, parting is the occasion for much sorrow. Sometimes it is preceded by a "going away" party which

30 In trying to verify this fact, one farmer was asked if he knew of any boy who had run away from his home in the community. He replied: "No, I don't know of anybody, but then I don't see any reason why they should. After all these boys have enough sense to know that they are needed on the farm, and when they get old enough they can leave if they want to."

31 Quite often even before the matter is discussed formally among the family members, the little brother or sister tell their neighbors, and the entire community knows that "Johnny wants to go to Houston and get a job."

32 Although her son may be 25 years of age, the mother will cry when the time for parting draws near, for she suddenly realizes that her son has grown up and that the close relationship between them must necessarily come to an end. Mothers can often be heard to express their sorrow by saying: "Our children are all that we live for, and when they leave, a certain part of us leaves with them." The family as a unit is usually sad for a few days after the son's departure until they become adjusted to the new situation.
is attended by several families who wish him well in his new venture.

Even though the children leave home, their interests in the family and its welfare do not perceptibly diminish. As has been pointed out, they move only short distances from Snook, and they visit their home often. Family reunions are a common occurrence, as even those who have moved out of the state come home at least once a year. On the other hand, it is sometimes easier for the parents to visit their children, for it is a common thing for all of the family members who have left home to move to the same city. The individual is still an integral part of the family even after he has left the parental roof. The son and especially the daughter write home weekly and each word is read eagerly by the parents. There is seldom any apparent need of assisting the family financially. As long as the son remains unmarried, however, he very often buys such things as household appliances for his mother and clothing for his father and brothers and sisters. Occasionally he finances his brother’s or sister’s education but seldom does he send money home to the family. Several cases exist, however, where the sons keep up premiums on their parents’ insurance policies.

The family is so closely integrated in Snook that even the families of cousins feel a close kinship tie. Whenever reunions are held, all of the

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33 In one family, five of the six members who have left their parental home live in the small town of Rosenberg, Texas. Baytown has attracted four members of the same family and three of another.

34 The family members do not object to their neighbor’s knowing that their son “bought” them a new refrigerator or washing machine. They proudly display and demonstrate the appliance and tell everyone they see in the community about it. Several times during his course of studying the community, the mother invited the writer in to the house “to see a new appliance” or “some piece of furniture” her son had given her.
The unity of these kinship groups is more real than apparent. If one of the group becomes involved in any trouble or difficulty, for example, he can depend upon his cousins to help him "uphold the name."

Thus in the main, parents and children are close to each other and the family is very strong and well integrated. Changes in family relationships in the past few years, however, have been noted by the parents. Most of the people with whom changes in family relationships were discussed were of the opinion that they were brought about by the changing economic conditions. One farmer explained the changing relationships in this manner:

Since all of the land is taken up in Snook, the kids know that they won't be able to farm when they grow up. After they have seen a few of the young people who have moved to the city come back to visit in new cars and dressed "fit to kill," you can't blame them for wanting to do the same thing. So now they want to leave home at an earlier age and don't seem to care about learning to farm since they feel they will not become farmers anyway.

Another farmer offered this explanation:

The kids know they aren't going to farm when they grow up so they pay more attention to their books than they do to us. When they get beyond the sixth or seventh grade in school they ask questions in English which we can't answer. Up to this time, they think we are smarter than anybody else, and when we don't understand their books, they think of us as being dumb. When it comes to farming, we know "our business," but we can't explain things to them that they can't understand in their books.

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Children, especially, and adults use the term "cousin" or "uncle" or "aunt" with the given name of their kin in ordinary conversation. Thus common expressions heard in Snook at any given time are: "Cousin Fanny told me," or Uncle Frank said so," etc.
These observations on the part of the farmers appear to be correct. One should add, however, that often after the son leaves the farm, the relationship changes at least slightly. Sometimes he becomes engrossed in his own life. Once the son marries and has his own children, he is still interested in his parents, but the major focus of his interest has been shifted. Even so, he is never able to forget his family or the community altogether for he is instilled with a deep respect for the people, and his actions are often motivated by "what the people back home would think if they found it out."

Although the Czech parent disclaims any attempt on his part to control the marriage of his offspring, he exercises a great deal of control through the giving of opinion. Loyalty to the parents and to the group undoubtedly plays a part in the choice of a mate in the life of the Czech. If a couple have two or three dates together, they are considered to be going "steady." People become interested in the courtship and speculate on the outcome of it. Engagements are almost never announced before invitations to a "shower" for the bride are sent to nearly every woman in the community. At the shower the date of the marriage is announced. The couple usually is married in the minister's home in Caldwell on that date. Church weddings are infrequent, and usually only the close relatives attend.

36 The mother, especially, tries to discourage her son from going with an "American" girl and tries her utmost to keep the boy from marrying her by the use of such statements as: "What do you want to go with a girl like that for? She won't work in the field or do any hard work, and you seldom find one that cares to have any children. All they are out for is a good time. You ought to be going with some nice Czech girl instead."
After a short wedding trip to Houston or some such place, the couple usually returns to live in the home of one of the parents until such time as their new home can be completed or an old one remodeled. In recent years, however, since most of the youngsters migrate to the city before they marry, only a few marriages take place in the community. The first and second generation Goochs bemoan the fact that "this business of marriages and celebrations is a far cry from what it used to be. Everybody in Snook used to go to the weddings and dance and eat and drink all night, and look at the way it is now."

The marital status of Snook's population 15 years and over has been computed and these figures presented in Table XV. Published census reports do not give the data required for the analysis of the marital status of the different races within the rural population of a county, but comparisons with the white rural populations of Texas may be made.

Of the 226 persons 15 years of age and older in Snook's population, 20.6 per cent are single, 66.7 per cent are married, 12.3 per cent are widowed and 0.4 per cent are divorced. From the standpoint of marital status, Snook's residents are married and widowed in higher proportions than are the white rural residents of Texas and also possess a lower proportion of single and divorced people. The most important conclusions which come from the analysis of material on the marital status of Snook's residents of 15 or more years of age are the relative absence of single females and the high proportion of widowed females. Among this sex the proportion single in Snook's population is less than one-half that of the white rural population of Texas. On the other hand, the proportion of widowed females is over two times greater than it is among the white rural population of the State.
<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Single Number</th>
<th>Single Percent</th>
<th>Married Number</th>
<th>Married Percent</th>
<th>Widowed Number</th>
<th>Widowed Percent</th>
<th>Divorced Number</th>
<th>Divorced Percent</th>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>23</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>134,749</td>
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<td>92,105</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>9,800</td>
<td>1.0</td>
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</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snoon Households.

**Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Population, 1940, Volume IV, Part 4, Table 7.*
Separation and divorce are practically unknown in the Snook community where only one resident has been divorced. With this one exception at the time of the survey, no husband was living under a separate roof from that of his wife. Informants in the community could not recall a single divorce that had taken place between two of its residents, although five children of the present residents of Snook who migrated to urban areas obtained divorces since they moved away. All six cases of divorce either inside or outside the community which involve either present or past residents have been in mixed marriages. On the other hand, none of the marriages involving only Czechs either in the community or of the children who left the community have ended in divorce. There has also been much less intermarriage among the community residents than among those who have left. Only 7 per cent of the marriages in the community are mixed marriages whereas over 42 per cent of those who left the community have entered into wedlock with a non-Czech partner.

Each female in Snook who is presently married or has been married has borne an average of 3.96 children. The number of children borne per wife declines steadily with each successive generation. For example,

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37 The one person who is divorced married an Anglo-Saxon during the war years and is presently living with his father. Although the people in the community have never seen his former wife, they are of the opinion that: "It wasn't his fault, though, that he got divorced. He married an American girl during the war, and you know how that is."

38 By the term, "mixed" marriage is meant a marriage between a Czech and a non-Czech person.

39 Attention should be called to the fact that the figures presented for each generation are not absolutely comparable. One can assume, for instance, that a larger portion of the first generation mothers have completed their families, whereas this may, or may not, be the case with the third generation wives. Even so, it is highly probable that the families of the latter group will be much smaller in size when they are completed. (Cont'd page 184.)
the first generation Czech wife bore an average of 5.11 children; the
second generation an average of 4.93 children; and the third generation
an average of 2.36. The lowest average number of children borne by any
group of married females in the community was 2.28. This low average
belongs to the wives who are partners in mixed marriages.

The younger generations, especially, openly state that children do
not have the economic value they have had in the past. As has been pointed
out, the land has been divided to the point that further division would
impair the efficiency of the farm. Therefore, they feel that they should
give their children as good an education and preparation for their future
life as is possible. Since their resources are limited, they prefer to
have fewer children and to give them more individual advantages than could
be given to a larger number. This factor, perhaps more so than any other,
accounts for the change that has taken place in the average size of family
in the community.

Moral standards are very high, and there are no known cases of ille-
gitimacy or abortion in the community. Although in three or four cases con-
ception might have taken place out of wedlock, all children were born in
wedlock. Extra-marital relations are frowned upon in the community.

The funeral is an important family function and is attended by all
members of the family. It is the occasion for much sadness, and if an ill-
ness is considered serious, all of the close relatives must be at the bed-
side of the sick person. Most of the deaths do not take place in hospitals

39 (Continued) Apparently the urbanizing influence enters in this
respect, for there is no reason to believe that the fecundity is reduced.
but are in the respective homes. Usually within an hour after a death occurs, every community resident knows about it, for the "tolling" of the church bell is heard over the countryside.⁴⁰ "Sitting up" with the corpse is still practiced, and sending of food to the bereaved family by friends and neighbors lightens the household duties during these times. At the time and date set for the funeral services, all work is stopped and the places of business are closed until after the services are over. The people first gather at the home of the deceased where prayers are said and the church choir sings a few hymns. Then the funeral procession proceeds slowly to the church where a short service, usually of a eulogistic nature, is held by the minister. At the conclusion of this service, the people are permitted to walk by the coffin on their way out of the church for a last look at the deceased. The bell tolls slowly as the procession proceeds to the cemetery.⁴¹ After a short grave-side ceremony, the people depart for their homes.

If an individual in the community dies during the week, dances that are scheduled to be held during the same week or the following week-end are cancelled in respect for the deceased. Although the custom of wearing mourning clothes has passed out of the picture, the youngsters are not allowed to sing nor whistle a popular tune where they might be heard for several weeks. The members of the immediate family or even the nieces

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⁴⁰ If a person does not have first-hand information as to who the deceased is, there is much speculation as to who it may be, for every resident always knows who is sick and the extent of their sickness in the community at any given time.

⁴¹ The size of the procession or number of people who attend the services and number of floral tributes is recognized as a good index of the deceased person's prestige in the area.
and nephews of the deceased are not to be seen at a dance or a similar social function for a period of time ranging from about two to three months after the funeral. However, if one of the younger set is far enough away from the community and feels sure no one in the community will find out, he might not comply with the custom.42

C. Religion and the Local Church

One of the institutions which exerts considerable influence on the behavior of Smock's residents is religion. The Czechs, like most any ethnic group, feel that their own cultural environment is better than the cultural environment of others. They expect their children to speak the native language and to retain some of the cultural ways and patterns and to remain in the church of their parents. In every-day life, the people have to conform to American practices. They have to send their children to schools which tend to "Americanize" them, and when they transact business in town, they are compelled to use at least some English. In the church, however, the Czechs may do as they please. They are free to adopt only what new practices they desire and are free to use the mother tongue. The church need not even be affected by other churches around them. The older people tend to be very conservative, and through the church they are able to preserve some of the traditions and fond memories of the past. Religious practices have their roots buried deeply in the lives of the immigrants particularly, and they will not make changes in this sector of

42 One of the complaints of the elder residents is that "these kids just don't care as much as we do about such things. The way they act you would think they want to go dancing on the same night they buried a member of their own family."
their lives as readily as in other matters. Religion has proven a source of conflict between the young and old, and as a result, the church is not as strong as it has been in the past.

In Texas, the Czechs are divided into three religious groups. It has been estimated that about 70 per cent are Roman Catholics, 25 per cent Protestants, and the remaining 5 per cent are commonly known as "Free Thinkers" who profess no religious faith.43 The latter group has attracted the most attention and has caused a great deal of criticism of the Czechs. If one is acquainted with their religious background, however, it is not difficult to understand why some of the people do not profess any religious faith. Writing about the Czechs and the reason why so many are "Free Thinkers," C. Luther Fry writes:

There is a story of fanatical persecution, guided by the hand of the Church. Bohemia was the cradle of Protestantism. After Jan Hus, the great hero of the Czechs, was burned at the stake in 1415 for protesting against the Roman Catholic Church, a great religious war began which lasted for twelve years. The Czechs were victorious and Bohemia became a Protestant nation. Then followed the Thirty Years War, which was in effect a crusade against Protestantism. As a result, Bohemia came under Austrian rule, and 2,300,000 Czechs went into exile or perished. Those who remained in Bohemia were driven into the Catholic Church. In each village, soldiers and priests came to the doors, lined up the people and marched them to mass. In order to hold their lands, the Czechs were forced to be hypocrites. Thus, the Church became their greatest enemy and they learned to hate her.44


44 C. Luther Fry, The New and Old Immigrant On the Land (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1922); p. 78.
The preceding quotation sheds some light on the reason for the existence of the free thinkers. It also explains at least in part why the Protestant Czechs dislike Catholicism so intensely even to the present day. Over 90 per cent of the Czechs in Snook are Protestant whereas less than 10 per cent are Catholics. Computations were made of the denominational membership of Snook's population, and the data are presented in Table XVI. Of the 228 people who are 15 years old and over in Snook's population, 80.3 per cent are Czech-Moravian Brethren, 9.7 per cent are Catholics, 5.3 per cent are Pentecostal, and 2.6 per cent are Free Thinkers, and 2.1 per cent belong to other denominations. Since such an overwhelming proportion of the population are Czech-Moravians, the major portion of this section is devoted to a description of the activities of this church, its influence in the community, and the changes that are taking place within it.

Since a preponderance of the church-going population is affiliated with the Czech-Moravian denomination, the strength of the church in the community is clearly evident in many ways. Its members are, for the most part, united on many community issues, and together, they exert a strong influence on community affairs. The church activities are sufficiently important to set the schedule for all community affairs, and when church members are holding meetings or services, practically no outside events

\[\text{Through their strength in numbers, the Czech-Moravians have been able to attain a great deal of cooperation from the members of other denominations. It is interesting to note that at any given service two or three Catholic families are always in attendance, and usually the non-Czechs in the community are also present.}\]
### Table XVI

**Denominational Membership of Snook's Population 15 Years Old and Over According to Sex, 1945**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Czech-Moravian Number</th>
<th>Czech-Moravian Percent</th>
<th>Catholic Number</th>
<th>Catholic Percent</th>
<th>Pentecostal Number</th>
<th>Pentecostal Percent</th>
<th>Free Thinkers Number</th>
<th>Free Thinkers Percent</th>
<th>Miscellaneous Number</th>
<th>Miscellaneous Percent</th>
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<tr>
<td>Males</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>80.3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tbody>
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*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snook Households.*
can succeed. The school administrators and the lodge dance committees are always informed on the church schedule of events at all times, for they do not dare conflict with them.

The very fact that Snook's population is overwhelmingly Czech-Moravian while over 70 per cent of the Czechs in Texas are Catholics calls for some comment. Czech historians have noted that early Moravian settlements were founded in the northern part of the United States and suddenly the Czech-Moravian began coming South to Texas. About the time the strong emigration movement to Texas began, the borders of the German States were occupied by German soldiers of the Lutheran faith and Austrian soldiers of the Evangelical Protestant religion. Czech historians speculate on the possibility that Czech-Moravians received assistance from these troops because they were also of the Protestant faith. The soldiers had information which some of the Czechs did not possess, and they suggested that the people migrate to the Protestant communities in Texas. In the New World, wherever the Czech-Moravians lived in close proximity to each other, they were bound together by their mutual dislike for the Catholics.

When the first families arrived in Snook, it soon became common knowledge in other communities that these people were Protestants. Those families who followed understood it to be a community of Czech-Moravians and moved here for that reason among others. Thus from the very beginning, Snook

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46 Even though the Czechs believe in having a good time and especially dancing a great deal, the lodge officials are careful to not have a dance the night before church services are to be held.

has probably been overwhelmingly Protestant and has remained so through the years.

The church of the Czech-Moravian Brethren originated in the teachings of Jan Hus. Some of his followers organized this church in 1457 on the estate of Lititz. This place soon became the rallying-point for the Protestants throughout Bohemia and Moravia. It has been pointed out previously in Chapter IV and in the present chapter that this group has suffered a great amount of religious persecution. In the teeth of oppression and opposition, they built churches, translated the Bible into the vernacular tongue, and prepared hymn-books. Many of these books and buildings were destroyed by their enemies, but almost every Protestant brought a copy of the Bible and a hymn book with him to America. Here for the first time, the Czechs were free to carry out the religious practices they desired to follow. All of the Czech-Moravian churches were finally united into one Synod called The Evangelical Unity of the Czech-Moravian Brethren in Texas in 1904. The Czechs in Snook held religious services for several years in the individual homes of the inhabitants, and finally in 1913, they constructed a church building which stands to the present day on the same location. (See Figure 19.) The person who has been traveling the road frequently for years that goes by the church has not noticed any change in its physical appearance since it has been built.

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15 Fry, op. cit., p. 80.

50 Halik, op. cit., p. 15.
Figure 19. The Czech-Moravian Brethren Church in the Smock Community, 1945.

The church is a structure of which the Czech is extremely proud. To him, it is a symbol of the freedom he has found in America.
other than for frequent paintings. The inside portion of the building, however, has been remodeled and renovated several times, and the grounds are always pleasing to the eye. It is a structure of which the Greeks are extremely proud, for to many it is a symbol of their freedom in America today.

Church services are held 20 times each year and revival services are held for one week each summer. (For the statistics on this point, and other points, see Table I in Appendix 3.) Every family in the community is up bright and early on the Sundays when "church" is to be held. The clear tones of the church bell over the countryside proclaim the Sabbath day and announce that religious services are to be held that morning. The youngsters receive an extra scrubbing; the father must have a "fresh" shave; and the mother must do a bit of last-minute ironing, and start the rooster boiling so that chicken noodle soup can be served at the noon meal.

No work is performed in the field on any Sunday of the year, and all community activity ceases on the Sunday mornings when services are to be held. The business establishments remain open until about 9:00 o'clock so that the farmers can purchase the items they were too busy to buy the preceding day. As the appointed hour for service draws near, no one is to be seen loitering in the business section, for virtually everyone in the community puts on his or her "Sunday" clothes and attends services. The families begin arriving at the church at about 8:30, and they immediately separate and join their own age and sex groups. Only the mothers go directly inside the church where they sit and talk until Sunday School begins. As soon as the ringing of the bell announces the commencement of Sunday School, all of the children and youths must go in, but the older men stand around outside
the church near the front entrance and talk about farm produce prices and speculate on the chances of making a good crop during the current year. Business deals are consummated between individual farmers, but seldom do international or even national events enter into the discussions.

Sunday School begins at 9:00 o'clock, and the minister reviews the Sunday School lesson and the Golden Text for the day while the mothers and children listen attentively. Immediately upon the conclusion of the Sunday School session, the bell is rung, signifying that it is time for church services to begin. The elder males then enter the church quietly and sit on the right-hand side of the main aisle. The longitudinal aisle is located directly in the center of the church, and the males sit on one side and the females on the other. When Holy Communion is observed, the males and females are served separately. Until very recently, the males were all served first. After they had returned to their seats, the females were then served. The minister who is presently serving the congregation reversed the order in which the sexes partake of the Holy Sacrament, but not without a

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51 At the time of the survey, however, the Communist domination of Czechoslovakia was a major topic of conversation, especially between the elder members of the group. The young men were not particularly interested in the conversation but listened politely to the elder members who became emotional and visibly moved as they, in speculation, delved deeply into Czechoslovakia's future position in the world.

52 This custom, although practiced to some extent even today, is not adhered to as strictly as it has been in the past. Under no conditions does the male sit on the female side of the church, but in recent years, newly-wed couples began sitting together on the male's side. When this practice was first attempted, some of the elder males were heard to grumble that "these young women act just like they were men folks. Our wives would never think of sitting anywhere but where they belong." If one were to bother to ask why the females shouldn't sit on the male's side, he would probably receive an answer such as: "It just doesn't look right, that's all. The women have their side, and we ought to be allowed to keep ours too"
great deal of whispering on the part of the males. The minister is very well liked, however, and the congregation has adjusted itself to this change. The males and females are still served separately, and as each group comes forward to partake of the Holy Sacrament, the minister passes a large silver cup from one individual to another, and each takes a small sip of the wine from the same cup. A small square of bread is also given each individual separately. On the Sunday that Communion is observed, the minister has a relatively short sermon, and services seldom last beyond 11:30 on any given date. This is a deviation from former practice, for whereas the minister used to talk at least an hour, today the sermon seldom lasts over one-half an hour. As soon as services are over, most of the people congregate outside the church and talk at some length before going home. Within a very short time after the family arrives at home, they exchange their "Sunday" clothes for "every-day" clothes and the elder members enjoy the rest of the day resting after a hard week in the fields. The youngsters, however, play baseball or go swimming in one of the local ponds.

Formal confirmation exercises are held about every two years. The boys and girls qualify for confirmation when they reach the age of about 15. Each person wishing to gain membership in the church is first considered a candidate for confirmation. Before he becomes a member, he must memorize the answers to 57 questions from a Catechism written in Czech and

Both the wine and bread are made by members of the congregation. One of the members furnishes the wine regularly, whereas the women rotate the furnishing of bread in such manner that the family who has the minister for dinner that day furnishes the bread.
a number of verses from the Czech Bible. He must be able to repeat these orally during the examination which is a part of the ceremony. This ceremony is by far the most impressive of all those practiced in the church, and a special Sunday is set aside for the occasion. The church is filled to capacity very early for all near relatives attend on this special day, and the late comers must stand up in the back if they desire to see the ceremony. The church is bedecked in bright-colored crepe paper, and a special section is reserved for the parents and godparents of the candidates. At the appointed time, the boys, in dark-colored suits, and the girls, in white dresses, march to the front of the church in pairs. They are then examined on the Catechism questions and Biblical verses. As each individual is asked a question, he must reply orally and it is seldom that the candidate needs prompting from the minister. After the candidates have been properly questioned and accepted for confirmation, they then become members of the church.

The congregation is too small, and the number of pastors too few for the Czech-Noravians to have a resident minister.\(^{54}\) The minister who is presently serving the community resides in Caldwell in a home which is furnished him by the Unity. He serves a large circuit of 12 different churches which are located within a radius of 130 miles of his home. He conducts an average of 24 or more worship services and over 5 funeral services in these communities each month. Every Sunday he has to conduct at least 3 worship services and occasionally 4, sometimes having to travel 75

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\(^{54}\) According to Malik, op. cit., p. 45, in 1946, the Unity had 4 ministers who were performing their duties in 32 communities in Texas.

\(^{55}\) These statistics were furnished the writer by the minister, Reverend Henry E. Beseda. He estimates that his monthly automobile mileage incurred in performing his duties as minister of his congregations is about 4,000 miles.
to 100 miles between two successive communities that he serves. Such being the case, the pastor is usually in the community only a part of each day that he holds services. On the Sunday that they are held, he arrives a few minutes before the hour of beginning. After the services, he finds a few minutes in which to greet a few of the members and to chat with them, but he must hurry to the home of one of the church members for his dinner. Usually, as soon as he has eaten, he must hurry to the next community where his congregation is awaiting him. As a person, he is liked very well in the community, and most men speak of him as a "fine fellow that you can talk to" and as a man "not only with a religious education but also with some common sense."

The church sponsors several organizations. Among these are the Sunday School, a Ladies' Aid Missionary Society, a Vacation Bible School, a Young People's Union, and a Benevolent Society.

By far the most important organization sponsored by the church is the Sunday School. It affects at one time or other every Czech-Moravian in the community, for almost every child whose parents are members of this denomination attends Sunday School regularly. The Sunday School meets every Sunday morning and has an active membership of about 80 students. The attendance varies a great deal, but in the summer months it sometimes runs as high as 125. During the winter months, however, when the weather is very wet and the roads almost impassable, only 5 or 10 members might be present. Six teachers, most of whom are trained in a special Sunday School Teacher

*Often the pastor does not even have time to stay for dinner, and the housewife prepares a sack lunch which he eats "on the run."
training course sponsored by the Unity conduct regular classes for the
different age groups. The classes are held in the church and in a second
building nearby which is owned by the church and is simply known as a
"Sunday School Building." The organization is very active and sponsors
programs on nearly all such special occasions as Easter, Thanksgiving,
Christmas, and Mother's Day. Each class usually has an annual picnic, and
on special occasions picnics are held for the entire membership and their
families.

The Ladies' Aid Missionary Society has an active membership of 63
members and holds its regular meeting once a month usually on the same
afternoon that church services are held. The ladies take an active part
and interest in keeping the church spotlessly clean and in raising money
for such items as new rugs, a new clock or some such piece of furniture
to be placed in the church. If some one in the community is ill and can
not do his own work, the Society members and such members of their families
who can be spared from their own routine work will gather at the ill person's
farm at an appointed time and perform his field work for him. Through this
medium, work is turned into a social event and the women all enjoy the day
in each other's company. One of the members of the organization permits
the Society to use about a two-acre plot of land rent-free on which they
grow cotton. Husbands of individual members plow the land and plant the
cotton. Then the entire membership gathers together and "hoes" the cotton
and picks it when it is ready to be harvested. Ginning services are fur-
nished free of charge, so the ladies realize a nice profit and enjoy a "get
together" each time a work project is performed. The receipts are used
in connection with their church projects.
is located at Tempi®, Texas. It is recognized as the official school of
and was the Czech Reformer. The school has been in operation since 1947
and sponsored co-operatively by the Czech Reformed Church, which is named after
275
In addition to the organization mentioned, the church

supervised by the United

partnership in its early stage of organization and was mostly run by the older people in the community
very active organization, and mostly composed of about 60 members. It is not a

mental education of (the Benevolent Society of the Czech-

The church has the can be sustained organization known as the Czech-

organized to

Young people, most of their social contacts of pleasure, whether formal and

church's realization that a Reformed program was needed for the

church's realization in nature than denominational and is the only church

The church sponsors a Young People's Union, an organization to

feelings of loneliness may have existed.

young people feel to know each other better and produce the needed

on a non-denominational basis. Since the church from the separation de-

classes daily for a period of two weeks, and the classes are conducted

other cooperative members. Your teachers from each church conduct the

the denominational boundaries, and the Pentecostal Church, the

the Baptists and Lutheran churches which are located near the one

youth center for boys around and is conducted on a cooperative basis.

operation of a Reformed Bible School, the school is open to all of the

It was dissolved in 1947. It was that time it became interested in the

The church at one time sponsored a Czech School every summer, but

199
the Unity. Its task is to train Sunday School teachers and it meets regularly for eight weeks each summer. The course consists of Bible, both the old and new testament, the Greek language, Sunday School principles and management, music, and the life of the Apostle Paul. About four or five students from Snook attend the Hus School each summer, and the church furnishes scholarships for those who attend from the community.

The church today is confronted with two main problems. The first problem concerns the location of the church building. The church is now located on a dirt road, and in rainy weather the road becomes impassable and church services must be postponed. One of the members who owns land near the business section adjoining a hard-surface road has donated land to the church in hopes that it could be moved to the new site. If it were moved to the proposed spot, it would be more centrally located and more easily accessible for more people regardless of weather conditions. The proposal to move the church to the new location, however, has split the members into two opposing factions. One group is composed of older people who feel that they were most instrumental in establishing the church and that the church should not be moved regardless of the feasibility of arguments or any other reason. The others feel that the church and the community would benefit if the structure were moved to the proposed new location. The question has been voted on after long and bitter debate, and at least for the present, the church is to remain where it is now located.

57 Malik, op. cit., p. 40.

58 Some of the arguments used for opposing the moving of the church are: "We older people founded the church and now the younger ones want to move it. We put it there because that is where we wanted it, and that is where it ought to stay," and "It would be too close to the saloons. Now what kind of an arrangement is that?" Another said, "I just don't want it moved and that's that."
differences of opinion on this question is one of the disrupting influences in community solidarity and is a potential source of acrimonious feelings between individuals.

The second and most pressing problem of the church today centers about the language question. The older people have made strenuous efforts to retain the mother tongue in the church. The youngsters feel that their church should be an American institution, and since English is the most commonly used language in America, it should be used in the church. They feel that they should not sing hymns and learn their Catechism and Bible verses in a language which to them is "outmoded." Thus the old and new generations do not see "eye-to-eye" on the subject, and the minister has wisely not shown any partiality to either side. Although there is a great deal of antagonism and personal feeling about the subject on the part of a few members, a fairly peaceful transition from the old language custom to the new is taking place. Gradual changes and compromises have resulted in an ever-increasing use of English in the activities of the church.

All of the inhabitants who appeared to the writer to be qualified to form an opinion on the question were asked to state their preference of language to be used in the church services. The answers were recorded and furnish the data which are presented in Table XVII. Slightly more than one-half of those questioned prefer Czech as the language to be used. All of the first generation members prefer Czech, but the preference of this language decreases with each succeeding generation. Only three out of every four second generation people prefer Czech and less than one-half of the third generation prefer it. Czech is the least popular with the fourth generation youngsters, as fewer than one out of ten prefer it as the language to be
TABLE XVII

PREFERENCE OF LANGUAGE TO BE USED IN CHURCH SERVICES AS EXPRESSED BY SNOOK'S POPULATION
10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, ACCORDING TO TYPE, SEX, AND GENERATION, 1948*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Czech Language</th>
<th>English Language</th>
<th>No Preference</th>
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<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>70.4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
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<td>79.6</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>75.3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
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<td>Total</td>
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<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
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<td>50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>70</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>90</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snoek Households.
used, and almost three out of four stated that they prefer English. Many
of the inhabitants were not only willing to answer the question, but seve­
ral added comments which reflected how strongly they felt about it. 59

Those who have felt most strongly that English should be used in
the church have been willing to let the change take place gradually. Al­
though there is still a great deal of grumbling about each concession that
must be made, most of the older people have been willing to concede that
the youngsters should be allowed to use English occasionally so long as
Czech is not forgotten altogether. As a result of the concessions that
have been made, some English is used in almost every activity sponsored
by the church today. About two years ago, the first experiment was con­
ducted in using English in religious services. At first, the older people
were very skeptical of such a plan, and most of them did not even bother
to attend. The minister's son who is a theological student preparing for

59 One elderly lady when asked which language she preferred, an­
swered: "Czech, of course. It just doesn't seem like religion to me if
the minister doesn't talk in Czech. You would think the kids would have
more respect for us than to try to change the language on us, especially
when we were the ones who organized the church in the first place." Her
husband added: "For my part, there need not be any other language than
Czech at all. It is the most beautiful sounding language of all, and
when the minister uses it in church, he can make much clearer illustra­
tions with it than he could if he were using English."

On the other side of the question, several of the children com­
plained: "We shouldn't have to learn Czech. It's just on account of the
old folks that we have to do so. Why don't they give us a chance to learn
English better rather than struggling with two languages? For my part of
it, I really can't understand enough of it to get the full meaning of the
minister's sermon, and the rest of the kids my age can't either." One of
the youths said that he was often embarrassed when his American friends
repeated verses and names from the Bible. "I can do it, too," he said,
"but how would they know what I am saying when the only way I know it is
in Czech?"
the ministry in the Unity conducted the first English service. His delivery drew such favorable comment that it was tried again at a later date. Each successive service has larger audiences and presently 16 services are conducted in Czech by the father and 4 are conducted in English by the son yearly.

Certain changes have taken place in the Sunday School also. During the war years, most of the young men in the community who were capable of teaching Sunday School classes in Czech were in the service. The younger men and women had to take these positions, and many of them did not know enough Czech and therefore had to teach in English. Thus at the present time, of the six classes taught in Sunday School, only the one adult class is conducted in Czech and the other five are conducted in English. Each Sunday before the students split up into separate classes, the entire student body sings in unison in assembly for about thirty minutes. At the present time, the songs are alternated, that is, the first song is in Czech, the second in English, the third in Czech, etc. The Vacation Bible School is conducted in English only since the teachers and students belong to several different denominations. The four girls in the community who attended Has School this summer stated that the school was conducted entirely in the English language. The one exception to this rule was the singing of one Czech song each day during the eight-weeks term. Since the membership of the Ladies' Aid Missionary Society is made up mainly of the

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60 Not all, but a few of the older people attend the English services "for lack of something better to do," but occasionally one forgets that he is against English services long enough to admit that "the minister's son really gave a good sermon."
older ladies in the community, all business is conducted in Czech. The Benevolent Society makes use only of the Czech language in its business meetings also, and seldom is an English word spoken by any of its members.

One of the most important changes in the church and its activities, then, is the ever-increasing use which is being made of the English language. English is slowly replacing Czech not only in the church, but also in other phases of community life. The results of a survey of the households disclose that the Czech language still predominates in Snook's homes, but that it is being gradually replaced by the English language. (See Table XVIII.) Three out of four parents usually speak Czech to each other, but over one-half of the third generation parents speak English more frequently in their conversations at home. Whereas nine out of ten children speak English among themselves more frequently than they do Czech when they are at home, most of the conversations between children and their parents are also in English. In each case, whether it be the conversations between parents, between parents and their children, or between children, the younger people are making less use of Czech than are the oldests.

Thus it appears that the Czech language is slowly dying out in Snook. This, of course, means that the church will probably use only the English language in all of its activities some day.

Although slight differences have arisen between the generations, the church is still relatively strong, and there has been little change in church affiliation. Only four active members who were formerly Czech-Moravian Brethren have changed their affiliation to the Assembly of God Church, which is a branch of the Holiness movement. These changes were not the result of the present problems, however, but were accomplished in 1934
<table>
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<th>Language</th>
<th>First Generation</th>
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<th>Second Generation</th>
<th></th>
<th>Third Generation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>BETWEEN PARENTS</strong></td>
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<td>Total</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snook Households.*
when the Assembly of God church was first organized. The church membership is mainly composed of Anglo-Saxons and seldom has services in Czech, although in the teaching of one Sunday School class this language is used. Since the Catholics have discontinued services in the community, three of its former members have affiliated with the Assembly of God church and three have become Czech-Moravian Brethren members. Thus, despite the differences that do exist within the group itself, the Czech-Moravian Church holds a dominant and important position in the community today.

D. Education and the Sneek Rural School

Formal education is, and in the foreseeable future will continue to be, an important influence in the life of man. "Today...the school is looked upon as the principal educational institution and it properly deserves a high place among the institutions of society." The school is especially important to the child of ethnic parentage, for here he is often exposed for the first time to a new culture and a new language. His own cultural background is secondary and he begins to adopt the American cultural standards of conduct. Once he begins to accept the new, the child is more readily absorbed into the American way of life. He tends to forget his traditional background, often even regarding it as inferior.

The Czech is traditionally proud of the education attainment of his people. He likes to remind people that the University of Praha existed fully one hundred years before Columbus discovered America. In the mind

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of the Czech, the two greatest men in Czechoslovakian history are Jan Hus and Jan Amos Komensky, the latter of whom is known to the English-speaking world as Comenius. Compulsory education had been the law in Bohemia long before the first Czechs came to Texas. The educational system operated so effectively that the illiteracy rate among the Czech immigrants is among the lowest of all groups that entered the United States.

Although the immigrants were imbued with a desire for education, they were too poor and too busy making a living to take full advantage of the existing possibilities open to them. They have managed, however, to transmit this desire to their children, and the parents today make many sacrifices so that their off-spring may be better educated. Yet, not all parents in the community believe that their children should have the best schooling. Some who expect their sons to farm think that "7 or 8 grades of schooling is all that the boys need." Those who have not been very successful seem to look upon the need for education from two different view-points. Some think there is very little need to get an education, whereas others believe that the children should have the best schooling possible. Since the amount of farm land is limited and the youth cannot choose farming as their life work, most people believe that "they need more

62 According to Houcek in Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Houcek, editors, One America (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945); p. 146, Comenius has exercised tremendous influence on American education and was once extended the invitation to become president of Harvard University but declined the invitation. "...Nevertheless, he has gained a world-wide reputation through his educational activities and writings directly, and indirectly by his influence on such educators as Francke, Rousseau, and Pestalozzi. He is often referred to as the father of modern education."

63 According to Robert I. Kutak, the Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration indicate that among the 17,662 Czechs admitted in the years, 1911-1912, the rate of illiteracy was as low as 1.1 per cent. The Story of a Bohemian-American Village (Louisville, Kentucky, the Standard Printing Company, 1933); p. 59.
education more than ever now, and should get at least a high school education and if possible go to college."

The community is served by its own consolidated school known as the Snook Rural High School. The Osechs had long wanted a high school in their community so they wouldn't have to send their children who wanted to continue in school to Caldwell or Bryan for the last three or four years of schooling. In 1935 a school consolidation plan was initiated and today seven other schools have discontinued operation in favor of the Snook district. As each of these schools has discontinued operation, its buildings have been moved to Snook, and the school has made use of them in several ways. Some of them became a part of the main building. (See Figure 20.) Two other school buildings were kept intact and serve as lunch rooms, work shops, and storage space.

Since the school has expanded to include non-Osech districts, the student body is comprised of members of several different ethnic groups. Figures on the number of Osechs in the student body are not available, but the total enrollment is 260 students. Of this number, 204 are in the elementary grades, and 56 are in high school. Most of the students are transported by five buses which run daily during the school week. The 12-year system has been in operation since 1941, and 80 students have received

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64 The districts and years in which each came in under this plan are: Merle, 1935; Lone Oak, 1935; Washington, 1937; Vmalink, 1944; Tunis, 1945; and parts of Dabney Hill, 1947; and Sandy Prairie, 1947.

65 This is the highest enrollment ever recorded, and the number of students has been steadily increasing since 1943, when it was 160. It was 160 again in 1944; 170 in 1945; 200 in 1946; 245 in 1947; and 260 in 1948.
Figure 20. The Seeholm Rural High School, 1912.

The school is especially important to the child of minority parentage, for here he is often exposed for the first time to a new culture and to a new language.
their high school diplomas since the plan has been adopted. Of this group, 58 (72.5 per cent) were Czechs, and 6 out of the 8 class valedictorians were Czechs.

Most of the teachers in the past have been of local origin, but in recent years, the school board has obtained several well-trained teachers who commute from Texas A. and M. College where their husbands are located. These new teachers have been instrumental in getting a well-rounded educational program set up in the school and have used modern teaching methods to an advantage. Ten of the 11 teachers have college degrees, but only two can speak Czech. Since 11 teachers must handle the 12 grades, only a few of them are able to specialize in a single or limited subject-matter field. Although this is true, the abundant supply of teachers available from "College" has enabled the superintendent to select new teachers to the advantage of the school. In the past few years, many new advantages have been gained which are unknown to most rural schools today. Such courses as typing, bookkeeping, home economics, and vocational agriculture are a regular part of the curriculum today. Music is also taught and a choral club has been organized. The students put on plays occasionally, and a year book is published annually. A six man football team and a basketball team are of major interest to the community, and the home games are usually

Localism does not seem to hamper the selection of teachers. People seem to realize that the "College" women are "doing a good job" with their children, and each time one of them has to resign, some of the parents are heard to say: "I sure hope they can find another one like her. She really taught our kid a lot, and he sure learned well under her. Some of the people might laugh at some of the fancy ideas she had, but she really taught those kids something, and after all that is what counts."
well attended. A pep organization follows the teams frequently, and usually school buses transport members of the student body to the games they wish to attend. The money received for playing games usually does not pay all of the team's expenses. A very active Parent Teacher's Association usually raises money through "chicken frys," picnics, or plays and makes up the difference.

In some of Snook's homes, the native tongue is used exclusively, and occasionally the children do not speak or understand English when they enter school. Although the number of pupils in this category are fewer than they have been in the past, the teacher is still confronted with the problem of teaching a child in his first year of school who does not speak English at all. Even after he enters school, the language in the home does not necessarily change, and the child usually must struggle with his studies against heavy odds. The people have been so interested in perpetuating the Czech language that it has been taught in the high school as an accredited course in modern languages. In 1932, the University of Texas approved Czech as an accredited course to satisfy the language entrance requirements for high school graduates entering the University. As a result,

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67 On the morning after the school team has played away from home, the most frequently heard question in the business section is: "How did Snook come out last night?" If they win, the person asking the question shows his pleasure by saying: "That's good. I knew our Czech boys could beat a bunch of Dutchmen any day." If they lose, any of a variety of excuses may be given.

68 According to the school superintendent, 5 or 6 pupils in the last 6 years possessed a knowledge of Czech but none of English when they enrolled for the first time.

69 Malik, op. cit., p. 59. The Department of Slavonic Languages at Texas University offers five courses in Czech at the present time.
Czech was taught in the high school from 1935 through 1940, at which time the teaching of the course was terminated. During the course of this survey, the family heads were asked if they thought that Czech should be taught in the high school today. The answers to this question were recorded and furnish the data for Table XIX. Less than one out of fifteen are of the opinion that it should not be taught whereas almost seven out of ten think that it should. None of the first or second generation family heads are against the teaching of Czech, but 6 of the third generation members think that it should not be taught at all.

Practically every child in the community today finishes the eighth grade, but not all graduate from high school. The Czech has traditionally favored education as is indicated by the data presented in Table XX. The most emphatic conclusion which stems from the analysis of the material on the educational attainment of Snook's residents of 25 years and more of age is that not one person failed to complete at least one year of schooling. According to some of the first generation inhabitants, their parents sacrificed a great deal so that the children could go to school and often sent them at times when they were badly needed on the farm. Formal education was not too important in the early days of Snook's development, but an

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70 Some of the older people in the community did not like the idea of discontinuing the teaching of Czech in high school. Some of them argued that "the kids got more out of their Czech courses than any others." On the other hand the students felt that they knew enough Czech and thought that Spanish or some other similar foreign language would "do them more good."

71 This fact is especially significant when it is shown, for example, that 8.7 per cent of Burleson County's population 25 years old and over in 1940 had not completed the first grade. Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population, 'Texas,' Vol. II, Part 6, Table 21.
TABLE XIX

OPINIONS EXPRESSED AS TO WHETHER CZECH SHOULD BE TAUGHT IN THE LOCAL HIGH SCHOOL, ACCORDING TO TYPE AND GENERATION OF FAMILY HEAD, SNOOK COMMUNITY, 1946*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>First Generation</th>
<th>Second Generation</th>
<th>Third Generation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Opinion</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snook Households.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons 25 Years Old and Over</th>
<th>First Generation</th>
<th>Second Generation</th>
<th>Third Generation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No School Years Completed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade School:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-4 Years</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-6 Years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-8 Years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 Years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 Years</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Years and Over</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Shook Households.*
examination of Table XX clearly indicates that an increasing importance is being attached to education by each successive generation. Not one of the first generation Czechs 25 and more years of age attended high school, but 10 per cent of the second generation Czechs attended school in these grades. Not only did over one-half of the third generation members in the same age category attend high school, but 3 out of every 10 received high school diplomas. None of the second generation members 25 years and more of age entered college, but 12 per cent of the third generation members received some college training and 5 per cent received college degrees. A comparison was also made of the educational attainment of the Czechs 25 years of age and over who left their parental roof but live in the community with those of the same ages who migrated beyond the community boundaries. The median number of school years completed by the persons remaining in the community was 5.2 as compared with 9.3 for those who migrated from Snook.

The Czech school which has been in operation for nearly six decades in Snook has been another important source of formal education in the community in past years. As has been previously stated in Chapter III, the first school in Snook was conducted in the Czech language. When it became evident

72 The author recognizes the fact that high schools did not exist nearby at the time that the first generation members were of school age. The contention made here is merely that more importance is being placed on education today than in the past.

73 This point is not peculiar to Snook, for similar findings have been indicated in many sociological writings and monographs.

74 The only formal education received by 21 people in the community has been in schools conducted in the Czech language. Thus more than one-tenth of the population 25 years of age and older have never attended a school in which the language used in instruction was English.
that only the English language could be used in state-supported schools, the Czechs eventually complied with the law. In addition to the regular school, however, they sponsored a Czech school which convened every summer for a period of one month. Although the central aim of the school was to perpetuate the Czech language, it has also perpetuated family traditions and preserved unity between the old and the new generations. Through its operation, the children have become better acquainted with their parents' language and the national history of the Old Country and have gained respect for the traditional values of the country from which their ancestors came. Although the school has been sponsored by the Czech-Moravians since about 1920, its teachings were non-denominational and Catholic children were always in attendance. Since an overwhelming majority of the student body were needed to work in the fields, the school day usually began at 7:00 o'clock and ended at 11:30 o'clock each morning. The curriculum mainly consisted of reading, writing, and spelling, and rules against the use of English were usually strictly observed. The teachers were usually well-grounded in the fundamentals of the Czech language and in the history of Czechoslovakia, and most of them had taken courses in Czech at the State University. During the war years, however, trained teachers were not available, and the operation of the school has been discontinued since 1944.

During the course of the study, many speculated on the chances of revival of the teaching of Czech, but most of the youngsters did not seem to particularly favor going to Czech school.

Over 2 out of 3 of Snook's Czech population 10 years of age and over have attended Czech school. (See Table XXI.) Attendance has been more popular among the females, for over 70 per cent in the specified age groups
TABLE XXI

CZECHS 10 YEARS OLD AND OVER WHO HAVE ATTENDED CZECH SCHOOL,
BY GENERATION AND SEX, SNOOK COMMUNITY, 1945*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Number Attended Czech School</th>
<th>Percent of Total Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>63.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>65.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>54.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>65.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>38.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>59.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>72.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>65.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 96 Snoch Households.
have attended Czech school, as compared with less than 60 per cent of the
males. The proportion of the population 10 years of age and over who have
attended Czech school has decreased with each succeeding generation. The
proportions in each generation are as follows: first, 100.0 per cent;
second, 65.6 per cent; third, 65.4 per cent; and fourth, 42.9 per cent.
Thus, through the years the proportion of people 10 years of age and over
who have attended Czech school has declined steadily.

That the Czech school is not as influential as it has been in the
past and that the operation of the public school has had its effects on
Snook's Czech population is at least partially evidenced by the change
that has taken place in the ability of the people in the use of the Czech
and English languages. The ability of the Czechs who are 10 years of age
and older to read, write, and speak each of the two languages was ascer-
tained. Computations of the ability of the members of each generation
were made and the data are presented in Table XXII. The most important
conclusion which comes from the analysis of the material in Table XXII is
that a change has taken place in the ability of the people to speak, read,
and write the Czech and the English languages. Although every Czech in the
community 10 and more years of age can speak Czech, the ability to read and
write the language declines with each successive generation. On the other
hand, where English is concerned, just the opposite is true, for the ability
to speak, read, and write the language increases with each successive genera-
tion. The greatest contrast appears in the ability to write the languages.
Whereas such a high per cent as 94.4 of the first generation Czechs can
write the language, only 7.1 per cent of the fourth generation members can
do likewise. On the other hand, all of the fourth generation Czechs are
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Czech Language Ability</th>
<th>English Language Ability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Speak</td>
<td>Read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per-cent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fourth:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Males</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snook Households.*
able to write English, but only 22.2 per cent of the first generation members are able to accomplish this feat.

No attempt was made to measure the degree of proficiency in any language, but it can be said that the first generation Czechs appear to be much more proficient in the use of their mother tongue than are their children. The children, on the other hand, are more proficient in the use of English. The school is the instrumentality through which much of the change in this respect has been brought about. In the school, the child not only learns a new language, but he also learns of the ideals and traditions of America. His geography, history, civics, and other lessons, assure him that America is truly the "home of the brave and the land of the free." In comparison, the native country of his parents or grandparents seems relatively insignificant to him. He is anxious for others to think of him as an American rather than as the son of a "foreigner." In his desire to be a part of his great country, he feels that he should use the English language only. The Czech language, therefore, is relegated to the background and is used only when he feels that to do otherwise would be most inappropriate. Thus the school is the instrumentality through which many of the changes that have taken place in the community have been brought about.

E. Government and Local Politics

Fewer changes have taken place in government and local politics in Snook than in any of the other three institutions considered in the present chapter. The Czechs are traditionally Democrats and all belong to the one party. At the time that the immigrants arrived in the New World, the

75 The Czech language in Snook is not the pure idiomatic language of the old country but is interspersed with English words and expressions. In everyday speech one can hear such a sentence as: "Bojd 'me na basketball game a potem na hnut." (Let's go to the basketball game and hunting afterwards.)
Democratic Party was the minority party, and they believed it stood for the rights of the common people as opposed to the wealthy and privileged individuals. As victims of misrule on the behalf of the rich and privileged classes in Czechoslovakia, it was perhaps only natural that they should align themselves with the party which, in their way of thinking, championed the rights of the common people. Although the Czechs today are not as keenly interested in national politics as they have been in the past, those who exercise their right of suffrage always vote for the Democratic Party as a matter of habit. The returns for the last two presidential elections which were held in 1944 and 1946 reveal that approximately 10 out of every 11 voters voted a "straight" Democratic ticket.

Since Snook has no governing body of its own, local politics are not taken seriously. The precinct and county elections do not stir up much interest unless a Czech is seeking office. If a Czech becomes a candidate, he gets almost unanimous backing in Snook at the polls but very little

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76 A few of the Czechs today do not appear to make any basic distinction between the two parties, and most of them vote Democratic "because my dad told me to vote that way the first time I was old enough to vote, and there doesn't seem to be any particular reason to change." One farmer in the community made this observation: "Everybody in the community except those who always want to be different vote Democrat every time, so why be different from the rest? I am not saying that I ever thought of voting any other way, but my one vote would be so small it wouldn't count anyway." Although the level of living in Snook did not appear to be affected to the extent that it was in other areas by the depression, several of the inhabitants blame the Republicans for "getting us in such a fix." They seem to be unaware of the difficulties the business world underwent, and think only in terms of "what the depression did to the farmer." "And," according to most of the Czechs, "it took the Democrats to pull the farmers out of the hole and to make it possible for the farmer to get a good price for his cotton."

77 Since the voting precinct boundaries extend beyond the community boundaries, not all, but a high proportion of voters are Czechs. The writer has reason to believe that a majority of the voters who vote other than Democratic are non-Czechs who do not reside in Snook's boundaries but who vote at Snook because they live in the precinct.
help otherwise. If a Czech is not entered in the race for a position, then the bases for voting for any given individual are several in number. Seldom does a candidate receive a great deal of consideration because he is the man who is "best fit for the job." Instead, many vote for a candidate on the strength of their beliefs that "he needs the job more than his opponent." Others may vote for an individual because his opponent is a Catholic, whereas some refuse to vote for a person on the grounds that "he won't even shake hands with a fellow" or "he tries to be too nice" or "too smart." More interest has been displayed in politics in recent years as compared with the past since more Czechs are candidates for various public offices. The county judge is a Czech whose parents reside in Snook. The county surveyor is also a Czech and makes his home in the community. The county school superintendent and county clerk are Czechs who are well-known in the community. The latter two people have served more than one term in office, but the judge and surveyor are serving their first terms.

Locally, the precinct commissioner and the constable are Czechs, and the precinct commissioner's job has been held by a Czech person for 12 of the last 16 years. Although these men are strongly supported by the inhabitants, it is only seldom that one can find out how an individual in the community is expected to vote, for he usually never reveals even to his friend how he intends to vote or for which candidate he has voted in the past. The local person who is a candidate for office never organizes his own following or asks anyone to use their influence in order to obtain more votes. He is personally expected to ask each voter individually to vote for him and although it is merely a matter of formality, he cannot be assured of a Czech's vote until he properly asks for it. Political rallies are never held in
Snook, but all prospective candidates are invited to an annual barbecue sponsored by the SFJST Lodge. Each candidate is offered the opportunity to speak at the barbecue, but few, if any, county or local candidates avail themselves of this chance to speak.

Almost three out of every four people in Snook who are eligible to vote exercised this privilege in the last local election. (See Table XXIII.) There is a slight difference between the proportion of eligible males and females that exercise their right of suffrage. Almost eight out of ten of the eligible males voted whereas only about 7 out of 10 of the females did likewise. The eligible voters in each successive generation participated in a greater extent in voting. The percentage of those who voted in the last election for each generation were as follows: first, 55.6 per cent; second, 70.7 per cent; and third, 82.8 per cent. Thus the conclusion which may be drawn on the basis of the data presented is that the younger people are more active at the polls than are their fathers or grandfathers.

There appears to be less interest shown in the one election which involves only local candidates in the community than in the county elections. Only about one-third of the eligible voters in Snook cast their ballots in the school board election, and here again, the number of males that vote is proportionately higher than it is among the females. As in the case of the county elections, the younger members in the community appear to be more interested in the selection of school board members, for the number of votes cast by them are proportionately higher than are the votes recorded for the older people. In the past, it has been customary to have only Czechs serve on the school board. Since the consolidation plan has been adopted, however, the board members are chosen by areas. At the present time, three Czechs are
## Table XXIII

**Czechs 21 Years of Age and Over Who Voted in Last Local Election, According to Generation and Sex, Snook Community, 1948**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Voted Number</th>
<th>Voted Percent</th>
<th>Did not Vote Number</th>
<th>Did not Vote Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>76.7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>65.3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>82.3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>82.8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>69.9</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>74.6</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 96 Snook Households.
serving on the school board, and the other four members are non-Czechs who represent the other communities which have discontinued operation in favor of Snook's consolidated school plan.

Different members in the community serve as jurors quite often, but it appears that the same select group are called again and again, while most of the men never get to serve in this capacity. The Czech generally appears in the court house only to pay his taxes or to transact business at the farm program office. Little interest is displayed in issues that must be decided by the county officials unless it affects him directly.

The Czech inhabitants have a good record for law observance, and almost in every case of someone's running afoul of the law in the community, an "outsider" is involved. Although the sale of alcoholic beverages (both whiskey and beer) is permitted in Burleson County, few people are ever publicly drunk. Occasionally when one of the first or second generation Czechs gets drunk in the saloon, he "goes about his business" quietly and is left undisturbed by the law enforcement officers. Slot machines are illegal, but they are in operation in every saloon in Snook and are left undisturbed by the local "law." No cases are on record of domestic difficulties among the Czechs, and juvenile delinquency is practically an unheard of phenomenon in the community. In the past ten years, the local post office has been burglarized twice, but it is the belief of local people that both of crimes were committed by "outsiders." No major crimes have been committed

78 Occasionally the Texas Rangers pay a visit to the community and since any form of gambling is illegal in the State of Texas, they seize the slot machines and destroy them. The following day, however, they are replaced by new ones and are kept in use until the Rangers visit the community again.
by a resident of the community in the past two or three generations. In fact, Snook's inhabitants have been so peaceful that one of the county law enforcement officers is reported to have said: "If all of the people in the county were as peace-abiding as the Snook Czechs are, I'd soon be out of a job because there wouldn't be anything to do."
CHAPTER VII

NON-INSTITUTIONALIZED FORMS OF ORGANIZATION

As a "going concern," social organization operates through some sort of ordering of many different kinds of social and cultural arrangements. Through the operation of these different arrangements a society achieves whatever degree of social equilibrium that it has.¹ In the preceding chapter attention has been focused on the institutional forms of organization. There are, however, many other arrangements and mechanisms which enter into the organization of society, since "...social organization constitutes all of the more or less formalized machinery in which people live their socially ordered and controlled daily lives."² The present chapter is devoted to those arrangements and mechanisms which are here designated as non-institutionalized forms of organization.

A. Youth in the Community

The parents in Snook realize that it is becoming increasingly difficult to perpetuate the customs and traditions through their children. The new highway which has been built on the edge of the community has opened up new avenues of entertainment and pleasure to the youth. They now get to go to movies in the city and come in contact with many activities which were


² J. O. Hertzler, Social Institutions (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1946); p. 12.
practically unknown to their parents and grandparents in the days of their youth.

There are only 34 persons between the ages of 15 and 25 years in Snook. Of this number 11 are married, leaving a total number of only 23 single persons in these ages. In order to understand the basic problem of Snook's youth, one needs only to realize that 169 out of 377 (44.8 per cent) of all living children who were born to Snook's parents have migrated from the community. About 37 per cent in this category migrated to cities, and the remainder reside in rural areas. Although this represents a large proportion, today, more so than ever before, the most critical problem of youth is economic opportunity. Since the farm land cannot be further subdivided without jeopardizing the existing level of living, the youth are forced to leave the community to seek employment elsewhere. If they do not plan to help their parents until such time as they inherit the farm, the young people usually get employment elsewhere as soon as they finish school. Occasionally, however, a boy might live with his parents a year or two before going to the city. The people think well of a boy who will help his parents run the farm, but they criticize him when they believe that he is staying at home to avoid work. Although the parents would like their children to stay at home as long as possible, they realize that city work is the sensible choice for a boy and that he must eventually leave home to make his livelihood.

Since the youth must leave home to seek employment elsewhere, more emphasis is placed on education than previously, for it is felt that they must have a better education to seek a livelihood in the business world than if they were to stay at home and farm. In the past, the educational attainment of the children who have left the community has been higher than
that of their brothers and sisters who have remained in Snook. On the basis of comparisons made, those who left Snook do not possess as great a knowledge of Czech as those who have left their parental roof but live in the community. On the other hand, those who left the community are more proficient in speaking, reading, and writing the English language than are their brothers and sisters who are not living with their parents but live in the community.

It is the writer's observation that the boys and girls who move to the city adapt themselves to their new environment very well. Most of them never lose contact with the other Czech people who live in cities to which they move, and the thrift and work habits acquired at home prevent them from being "free" with their money. Most of them take advantage of the excellent wages received for working overtime, and therefore do not devote much time to social and other activities. All of the youth who have left Snook are employed and are self-supporting. In the past it has been customary for the girls to enter domestic service and remain so employed until they marry. In recent years, a larger number of the girls are attending business colleges and working as stenographers and secretaries. The former practice, however, has by no means passed out of the picture. In the

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3 On the average, those who have left the community have attained at least one more year of schooling than those who have left their parental roof and live in Snook. Not one person in the community possesses a master's degree, but four persons who have moved away possess master's degrees and one possesses a Doctor of Philosophy degree.

4 As has been shown in the discussion of the family in Snook, most sons contribute to the welfare of their parents. Their contributions are seldom in terms of cash money but more often include useful household appliances.
past most of the boys worked at menial tasks or as unskilled laborers in the cities, but during the war years most of them obtained positions in business and industry. Although few are in high-salaried positions, their jobs are permanent and they are well-satisfied. 

Like the members of most other ethnic groups, the Czechs do not like war either. Since Germany had "overrun" Czechoslovakia, however, almost no one in the community was bitterly opposed to the United States entering the recent war. Snook furnished its share of service men, and her youth served in all branches of the armed forces. As best as could be ascertained there was not a single "conscientious objector" who was born in the community. To the author's best knowledge, none of Snook's youth was a deserter, and not one of them received a dishonorable discharge.

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5 An especially interesting contrast appears in the conduct of the former residents when they return for a visit in the community. One old-timer who has observed their actions closely described them in the following manner: "It is really odd the way the young bucks act when they come back here to visit. Some of them think that they have become 'citrified' in six months. They come back driving a big car that I know isn't paid for and try to act like big city folks when they themselves don't know how big city folks act. They act like they have forgotten how to speak Czech and don't even sing in church, and the way they act one would think that they came to church to show off their clothes which probably aren't paid for. Well, that kind of fellow is just a 'show-off' and I don't have much use for him. Then there are a few boys that never change at all. They may have been gone for years but they haven't forgotten their manners or how to speak their mother tongue. I'm glad to see good looking clothes on that kind of boy, for you feel that he belongs in them. Now, it is a real pleasure to see a youngster like that, and it does me a lot of good to see that he has made good and never changed. A fellow can't help but have a lot of respect for a boy like that."

6 Snook also furnished her share of commissioned officers in World War II. The following commissions were held by Czechs who were born in the community: one colonel and one lieutenant in the Marines; one captain and one lieutenant in the Army, and two lieutenants in the Navy.
High moral standards prevail in the community and the youth remaining in the community must conform to these standards. Not a single case of a youth drinking heavily has come to the writer's attention, and most of them do not drink at all. Several boys smoke, but this practice is strictly forbidden for all girls. To the author's knowledge, there has not been a single crime committed by a youth in the community in the past 20 years. Not one youth has been charged with delinquency, and no one has ever had to appear in court to face charges. Although modern entertainment and recreational activities in the small towns nearby are patronized, the youngsters are careful to attend only activities that they feel their parents will approve of. The familial patterns in Snook are conducive to family solidarity and children are subject to strict supervision until they are able to "take care of themselves." Even after they reach the age when they are permitted to go different places unescorted by a member of the family, the activities of the children are controlled by the parents who hold the purse strings, as ordinarily the children are not given much spending money. Gossip is another important form of control in the community. When the youth are trying to decide if they should attend a certain party or dance, they base their decisions on "what the people would say if they found it out." In ordinary conversation one can often hear a young boy say: "If I went to a honky-tonk, I'd sure hate for old lady ___ to hear about it. She would tell everybody.

7 Not one housewife in the community smokes. Sometimes a man who was reared in the community visits with his parents, bringing his wife who normally smokes at home. When she is in the community she usually gets orders not to be seen smoking by anyone for her husband knows that the residents will then talk about her and "think that he married a no good wife."

8 In discussing delinquency with the youth, they stated that they never did anything "bad" but did admit that they go out as a group about once a summer and raid a watermelon patch. This practice, they do not view as "bad" but merely a "chance to have a little fun."
I don't care about myself, but I sure would hate for mama or daddy to find it out."

Although the parents do not provide a full-time recreation program for the youth, the people have exhibited much interest in their children's welfare. Several organizations operate for the benefit of the young people, and the youth have some kind of entertainment activity which they can attend at home two or three nights a week. A Young People's Union which is sponsored by the church furnishes frequent entertainment in the form of picnics and barbecues. Most of the young people in the community are also members of the church choir and must attend choir practice frequently. The Parent Teacher's Association sponsors community plays yearly and the youth of the community are usually in the cast. Movies are shown in the school house frequently, although not with any regularity. In addition to these activities, the lodge hall is available for high school dances, and the boys have a softball team that plays at least one night each week during the summer in an organized league in Somerville. Thus, about the only forms of entertainment that the youth participate in away from the community are movies and dances. Since the dances they attend are seldom over twenty miles distant from Snook, the youth are "on their best behavior, because one can never tell when some one from Snook is around, and you can bet if one did anything that the women could gossip about, they sure wouldn't pass up the chance." On the whole the parents in Snook appear to be well pleased.

9 Since most of the children in the community are engaged in some type of manual labor on farms, they do not "feel like going out over two or three nights a week."

10 It should be added that each Christmas the young people sing Christmas carols in the homes of the residents.
with the way their children conduct themselves. Whey they hear or read about the escapades of youth in other communities, the Czechs admit that "the kids are pretty good."

B. Informal Recreation and Leisure Time Activities

The different forms of recreation and leisure time activities in Snook have undergone many changes in the past few years, but certain practices of the immigrants still persist to the present day.

Twenty or even ten years ago visiting between families was the chief means of informal recreation, and every Sunday found Snook's residents gathered in large family groups in individual homes. No field work was performed the preceding Saturday afternoon, as all members of the family had to "pitch in" to prepare for the company on the following day. The girls and the mother had to bake pies, cakes, and "kolace," kill the roosters, and scrub the floors in the house so that it would appear spotlessly clean when the company arrived. The men had to cut all weeds around the house and clean the yard, wash the lamp chimneys, cut enough cane and sudan grass for two days and stack it neatly in the barn, and "shuck" enough corn so that in case the company stayed late, the Sunday afternoon chores would have been at least partially taken care of. Most of the family members completed their tasks by nightfall, but the mother

11 "Kolace" are very rich pastries, which according to the Czechs, "only our women know how to properly make." In appearance, they resemble coffee cake, but again the Czech would be the first to go on record as stating that they should not be compared with coffee cake, for to his way of thinking, it is by an inferior product to his tasty kolace. They may be made up in several flavors, the most popular ones in the community being prune, cottage cheese, and poppy seed.
worked after the others were asleep making necessary preparations for the next day. If church services were not held the next morning, families began to arrive as early as 5:30, and by 9:30 all of the five or six family groups would be present. The women would all gather in the kitchen to "help with the cooking." The men would have two or three separate domino games going, and all of the children would go to Sunday School together, either walking or in automobiles. The number of people present at the noon meal would be so many that three or four "sittings" would be required before all of them would have a chance to eat. After the noon meal, the boys would either play baseball in the pasture or go to the hay meadow to fight bumble bees. The girls would talk and play different games, and the women would "sit around and talk" all afternoon. The domino games continued from the time of arrival until the time of departure, interrupted only by a brief intermission while the noon meal was being served. The men had "home brew" on ice in a wash tub, and the youngsters were kept occupied seeing to it that their respective fathers got a chance to quench their thirsts. Children and women, however, were not permitted to drink beer publicly, but they had different kinds of soda water available. Before breaking up into respective family groups "until the next Sunday," "svacina" (a snack lunch) was served, and the men saw to it that no beer was left. 12 As the began to gather in their respective groups, plans were laid so that everybody could be together "real early Sunday morning again." As the families drove off, the children waved "good bye's" until the cars were out of sight.

12 Although the men did not need urging, they were always reminded by the host that: "If beer is once on ice, and isn't consumed after a few hours after it once gets cold it will turn 'flat,' and everybody knows that flat beer isn't fit even for hogs to drink."
Today, however, visiting is comparatively infrequent. When two or three families do get together on a Sunday, the guests usually arrive shortly before the noon meal. The men talk about topics of local interest while the women help prepare the meal. The girls talk about recent shows they have seen and about their new clothes, while the chief topic of conversation among the boys is baseball. Batting averages of their favorite baseball players are scrutinized and compared, and the chances of their favorite team "snapping the pennant" are discussed. Shortly after the noon meal, the guests depart, using such feeble excuses as; "Junior just can't sleep in anybody's bed but his own, and he has to take a nap because we want to go to the show in Bryan tonight."[13]

Thus with the passing of time, not only the customs but also the frequency of visiting have changed a great deal. There are a number of theories offered by the people as to why they do not visit with each other as frequently as they used to. One first generation person who has retired from farming offered the following explanation:

You know, we don't need each other the way we used to. We used to work hard all week and look forward to Sundays so we could get together and have some fun. These young folks don't know how to enjoy themselves. Everyone has a good automobile and had rather go driving or to the movies than to visit with their neighbors. I guess they think they see each other enough during the week, much less get together on Sundays too.

[13] Instead of the parting words one used to hear in Snook, such as; "See you next Sunday," he hears such statements as; "We will have to get together again soon sometimes. I'll swear, we are always 'on the go' but we never seem to have time to visit with anybody any more. Our son can stay here with your boy if he wants to and they can listen to the baseball game together. Then we will come by to pick him up on the way to the show. The rest of us have to go now. Good bye and thanks for the dinner."
One of the younger farmers appeared to be pleased that visiting
is passing out of the picture. He thought that "visiting is kind of silly
in a way. After all, when we get together, what is there to talk about
that would take two normal men over an hour to discuss?"

All kinds of social gatherings such as picnics, barbecues, and dances
at one time in Smock's history were attended by all people in the entire com-
munity - from the youngest to the very oldest. One of the first Czechs to
arrive in the area recalled the good times the people had at dances before
the lodge hall was constructed, in the following manner:

In those days we didn't have a dance hall, so
someone would give a dance at their house. Usually
I would play the violin all alone, but sometimes
another fellow would play an accordion with me.
Often the shuffling and 'stomping' of the feet
drowned out the music, but that didn't spoil the
fun. I used to pat my foot real loud so that they
could at least tell if they were in step or not.
Of course, it wasn't hard to let everybody know
about the dance, because the news traveled fast
even if we didn't advertise it like the young-
sters today do. There weren't many people here
at that time, but they all came to the dance.
Some of them came on horseback or buggies, but
most of them walked sometimes as many as three
or four miles. One room in the house would be
left vacant so that the women could keep their
babies there, and the rest of the house was always
full. The women usually brought kolace or some-
thing like that to eat. Coffee was usually always
on hand, and of course the young men had to have
a few spirits. But we never had any trouble. We
used to dance the "beseda," the waltz, the polka,
and the schottische, and the people really danced,
too. Sometimes the dance would last until long
after midnight, but the next day was usually
Sunday, so the people could rest then. You can be
sure of one thing - everybody went home tired but
happy.

After the lodge hall was constructed, committees were formed which
took care of all of the dance arrangements. Even ten years ago the nature
of the dances hadn't changed a great deal. All of the members of the family still attended. Czech orchestras played the waltzes, the polkas, and the schottische, and the old people danced as well as the young. Young girls who were not over seven years of age would dance the tricky maneuvers of the schottische together as well as any of the seasoned dancers in the hall. Young couples had to be on their best behavior, for they knew if they danced too close or tried any "fancy" steps, the older women would be whispering to each other and pointing them out as a "wild" couple. The dance hall has an extra stage which is located directly across from the musician's platform. This stage was reserved for the older women who did not wish to dance and was large enough so that the younger mothers could leave their babies asleep on quilts while they, themselves, were dancing. No movements on the dance floor escaped the eyes of the older women and few youths attempted any unusual maneuvers without being reminded by their girl partner that "the women might see you." Despite the loud brassy tones of the orchestra the children slept as if they were at home in their own beds, and occasionally a mother stopped dancing long enough to see if "her baby was doing okay." After each musical number rendered by the orchestra, the freely-perspiring dancers applauded, and the orchestra obliged by playing the same piece again. During each dance, the orchestra would hold two or three intermissions so that the dancers could cool off on the outside and so that the lodge committee could sell more

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14 One of the old timers used to boast that: "I am gray-headed and my body isn't as limber as it used to be, but if I ever do get to the point where I can't dance a fast two-step, then I will be ready to fold up."
soft drinks. As soon as intermission was declared young children appeared on the floor to "romp" and slide on the slippery dance surface. Many fell several times on the hard floor only to get up quickly and to see if they could slide further than their playmates. Often their cheeks got red and they perspired freely and for once, warnings from their mothers that they "had better stop" went unheeded. Only when the orchestra and the dancers returned did the youngsters grudgingly relinquish the floor. As soon as the orchestra began playing, the dancers returned to the floor hurriedly, even leaving half of their soda water, for they "couldn't miss a minute of dancing." The young couples were especially prompt to return to the floor for they knew that invariably one of the elder women would "notice it" if they stayed outside even five minutes after the music started. The last intermission was usually held about mid-night and refreshments were had by all except the children who were asleep. The crowd was not so noisy during this intermission for the people realized that the dance would soon be over. Well past midnight the dance finally "broke up." When the orchestra played "Home Sweet Home," every young man hurriedly ran towards his favorite, for he wished to dance the last few strains of the music with her. Pleas of "just one more piece" were often heard by the orchestra, but the leader always tactfully refused to play any more "until the next time." As everyone hurriedly said "good bye," the proverbial question in everyone's mind was: "When is the next dance?"

Today the dances are far different from what they were ten years ago. The new highway now makes it possible for youngsters to come from the nearby towns to Snook's dances. Whereas previously over 90 per cent of those attending the dances lived in the community, today this group is definitely
in the minority. Every person is charged admission, and if the ladies would care to watch the dancers, they, too, must pay for this privilege. Such being the case, many of the inhabitants do not even attend the dances, but those that do do not even go in the hall. The women gather in groups of five or six and "just talk in general." The men can always be found near the beer stand talking about their crops. The younger children have gone to Bryan to a show with their friends. The music is furnished by a string orchestra which specializes in "modern western swing" music. The orchestra usually broadcasts during the week over one of the radio stations some hundred or so miles away, and frequently announcements may be heard on the radio that they are to furnish the music for a dance in Snook on a particular night. The staccato-like rhythm of "Mama Don't Allow No Music Around Here" has replaced the soft strains of the waltz and the schottische. Whereas previously well-dressed sedate young women danced on the hardwood floors, the "bobby soxers" of the small nearby towns dressed in 'jeans' now do the "jitterbug." The young people from the city have taken over Snook's dances, and the youngsters from the community often do not even appear on the dance floor. On their way home from the dance about 9:30 at night, the Snook people readily admit that the dances sponsored by the lodge "draw bigger crowds, but those kind of dances aren't any good. Nobody ever has any fun at them any more the way we used to."

The men's social life in the community is for the most part, unorganized. During the summer they are occupied with their field work. In the winter when they have more leisure time, the saloons serve as the rendezvous for the Czechs. If a man wants to leave a message for someone, he leaves it at a saloon, feeling sure that it will be delivered the next if not the very same day. Dominoes is a favorite game, and another
played with dominoes named "moon" is popular. Card playing is indulged in by only a few of the younger set. Occasionally, however, a game called "taroky" which is played with special cards from Czechoslovakia is enjoyed by a few of the older inhabitants. Hunting and fishing are other leisure-time activities which are popular with the men. Several of the younger men form deer hunting parties and travel to the western part of the state every season. Each time that it rains during the summer and work is temporarily at a standstill on the farms, a group of men may get together for an overnight fishing trip to the nearby Brazos River.

The Czechs still appear to believe that "woman's place is in the home," for an answer frequently received from women who were asked how they spent their leisure times was: "Woman's work is never done," and "I don't have any time to go any place." They do, however, attend "quilting," and "showers" are frequent. Women visit with each other more often than do the men, but on the whole, they spend a great portion of their time in their own home.

One of the most popular leisure time activities in Snook's homes is reading. Particularly during the winter months, newspapers, books, and magazines are read thoroughly from cover to cover. Many different kinds of magazines and newspapers find their way into the Czech home, but farm magazines and journals are the most numerous. (See Table XXIV.) Proportionately, the number of Czech magazines declines with each succeeding generation, and

15 "Showers" are a relatively new innovation in Snook. In the past when a girl in the community was married she received expensive gifts from close relatives. Today, however, every woman in the community attends a shower for the bride and is expected to bring an inexpensive gift of some kind.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>First Generation</th>
<th>Second Generation</th>
<th>Third Generation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Number</td>
<td>Percent of Total</td>
<td>Total Number</td>
<td>Percent of Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Dailies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Weeklies</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Weeklies</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Magazines</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other**</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total           | 100              | 100.0             | 381              | 100.0     | 392              | 100.0            | 873              | 100.0            |

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snook Households.

**"Others" includes such publications as Life, Time, Saturday Evening Post, American, Reader's Digest, Sports Afield, etc.
the English daily newspapers are more popular with the young people than with the old. The daily newspaper most frequently found in Snook's homes is The Houston Post, and the most popular English weekly is The Burleson County News.

Several Czech publications which are printed in Texas are subscribed to in the community. The total number received by the inhabitants is 223, an average of 2.3 per household. Although foreign language publications are not as popular with the young as they are with the old people, they exercise considerable influence on the Czechs. The immigrants had to depend mainly on Czech newspapers and magazines for their introduction and orientation to America. Through the publications, they learned about their country, its laws, government, and the part they were expected to play in it. Since a few of the first generation members do not read English, the newspapers constitute their main source of information on many subjects. Articles which deal with American history appear frequently. Letters to the editors which are published keep them informed on what other Czechs are doing, and editorials continually emphasize the importance of good conduct on the part of the Czech people. The story of the Unknown Soldier, the history of "I Am An American Day," and the history of Memorial Day are printed almost every year. The life stories of such famous Americans as Lincoln and Washington are retold time and again. Many articles which appear in Czech newspapers could be cited as specific examples of contributions in promoting Americanism. Excerpts are presented from one such article entitled "Common Sense" which appeared in a recent issue of the Vestnik. Many historical and geographical facts are pointed out in it;
Forty-eight States. Forty-eight stars on our flag. That's the United States of America. Common sense built this country... Ours is a beautiful country. It is a great country. There is no other nation on earth which has so much of everything which is needed to sustain a high level of living, to enrich the lives and enhance the happiness of a people.

Switzerland has mountains... But the Alps at their best are not as tremendously impressive as our Rockies, our Sierras, and our Cascades. Italy has lakes that idle poets love. But nothing more beautiful than our Champlain, Tahoe, Klamath, or any one of a thousand other lakes which have no equal in all of Europe. And as for scenic harbors our San Francisco and Puget Sound outrank in awe-inspiring beauty the harbor of either Rio or Lisbon. Our so-called desert lands have colors and flowers unmatched in the Pampas lands of Argentina...

While wise men were drafting the immortal Declaration of Independence which caused the Liberty Bell to proclaim freedom in the new land, men were reading a little book written by a chap whose name was Tom Paine. Tom's little book called Common Sense moved men like the rattle of a snare drum, and the call of the bugle.

It was common sense that caused the Minute Men to leave their plows to fire the shot heard around the world. Freedom was common sense. Common sense pitched the tea in the Boston Harbor. Common sense shrieked for liberty and got it. Common Sense put government into the grass roots of our country.

Beginning with 13 states, as the course of empire took its western way, settlements found their geographic boundaries. Stars were added to our flag until now we have 48. A great country...

Hundreds of similar articles could be cited, but the general purpose and nature of the Czech publications can be best described by an examination of the constitution of one of the papers. Part III of the Constitution of Sveboďa reads as follows:

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The newspaper *Svoboda* must present educational and entertaining reading, factual current events, in politics and religion. It must be independent and avoid all personal quarrels but provide for the progress and unity of the Slavonic people of Texas. It must inform them of the laws and obligations as citizens that will serve for the betterment of the country and the best interests of the whole American nation.\(^\text{17}\)

The *Svoboda*,\(^\text{18}\) which has undergone many changes since 1885, is still published and is found in several of Snook's homes today. By far the most popular foreign language publication with the inhabitants is *Vestnik*, the official organ of the SFJST Lodge. This non-denominational weekly publication had its beginning in 1916 and enjoys a circulation of 7,000 at the present time.\(^\text{19}\) It, too, has undergone many changes, but the change of greatest consequence occurred in 1940.\(^\text{20}\) At that time, it ceased to be an all-Czech paper, and one-third of the publication is printed in the English language today.\(^\text{21}\) Other newspapers and magazines which are the most popular with the people in Snook are: *Tesisky Rolnik*, *Bratrske Listy*, *Masinec*, and *Novy Domov*.\(^\text{22}\) A few of the newspapers which were formerly

\(^\text{17}\) Translation of an editorial, "Constitution of Svoboda" (*Svoboda*, La Grange, Texas: Svoboda Publishing Company), I (December 10, 1885); 2.

\(^\text{18}\) For an interesting and detailed discussion of the history and nature of Czech newspapers published in Texas, see Joe Malik, "Efforts to Promote the Study of the Czech Language and Culture in Texas" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Texas, Austin, 1947), passim.

\(^\text{19}\) Ibid., p. 105.


\(^\text{21}\) The first generation Czechs in Snook who commented on the particular change admitted: "It is probably a good thing, because the youngsters wouldn't read it if it were printed only in Czech. But it seems a pity to have to admit that the language is losing out all over the state."

\(^\text{22}\) All of the newspapers mentioned in this section are printed in Texas. A few families subscribe to Czech newspapers that are printed outside the state but their numbers are inconsequential.
very popular with the inhabitants have suspended publication. Among this group was the *Texan*, the first Czech newspaper printed in Texas. It first appeared in 1879 and suspended publication in 1946.²³

Listening to the radio is another popular leisure time activity in Snook. The children listen more frequently than do the older people, but especially during the winter months, most of the family members "enjoy a good radio program." Radio listening is a comparatively new interest of the Czechs. Only since the last war, new radio stations located in small towns not too far from Snook have begun operation. Each new station has programs especially designed for rural people, and such programs as "Polka Time" and "The Czech Music Hour" are seldom missed in Snook's homes. Even the saloons have radios. When the time grows near for a Czech music program to begin, the lonely wail of a cowboy range song on the juke box is brought to a halt. As the bartender tunes his radio to the station broadcasting Czech music, the customers stand by silently. When the proper station is finally found, the bartender is rewarded by smiles of pleasure usually accompanied by a short statement such as: "That's it."

An enumeration of the number of homes in which radios are possessed was made. The average number of hours per day that Snook's families listen to the radio, and the choice of radio programs was ascertained. The figures obtained furnish the data for Tables XXV, XXVI, and XXVII. An investigation of Table XXV reveals that more than five-sixths of Snook's families own radios. On the basis of the figures presented, however, radios are more popular with the young people than with the old. The lowest proportion of

²³ Personal letter from Valcik, op. cit.
### TABLE XXV

**Ownership of Radios in Snook's Homes, According to Generation of Family Head, 1948***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Number Possessing Radios</th>
<th>Percent Possessing Radios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snook Households.

### TABLE XXVI

**Hours per Day Snook's Families Possessing Radios Listen to Radio, According to Generation of Family Head, 1948***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Total Hours Per Day</th>
<th>Average Hours Per Day per Family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snook Households.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Program</th>
<th>First Generation Total</th>
<th>Second Generation Total</th>
<th>Third Generation Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Music</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Music</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News Broadcasts</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Source:** Questionnaire Data for 96 Snoop Households.
- **Includes such programs as "Breakfast Club," "Break the Bank," popular dance music, and day-time serials such as "6 A.M. Perkins," etc.
families having radios are members of the first generation among whom only slightly more than two-thirds own them. On the other hand, the highest proportion of families having radios are members of the third generation where 19 out of 20 have one or more.

There is also a difference in the number of hours per day Snook's families listen to their radios. Not only do a larger proportion of the third generation families possess radios, but they also spend more time listening to them. Snook's families who possess radios operate them on the average of 3 hours per day. The first generation households listen to their radios on the average of 2.0\(^{24}\) hours each day, while the second generation families listen 2.7 hours, and the third, 3.5 hours per day.

The most popular radio program on the air, so far as Snook's inhabitants are concerned, is Czech music. (See Table XXVII.) Other preferred programs, stated in order of preference are western music and religious and news broadcasts. Czech music programs are the most popular with all three generations in the community, but their popularity decreases with each succeeding generation.\(^{25}\) Religious broadcasts are also more popular with the older people than with the young. The younger people prefer news broadcasts and miscellaneous programs more than do the oldesters. Thus on the basis of the figures presented, the conclusion can be drawn that Czech

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\(^{24}\) This high figure is influenced a great deal by the listening habits of one person. One widow who lives alone reported that she listens to her radio 12 hours per day. If this one case were excluded from consideration, the average number of hours first generation family heads listen to their radios would be only 1 per day.

\(^{25}\) Four of the first generation family heads stated that their radios remained silent except when Czech music programs were being aired, as they did not care for any other kind of music and did not understand enough English to enjoy the other programs.
music and religious programs are giving way to western music programs, news broadcasts, and to such miscellaneous programs as the "Breakfast Club," popular dance music, and big league baseball and college football games.

Another important leisure-time activity among the Czechs is the moving picture. In recent years the school has purchased motion picture equipment and films are shown intermittently to relatively small crowds. Each summer, traveling motion picture companies stop in Snook for about a week at a time. Usually they find that Snook's people will attend movies the first night. If the movie is good, they might attend a second night, but not the third nor fourth. Work in the fields is more important to the people than are motion pictures, and they prefer to rest at night rather than attend a movie during Snook's "show season." Of more interest to the older people are the Czech movies which are shown in Caldwell one night each month. In the past, several people would get together at the monthly Czech movies in Caldwell, but most of the old people do not care to travel the distance of 20 miles today, and the youngsters are not interested in Czech pictures. The younger people attend movies frequently in Bryan or College Station where they have a choice of movies shown in five different theaters in these two towns combined.

The Snook inhabitants who are 10 years of age and older attend movies an average of 9.7 times per year. (See Table XXVIII.) They attend English movies 9.1 times a year and Czech movies less than once. Among the persons 10 years of age and over, the younger people attend more movies than do their parents and grandparents. The average attendance per year for the inhabitants in these ages for each generation is as follows: first, 3.4;
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Total Attendance English Movies</th>
<th>Average Attendance per Person</th>
<th>Total Attendance Czech Movies</th>
<th>Average Attendance per Person</th>
<th>Total Attendance</th>
<th>Average Attendance per Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>1427</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1477</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>2229</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2381</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snook Households.*
second, 5.5; third, 13.6; and fourth, 11.7. Although Czech movies are not especially popular with Snook's inhabitants, they are more popular with the older people than with the youngsters. Since the pictures are filmed in Czechoslovakia, the older people, especially, enjoy them, but the younger people attend them mainly "to have something to do," and "to please the folks." As far as Snook's population is concerned, Czech movies are almost a thing of the past and English-language movies are becoming increasingly popular.

C. Organizations and Clubs in Snook

The Czechs in the United States are vitally interested in different organizations and clubs. A common saying about the people who make up this particular ethnic group is: "Where there are two Czechs, there are three clubs." Their interest in and ability to organize their people into different clubs and organizations has been commented on by several writers who appear to be acquainted with the Czech and his life in general. Thomas Gapek, for instance, writes about their active interest in organizations in the following manner:

Czech groups in this country are much given to organizing into societies. Many of their associations are small local affairs of the most various sorts. Many are mere "pleasure clubs," while many are lodges of their great "national" societies. 26

Robert Kutak has also commented on the interest they manifest in their organizations. Concerning this point, he states: "Wherever Czechs established themselves, a great many different clubs and lodges are sure to be found."

In this respect, Snook's Czechs do not differ from the Czechs found in other areas of the United States. Their most popular organizations are benevolent or fraternal organizations which pay a benefit in case of sickness or death. Snook's inhabitants are members of the following organizations which fall in this category: the Cesko-Slovensky Podporujici Spolec (The Czechoslovak Benevolent Society); the Slovanska Podporujici Jednota Statu Texas (The Slovenian Benevolent Order of the State of Texas); the Podpurna Jednota Cesko-Moravsky Bratric (The Mutual Aid Society of the Czech-Moravian Brethren); and the Katolicka Jednota Zem Tarnaskych (The Catholic Society of Texas Women). These are commonly known among the younger Czechs as the CSFS; the SPJST; the PJCMB; and the KJZT.

The CSFS was the first benevolent and educational society established in Snook. It took root in 1887, even before the first church or school was built. A dance hall was constructed and it served as the community center at that time. The organization is non-sectarian and very liberal in philosophy and outlook. Through the lodge, all Czechs were able to enjoy each other's company. Religious differences were forgotten at least temporarily.


28 These alphabetical designations are somewhat confusing to the Anglo-Saxon people who live near Snook. They commonly refer to them as "alphabet" organizations. For instance, in referring to the SPJST hall, they call it the "alphabet" hall.
at the many dances, barbecues, picnics, and "get-togethers" which the lodge sponsored from time to time. The lodge was enthusiastically supported until 1897. At that time the dues were revised and the premiums were raised. The younger members felt that they should form another organization in which the dues would not be as high, so they withdrew from the CSPS and formed the SPJST lodge in 1897. After the younger men withdrew, the CSPS disbanded and the older members who still belong to the organization transferred their membership to New Tabor, where an active chapter still operates. Today, only $ inhabitants are members of the CSPS and they are all males.

An organization which affects virtually every home in Snoek is the SPJST. All but four families in the community are represented in the membership of this organization. Like the CSPS, it also is non-denominational and no explicit restrictions based on political beliefs or nationality are made on membership.²⁹ It does, however, forbid discussions of different political beliefs and religious questions in its meetings. Concerning its objectives, Article XI of the Constitution of the SPJST reads as follows:

To offer people of Czechoslovak extraction advantageous life protection in the form of life insurance certificates, to endeavor to perpetuate the Slavonic language in this country and to elevate our countrymen morally, intellectually, and materially.³⁰

²⁹ Although no explicit nationality restrictions exist, its membership is composed only of Czechs or the spouses of Czechs or the children of mixed (Czech and non-Czech) parentage.

³⁰ Malik, op. cit., p. 84, taken from Constitution and By-Laws of the Slovenic Benevolent Order of the State of Texas (undated).
The lodge constructed its hall in 1910. Since then it has been rebuilt twice and today a large modern hall serves the members. (See Figure 21.) The organization sponsors dances frequently and barbecues are held annually. Although a few of the traditions of the lodge have been lost altogether, one which persists even to the present day is the displaying of the lodge flag when one of the members dies. When the death of a lodge member becomes known, a black flag is displayed at the hall until the deceased has been buried. During the burial ceremony, lodge colorbearers precede the coffin to the grave. One of them carries the lodge flag while the other colorbearer carries the flag of the United States. The colors are prominently displayed at the grave during the entire burial ceremony.

Most forms of entertainment sponsored by the lodge today are open to the general public and are usually well attended. Only seldom, however, are picnics held on Sundays for the members as it was the custom to do only a few years ago. The lodge officers are almost always older people, and business meetings are conducted in Czech. Interest in the meetings, especially among the youths, is declining. The young people claim that they cannot express themselves well enough in the Czech language to take an active part in the discussions. There appears to have been at least some agitation on the part of the younger people to try to induce the older members to permit some of the discussion to be conducted in English, but at the present time, the older members have not yielded to this suggestion.  

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31 The language problem appears not to be confined to Snook. Frequent articles appear in the official paper of the organization pleading with the older members to recognize the fact that the youngsters in the lodge are its leaders of tomorrow and that language and other changes should be made in order to keep the local branches functioning "most smoothly."
Figure 21. The SFUST Lodge Hall located in the Snook Community, 1945.

The SFUST Lodge, as an organization, has always been an important factor in the lives of Snook's inhabitants, but its importance is declining.
The lodge, as an organization, has always been an important factor in the lives of Snook's inhabitants, but its importance today is declining. In discussing the relative importance of the lodge in the life of the average citizen of today as compared with its importance in the past, a former secretary-treasurer made the following statement:

The lodge isn't as strong as it used to be. The young people don't care much about the lodge, and we older men are getting too old to be very active. Whereas in the past, every adult male in the community would attend the meetings, today only a few attend them. The young people had rather go to a moving picture instead. They come to meetings only when it is time to pay their dues, and then sometimes a lot of them send a check by another member instead of coming themselves. I don't know what has gotten into these young people, but interest in the lodge just isn't anything like it used to be. I'm afraid that when we old folks go, the lodge will probably go too.

Although the membership is not declining, it is easily apparent to the Snook residents that interest displayed by the average member in the organization is only casual today.

The PJME and KJST lodges have never been very active in the community affairs, although the former does have 59 members at the present time. It is a benevolent organization which pays death benefits. It is sponsored by the Czech-Moravian Brethren Church, and membership is open to males and females of this particular religious faith. As an organization, it does not hold regular meetings, and almost all of its members also belong to the SPJST. Only a few females in Snook belong to the KJST. This organization does not have a local chapter in Snook, so the Catholic wives hold their memberships in the Prague chapter. Seldom, if ever, do the wives in the community take an active part in the organization. Therefore, its influence in the community is negligible.
Although the benevolent and fraternal societies are the most popular organisations in Snook, several other clubs and organizations are active in the community affairs. One organization which is not formally organised in Snook deserves mention, because every youngster in the community is aware of its operation. This society is commonly known as the Sokol (Falcon), and is the society which has brought the Czechs world recognition. The organization in Texas follows the same pattern as the original Sokol in Czecho- slovakia. Its activities consist of physical training, singing, dancing, dramatics, and the teaching of the Czech language. Even though Snook does not have a Sokol organization as such, other organizations carry on some of these activities. Although they were not formally organized, different groups at one time gave Czech plays in the lodge hall occasionally. In addition to these plays, which featured home talent, the State University Czech students gave plays in the lodge hall each summer. The plays always drew large audiences, and after the performances the benches were always removed from the hall and the people would dance while the orchestra would play the Czech tunes which everyone liked so much to hear. The last Czech play presented in the community, however, was in 1935, and evidently no attempt is being made by the citizenry to revive this particular phase of their recreational activity.

Beef clubs are popular cooperative organizations in Snook. In fact, they have been so successful that three different clubs are in operation at

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32 L. O. Hesek, "Zacatky Sokola v Texasu," (The Beginning of Sokols in Texas), Vestnik (July 22, 1936); p. 42.
the present time, which combined have a total membership of 74 Czech house-
holds. The first such club was organized very early in Snook's history, and the other two have been added as the population increased. Each club owns a small wooden construction in which the beef is cut and portioned out each Saturday morning to its members.

The operation of the club is not especially complex. A "butcher" is designated by the members of the club each year for the coming season. It is his duty to cut the meat into separate pieces, to keep account of the exact cuts given each individual, and to keep the books in proper order. Each spring the different members meet at the club house and draw lots to determine in which order each member furnishes an animal. Each member, in rotation according to the lot number that he has drawn, delivers the freshly-killed beef to the club house early Saturday morning. The butcher then cuts the beef into separate pieces and distributes the meat in the proper number of lots. At the beginning of the season each member designates the estimated amount of beef he wishes to receive each Saturday. The number of pounds he receives, however, varies with the size of the animal. Each family sends a representative to

33 Six families in the community who were formerly members in beef clubs now have "deep-freeze" units and have withdrawn their memberships from the organizations.

34 Usually the person who furnishes the beef gets up before dawn and slaughters the steer. He is allowed to keep and sell the steer's hide and also to keep such organs as the heart, liver, kidneys, sweet bread, tongue, etc. Two or three of his neighbors always help him "kill" and are usually rewarded by a big breakfast consisting of hot biscuits, coffee, and fried heart, kidneys, sweet bread, liver and gravy.

35 If the beef is small on any given Saturday the butcher is notified of this fact ahead of time, and he then announces that another beef will be killed and distributed the following Tuesday. This, however, is not a common occurrence, for the farmers pride themselves in furnishing only the best of beef, and a good deal of competition exists between individual farmers to see who can "kill" the largest steer having tender meat.
the club house to get the meat. In the past, only the fathers took care of this chore, and the beef club was a gathering place where the men exchanged news and spent many pleasant hours in conversation. Today, however, this responsibility is delegated to no one in particular, and since children, men, and women come for the meat, they usually come only for that one specific purpose and do not stay long. They appear at the club house with pots, pans, buckets, paper sacks, or flour sacks which serve as meat containers. As each member's name is called, the family representative steps forward and gets his share. The organization usually continues to operate well into the early winter months each year and until such time as Snook's inhabitants begin slaughtering hogs in the winter. At the end of the season, the books are balanced. Those who have received more beef than they have donated must pay the difference at a fixed price. This price is usually about one-half of what one would pay if he were buying the meat at a butcher shop. On the other hand, if a person contributes more beef than he receives during the year, he receives the difference in cash money. The butcher is paid a flat sum of money each year for acting in that capacity during the season.

The Ladies' Aid Society and the Parent-Teachers Association have been previously mentioned. Both of these organizations are active and make their presence felt in the community. The Ladies' Aid Society confines its activities to the church and church problems. Since the membership is composed of elder women, the organization has undergone practically no change since its conception and operates essentially in the same manner as it did years ago. The PTA, however, is a relatively new organization which is composed mostly of Czechs, but non-Czechs also are members. The organization sponsors such activities as plays, school carnivals, and motion picture shows. These recreational
activities are attended by non-Czechs and Czechs alike. Through this organization the people are becoming better acquainted with and are gaining a better understanding of the customs, habits, and behavioral patterns that characterize the respective groups.

D. Levels of Living

The study of levels of living among various classes of humans has long been a field demanding the attention of many writers. Like other social relationships in a dynamic society, the levels of living in homes change. In the presentation to follow, levels of living described are in terms of the physical goods and services which particular families actually use or consume.


38 The definition of levels of living used here is much the same as that of Hitt and Bertrand. Concerning the definition of this term, they write: "The frequent interchangeable use of the concepts 'standards of living' and 'levels of living' has resulted in much blurred thinking. This may be avoided by the adoption of a fundamental and clear-cut distinction which is rapidly gaining acceptance among social investigators. According to this distinction standards of living refers to social values or the generally-held conception of the pattern of living which the group strives to attain. Levels of living, on the other hand, means simply the material living actually experienced by the group." Homer L. Hitt and Alvin L. Bertrand, Social Aspects of Hospital Planning in Louisiana, (Louisiana Study Series No. 1, Baton Rouge: 1947); p. 35.
Different indexes of levels of living have been proposed by rural sociologists. In the present section, however, only certain items of housing and household conveniences have been selected as gauges of levels of living. These items are: construction materials used in homes, number of rooms per home and rooms per person, lighting facilities, laundry facilities, source of water supply, types of fuel used for cooking purposes, and refrigeration. The changes in levels of living in the Snook community as indicated by the percentages of each generation's dwelling units which possess these facilities are pointed out.

The type of dwelling in which the family lives is an important gauge of the level of living of the group. The external condition of the homes and materials used in their construction are also commonly used in measuring levels of living. In Snook, asbestos siding and brick are relatively unimportant. Four out of five homes are of painted frame construction. (See Table XXIII). Less than one out of six homes in the community is unpainted. The percentages of unpainted homes in which the different generations live reveal that the younger members are less likely to paint their homes than are the oldsters. The per cents of each generation's dwellings that are painted are as follows: first, 94 per cent; second, 84 per cent; and third, 73 per cent. On the basis of these figures it appears that the younger population does not care as much about the outer physical appearance of their

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39 William H. Sewell's scales for measurement and comparison of levels of living are among the best known scales devised for this purpose at the present time. For examples of his work in this field, see "A Short Form of the Farm Family Socio-Economic Status Scale," (Rural Sociology) VIII (June 1943); "A Scale for the Measurement of Farm Family Socio-Economic Status," (The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly) XXI (September 1940); The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of Oklahoma Farm Families (Stillwater: Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College Technical Bulletin No. 9), 1940.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material</th>
<th>First Generation</th>
<th>Second Generation</th>
<th>Third Generation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Percent of Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Percent of Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painted Frame</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpainted Frame</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asbestos Siding</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snook Households.*
homes as do their fathers and grandfathers. On the whole, however, the homes of the Czechs appear neat and clean. (See Figure 22 for an example of the appearance of an average farm home in the community.) The furnishings are seldom elaborate, but the average home is a large, roomy structure that appears "comfortable." The yards are well-kept and the homes are in neat, clean surroundings.

There are few new homes in Snook, but most of all homes are relatively large in size. The six-room house is the mode in the community, but five, four, and three-room houses are almost as numerous. (See Table XXX.) There does not appear to be too much difference in the size of homes that are occupied by the members of the different generations. On the average, second generation members live in larger homes than do the members of the other two generations. Whereas six out of ten second generation families live in homes which have six or more rooms, only about three out of ten in the third and two out of ten in the first generation have such large homes. One of the most important conclusions which comes from the analysis of the material on the size of Snook's homes is that not a single one-room house and only one two-room house are found in the community.

The average number of rooms per person is 1.6 in Snook. The number of rooms per person decreases with each succeeding generation, being 2.1 for the first, 1.9 for the second, and 1.2 for the third generation members.

^10 In referring to the houses occupied by the Czechs, one of them stated: "Our homes aren't just 'houses' but are real 'homes.' We don't just 'hang our hats' in our homes, but we spend most of our time in them. We always say that a home is a man's castle, and we like plenty of room and to feel comfortable all of the time."

^11 An elderly first generation widow occupies the only two-room house in the community. Her house is located very near to that of her son, but she maintains a separate household.
Figure 22. An Average Farm Home in the Snook Community, 1946.

The farm home in Snook is large, roomy, and neat. The furnishings are seldom elaborate, but it is truly a "home" in the strictest sense of the word.
### Table XXX

**NUMBER OF ROOMS IN SNOOK'S HOUSES, ACCORDING TO GENERATION OF FAMILY HEAD, 1948**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of rooms per house</th>
<th>First Generation</th>
<th>Second Generation</th>
<th>Third Generation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 or more</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 96 Snook Households.*
Thus, on this basis, the grandfathers and fathers enjoy more space per person than do their sons and grandsons. The age factor, of course, would at least partially account for this difference.

In the past, Snook's people were not accustomed to many of the conveniences of urban living. Today, however, habits of simple living appear to be changing, and the levels of living are rising. One of the means through which the changes in levels of living may be observed is the changes that have taken place in the source of water supply in Snook's homes. About one out of five homes have electric pumps, but a comparison among the different generations shows that the use of electric pumps is on the increase and such previously popular sources as the windmill and the well are becoming obsolete. (See Table XXXI.) The hand pump appears to have increased in popularity also, but several people in the community who own one stated that this system was merely a temporary arrangement until such time as the owners are able to save enough money to have electric pumps installed.

A comparison among families of Snook's three generations reveals that household conveniences and luxury devices are on the increase. The general tendency revealed in this comparison is for such conveniences to increase with each succeeding generation, the first having fewer conveniences than the second, and the second fewer than the third. (See Tables XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, and XXXV.)

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42 This statement is true not only in so far as the average number of rooms per person is concerned, but the author also noted that on the average the rooms in the homes occupied by the older people appear to be considerably larger in size.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Supply</th>
<th>First Generation Total Number</th>
<th>First Generation Percent of Total</th>
<th>Second Generation Total Number</th>
<th>Second Generation Percent of Total</th>
<th>Third Generation Total Number</th>
<th>Third Generation Percent of Total</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total Percent of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Electric Pump</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artesian Flow</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire data for 56 Snook households.

**Works as mechanic in Snook and hauls water home daily in automobile.
### Table XXXII

**Lighting Facilities Used in Snook's Homes, According to Generation of Family Head, 1948**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Lights</th>
<th>First Generation</th>
<th></th>
<th>Second Generation</th>
<th></th>
<th>Third Generation</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gasoline (with mantle)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerosene</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>98</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snook Households.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Facility</th>
<th>First Generation Total</th>
<th>First Generation Percent of Total</th>
<th>Second Generation Total</th>
<th>Second Generation Percent of Total</th>
<th>Third Generation Total</th>
<th>Third Generation Percent of Total</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power Machine</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand Machine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tubs</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Stock Households.
TABLE XXXIV

TYPES OF REFRIGERATION USED IN SNOOK'S HOMES, ACCORDING TO GENERATION OF FAMILY HEAD, 1946*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Refrigeration</th>
<th>First Generation</th>
<th>Second Generation</th>
<th>Third Generation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Number</td>
<td>Percent of Total</td>
<td>Total Number</td>
<td>Percent of Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refrigerator</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ice</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snoon Household.
TABLE XXXV

TYPES OF FUEL USED IN SNOOK'S HOMES FOR COOKING PURPOSES, ACCORDING TO GENERATION OF FAMILY HEAD, 1945*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Fuel</th>
<th>First Generation</th>
<th>Second Generation</th>
<th>Third Generation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Number</td>
<td>Percent of Total</td>
<td>Total Number</td>
<td>Percent of Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butane Gas</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerosene</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 16 (100%) 42 (100%) 49 (100%) 98 (100%)

*Source: Questionnaire Data for 98 Snook Households.
The least marked contrast among the generations is in the number of homes which have electricity. Although it is recognized that a slight difference exists among the generations in this respect, the rapidity with which the change from kerosene lamps to electric lights has taken place is deserving of mention. In 1938, for instance, only two or three homes in the community had delco lights, and the rest had either gasoline or kerosene lamps. One decade later 9 out of 10 homes in Snook take advantage of the B3A system and use electricity instead. Only 6 out of 10 first generation family heads stated that they used electricity in lighting their homes. Although the difference among generations is only slight, higher percentages of Snook's homes in each succeeding generation have electricity, and the proportion of the population making use of this convenience can be expected to increase in the future.

Washing machines for laundry purposes are found in greater proportions among the younger people than among the oldsters. (See Table XXXIII.) Over 6 out of every 10 homes in the community have washing machines, but only about 3 out of 10 first generation families own one. The highest proportion of ownership is among the third generation members, where over 7 out of 10 of the families have them, as compared to only 6 out of 10 for the second generation members. Here, then, is another household convenience which has found its way into Snook's homes and which can be expected to become even more popular with the passing of time.

The pattern of differences found among the three generations in Snook is again duplicated when comparing households that possess modern means of refrigeration. Observation of Table XXXIV disclosed that about 7 out of 8 families possess electric refrigerators. The proportions having this modern
household appliance increase slightly with each successive generation. Whereas only about two-thirds of the first generation homes have refrigerators in them, this is true in about the same proportion of those belonging to the second generation, and in three-fourths of those belonging to the third. Again, the conclusion may be drawn that refrigerators are becoming increasingly popular in Snook.

The oft-repeated design of the young generations making more use of modern equipment in their homes than do the older people is again evident in the types of fuel used in Snook's homes. Three-fourths of the first generation homes use wood for fuel, whereas only one-half of the second generation families do so. (See Table XXXV.) Fewer than one-third of the third generation homes use wood, and butane gas is more popular among this group than are either wood or kerosene. Again, as for the above items, these variations indicate that a change is taking place in the type of fuel which is being used for cooking purposes in Snook's homes.

Viewing the above-mentioned conveniences as indicators of levels of living, one notes that all of the items which are generally considered desirable conveniences are found in greater frequency among the younger people than among the old. This fact indicates that the habits of simple living are changing and the levels of living are steadily rising in Snook. Since such items as electricity and butane gas were unknown to Snook's residents 10 years ago, the conclusion may be drawn that within the past few years the levels of living have increased considerably.
CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study of the nature of social organization and change in a Czech-American rural community is based on data collected in Snook, a rural farming community which is located in Burleson County, Texas. There is a distinct paucity of literature of the Czechs in Texas, and no sociological research which deals with a Czech-American community in the state has ever been published. In fact, to the author's best knowledge, never before has a study been attempted which specifically concerns the nature of social organization and change in a rural Czech community in the United States.

The following are a few selected characteristics of the community studied: (1) over 97 per cent of its residents belong to the same nationality derivation; (2) it contains more elements of the *gemeinschaft* than of the *gesellschaft*; (3) its climate and "black waxy" soils are said to be ideal for cotton-farming, and agriculture dominates the very existence and influences the attitudes of virtually every community resident; (4) the community, some distance from a city of any size and free of dominance of other communities, is relatively isolated; (5) its systems of transportation and communication are relatively undeveloped; (6) by their own preference, the people have managed to remain virtually insulated from intimate contact with the population which surrounds the area; and (7) here the Czechs have their own organizations and agencies in which the Czech language is used and in which the non-Czechs do not form an integral part.
The culture of the group which is given special consideration in this study is rooted in developments which date back several centuries. The native land of the first Czech settlers has always been sensitive to the disturbances that have shaken Europe, and it has always been exposed to the threat of invasion from its neighbors. Various nations took advantage of this position from time to time and imposed their current religious and political views on the people. Especially during the period of Hapsburg absolutism did the Czechs suffer, for under Hapsburg rule the peasants lived in poverty. The people were persecuted for their religious and political beliefs, and their language and culture were suppressed. Thus, in the latter part of the nineteenth century the Czechs were convinced that emigration was better than Austrian tyranny. They were not particularly seeking wealth in the New Country, but they were hoping for an unhampered existence, one not shut in by barriers of class distinction. The Czechs began migrating to Texas in 1839, and many individual families came in the 1840's. When some of them found out that they could buy fertile soil at a comparatively low figure in the area now known as Snook, they spread the word among Czechs in neighboring counties. The first Czech family arrived in the area in 1854, and others soon followed. Seeing a chance to form an all-Czech community where they would not be bothered by other nationality groups, they invited their friends and former neighbors to move into the area. Within the brief span of some ten years, the area was settled by this nationality group, and a Czech "cultural island" was created. Hardships were many, but the adjustments to the new environment were perhaps not as difficult for the Czechs as they were for migrants in other areas of the New World. Since they had little in common with the people in the
surrounding area, a strong sense of solidarity was obtained through sharing the experiences of the early struggle for peace and security. The settlers set up a community organization of their own in which the native customs, habits, language, social values, and traditions brought with them to America could be preserved.

Snook's demographic characteristics render the area of study distinctive in several ways. For example, when compared with the white rural populations of Burleson County, Texas, and the United States, its age dependency ratio is considerably higher than are the ratios of the other populations considered. Its population is the only one of the four compared in which females outnumber the males. The fertility ratio is somewhat higher, and the mortality rate is also higher than it is in the other areas with which it is compared. Since the farm land has been subdivided to the point that a further subdivision would result in a lower level of living than is presently available in the community, a majority of the youths migrate from the area upon attaining late adolescence or early adulthood. Most of the emigrants move to the urban areas, and a popular point of destination is Houston, where the Czechs are able to mingle with people of the same nationality derivation and where their memberships are transferred in the same religious denomination and fraternal order. Another distinctive characteristic of Snook's population is that about 90 per cent of the residents were born either in the community or less than 30 miles distant from it. An additional 5 per cent of the population were born in what was to become the republic of Czechoslovakia, and a majority of this group have lived in the community for 40 years or more.
With this information on Snook's geographic, demographic, and cultural background in mind, an attempt is made to describe and analyse the nature of social organization and change in the community. The primary sources of data utilized are personal interviews and first-hand observations. The time interval covered by the study is roughly from 1884 to the present, with special emphasis on the year 1948, when the basic survey data for the community were gathered. Individual schedules were enumerated by the investigator for each family in the area studied. Altogether 98 schedules were obtained. In addition, autobiographies were obtained for each first generation Czech in the community. A life-time acquaintance with the people and a fluent knowledge of the Czech language proved invaluable to the writer in making the study. He is intimately acquainted with the nature of life in the community and depends on first-hand observations for describing some of the changes which have taken place. For purposes of analyzing social change, the "picture of community life" was "frozen" and the responses of grandfather, father, and grandson are considered. On the basis of the data thus obtained, the change characterizing specific modes of behavior is appraised.

Some of the major findings and conclusions may be summarized as follows:

1. **Agricultural Practices among the Czechs:** Farming is not only a distinctive form of work with the Czech, but it is a distinct mode of life. It is not only a vocation but an avocation. One of the conditioning factors in the agricultural background of the Czech was inadequate land resources. Land, in fact, was at such a premium at one time that even today its ownership is a symbol of security. It is a symbol of wealth which is tangible
evidence of one's success. So deeply is this idea imbedded in the minds of the Czechs that land ownership is not only characteristic of the farmer but also of the people engaged in other occupations. Ownership of farm land, however, does not appear to be as important today in the minds of the people as it has been in the past. Over 4 out of 5 first and second generation family heads own farm land while this is true with less than one-half of the third generation Czechs. It is realized, of course, that the members of the third generation are comparatively young, and that the proportion who will own land in the future may be expected to increase.

Farmers who are owner-operators are proportionately numerous in the community. This group of 40 in number constitutes about 70 per cent of all operators. Almost three out of every four tenants in the community are members of the third generation, among which group the proportion of tenancy is much higher than among the first and second generation farmers. However, since the third generation farmers have not been farming long, substantial numbers may be expected to achieve farm ownership in due time. Almost one-half of the tenants rent land from their parents, and in many cases the tenants will doubtlessly inherit the land. Different forms of tenure agreements are used in Snook, but the "cash rent" agreement is a recent innovation in the area. There is relatively little movement from one farm to another since the average length of occupancy for all farms is over 15 years. Even among the tenant class, there is relatively high stability in occupancy, for they have been living on the same farm an average of more than 9 years.

Although cotton is the main crop, most farms are highly diversified. It appears, however, that the farmers are less self-sufficient today than they have been in the past. Not much hired labor is used by the Czech
farmer except during the cotton-chopping and cotton-picking seasons. In recent years, migratory laborers from Mexico have been available during the cotton harvest season, but even today, over 95 per cent of the farm family members who are physically able to work in the fields assist the family head.

Only 10 years ago mules were the chief source of power on Snook's farms, but tractors are either owned or used by almost three out of every four farm operators there today. That the older farmers do not take to tractors as readily as the youngsters is borne out by the fact that only about one-half of the first and second generation farmers combined own or work their land with tractors. On the other hand, over nine out of 10 third generation farmers use tractors as the main source of power on their farms. The pick-up truck is also fast coming into use in Snook, and it is replacing the automobile as the main means of transportation. Although these two vehicles are being used more and more on Snook's farms, it appears that the farmers have almost reached their limit in mechanization since the average size of holding is too small to warrant the adoption of the more costly types of mechanical equipment.

The farmers have a deep-seated tradition of assisting one another in their farm work. Although custom farming has reduced the amount of swapping of labor, over two out of five of the operators own some type of farm equipment cooperatively with another inhabitant in the community. Proportionately, more of the younger farmers own farm equipment cooperatively than is true of the older operators.

Little use is being made of long-term credit. Prior to World War II, the mortgage was the chief means of long-time financing, but today over 95 per cent of the land holdings in the community are free of debt. Despite
between them in the past have been proven down.

Two groups are nearly by contradiction, and some of the parallels which have
e a certain kind of relationship. In the vein, however, the relationship of the
can be thwarted by mutual cooperation, for each group receives in itself
and instruction. Not that would the French nor the Anglo-Americans
other ethnic groups do not play an important role in most of their
parts on organizations and agencies in which the French language is used.

2. Social Stratification: Since the Frenchman of the community have
which the whole population derive the status from the main
evry much respect in which they stand. But the French are not the same as the English, but in the community, it is not so strong. In the community that was
stratification as to their partners of France.

This, it appears, that the younger people do not always farm in France, but in the young generation of France are the most satisfied with the work of making a
to the Frenchmen are members of the third generation and that the
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choose another occupation. The French were introduced as to what they would
like all over again, but one of these states that they would determinate
when stranded they would farm if they were young men and were wearing the
In a survey of the farm operators revealed that over three-fourths of
have taken place in the way, much importance play. Farming as an occupation-
possible for most of the farmers to be do-it-yourself; a general change seems to
the fact that an increase in the practice of additional products made it
Since the Czech's contact with the Negro is relatively infrequent, the race question is not pronounced in Snook. The farmer's failure, however, to make a clear distinction between the Negro, Mexican, and native white laborer has caused the native whites to criticize the Czech. Although the distinction between the Negro and the Czech is very clear, the younger people appear to be more sympathetic toward the Negro than are either their fathers or grandfathers. On the basis of statements made by family heads in the community, only about one out of ten is of the opinion that the Negro should be permitted to vote in the general elections, and all but two of those who think they should be extended this privilege are members of the third generation.

It is still difficult to discern any clear-cut class structure in Snook even today. Although some elements of stratification do exist, the class structure is not formalized, and instead of thinking in terms of different social classes in the community, the average Czech thinks in terms of all of the members of his own ethnic group as being members of the in-group as opposed to all other out-groups. Here, then, almost the same condition prevails as it was found in the earliest days of Snook's development.

3. The Family: The family today in Snook operates not only as a social but also as an economic unit, and family ties are strong. Not one boy has ever run away from a Czech home in the community, and through a delegation of responsibilities, each member of the family is made to feel that he is a vital part of the group. In fact, the family is so closely integrated in Snook that the families of cousins feel a close kinship tie, and if one of the group becomes involved in any trouble or difficulty, he
can depend upon his cousins to help him uphold the family name. The children are normally well-mannered and they are taught that hard work, thrift, politeness, and honesty are virtues that every young Czech should possess. Changes in family relationships have been noted by some of the parents, especially, and they tend to explain the changes in several different ways. One of the explanations used is that the children realize that they will not be able to farm when they grow up, and therefore, their interest is no longer centered on farming but has shifted to their school work. When they advance beyond the sixth or seventh grade in school, the parents are no longer able to help them with their lessons and they tend to look upon their parents as being backward and the parents lose a great deal of prestige.

Snook's residents are married and widowed in higher proportions than are the white rural residents of Texas and they also possess a lower proportion of single and divorced people. In fact, separation and divorce are practically unheard of in the Snook community where only one resident has been divorced. The only divorced person was married to an Anglo-Saxon girl during the recent war years. Informants in the community could not recall a single case of divorce that had taken place between two of its residents, although five children of the present residents of Snook who moved from the community to urban areas have obtained a divorce since they moved away. All six cases of divorce either inside or outside the community which involve either present or past residents have occurred in mixed marriages. On the other hand, not one of the marriages involving only Czechs either in the community or of the children who left the community has resulted in either divorce or separation. No cases are on record of domestic difficulties among
the Czechs, and juvenile delinquency is practically an unheard of phenomenon in the community.

Each female in Snook who is presently married or has been married has borne an average of 3.96 children. The number of children borne per wife declines steadily with each successive generation, and the wives who are partners in mixed marriages bear the least number of children.

4. Religion and Religious Activities: Of the people who are 15 years of age and over in Snook's population, 30.3 per cent are Czech-Moravian Brethren; 9.7 per cent are Catholics; 5.3 per cent are Pentecostal; 2.6 per cent are Free Thinkers; and 2.1 per cent belong to other denominations. Since such an overwhelming proportion of the population are Czech-Moravians, the discussion of religion is primarily devoted to the activities and changes that have taken place in this particular denomination.

Since a preponderance of the church-going population is affiliated with the Czech-Moravian denomination, the church exerts a strong influence on community affairs. Church services are held 20 times each year and revival services are held one week each summer. The congregation is too small and the number of pastors too few for the Czech-Moravians to have a resident minister. Since he serves a circuit of 12 different churches, he is usually in the community only a part of each day that he holds services. The church sponsors several organizations. Among these are a Sunday School, a Ladies' Aid Missionary Society, a Vacation Bible School, a Young People's Union, a Sunday School teacher training school known as the Rus School, and a Benevolent Society.
A number of changes have occurred in the church and in its practices in the past few years. Although the males sit on one side of the church during worship services and the females sit on the other, this custom is not adhered to as strictly as it has been in the past. In recent years, some of the young brides in the community began sitting with their husbands, but under no conditions will the male sit on the female side of the church. In serving the congregation Holy Communion, the minister always served the men first and then the females, in two separate groups. Within the last two or three years the order in which the members are served the Holy Sacrament has been reversed. Although males and females are still served separately, the females partake of the Sacrament first.

The older people have made strenuous efforts to retain the Czech language in the church. However, a fairly peaceful transition from the use of the old language custom to that of the new is taking place. Gradual changes and compromises have resulted in an ever-increasing use of the English language in the activities of the church. For example, 16 services are conducted in Czech and 4 are conducted in English yearly. Of the six classes taught in Sunday School, only the adult class is conducted in Czech and the other five are conducted in English. At the present time, the order of songs is alternated when the Sunday School students sing hymns during their assemblies, that is, the first song is in Czech, the second in English, etc. Vacation Bible School is conducted in English only, and the Bus School is conducted entirely in English with the exception of the singing of one Czech song each day. Since the membership of the Ladies' Aid Society and the Benevolent Society is made up mainly of older people,
all business is conducted in Czech and seldom is a word of English to be heard in the meetings. All of the inhabitants who appeared to the writer to be qualified to form an opinion on the question were asked to state their preference of language to be used in the church services. Slightly more than one-half of those asked prefer Czech as the language to be used. All of the first generation members prefer Czech, but the preference of this language decreased with each succeeding generation. Three-fourths of the second generation people prefer Czech and less than one-half of the third generation named this language as their preference.

English is slowly replacing Czech not only in the church, but also in other phases of community life. The results of a survey of the households discloses that the Czech language still predominates in Snook's homes but that it is being gradually replaced by the English language. In each case, whether it be the conversations between parents, between parents and children, or between children only, the younger people are making less use of Czech than are the oldsters. Thus, it appears that the Czech language is slowly dying out in Snook, and the church will probably make more use of the English language in the future.

Another problem confronting the church today concerns the moving of the church building to a spot that would be more centrally located and more easily accessible for more people regardless of weather conditions. The proposal to move the church to the new location has split the members into two opposing factions. In general, the younger people wish to move the church and the elder people want it to remain on the spot where it presently stands.

Although slight differences have arisen between the members of the different generations, the church is relatively strong, and the Czech-Moravians hold a dominant and important position in the community.
5. **Education and the Rural High School:** The Czech is traditionally proud of the educational attainment of his people. Compulsory education had been the law in Bohemia long before the first Czechs came to Texas, and the illiteracy rate among the Czech immigrants is among the lowest of all groups that have entered the United States.

In recent years a school consolidation plan was initiated according to which seven other schools discontinued operation in favor of the Snook district. The 12-grade system has been in operation since 1931. Since the school has expanded to include non-Czech districts, the student body is comprised of members of several different ethnic groups.

In some of Snook's homes the Czech language is used exclusively, and occasionally the children do not speak or understand English when they enter school. The people have been so interested in perpetuating the Czech language that it has been taught in high school as an accredited course in modern languages. This practice, however, was terminated in 1940. Formal education was not too important in the early days of Snook's development, but an increasing importance is being placed on education by each succeeding generation. Practically every child finishes the eighth grade, but not all finish high school. Every person 25 years of age or over in the community completed at least one year of schooling. The only formal education received by over one tenth of the population 25 years of age and over, however, was in schools which were conducted in the Czech language.

The Czech school which had been in operation for nearly six decades in Snook has been another important source of formal education in the community in past years. Over 65 per cent of Snook's population 10 years of
age and over have attended Czech school for one or more years, but the proportions of people in this age category among the different generations who have attended this school have decreased with each succeeding generation. Among the fourth generation members, this proportion was less than one-half. The influence of the Czech school had declined so rapidly in the last decade that it discontinued operation in 1944.

That the Czech school was not as influential at the time it ceased operation as was the public school is at least partially evidenced by the change that has taken place in the ability of the people in the use of the Czech and English language. The ability of the Czechs who are 10 years of age and older to read, write, and speak each of the two languages was ascertained. Although each person who is 10 years of age and over can speak Czech, the ability to read and write the language declines with each successive generation. On the other hand, where English is concerned, just the opposite is true, for the ability to speak, read, and write the language increases with each successive generation.

No attempt was made to measure the degree of proficiency in a language, but it can be said that the older people are probably more proficient in the use of the Czech language than are their children. The children, on the other hand, are more proficient in the use of English, and the Czech language is used only when the child feels that to do otherwise would be most inappropriate.

Thus the school is the instrument through which many of the changes that have taken place in the community have been brought about.
6. Government and Local Politics: Few changes have taken place in the operation of government and politics in Snook. Since no governing body exists in and for the community, local politics are not taken very seriously. In fact, the precinct and county elections do not stir up much interest unless a Czech is seeking an office. Almost all of those who exercise their voting privileges vote the straight Democratic ticket in national elections as a matter of habit. Almost three out of every four people in the community who were eligible to vote did so in the last local election. The eligible voters in each successive generation participated to a greater extent in voting. Thus the conclusion which may be drawn is that the younger people are more active at the polls than are their fathers or grandfathers.

7. Youth in the Community: The parents in Snook realize that it is becoming increasingly difficult to perpetuate the customs and traditions through their children. They attend movies in the nearby towns and come in contact with many activities which were practically unknown to their parents and grandparents.

Since the farm land cannot be further subdivided without jeopardizing the existing level of living, the youth are forced to leave the community to seek employment elsewhere. Since this is true, more emphasis is placed on formal education than previously for it is felt that one must have a better education to seek a livelihood in the business world than if he were to stay at home and farm. On the average, those who have left the community have attained at least one more year of schooling than those who have left their parental roof and remained in Snook. On the basis of comparisons made, however, those who migrated from Snook do not possess as
good a knowledge of the Czech language as those who have left their paren-
tal roof and live in the community, but the former group is more proficient
in speaking, reading and writing the English language.

Relatively high moral standards prevail in the community, and the
youth usually must conform to these standards. Their activities are or-
dinarily controlled by the parents who hold the purse strings. Gossip is
another important form of control in the community. Although the parents
do not provide a full-time recreation program for the youth, several organi-
sations operate for their benefit. As a result the young people have some
kind of entertainment activity which they can attend in the community two
or three nights a week.

The only critical problem of the youth in Snook, then, is economic
opportunity, and on the whole the parents appear to be well pleased with
the way their children conduct themselves.

6. Informal Recreation and Leisure Time Activities: The different
forms of recreation and leisure time activities have undergone many changes
in the past few years. Twenty or even ten years ago visiting between fami-
lies was the chief means of informal recreation, and every Sunday found
Snook's residents gathered in large family groups in the individual homes.
Today, however, visiting is comparatively infrequent.

At one time all kinds of social gatherings such as picnics, barbe-
cues, and dances were attended by all people in the community - from the
youngest to the very oldest. At the dances, old and young alike, danced,
and only a few older women sat on the side and observed the movements and
actions of those on the floor. The children slept on quilts provided by
their mothers, and seldom did any one leave the dance until well past
midnight. Today, Snook's dances are far different from what they were ten years ago. The new highway now makes it possible for youngsters to come to them from the nearby towns, and Snook's youth are definitely in the minority. The mature women and men do not even go inside the dance hall as such and usually they return home long before midnight.

One of the most popular leisure time activities in Snook's homes is reading. Although Czech-language publications on the average number 2.3 per household, they are not as popular with the young as they are with the old people. Proportionately, the number of Czech magazines declines with each succeeding generation, and the English daily newspapers are more popular with the young people than with the old. Farm magazines are the most popular of all publications found in the homes.

Some of the Czech-language newspapers have also undergone certain changes. For example, the Vestnik, the official organ of a Czech benevolent society, which had been printed exclusively in the Czech language since 1916, introduced an English section in 1940. At the present time one-third of the publication is printed in the English language.

Listening to the radio is another leisure time activity in Snook. This is a comparatively new interest, although more than four out of five homes have radios today. Not only do a larger proportion of the third generation families possess radios, but they also spend more time listening to them than do the families belonging to the older generations. The most popular radio program on the air, so far as the inhabitants are concerned, is Czech music. This program is preferred by all three generations in the community, but its popularity decreases with each succeeding generation. Religious programs are also more popular with the older people than
Nowhere is this more apparent to the average Snook resident than in the community. Although the membership is not the Reverend center in the community, and particularly in the past the hole had to enjoy each other's company and participate on the entertainment moteges sponsored by the Lodge, the people are quite the contrary. Some political parties or neighborhood are made on membership. Although the entertainment is non-denominational and non-exclusivist.

Yet, the entertainment of the Reformed known at the meeting of the other entertainment which is commonly known as the Snook's at the sweeter home in Snook today, for all but four families are represented. Even before the first church of Snook was built, another one existed at the entrance of the same denomination. One such entertainment took root in 1972, entertainment are benevolent of the entertainment organization which pays a benevolent. Entertainment there are two of them, there are three churches. The most popular.

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displayed by the members in the organization is only casual today. The
lodge has always been an important factor in the lives of Snook's inhabi-
tants, but its importance today is declining. One of the reasons which at
least partially accounts for this change is that the business meetings
are all held in the Czech language, and the young people claim that they
cannot express themselves well enough in this tongue to take an active
part in the organization. There appears to have been at least some agita-
tion on the part of the younger people to try to induce the older members
to permit some of the discussions to be conducted in English. At the pre-
sent time, however, the older members have not yet yielded to this sugges-
tion.

Some of the other organizations that are important in the community
are those which are sponsored by the Czech-Moravian Brethren church and
also the Parent-Teachers Association. The PTA is a relatively new organi-
sation which is composed mostly of Czechs, but non-Czechs are also members.
Through the activities of this organization, the members of different eth-
nic groups are becoming better acquainted with each other and are gaining
a better understanding of the customs, habits, and behavioral traits that
characterize the respective groups.

Beef clubs are popular cooperatives in Snook. They have been so
successful in the past that as the population increased, new clubs were
formed. Today there are three such clubs operating in Snook, which com-
bined have a total membership of 74 Czech households. Through this medium
of cooperative effort, the inhabitants avail themselves of the opportunity
of having fresh beef every week of the year. As organizations, the value
of such clubs is not only economic, however, for they also furnish a conveni-
ent weekly meeting place for many of the residents.
10. **Levels of Living** Certain items of housing and household conveniences were selected as gauges of levels of living in Snook. These items were: construction materials used in homes, number of rooms per home and rooms per person, lighting facilities, sources of water supply, types of fuel used for cooking purposes, and refrigeration. The changes in levels of living in the Snook community as represented by the percentages of each generation's dwelling units which possess these facilities were ascertained.

In Snook, four out of five homes are of painted frame construction. The percentages of unpainted homes in which the different generations live reveal that the younger members are less likely to paint their homes than are the oldsters. On the whole, however, the homes of Czechs are neat in appearance and are located in clean surroundings.

There are few new homes in the community. Most of them, however, are relatively large, the six-room house being the modal size. Not a single one-room house and only one two-room house is to be found in the community. On the average, second generation members live in larger homes than do the members of the other two generations. The average number of rooms per person in Snook is 1.6, and the number of rooms per person decreases with each succeeding generation.

Habits of simple living in Snook appear to be changing, and the levels of living are rising. A comparison among families of the three generations reveals that such household conveniences and luxuries as electric water pumps, electricity, washing machines, refrigerators, and butane gas are on the increase. In general, the proportions of families which possess these conveniences and luxuries rise with each succeeding generation,
the third owning more conveniences than the second, and the second more than the first. Since most of the items considered were unknown to Smock's residents ten years ago, the conclusion may be drawn that within the past few years the levels of living have increased considerably in the community.
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APPENDIX A

SCHEDULE TAKEN OF THE POPULATION OF
THE SNOOK COMMUNITY
**Schedule No.**

**THE FAMILY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relation to head</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age last birthday</th>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Years in Czech School</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Marriage</th>
<th>Czech or non-Czech</th>
<th>Occupation of father</th>
<th>Czech Language Ability</th>
<th>English Language Ability</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Head Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Head Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**D. MEMBERS AWAY FROM HOME IN SAME COMMUNITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relation to head</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age left home</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
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</table>

**C. MEMBERS AWAY FROM HOME OUTSIDE COMMUNITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relation to head</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age left home</th>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
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</table>

(ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON MEMBERS AWAY FROM HOME OUTSIDE COMMUNITY CONTINUED)
### On the preceding page:

#### RESIDENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Year Left Home</th>
<th>City and State</th>
<th>Census Classification</th>
<th>Miles from Home</th>
<th>Amount of support contributed to family</th>
<th>Amount Family Contributed to support</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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#### D. MEMBERS OF FAMILY DEAD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relation to Head; sex</th>
<th>Generation to U.S.</th>
<th>Age at Death</th>
<th>Year of Residence at Death</th>
<th>Occupation at time of Death</th>
<th>Age at Marriage</th>
<th>Occupational tenure of rate's father</th>
<th>Last grade Completed</th>
</tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### IV. THE FARM:

1. Years on present farm: total acres owned: rented: acres in crops

2. Chief crops and acreages: recent major changes and reason therefor

3. Farm inherited or purchased: if purchased: was owner relative: same nationality

4. Assessed value: land: improvements: other: is farm mortgaged

5. How farming full time: if part time, specify other: year began part time work

6. How many hired men do you have?

7. How many family workers help you with the farm work?
Schedule Number

Family Head: Generation in U.S. ______

8. How do you pay the family workers?__________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________

9. Amount of feed bought or grown_____________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________

10. Poultry for home use only _______; commercial _______.
    Suttle for home use only _______; commercial _______.
    Hogs for home use only _______; commercial _______.
    Garden _______; can or cure for home use, vegetables _______; fruits _______; meats _______.

11. Farm with animals _______; tractor _______; both _______.

12. Is any equipment cooperatively owned? _______; specify (what and with whom)____
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________

13. List chief items of machinery & equipment owned and year added:___________________
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________

14. Do you plan to mechanize further? How? ______________________________________
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________

15. If you could start over as a young man would you farm? Why? ___________________
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________

16. If you would not farm, what other occupation would you choose? __________________
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________

17. Have you ever considered leaving the community?________________________________
    If so where would you move? ________________________________________________
    Why would you move? _______________________________________________________
    What would you miss most if you left? ________________________________________

18. Do you maintain any farm records? __________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________

19. How have you spent your farm profits since 1940? Retire mortgage _______; farm improvements_____; household conveniences _______; recreation _______; education_____; savings _______.
V. THE HOME

1. Exterior construction of House:
   - Brick ___________
   - Stucco ___________
   - Asbestos shingles ___________
   - Painted frame ___________
   - Other ___________

2. Room-person ratio: Persons _____; Rooms _____; Ratio: ____________________________

3. Lighting facilities:
   - Kerosene ___________
   - Mantle or pressure lamps ___________
   - Electric ___________

4. Heating:
   - Fireplace ___________
   - Wood or coal stove ___________
   - Butane gas ___________

5. Drinking water:
   - Spring ___________
   - Well ___________
   - Pump inside ___________
   - Pump outside ___________
   - Piped into the house ___________
   - Hot and cold ___________

6. Laundry (facilities for washing)
   - None ___________
   - Tubs ___________
   - Hand machine ___________
   - Power machine ___________
   - Washing hired ___________

7. Refrigeration:
   - Mechanical ___________
   - Ice ___________
   - Other ___________

8. Telephone:
   - Yes _________ No _________

9. Automobile:
   - Yes _________ No _________

10. Newspapers:
    | Daily | Weekly | Other |
    | English | Czech | English | Czech | English | Czech |
    |        |        |        |        |        |        |
    |        |        |        |        |        |        |
    |        |        |        |        |        |        |
    |        |        |        |        |        |        |
    |        |        |        |        |        |        |
    |        |        |        |        |        |        |

11. Number of books (other than school books) in library ____________________________.

12. Musical instruments (number and kind) ____________________________.
    Who plays them ____________________________.

13. Radio:
    - Yes _________ No _________
    - Approximate number of hours played per day ____________________________.
    - Type of program preferred ____________________________.
    - Type of program most usually listened to ____________________________.

14. Number of shows attended yearly. ___________ Family head ___________.
    Children ____________________________.

Of this number how many are czech shows: ___________ Family head ___________.
Children ____________________________.
VI. POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Did you vote in last:

Local school election?

Local and county election?

Have you ever been elected to a local office?

Have you ever been elected to the school board?

If you have, what office did you hold and how long?

Do you believe women should be permitted to vote in the general elections?

If not, why not?

Do you believe Negroes should be permitted to vote in the general elections?

If not, why not?

Do you believe Mexicans should be permitted to vote in the general elections?

If not, why not?

VIII. FRATERNAL AND BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Member</th>
<th>Percent Attendance</th>
<th>Hold Office</th>
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<tr>
<td>SPJST</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>KJZT</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>RVOS</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMMUNITY</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>BEEF CLUB</td>
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<td>FARM BUREAU</td>
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<td>FARMERS UNION</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>COOPERATIVES</td>
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<tr>
<td>WOMEN'S CHURCH AUXILLARY</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>PTA</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>OTHERS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
VIII. GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Do you believe Czech should be taught in public high schools in Texas?
   Yes____________________
   No____________________
   No opinion__________

   Qualify the answer above:______________________________________________________

2. What occupation would you advise your son (s) to follow?______________________

3. Why (or why not) would you send your son (s) to farm?______________________

4. Do you plan to help any of your children get started in an occupation?________

5. What do you consider the main advantages and disadvantages of farming?______

6. What was your opinion of the AAA program?
   Favorable____________________
   Unfavorable__________________
   No opinion__________________

7. Were you ever registered with the Federal Relief Program?
   Yes____________________
   No____________________

   Give dates, if registered______________________________________________________
APPENDIX B

TABLE OF STATISTICS FOR THE CZECH-GERMAN EMPIRE
APPENDIX TABLE I

SELECTED STATISTICS FOR THE SNOOK CONGREGATION OF THE EVANGELICAL UNITY OF THE CZECH-MORAVIAN BRETHREN IN TEXAS, 1942 - 1947*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1943</th>
<th>1944</th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1946</th>
<th>1947</th>
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<tr>
<td>Number of Members</td>
<td></td>
<td>153</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>252</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number Christened but Not Yet Confirmed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>125</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number Confirmed Under 21 Years of Age</td>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number Adults (Over 21 years of Age)</td>
<td>167</td>
<td></td>
<td>141</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>150</td>
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<td>Number Confirmed During the Year</td>
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<td>Number of Services Yearly</td>
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<tr>
<td>Revival Services</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yearly Salary to Minister</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>500</td>
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<td>Has Congregation Any Debt?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of Sunday School Teachers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of Sunday School Students</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>73</td>
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<td>Does Congregation Sponsor a Czech School?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Number of Czech School Students</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>Length of School Session in Months</td>
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<td>Number Czech-Moravian Brethren Benevolent Society Members</td>
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<td>62</td>
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<td>61</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>59</td>
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<td>Number of Christenings During Year</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of Deaths of Members</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tbody>
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*Compiled from information received from J. O. Juren, Secretary of the Evangelical Unity of the Czech-Moravian Brethren in Texas.
BIOGRAPHY

The writer was born in the Snook Community in Burleson County, Texas on November 18, 1918. He attended the Snook public school from 1924 to 1933 and was graduated from Caldwell High School in 1935. He enrolled in Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College in 1938 and received a Bachelor of Science degree in Rural Sociology in 1942.

Following his graduation, the author was ordered to active duty in the United States Navy in November, 1942 and served until February, 1946. He re-entered Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College in February, 1946 and was graduated with a Master of Science degree in Rural Sociology in June, 1947. The writer entered Louisiana State University in June, 1947, and at the present time is a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology.

He married Kathryn Ann Kohler of Bryan, Texas in December, 1943 and is the father of one child, John William, who was born on November 12, 1947.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Robert Leonard Skrabanek

Major Field: Sociology

Title of Thesis: Social Organization and Change in a Czech-American Rural Community: A Sociological Study of Snook, Texas

Approved:

[Signature]
Major Professor and Chairman

[Signature]
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination: July 25, 1949