8-18-1948

The Use of the Personal Interview to Study the Subjective Impact of Culture Contacts

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USE OF THE PERSONAL INTERVIEW TO STUDY THE
SUBJECTIVE IMPACT OF CULTURE CONTACTS - CHAVEZ

THE USE OF THE PERSONAL INTERVIEW TO STUDY THE SUBJECTIVE IMPACT OF CULTURE CONTACTS

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of Sociology

University of New Mexico

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Aristides B. Chavez

1948

This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Dean V. Scholes

DEAN

August 8-1948

DATE

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ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with a problem in methodology: to test the validity of the personal interview as a technique which might reveal subjective impact of culture contacts. The Spanish-speaking culture in the Southwest is taken as the relatively stationary group, and the English-speaking culture is taken as the one creating the impact . An ideal-type construct of the Spanish-speaking culture is used as the basis for selecting the interviewees and used as the frame of reference for judging conformity or deviation of the interviewees' individual behavior. There are six case histories involving eight persons. The theoretical structure serving as the basis for interpretation of the case histories is a combination of Thomas' definition of the situation, Thomas and Znaniecki's principle of interaction of value and attitude, and La Piere's theory of institutional behavior. Dollard's criteria for interpreting case histories is used as the unifying factor for the theoretical structure and as a guide for the subsequent interpretation of the data.

The interpretation of the data reveals that either the impact of the English-speaking culture has produced

only relatively minor changes in the thought processes of the interviewees, or a more adequate technique for discovering changes is needed. There is redefinition of some material aspects of the English-speaking culture, but this redefinition takes place within the context of the old value and attitude patterns of the Spanish-speaking culture. Suggestions are made in this thesis for further testing of the personal interview technique on different groups under varying social conditions.

CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The general interest in this problem arose from observation of the behavior and attitude of the Spanish-speaking people towards problems affecting them in the urban setting where the cultural tempo is set by a differing value and attitude system from their own. The behavior and attitude precipitants have been incidents involving attempts at testing race and culture attitudes, land legislation, question of church and state in the field of education, membership policy in unions, employment, administration of justice, business techniques, rural medicine, and health problems, etc.

Urban populations are on the increase due to a rural influx. The urban centers in the southwest are no exception. Observation of rural Spanish-speaking communities shows abandoned homes, fallow fields, and a relative over-abundance of old folk. Total communities have become "ghost towns". Of many groups contributing toward urban expansion this thesis concerns itself with the Spanish-speaking group. This general interest in the value and attitude system of these people and the behavior it produces is not the specific focus of this paper, for one

must recognize the complexity of that subject.

The main focus lies in the realm of methodology. In order to study adequately the subjective phase of human behavior, tried and useful methods for gathering factual data must be developed.

The secondary problem of interpretation is necessarily interrelated with the method, for the conclusions, positive or negative, regarding the validity of the personal interview are dependent on the theoretical structure forming the basis for interpretation of the data gathered through the method.

Comparatively speaking, much is known of the ecology, the history, the institutions, and the population of statistical aggregates. This has been accomplished through such scientific techniques as statistics, the schedule, the questionnaire, and other observation techniques. Through these studies the student of social life and problems cannot go behind outward behavior and phenomena. In short, the study of groups and community life give us description in culture terminology and structure but does not suffice in explaining cultural phenomena in terms of individual subjective reactions to cultural stimulation. The information which has accrued in the social sciences through the above stated methods gives a good external

picture of the objective impact of culture contacts on the individual but leaves much to be desired with regards to the relationship between values and attitudes.

Human nature can be defined as the individual manifestation of the social order, and the large corporate behavior discussed in sociology in terms of culture patterns is nevertheless the behavior of individuals.

A large body of research in sociology has tended towards artificially segregating the external group values as influenced by history, ecology, and statistical population changes. The procedure should then be to make an attempt at establishing techniques for finding the relationship between group values and attitudes, considering group values and attitudes as products of the relationship and interaction of individual with individual and the individual with the group at large.

The hypothesis reads as follows: The personal interview case history carries validity as a method in revealing subjective impact of culture contacts. Impact is defined in Webster's dictionary as the forcible contact of a moving body with another at rest. In this thesis, the Spanish-speaking culture will be considered as the body in a state of rest or relative immobility, and the English-speaking culture will be considered as the relatively fast moving body. Subjective impact may then be

considered as the effect of the English-speaking culture on the thought processes of the interviewees whose case histories will be interpreted in this thesis.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

After stating the hypothesis, it then becomes necessary to consider the technique to be used in gathering the data on which will be based the results of the study. The quantity, and better yet, the quality of the data gathered and its subsequent interpretation will determine the adequacy and validity of the method used. The method on trial here is the personal interview. The desirability of utilizing and proving the validity of the method is voiced by E. S. Bogardus: "Until intimate human attitudes and values are brought to light, no social situation is understood. Attitudes and changes in them may best be secured by the personal interview"[1]; and by Beatrice Webb: "By the method of interview I mean an instrument of research and discovery through the process of skilled interrogation. As a device for investigation it is peculiar to the sociologist. It is his compensation for inability to use the chemist's test-tube or the bacteriologist's microscope."[2]

Like all other scientific methods the success of

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[1] Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1939, p. 174.

[2] Ibid., p. 174.

the personal interview is in part dependent on the ability and the capacity of the individual using it to be objective.

It is unlike other scientific methods in that its success is dependent upon the personal qualities and attitudes of the interviewer. There is a great variety of opinion concerning desirable qualities and attitudes of a good interviewer: "respect for the interviewee, helpfulness, non-critical, impersonal and sympathetic attitudes are most frequently mentioned."[3]

Life history materials are gathered for many purposes--physician, lawyer, priest, journalist, detective, social worker, psychiatrist, psychoanalyst, research worker and others. The chief interest here lies in interview and life history for research purposes. Within the field of interviewing for research purposes there is wide variation in emphasis, depending upon the point of view of the interviewer and the particular physical, psychological, or sociological influences to which he traces the origins of human behavior.[4]

The approach attempted here will be a combination of the sociological, which emphasizes the effects of culture (folkways, mores, and social institutions) on

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3 Ruth Shonle Cavan, "Interviewing for Life History Material", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 35, July-May, 1929-30, p. 100.

4 Ib id., p. 101.

personality, and the social psychological which centers its interest in attitudes, emotional sets, prejudices, rebellions, ambitions, cravings of the person and their integration in forming a personality.

Advantages and Disadvantages of the Personal Interview

"Some of the objections are based on the fact that both interviewer and interviewee frequently suffer from faulty perception or faulty memory; they often live in two separate worlds of discourse; they have different social philosophies, and, therefore, understand different things and ascribe different values and meaning to the same social phenomena and facts."[5] Granting that the objections raised in the interview are valid for the most part, it should be remembered, nevertheless, that many of the difficulties encountered are not inherent in the method itself, but in the use to which the method is put, in the way the method is used, and in the persons who are trying to use it. "William James long ago pointed out that psychology is scientific to the extent that it uses methods which make verification possible, irrespective of

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[5] Young, op. cit., p. 177.

the theories, biases, or prejudices of the experimenter."[6] This is applicable in this case since scientific objectivity derives from its methods and not from the confusion of fact which places the observer in aloofness. The objections cited above hold validity only if they are not overcome by the interviewer being able to utilize effectively and fully comprehend the following processes involved in the personal interview technique: (1) classification of methods of interview, (2) understanding conditions of the interview, (3) recognizing qualities and attitudes of a successful interviewer, (4) handling the interview, (5) recording the interview, and (6) analyzing and interpreting of data.[7]

Classification of Methods

"Methods of interview run from the general to the specific, from the controlled to the uncontrolled."[8] The interviews considered here are of a general rather than a specific nature, for in order to establish whether the method is or is not valid for studying culture impact on individuals it is necessary to consider the individuals in the light of the total situation. The individuals at no time

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6 Muzafer Sherif, Hadley Cantril, The Psychology of Ego-involvements, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1947, p. 15.

7 Cavan, Loc. cit.

8 Cavan, op. cit., p. 101.

neatly separate and compartmentalize their social behavior. The persons with whom they deal politically may also be the persons they transact business with, or they might also be participants in their religious or social (recreational) life.

"By control is meant having the interview in hand, conscious direction on the part of the interviewer towards the fundamental purposes which he may have...".[9]

The degree of control for this type of interview involves less rigidity than the use of schedules or formal questionnaires, but cannot be as uncontrolled as the written life history exemplified by the diary or autobiography. This conscious direction on the part of the interviewer is manifested in the use of techniques for securing rapport in which much supplementary information accrues. This supplementary information may point out new leads to the interviewer, and the amount of control exercised by the interviewer will depend on his ability to recognize the value of these leads. To this extent control is being exercised.

In the case of these interviews conscious direction may be interpreted in the light of Merton's and Kendall's

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[9] B. Buell, "Interviews, Interviewers, and Interviewing", Family, Vol. VI, 1925-26, p. 90.

provisional criterion of non-direction of the interview, "In the interview guidance and direction by the interviewer should be at a minimum.... It gives the subject an opportunity to express himself about matters of central significance to him rather than those presumed to be important by the interviewer.... Furthermore, it permits subject's responses to be placed in their proper context rather than forced into a framework which the interviewer considers appropriate.... And, finally, direct questions, even though they are not 'leading' in character, force subjects to focus their attention to items and issues to which they might not have responded on their own initiative."[10]

The experience with case history One and to a modified extent with the succeeding case histories showed the validity of the above criterion. Attempting to adhere rigidly to a pre-planned series of questions or going in the other direction and allowing complete lack of interviewer participation brought negligible results. These results were negligible when compared to further data obtained after an adjustment was made on the method. This adjustment consisted in recognizing that the interviewee's

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10 Merton, Robert K. and Kendall, Patricia L., "The Focused Interview", The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LI, May, 1946, p. 545.

questions or requests for opinion were to be countered with perfunctory but courteous statements which carried a heavy note of affinity with his definition of his life's experiences.

Furthermore, this type of adjustment upon the method brought out the following improvements in the results: (1) better rapport in the form of an easier and more natural flow of conversation; (2) the subjects' definition of the situation found fuller and more specific expression; (3) it maximized the range of evocative stimuli and responses reported by the subject.[11]

Conditions of the Interview

"The consensus seems to be in favor of privacy, quietness, and the use of formal, office environment. It must be recognized, of course, that many of these statements come from psychiatrists whose subjects are patients seeking aid; and that the sociologist, on the trail of some particu- problem may have to seek out his quarry and carry on the interview under more informal conditions."[12]

The conditions of these interviews varied, with but one condition running parallel through all the interviews. The interviews all took place under quite informal conditions as compared with the more formal office surroundings.

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[11] Merton and Kendall, op. cit., p. 545.

[12] Cavan, op. cit., p. 103.

Case histories One and Two were carried on in the individuals' homes, with no interruptions, and with relative quietness prevailing. There were very few if any distractions.

Interview Three was carried out mostly in the man's field where he was working without the interruption or presence of other individuals. Interview Four took place in the screened porch of the couple's home with children coming and going constantly. The porch afforded a view of the greater part of the community, and the children provided added and unexpected materials for the case history. Interview Five took place in the woman's living room with other members of the family present or within hearing distance. Interview Six combines both the home and the fields as the setting.

Qualities and Attitudes of Successful Interviewer

"The traits mentioned (knowledge, poise, good appearance, prestige, an attitude of respect, impersonality, lack of emotion, and sympathy) tend for the most part to set the interviewer apart and beyond the interviewee in his self-control and resourcefulness. He is someone in whom the interviewee may have confidence and from whom he may expect (help), sympathy but no censure

or lack of attention."[13]

This setting apart of the interviewer is not to be misconstrued in terms of aloofness. It means that if the interviewer is to take advantage of pertinent leads afforded him he must not allow his sympathy and emotions to cloud the main objective of the interview. Of high relative importance is the possession of a background of knowledge. The interviewer should be well informed beforehand of the history, nature, and extent of the social and personal phenomena and problems that the group, or the community, or the person is facing. He should be well informed, considering information available, so that he does not have to interrupt unnecessarily the interview in order to have terms or situations explained. This lack of basic knowledge can very easily undermine the interviewer's poise, prestige, and respect in the eyes of the interviewee. Equipped with this beforehand knowledge the interviewer is then in a position to follow leads cautiously, retain his poise, and remain in control of the situation without manifesting outward visible effects of uncertainty.

Handling the Interview

Contact for the interviews was established with

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[13] Cavan, op. cit., p. 105.

comparative ease. In case history One, friendly relations existed based on family relationship--interviewee (uncle by marriage), interviewer (nephew). It might be well to note that interviewee One is Protestant, that by standards prevailing in the area he enjoys a retired, comfortable, middle-class economic status, that he has enjoyed a relatively high degree of mobility, and that he was active in business and politics. This relationship and knowledge about the individual made for a comparatively easy explanation of the reason why the life history was desired. Informality and natural manner during interviews followed easily. Meals were taken in the interviewee's home after which ample time and leisure was given to discussion of his favorite pastimes, fishing, hunting, and woodwork shop. Actual interviewing took place in Spanish with periods of interview lasting an average of two hours and comprising a total of six two-hour interviews. The interviewee occupied his favorite chair, at all times, which gave him ready access to his pipes. The incentives to induce the interviewee to speak were usually based around the aforementioned before-the-interview knowledge of the individual--how he was well acquainted with the state, how he had contacts and had participated in many fields of endeavor, how he had an insight and wealth of

knowledge in the field of politics and economics, etc., and through wording of answers to interviewee's questions so that there was agreement with his general outlook on the topic under consideration. Confidential and discreet use of materials was guaranteed. In this case, it was noted that only occasionally would he ask discretion in the use on an incident during the first four interviews, but grave concern was evidenced with regard to use of materials in the last two interviews. "This is in the strictest of confidence. I know you aren't foolish and that you are sincerely trying to study these things which make life so painful for us. What I have to say I don't want printed and I would never approve if you did....You know of the acts and you say that the acts of themselves are not important to you. You say that what is important is what I consider to be the truth and what took place and what I think caused it. Very well, I'll tell you."[14]

After the first three interviews it became noticeable that interviewee One represented an atypical individual in his culture group. This atypicality became more obvious as the sixth interview was completed. For more adequate testing of the method the six succeeding sketch cases were gathered. The interviewer went to a rural Spanish

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[14] Case History One, p. 87.

speaking community in which he had lived as a child for six years until the age of thirteen. The interviews averaged about two two-hour periods.

Illustrative of some of the control and response inducing statements used by the interviewer in handling these interviews were: "I noticed by the boarded windows that there are many abandoned homes in the community." "I noticed that since the last time I was in the community, the number of graves in the cemetery has increased considerably." "I have noticed a lot of 'Americanos' and their children." "There are very few of the younger people around." "There must have been a lot of new land cleared of woods by the Conservancy people." "The churchyard looks very clean and the church building well plastered."

Recording the Interview

"The attempt to secure subjective attitudes and emotional experiences is usually carried on in a confidential informal manner, without resort to printed schedules"[15] and though the interviewer may have prepared questions based on leads afforded him from prior interviews, these questions must not be so rigidly adhered to that they interrupt the normal flow of the interviewee's conversation.

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[15] Cavan, op. cit., p. 107.

It is best to have a flexible program in order to accommodate new and unforeseen developments. "In the matter of recording the interview, several methods are used. One group advocates as nearly as possible a verbatim report of the interview...."[16] Language and thought are the means through which the person communicates. If these facts communicated to the interviewer are entered in the interviewee's own words, and language, verbatim, by the interviewer, the record is more nearly objective and open to anyone to interpret. Verbatim note taking was used throughout case history one since the interviewee said he did not mind. He was usually concerned with his pipe and very few times did he look at the interviewer unless it was when the interviewer spoke. Turning of pages or moving of papers was done as inconspicuously as possible and usually when the interviewer was speaking.

In the succeeding six case histories the interviewer felt that verbatim note taking might create a barrier to the free flow of conversation. This barrier was assumed by the interviewer because of the many possible interviewees that had dealings with social case workers and other government officials who have probed and questioned them on personal problems. Instead of verbatim note-taking

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[16] Cavan, op. cit., p. 107.

the interviewer would, for each interview, mentally organize the materials under large formal headings and, immediately after, reconstruct the case histories as they appear in the appendix.

Special attention was paid to idiomatic expressions with their overtones and undertones, since many attitudes are faithfully verbalized through the use of idioms.

Though all the case histories are written on the basis of verbatim recording, it was necessary to paraphrase and make explanatory notes in order to give the materials more cohesion and clarity.

Method of Analysis

"Two types of analysis are evident here, the one in terms of group uniformities, the other in terms of processes within the personality."[17] It is well, perhaps, to begin by dealing with group uniformities. We know that man does not live each in his own vacuum. Since he is biologically endowed with the ability to function on a conceptual level, he must live in a lawfully ordered world of nature which to a great extent modifies his social order and relationships. This social order is

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17 Cavan, op. cit., p. 110.

characterized by material and technological products, institutions, symbols, values, and norms. It is to this social order that the individual conforms, and it is from this same source that group relationships, memories, aspirations, successes, defeats, goals, and projects accrue to him. "We do maintain, on the basis of accumulating evidence in several fields, that, in dealing with identifications, ego-involvements, and loyalties of individuals, the social psychologist (for these are social psychological problems) should start first by relating the individual to his reference and membership group. For an individual's identifications and ego-involvements, his more or less lasting loyalties, and the values he does so much to uphold as his own have no meaning apart from his reference and membership groups."[18]

The group uniformities with which the interviewees identify themselves must closely are those of the Spanish-speaking culture of the Southwest.

These uniformities have been constructed through the use of the ideal-type method. The ideal-type method when used represents the abstracted value system of a culture group. In so doing, these concepts or ideal-types,

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[18] Sherif and Cantril, op. cit., p. 7.

free of value-judgment, simplify the complexity of confusing data but exaggerate the uniformities. It cannot be said that any one individual of a culture group lives in complete approximation to or in complete deviation from the ideal-type, though any concrete form of behavior may be analyzed in terms of the degree to which it approximates or deviates from this ideal type. An ideal-type construct is arrived at by taking the descriptive materials of the culture group which are available, setting them side by side, and drawing out the uniformities. These uniformities represent those phases of the culture which the participants and observers agree upon as being representative of the ways of doing and feeling in the identification or reference group.

The reference and membership group of the interviewees would in its abstract sense have the following features:

1. Historically, the culture group is a product of the medieval feudal system of Europe. Its forebears moved into Southwest United States prior to the rise and movement westward of 19th century industrialism.

2. Historical incidents, political and economic motivation of the mother country, and the geography of the area in which this group is found created circumstances beyond the control of these people, which placed them in

a relatively high degree of social isolation.

3. Historically, the group is replete with the folklore and myth centered in its secular and clerical leaders. This folklore and myth has been used to substantiate the group's rationalization on the worthiness of their institutions and the need for their perpetuation. This is probably true of all cultures but more so of a culture dominated by a theological outlook on life.

4. An archaic form of the Spanish language was used to project the simple folkways of the culture in their everyday life.

5. Nature by virtue of the topography peculiar to the region is rigorous and niggardly. This contributed a background of awe-inspiring natural phenomena suitable to the perpetuation of a fatalistic and theological way of life.

6. The family is the prime consideration. It is a semi-patriarchal, self-sufficient nucleus in which all individuals of the group are supposed to find the satisfaction of their wants and desires and in so doing perpetuate the religiously sanctioned values of large families, the extended family situation, neighborliness, system of inheritance, and maternal influence over the rearing of the young. Other values in the family pattern are respect

for elders, strong patriarchal authority, and recognition of distant degrees of relationship making for an easy and informal scheme of adopting one another's children.

7. The economics of the group is based on the land. The pattern is semi-communal because of the genuine desire of all to share their material possessions and efforts. Theirs is a marginal economy of family self-sufficiency. Though a rural landlordism is traceable throughout their economics, we find class consciousness overshadowed by family ties and paternalism overshadowed by sharing with one's neighbors.

8. In religion rests their philosophy of life. Their educational system, their economics, their family life are aimed at the religious fulfillment of their philosophy of life oriented toward the hereafter with its rich promise of all those things denied them on earth. Their main concept of time includes the today and now and the hereafter. Poverty is an accepted way of life.*

The attempt to deal with the group uniformities which is the first phase of this analytical technique has been made through the use of the ideal-type situation. The other phase of this analysis deals with processes within the personality. "It is through communication that a person enters into possession of the culture of

his society, but his choices are not all made for him by his group; he chooses on the basis of his own past experience, and of those projections out of past and present experience which we call projects, plans, and life ambitions."[19] "Once a person is placed situationally in his group setting then information concerning his personality characteristics will further help us account for the differential character of his reactions."[20] It has been previously stated that the external events of the life of a human being are not especially significant for understanding him and Burgess further states, "Nor is it even his acts but rather his attitudes, which precipitate and are the precipitation of his acts, which give insight into the moving springs of his behavior. His character as the summation and coordination of his acts and habits, and his philosophy of life and life organization, which may be regarded as the subjective aspect of his participation in the group life around him, actually afford us knowledge of the dominant integrations of the elements of his personality."[21]

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[19] E. W. Burgess, "What Social Case Records Should Contain to be Useful for Sociological Interpretation", Social Forces, Vol. VI, p. 526.

[20] Sherif and Cantril, op. cit., p. 7.

[21] Burgess, op. cit., p. 526.

A summary of the method follows:

1. Selection of the interviewees was made on the basis of their identification with the Spanish-speaking culture group of the Southwest and specifically of that age group covering the period of the coming of the railroad into the area.

2. The approach requiring contacts with the interviewees was accomplished with relative ease due to the relationship between interviewee one and the interviewer, and the fact that the interviewer had lived in the community in his earlier years.

3. The interviews were handled under the informal conditions of the home or the fields. Formal control of the interview was practically non-existent, but direction giving and conversation provoking statements were used by the interviewer. Questions directed at the interviewer were answered with statements which carried an affinity with the interviewee's definition of the situation involved.

4. Verbatim recording took place in case history one. The other case histories were constructed immediately after the interview. An attempt was made to reconstruct them as if verbatim note taking had been used. However, in all cases paraphrasing and notations for clarifying are found in all case histories.

5. The interviews were in Spanish and the interviewer translated them into English with special emphasis on attempting to capture the undertones and overtones involved in idiomatic expressions.

6. An ideal-type construct of the Spanish-speaking culture was set up to serve as a point of reference in analyzing the interviewees' behavior.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL STRUCTURE

The following criteria used in setting up a theoretical structure are abstractions from Dollard's Criteria for the Life History. Of all criteria set forth by Dollard, the following were thought to be most relevant to this study: (1) The subject must be viewed as a specimen in a cultural series. (2) The peculiar role of the family group in transmitting the culture must be recognized. (3) The continual related character of experience from childhood through adulthood must be stressed. (4) The social situation must be carefully and continuously specified as a factor in experience. (5) The life history material itself must be organized and conceptualized.[1]

It was previously stated that the validity of the method is closely related and dependent upon the theoretical structure forming the basis of interpretation. The raw data or the results of the interview explain nothing unless they are interpreted in terms of accepted social concepts. Further interrelationship of methodology and theoretical structure is evidenced in the use of the

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[1] John Dollard, Criteria for the Life History, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935. Note: These criteria are taken from notes abstracted from the original text, since the book is no longer in print and not available.

ideal-type method. The ideal-type served as a basis for selecting the interviewees and as a frame of reference from which the individual's deviating or approximating behavior may be measured. Under the theoretical structure it serves as a necessary step in organizing and in conceptualizing the raw data.

This conceptualization of the raw data will be approached in the light of Thomas' definition of the situation,[2] Thomas and Znaniecki's principle of values and attitudes[3] and La Piere's theory of institutional behavior.[4]

The interviewees have been placed situationally within the social context arrived at by use of ideal-type technique. There is very little significant meaning, though, unless there is an awareness on the part of the interviewees with regard to the situation. This awareness is arrived at through the process of definition of the situation. Of the "reaction of personalities to the cultural situation", Thomas states that "an adjustive effort of any kind is preceded by a decision to act or not to act along a given line, and the decision is itself

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[2] W. I. Thomas, Primitive Behavior, McGraw-Hill Co. Inc., New York, 1937,

[3] W. I. Thomas, and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1927, Vol. 1.

[4] Richard T. La Piere, Collective Behavior, McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., New York, 1938.

preceded by a definition of the situation, that is to say, an interpretation, or point of view, and eventually a policy or a behavior pattern".[5] This behavior pattern having its origin within "the 'culture' which represents the material and social values of any group of people, whether savage or civilized, their institutions, customs, attitudes, behavior reactions...".[6] Curiously enough, one may be in a culture, but not of it and until the individual learns to define the situation in the light of that particular cultural eontext he can have little hope of being of it. For example, the child reared in the emerging, child centered, equalitarian family finds himself playing the roles and defining his individual status within that family. The child handles the respect-to-elders value on the basis of companionship and the respect which accrues to any elder is based on a socially defined individualistic criterion. This same child could not move into a family representative of the ideal-type mentioned above without re-defining the situation. For, by institutional definition the role and status of the individuals has been predetermined on the basis of sex, age, kinship, parentage, adoption, etc. To approach the problem of respect to

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[5] Thomas, op. cit., p. 8.

[6] Thomas, op. cit., p. 8.

elders through his previous definition would be to invite rebuffs which would cause him considerable grief. For the individual rebuffing the child has one particular definition of respect for elders; while the child has acquired his definition of the same value through a pattern which calls for different conditions of interaction.*

This social phenomenon of defining a situation and the subsequent action or inaction of the individual is postulated as taking place in the following manner: "The cause of a social or individual phenomenon is never another social or individual phenomenon alone, but always a combination of a social and an individual phenomenon--or in more exact terms--the cause of a value or of an attitude is never an attitude or a value alone, but always a combination of an attitude and a value."[7]

"By a social value we understand any social datum having an empirical content accessible to the members of some social group and a meaning with regard to which it is or may be an object of activity" and "by attitude we understand a process of individual consciousness which determines real or positive activity of the individual in the social world. The attitude is the individual counterpart of the social value; activity in whatever form is

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[7] Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., p. 44.

the bond between them."[8]

(3) Values are the objective external phases of the culture which pose problems to the individual which he must define and then act upon. Attitude is the individuals interpretation or definition of that external value which gives him the predisposition to act in a given way. This activity is a key to understanding the relationship of the value and the attitude. Yet, the activity resulting from a value and an attitude in a specific situation cannot be wholly interpreted by the facts surrounding that one situation, for running through that situation is the continual related character of experience from childhood through adulthood. It is, to a great extent, the childhood experiences, formulated in language and stereotypes, that provide the basic mental weapons for defining and acting upon subsequent problems and experiences in adulthood. This childhood attitude is the situation defined and is the modifier of future activity when confronted with a new value. The application of the above quoted principle to the group under consideration here might be illustrated by referring to the case of the wife in case history Six in which her secret rebellious attitude toward the community

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[8] Ibid., pp. 21-2.

is caused by the attitude of family solidarity plus the husband's semi-patriarchal dominance of the household. The multiplied result of situations such as the above may well lead into an attitude of individual personality subjection to family cohesion and welfare.

Recognition must be given to the fact that a certain uniformity of individual behavior exists within a culture with regard to a value, as well as variety of individual reaction towards a particular value. It is true that within a given culture the internal structure change is so slow as to be imperceptible; which is to say that though there is a variety of individual reaction and activity toward a given value, the measure of predictability of the collective behavior is sufficient to maintain the balance. However, when external forces are introduced, the former internal predictability of the individual's and the group's behavior becomes more unstable as more individuals begin to act alike towards a newly introduced value.[9]

Definition of the situation and the transmission of culture, values, and attitudes takes place within a framework of interrelated patterns of relationship which in the totality of the configuration is known as society.

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[9] Thomas and Znaniecki, Loc. cit.

The units of this composite whole called society are known as institutions. An institution has two major components--an idea and a structure. Its patterns of interaction are predetermined, involving long term committment on the part of the participants and are highly stable. The institutional structure furnishes pre-existing guides in the form of moral values which tell the individual what choice to make without the necessity of resorting to analysis of everyday situations confronting that individual.[10]

In analyzing the ideal-type construct stated above one sees a dominant family institution. All other institutions are oriented towards the perpetuation of what were considered the prime values of that institution.

Religiously sanctioned familism perpetuated through a highly cohesive institutional structure is the dominant personality moulding force of the interviewees furnishing the data for this problem.

The interpretation of that data is done within the framework of the above stated theories.

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[10] La Piere, Loc. cit.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY OF CASE HISTORIES

This phase of the thesis is used to give an abbreviated summary of the case history materials by selecting those materials pertinent to the problem of subjective impact of culture contacts.

In case history One, the materials in the first interviews deal mainly with a historical account of the various communities in which the interviewee spent the major portion of his life. In these early interviews very little information is forthcoming with regard to the main interest dealing with subjective impact. Though, it can be said that the English-speaking and Spanish-speaking personalities mentioned by the interviewee are part of the social milieu which conditioned the interviewee's life experiences. These life experiences involved relatively high mobility and participation in business, politics, cattle and sheep enterprises, and in early attempts to exploit the mineral resources of the area. These attempts were characterized by relatively short boom periods. Subsequent interviews begin to reveal subjective materials. Since early childhood interviewee One grew up gradually within the influence of the English-speaking

culture group. His immediate family life also included this influence. He distinguishes, however, between the early pioneering English-speaking and the more recent groups which have created the impact upon the Spanish-speaking culture group. Generally, the former group he acknowledges favorably, the latter unfavorably. Throughout the interviews there runs a series of actions on the part of the interviewee concerned with his pursuit of bettering himself materially and rising in status before his family and the community. These status-acquiring pursuits are carried on in active political participation, business transactions, and other channels outside the institutional family scheme.

Interviewee One evinces a concern with the "moral" worth of the modern generation, a generation which he claims trusts no oral contracts and must depend upon a legal contract for carrying out relations of any type. He challenges the validity of modern education with its theories of evolution and scientific search for knowledge. He claims this type of education has destructive influence upon the family institution and the peaceful, cooperative living of people. Religion is regarded as something to be judged and interpreted individually. He considers the English-speaking group's cultural instruments of constitu-

tions and courts as necessary and useful for maintaining peace and justice in the community. Divine justice is the fate awaiting those who transgress against God's designated way of life on earth. He judges the social worth of the individuals on the basis of their degree of adherence to the ideal-type system mentioned above.

In case history Two the interviewee describes his experiences in terms of the land, concern for family life, constant struggle with poverty, and resignation to God's will. He is conscious of new ways of doing and feeling as they surround and slowly affect the old ways. This consciousness of changes taking place around him may be seen in his statements regarding the changes noticeable among the returning veterans, present day disrespect for church rituals and symbols, changes in wages and working conditions, and growing disintegration of old community and family life. He describes the effects of land conserving legislation and other government legislation on education and taxation as detrimental to what he considers as desirable in life. Many of the ills of modern society he blames upon legislation giving women voting rights and other privileges; for he believes that the family is the divinely sanctioned medium through which the individual can acquire all that is good in life.

Case history Three, like case history Two, presents an individual who is concerned with acquiring subsistence for his family from the land and attempting to salvage some of his tax delinquent land in order to keep at least his eldest son close to him. He talks of the effects of government demands upon his land, and his immediate family and how these demands have disrupted the cohesion of family life and community living which he considers as worthwhile pursuits in life. The responsibility and duty of parents toward the children he considers of paramount importance; since the old ways of doing within the family are the only safeguards the child has against the external threat of different ways of doing and feeling. He decries the younger generation's acceptance of many of the English-speaking cultural ways because those things to him are not worthwhile pursuits, but is resigned to the fact that these changes are taking place. He describes the role of the women in the home and what their duties and responsibilities are toward their parents, the children, and the husband. There is constant repetition of the desire to return to his forebears way of life.

Case history Four involves two interviewees, man and wife. The wife talks mostly about the more detailed aspects of family life, diet, care and discipline of the

children, and the role of the woman, generally. She is concerned with so many deaths in the community. She describes the youthful physical preservation of the older folks, attributing it to the proper diet and old way of living. The husband describes the loss of his land due to tax delinquency but feels fortunate because all his children and grandchildren are living in close proximity to his home and he has been able to stay on the land. The wife voices a negative attitude toward modern medical science. She also considers equalitarian rights to women as detrimental to the social and moral structure of society. The wife also gives criteria of what she considers to be a good son and a good daughter. This criteria adheres closely to the ideal-type construct. Both, man and wife, consider politics and money as going hand in hand. These two factors they consider responsible for the suppression of the poor and especially of the Spanish-speaking people.

Case history five gives a detailed description of the role of the woman in the Spanish-speaking culture and how that role influences the thought processes of the women-folk. She reveals attitude toward sickness and death and how the woman plays a role of dedication to serve those who are sick in the family, be they of the immediate family or of the extended family situation. In

speaking of sickness and death she reveals a negative attitude towards modern medical science and places the outcome of these situations in the hands of God. She is concerned with the kitchen, canning foodstuff for the winter, and constantly aware of her role as the guiding hand for the children and grandchildren as well. She voices a desire to remain and die where she is, living for the time when her sons and daughters can come to visit her. She is conscious of the slow but sure decline in population of the community, but prefers this solitude to the bustle and noise of the urban centers where her sons and daughters have moved to. Courts and law officials represent enigmas in her life and are to be avoided. Divorce is something that has never happened in her family and she hopes she will never live to see it happen. To her God is the giver of life and health. [Life is short and transitory and the rewards await mankind in the hereafter.]

Case history Six reveals the experiences of a husband and his wife, about forty and thirty-five years old respectively. The husband cites childhood experiences of his relations with the land, his father, and his mother. He played the role of eldest sibling and only son. He describes his striving for an education and attempts at

learning new ways of earning a living other than farming. He cites his contact with experiences which are indicative of greater mobility and relatively more intense degree of contact with the English-speaking culture group. He describes the depression period and the steps he took to try to remedy the lack of subsistence situation. He joined the C.C.C. and later worked on W.P.A. projects. With the coming of World War II he moved farther afield in terms of spatial mobility and in utilization of methods for earning and saving money. This mobility was cut short by his mother's death. Thereafter, he remained closer to his family. Finally, he returns to the community, buys a home, some land, and some farm machinery. He still lives in the community. He expresses both satisfaction with his present status and indecision with regard to the future.

The wife was born in the same community and has lived there all her life. Though, she, too, has traveled with her husband and takes frequent trips to visit her brothers and sisters now scattered throughout the state. She dislikes the community and would much rather move elsewhere. She cares for her widowed father who lives alone in the old family home. Though claiming illness due to the heat, a dislike for the community, and a

desire for better education for her daughter, she will not impose her opinions or desires on the husband's decisions as to what is best for the welfare of the family.

CHAPTER V

INTERPRETATION OF CASE HISTORIES

The interpretation of the materials gathered will be handled in the light of their limited number and also keeping in mind the scope of the subject--subjective impact of culture contact. The materials are used to test the hypothesis of this thesis.

Interviewee One was born in 1884. This was a period of relative stability and isolation in his reference group. By prevailing standards in the area, he enjoys a retired, comfortable middle class status. The interviewee identifies himself with the Spanish-speaking culture of the area. This identification is comparative and relative. Statements in this and other interviews have shown that his attitude toward the law (courts, lawyers, officers, etc.) is one of extensions and projections of God's moral law, manifested in the family in the form of such values as parental authority and respect for elders, and down into civil life in the form of legal authority. These attitudes have become more and more crystallized as he participated as leader in that hierarchy: eldest brother, father, lawyer, sheriff, and corporation commissioner. In his role of eldest brother, greater range for decisions rested upon

him as well as greater responsibility which requires him to set up higher standards of behavior and conformity before the eyes of his younger brothers and sisters. This situation would make of the eldest brother a more domineering and aggressive personality. In order to tangibly fulfill this role of eldest brother and command respect from the youngest, his mobility and effort would have to be broader and more intensive. The aggressiveness developing from decision-making and his ability to conform more rigidly due to the responsibility of respect accruing to him are probably factors contributing to his ability to understand more easily, conform, and manipulate values of another culture group, as they became increasingly important in the lives of the Spanish-speaking people. On the other hand these factors make the individual more dogmatic and rigid since these values of the culture are more clearly crystallized in him. This is evidenced throughout the interview in his statements refusing to accept as "moral" the behavior of his own children, their generation, and his grandchildren. The incident precipitating the disruption of sibling relations occurred during the depression years of the early thirties and at a time when a relatively more intense degree of contact had occurred between the Spanish and English-speaking cultures.

To what degree these factors had influenced the brothers and sisters is not known. But it can be assumed that the forces making for disruption of the old family pattern had been present and operating for about forty or fifty years and were due to increased facility of communication, spatially and socially. His decision to defend his daughter and son-in-law and allow for disruption of sibling cohesion points towards the fact that marriage itself is a factor contributing toward a less intense degree of social distance between siblings and that greater responsibility accrues to the father rather than to the eldest brother.

The value of God's moral law and divine justice are strong factors in his life. This is borne out by his referance to the violent death of a man years after he had been acquitted of a criminal act implying that the acquittal had come about because the accused man's father had wealth. This attitude is also evidenced in the interviewee's statements concerning the reason why the sibling disruption took place and the socially unacceptable demise of his brothers and sister. This intangible abstraction of divine justice reinforced by its projection in the form of a more tangible respect to elders and their advice were probably great influences in his decision against a rash act when his cattle were being devaluated by a bank

in receivership.

The great binding strength of all these values is manifested in the acceptance of the oral contract. The issue best illustrating this is the one in which the interviewee doubted the word of the other commissioner that he would be Chairman of the County Commission. He blames his youth for doubting at that time but was properly chastised by his father for doubting an elder's oral contract. As he said, "I was appointed Chairman of the Commission."

His apparent failure to acknowledge his share of irresponsible behavior in vote buying, in the land grant deals, in undemocratic handling of choice of commission chairman, are traceable to the strong influence of semi-autocratic, patriarchal authority, which is not questioned to any great degree by those under it. The extent to which values of the English speaking group have influenced this attitude is manifested by his great liking for his English-speaking uncle by marriage whom "in many respects he considers a better man than many of his blood uncles."[1] Also pertinent is the fact that all his early experiences with the English-speaking seemed to have been favorable

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[1] Case history one, p. 81.

and took place with a minimum of conflict.

The American constitution and legal system for which the interviewee has attitudes of admiration and respect are the cultural instruments through which this individual was offered an opportunity to project and extend himself into the ways of democratic living. One might say for the Spanish-speaking culture as a whole, that the old unwritten, informal, folkway patterns of control were increasingly on the decline in their effectiveness and that the interviewee felt that his duties and responsibilities as a leader should be to use these instruments to maintain the values he thought important. His definition of justice is based on strict interpretation of the law. In the corporation commission decision, cited in the interview, his judgment in favor of the corporation as against the individual bears evidence of rigidity, though he feels sympathy towards the individual. This sympathy towards individuals against heavy odds accrues to all underdogs and gives him the class consciousness of those whom the culture pattern has placed in a leadership position. To him Anglo-Saxon common law is derived from the same sources as Spanish common property law. This is evidenced in his statements that it is not common law he objects to but rather the "Anglo social life" of today.

He says that both legal systems are based on God's laws which he claims are respect for elders, respect to parents, and respect for property rights. The Anglo-Saxon legal system for settling disputes, in which he participated as sheriff, was necessary for keeping peace in society, but his refusal to submit his personal conflicts and family transgressions to public airing was motivated to a great extent by his belief, expressed in the interview, that family cohesion is vital, that the eldest brother or father, as the case might be, should appeal to no one for the solution of a problem. This highlights and stresses the privacy surrounding family situations. It was vital to the cohesion of the family and to be maintained at any cost. That there is lack of community solidarity and pressure is a possibility here.

To a great extent the basis for the atypicality of interviewee One may be found in greater social and spatial mobility, more intense degree of contact since childhood with the culture values of the English-speaking since intermarriage had taken place and his favorite uncle was English-speaking, and the relative lack of community sanction since his family and very few others were Protestant surrounded by a Catholic majority. Attainment of status by this interviewee came about more on the basis

of English-speaking culture values than on those set up in this thesis' ideal-type scheme. Early childhood experiences developed attitudes towards both the Spanish-speaking family institutions and the English-speaking economic and political institutions. His later problems of adulthood were resolved on the basis of his ability to define these new values in his mind and act upon these previously established attitudes toward them. In the comparative light of the other case histories he is atypical. When placed situationally in a reference group more akin to his atypicality, he must again be viewed as a unit in that series.

In contrast, case histories Two, Three, Four, and Five, show individuals closely adhering to the roles which were clearly defined for them within our ideal-type scheme. Their immersion in their culture is demonstrated by the men desiring to die and be buried with the rest of the family. The women will not leave, preferring their loneliness to facing the new urban value system which is incompatible with what they believe is the right way and only way. The men show a preoccupation for what they consider should be the prime duties and responsibilities of the male: work on the land and family subsistence, respect for elders and patriarchal authority, family

cohesion and the subordinating of individual effort to group cooperation and welfare.

The women, likewise, show the acceptance without question of their institutionally prescribed role: that of maintainence of the home and care and guidance of the children. Theirs is a life dedicated to serve those around them; to comfort in sickness, to follow with a minimum of questioning the decisions of the head of the family, and to lead in the observance of religious ritual. These roles are not imposed through coercive male dominance. They are defined and accepted as the right way by both male and female. The case histories show both the men and women opposed to women's suffrage and the extension of other equal rights and privileges to women, maintaining that even the children in school should be segregated on the basis of their sex.

Their persistent adherence to these culturally transmitted beliefs is stressed in their negative attitude toward and inablity to define the super-imposed American legal and legislative structure, their rejection of the idea that there should be so many individualized interpretations of religion, and their dubious acceptance of modern medical aid. The negative attitude toward the latter belief is exemplified in case history Five where the

problem of appendicitis was met with preliminary attempts to use their cures for the illness, followed by the second step in which the compassion for the suffering of the child and the everpresent desire to keep the large family intact led to the submitting of the child to an operation. Then followed the third step in which complete recovery of the child could not take place outside the environs of his home--family contacts, family diet, motherly compassion and guidance, and constant family prayer beside his bed, and finally, credit and appreciation for the complete recovery of the child given, not to the beneficent hand of modern medical science, but to the compassionate hand of the Divine.

Their feeling of being in a society but not of it is illustrated by their feelings that governments and laws are made by and for rich "Americanos", by defining something as theirs only when they have built it through their communal efforts alone and not through the county education board, the conservancy board or any other legislative or executive entity outside the community.

Their strong identity with the soil and their land and its interrelatedness with perpetuation of family cohesion is illustrated by their attempts to salvage some of their original land holdings in order to leave something

to the eldest son and keep him close by. This love for the land is more dramatically emphasized by the simple statement made by interviewee two as he gazed over the land formerly his and recently sold because of tax delinquency--"Anyway, it is still good to be able to see our old lands produce more with all that machinery.".[2]

The old patterns of culture contacts have so moulded the lives of these individuals that resignation and lack of aggressiveness have become part of their personalities. Their ability to define the changes taking place in their children is met with resignation and is explained in the limiting and circumscribing light of their preconceived and crystallized attitudes. One thing they have managed to rationalize for themselves, though the causes are not evidenced in the limited materials available, and that is, that they feel the younger generations of children must leave and find their status elsewhere and under new conditions.

Case history Six reveals two persons reared during the early formative years under somewhat the same conditions and under the same attitude and value system as case histories Two, Three, Four, and Five. Modifying

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[2] Case history Two, p. 99.

the attitudes and values of the parents during the formative years and in the maturing years is the increasing mobility and contacts with the English-speaking values. There is dissatisfaction with the unquestioning, resigned attitude, so evident in the other interviewees, toward the old ways of meeting new problems. Some of the problems involving the lesser values have been met through recourse to new and different ways of doing, as, for example, the search for knowledge of a trade other than farming, the desire for greater mobility and new social contacts, the saving of money to buy machinery to increase production of an otherwise marginal land, and the desire to educate their child.

Yet, the full realization of these defined attitudes must be postponed and are postponed by the lingering attachments to land, duty and respect to parents, and in the case of the wife, her personal assertion is submerged before the demands of family cohesion and a minimum of questioning of the husband's decisions. The husband feels a certain status and security therein since other individuals of his age respect his acquisition of property and machinery and the fact that he cares for his elders. His knowledge is sought in political problems and his work as player-manager of the ball club is looked upon with

respect. Yet, there is an awareness on his part of future effects upon his present status, though how it will be affected, he is not sure that he knows. He realizes all the youth are leaving and there is a possibility of "hard times ahead", as he says.

In recapitulation of the interpretation of these case histories we find in the case of interviewee One, an atypicality or greater degree of deviation from our ideal-type construct. We find him since infancy, through his formative years, and through his later years in a greater degree of contact with the English-speaking attitudes and values.

Case histories Two, Three, Four, and Five, present uniformities running throughout which manifest a closer degree of adherence to the ideal-type construct. Throughout their lives, and especially their formative years, there was a maximum of influence upon their behavior from the Spanish-speaking culture and a minimum of English-speaking contacts. This English-speaking influence manifests itself in the form of material values.

In case history Six, we find manifestations of relative marginality and a resultant deviation, akin to that of case history One, from the ideal-type construct. The difference in marginality between case histories One

and Six lies in the realm of early childhood experiences and the degree of exposure to situations involving the awareness of a differing value system.

In concluding this interpretation it might be well to re-stress that this is not an attempt at establishing conclusions with regard to relationship of attitude and value, but is an attempt to find the validity of a method for acquiring data which might be useful in studying the subject of attitudes and values. If the interpretation *per se* carries research validity, it is but a necessary secondary result because of its interrelatedness to the primary problem of method.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Judging by the data presented, the personal interview carries a limited degree of validity as a technique for revealing subjective impact of culture contacts.

The impact of new cultural situations upon the majority of the interviewees has taken place within the last two generations. Consequently, it came about in a period of the interviewees' lives when the old defined ways were well crystallized in their minds. What subjective impact is shown appears to largely within the old culture definitions. The defining of situations is almost entirely within the generalized scheme of the old social structure. Definition of situations may be seen in all case histories; though the definition varies as between case histories One and Six, and the others.

Case history One shows a definition not only of the values involved in the ideal-type but also an attitude as to how new values of a differing culture group should be interpreted and acted upon. Illustrative of this is the interviewee's attitude toward constitutions and courts as values in the sense of Thomas' theory of values, which are to be acted upon for perpetuation of attitudes and

other values defined as essential by the interviewee.[1]

The other interviewees, for reasons already cited, reveal definitions of the situation closer to the ideal type. Situations involving some of the major family and religious values are not redefined in the face of new values and attitudes, but there is evidence of redefinition of lesser values and a readjusting of them into the major value scheme.[2]

Illustrations of this redefinition and subsequent activity at readjustment are found in the case histories.

In case history Five the child was submitted to an operation only after attempts at solving the problem through old methods had failed; yet the submitting of the child to an operation did not mean that medical science had saved him but rather that God wills these things to happen in the manner in which they occurred.

Further examples of redefinition of lesser values yet within the context of the greater values is found in adoption of machinery to increase productivity. Other examples are accepting land on a tenant basis when direct ownership was impossible. Nontheless, remaining on the land was the greater value. In case history Six an

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[1] Case history One, p. 84-5.

[2] For description of relationship of lesser and major values see: R. Mukerjee, Social Forces, November, 1946.

awareness of values outside the community exists in the minds of the interviewees, yet their inability to fully redefine these new values and break away from the community may be traced to the crystallized preexisting attitude toward the value involved in familism. Further facts are revealed in the data as regards interaction between value and attitude.

The behavior in a situation can not be adequately explained within the scope of that situation alone. For the overt behavior involved after the situation had been defined was not the result of just the attitude and the value involved in the specific situation. The overt behavior was also the result of an interrelated chain of experiences in which other values and attitudes were defined and acted upon and which had direct bearing upon the individual's action in the specific situation. The resulting action creates new attitudes with which to define future situations.

The behavior of these individuals has high predictability and parallel each other so closely in the majority of the cases because of the relative rigidity of institutional living, the security in status which institutions afford, and the comparative ease with which problems within the culture group can be defined through predeter-

mined patterns of behavior. For these reasons it can be said that either a minimum of subjective impact has taken place or that a more adequate technique for discovering changes in attitudes is needed.

It can be said that caution must be used in accepting the verbalizations of individuals as expressing feeling states, but it must be borne in mind that we are dealing in the majority of the cases with institutional behavior where a close relationship between overt (observable behavior) and covert (feeling state) may be presumed to exist. Further, it may be properly surmised that behavior is tending more and more towards types other than institutional, but in the case of these interviewees, the greater part of their formative years were spent in a period of relative isolation and stability, with a minimum of disturbing foreign elements which in more recent years have created a greater degree of institutional disruption.

Description of this close relationship between the overt and covert aspects of institutional interaction is found in the following quotation from La Piere's Collective Behavior:[3] "However they may be developed, the sentiments, interests, wishes and so on which become operative in institutional behavior are never in opposition to that behavior. The overt aspects of institutional interaction

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[3] McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1938, pp. 73-4.

are, in other words, simply an expression of covert feeling states..., the members of an institutional 'cast' live their roles. The small child must, of course, at times be coerced into playing his institutional role; but, once he has learned his part, he will play it because he wants to. Since institutional patterns generate their own appropriate feeling states, these patterns are self-enforcing. The fact that the overt aspects of institutional interaction are a direct expression of covert feeling states largely accounts for the fact that institutional constellations are self-perpetuating and for the tendency of such constellations to persist in whole or in part long after changing circumstances have rendered them functionally inefficient."

This study deals with attitudes as expressed in verbal or symbolic behavior rather than attitudes as expressed in overt behavior. But it is more than that, for in these case histories there runs the continuity of events in the form of interrelated experiences from infancy to maturity. Further, this study shows a relationship between symbolic behavior with respect to generalized situations (exemplified by attitude towards the family or religious institution as a whole), and overt behavior with reference to specific situations (exemplified by the

activity of the individual in the event of death, illness, or marriage within the family).

The limitations on the validity of the method for purposes of generalization are to be found in the fact that the responses of the interviewees fall within the scope of institutional behavior, and principally of one dominant institution--the family. The further fact that the method was tried only with people living in rural circumstances may also limit the validity for purposes of generalization. The stress on a specific age group and the small number of case histories might be considered as factors affecting validity.

These limitations, however, do not invalidate the method as utilized herein; but instead they point in the direction of possible research for further investigating its validity under differing situations, (for example, younger age groupings in the rural setting and in the urban setting, and those who were born and reared entirely in the urban setting, with comparative studies of those who have intermarried).

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

CASE HISTORIES--(RAW DATA)

Case History One

(Some of the materials have been deleted on interviewee's request)

In 1892, which is as far back as I can remember, we lived near the smelter two miles north of Socorro. That smelter is now in El Paso. Here was the processing center for the minerals found in Magdalena and Kelly. The metals were transported by wagon and horses to Socorro. This smelter gave Socorro a boom. People from all over the Rio Grande Valley came to work here. I remember that one of the managers was Mr. Russell and another was Mr. Robinson. There were Italian workers and native Spanish-speaking men working in the smelter. When the smelter was closed and the main units were moved to El Paso, the people dispersed all over--to Albuquerque, to San Marcial, and other intervening points. My grandfather and father went to Reserve. During this boom Socorro was one of the main towns in the state. The smelter boom ended in 1893. There was also a brick factory and metal foundry in the section of Socorro called Cuba. There was a large population, much money; everyone was happy in spite of the low salaries, but in those days prices were cheaper.

There was brick manufacturing until 1897-98. Mr. A. D. Coombs was proprietor of this brickyard. Socorro in those boom years had its main activity at Park City where the postoffice was located. Its mayor was Esteban Baca. Water was piped from Socorro springs. Where valleys were located they built suspended wooden troughs to carry the water between high points. Antonio Abeytia's flour mill was powered with water wheels. Another mill belonged to Zimmerly and still a third belonged to Manuel Vigil and a fourth to J. M. Shaw.

In Park City the main store was owned by Jose Baca & Sons, another store belonged to Esteban Baca, a cousin, and another owned by Donaciano Cordoba, and another by Ed Fortune.

The saloon was owned by my grandfather Jose Baca and was operated by a man named Levi. Another saloon was owned by Domenico Del Kurto. There were two meat markets and a slaughter house. One was owned by H. G. Baca, my uncle, and I can't remember who owned the other one. There was a school and Conrado Baca, my father, was teacher. Other teachers were H. B. Shaw, and later came Professor Sonwick, a man who resembled pictures of Uncle Sam so much that we used to secretively call him by that name.

At least two-thirds of the population working at the smelter were Spanish-speaking. There were many Italians. They were a strange and squabbling lot. We were curious about their quarrels because we couldn't understand a word they said. The Superintendent of the Socorro Springs water works was Mr. Monroe. Later he was owner of the Windsor Hotel where the Val Verde Hotel is today.

Where Cook's garage is today there used to be the Grand Central Hotel, the Spanish people used to call it the "hotel del gallo" because there was a weather vane in the form of a rooster on top of the hotel.

Politics in Socorro, as much as I can remember, revolved around the majority of the people who were Spanish.

In 1916 was one of the hottest political contests in Socorro County. That year I ran for sheriff against one of the most prominent men, Boleslo Pino. Kelly had the greatest concentration of voting precincts so that my opponent and I both went to oversee the election at Kelly. I carried my pistol and about $1000.00 inside my shirt. This money was for political campaign expenses. I also had my henchman guarding me. My opponent did likewise. That night of the election Daniel Archuleta, one of the bravest men in the state, and favoring Pino,

was murdered as well as two of the Unrigulban boys who were on my side. I defeated Pino by about 800 votes. Socorro County then included Catron County and was considered the second biggest county in area in the U. S..

The elections in the city of Socorro were always violently contested. The big shots like Cooney, Esteban Baca, Juan Jose Baca, Leandro Baca, Candelario Garcia, Attorney E. V. Chavez's dad, Abran Abeyta, J. E. Torres, H. O. Bursom, always took a very active part in behalf of their party. There was a constant struggle for control.

Republicans--(a) H. O. Bursum who was sheriff for a long time, was senator from New Mexico, was superintendent of the state penitentiary in 1900 and 1901. His main interest was sheep and ranching. (b) Candelario Garcia--He was representative to the state legislature and was mayor of Socorro. His personal interests were cattle and farming. (c) Juan Jose Baca--Was a cattleman and merchant. Owned the famous Ranch of the Coyote. His children to this day live on that ranch. (d) Esteban Baca--Merchant, saloon owner--and owner of large farming lands along the river bottom. (e) My grandfather, Jose Baca y Sedillo, was a cattleman, sheepman, and merchant. (f) C. Blackington--was a horsebreeder, was elected sheriff and was one of the first doctors.

Democrats--(a) E. L. Fortune--was a merchant and county clerk several terms. (b) Boleslo Pino, cattleraiser, merchant, and was county clerk. (c) Mr. Cook--was a democrat, served as jailer in the early days and the developer of the spring at the Evergreen Ranch. Was always connected with some county office. (d) Benjamin Sanchez--a farmer, honest as a politician and honest in private life. (d) Mattias Contreras, cattleman, farmer and one of the richest men in the county. Was highly respected. (f) Emilio Rulier--merchant at Paraje (a community now under the waters of Elephant Butte Lake) sheepman, merchant, and cattleman.

- Republican - Leandro Baca--sheepman and cattleman, and sheriff of Socorro and first sheriff of Catron.

The sheriff's office was most important in those days, especially outside of the town of Socorro where the pistol and the rifle were the only means of defending your rights. Today one goes to court if his property rights are violated. In those days it took a brave and popular and tricky man to uphold the law in Socorro County.

The main roads went to Albuquerque in the North, but the winter months made this road almost unpassable. The road used to run on the west side of the river to Escondida, on the east side of the river to Casa Colorado,

and then West again to Albuquerque.

West, there was a road to Magdalena where the railroad track now runs--in 1896 and 1897, Mr. Brown initiated the Blume Canyon Road (now abandoned) with the county's help and the help of the mining corporations. South--the road ran on the west bank of the river to San Antonio. The things that have kept up the city following the decline of mining interests and cattle and sheep interests has been the School of Mines, the Crown Milling Company, and the fact that it is the county seat. The reason that Socorro has lost in the cattle and sheep industry is that the public domain has come into the control of the Federal and State government. The government allowed homesteading. We felt that this sort of thing was not justifiable nor profitable to have to fence and pay rentals on what we considered public domain to be used by all for grazing. We felt it was a privilege belonging to us because we were original settlers and citizens. As we were continuously being fenced in we began to lose interest and to sell out.

Further reason for collapse of Socorro was due perhaps to the great expense involved in shipping the ore from Kelly and Magdalena. The railroad built a spur from Socorro to Magdalena and we thought that might help, but

they finally decided to close up in Socorro and they shipped to El Paso, Pueblo, and Denver via railroad. Many times I have thought it over and can remember that the water supply was adequate but the acqueduct was a costly thing to operate and power of any sort to amount to anything has never been very available. Crown Milling Company probably exists because Greenwald was able to utilize steam power. He is the only one now left in the milling business.

Socorro has always, as far as I can remember, been built around the square. The Park Hotel, on one end of the Plaza, where some Chinamen had a restaurant, and my grandfather's law office where Edward's grocery now stands, on the opposite end of the Plaza, are the places I remember the most.

Surrounding the Plaza to the west, the south, and the north, there were flourishing vineyards, orchards and farms. To the east of the Plaza ran the Rio Grande. At that time the river followed a course much closer to the plaza than it is now. It used to run over that area now taken in by the railroad station. In 1895, a flash flood, caused by a cloudburst between the Socorro and Magdalena Mountains, descended on Socorro. The flood was so tremendous that it violated its natural course and inundated

Socorro, destroying all the farming area to the west and south and leaving so many boulders, rock and gravel as to make that soil useless to this day. Many of the boulders one sees today around the Park Hotel, the High School and the Spanish Methodist Church are reminders of that flood. My grandfather had valuable orchards and vineyards there. He lost everything. But the citizens of the town got together and with the aid of the county, they built a diversion dike west of Socorro and the Arroyo now runs south of Socorro, and is known as the Cañada de la Natanza, an appropriate reminder of the lives and property that were lost in that flood. Those who could not contribute money, contributed so many days of work or the use of their teams of horses.

As far back as I can remember the Catholic Church has been where it is today and I have been told that it is one of the oldest churches in New Mexico. The Catholic church was predominant and my mother tells me that in 1965, the only Protestant families were Santos Telles, Gregorio Baca, Marcos Barela, and Leonardo Barela. There were not over ten Spanish-speaking Protestant families in Socorro. The rest of the Spanish-speaking were Catholic. Around 1895, at the time of the flood and when the smelter boom had subsided, there were about 400 families in Socorro and of this total there probably wasn't any more

than 50 or 60 Anglo families. They lived in no particular section of town but were mixed all over Socorro. Hilton was shoe repairman, Subles were in the hotel business, Howell was the druggist, Prues' were merchants, Leason was a furniture store man, Hammell and Apley were in the brewing business, Slim Gibbons was mechanic, Cooney was a goat breeder, Coombs was in agriculture, Winkler was in the bakery business, Terry was a farmer, Matheson and Harwood were Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries, respectively, Brown was in mining ventures and owned a livery stable, Greenwald's were in the milling business. Bursum is probably the only one alive today. He has retired from politics and business, but of those Anglos who had children, most of them still remain in Socorro.

Of the Spanish people, most of them always poor, have been kept going by wage work. Some worked on their little farms part-time, and then they'd leave their families and go to work in the mines in Kelly and Magdalena. They'd work as clerks and laborers; they'd work as cowpunchers for the bigger ranchers. I led this kind of life in my earlier days also. Before all this mining and big cattle ranching came into Socorro, the people were happier. Oh, they live better now, they are more comfortable perhaps, but they don't live moral lives; there is no more respect

for one another. Each, today, probably has their own little automobile but their word is no good any longer. (Note: When told that there were two possible alternatives to the grazing lands under the Taylor Act, he gave the following opinion). It should be much easier to manipulate the authorities at the state level and if turned over to private enterprisers, in spite of a board set up to regulate, you cannot trust human nature. It is always easy for one or two men with power to buy off the necessary majority on any private enterprise board. 95% of the mature Spanish population can be reached and brought around to your thinking with kindness and good deeds which are not easily forgotten by them. You may do a favor for anyone within the family and it is seldom forgotten. This is not true with the Anglo population, I know, because I have dealt with both.

When I went to Reserve in 1896, more or less, everything was virgin. Its resources were mainly cattle and sheep and some work in the gold mines of Mogollon. The Anglos lived in what was called the Bacaville section of town--the Hispanos lived in what was called Middletown. Those were the days when I was 12 years old and used to carry freight from Magdalena and Reserve accompanied by my brother. I used to carry the supplies for my father's

store in Middletown. It took us eight days round trip. It wasn't unusual during rainy weather for the wagon to get stuck and I would have to unload half the freight, get the wagon out of the ruts, and then load back carrying one hundred pound sacks of sugar and coffee as far as fifteen yards. I sometimes wonder how I have lived as long as I have having worked so hard in my youth. Reserve had a population of about twelve or fifteen Anglo families. They lived in the Bacaville section. In the Middletown (San Francisco) section of Reserve there were about twenty-five Spanish families. In the lower town section of Reserve called "la placita de abajo" there were about fifteen Spanish-speaking families. Originally most of these Spanish families moved from the different communities like Socorro, Limitar, Polvadera and other communities along the Middle Rio Valley. They fought the Indians and established their farms in Reserve. There were two Taylor families, one colored and one white. The Hispanos were never able to pronounce the name Taylor so the "white" Taylor was called "telas (fabric) blancas (white)" and the colored Taylor was called "telas negras (black)". They were a simple folk, very helpful to each other. "Telas negras" had been in the Army Medical Corps and was very handy when any illness was found in the community.

As far as I can remember the three communities were first settled by Hispanos since the Anglo section, known as Bacaville, had belonged to Don Luis Baca. The community was named after him. He was from Limitar. Bacaville is the spot where Elfego Baca had his episode with the Texans. All Anglos were cattle operators except the Jones family, who had the largest store in Reserve. The Anglos were the owners of the largest herds of cattle. Of the Spanish-speaking there, my grandfather was the only one who had an appreciable number of cattle. The hispanos would live off their farming and supplement this with seasonal work in the mines in Mogollon, as roundup hands for the Anglo ranchers, and helping to carry the necessary goods from Magdalena on the freight wagons. My grandfather, since he could not take care of the sheep interests as he grew older, began to give his sheep out on the "partido" system basis. Since my father was his only son, my grandfather as he grew older had to turn his herds over to Don Filomeno Ulibarri on the "partido" basis. My father was never a man of the outdoors. My grandfather who owned about 1,000 or 1,200 sheep, never would loose anything by the partido system. He owned the only store and when the end of the year came around, Mr. Ulibarri would owe him about $1,000.00 worth of goods and my grandfather would take

lambs and wool as payment for the debt. The wool was disposed of by my father through Mactavish in Magdalena, who had contacts in the East for disposal.

The only pleasure and enjoyment in that community were the local dances. They would start at eight o'clock in the evening, and last until next morning at dawn. For Christmas they would present "la pastorela", "matachines", and play "las iglesias", "corrida de gallo", "el chueco", "foot races", "horse races", and occasionally traveling troupes of acrobats from Mexico would play for about a week. Most of the people paid admission to these affairs with chickens, coin, or any other item most badly needed by the troupers. I paid a bar of soap to get in once. There was a great amount of participation by the Anglos in our celebrations and festivals and we likewise attended their functions. Relationships were never strained and there was a lot of mutual help, one section of the town with the other. It was common daily occurrence to loan an Anglo your horses, equipment, and tools because when one was in need they too were ready to serve in this capacity. Reserve today is named this since the Forest Service took over those lands. When the Forest Service took over, such great sheepmen as Solomon Luna, and Francisco Hubbell, and even smaller fry "poquitenos"

such as my grandfather had to get out because the Forest Service claimed that sheep were of such a nature that they destroyed all young grass and young trees. This was not so true about cattle so the cattlemen remained, having gotten preference by the Forest Service over the sheepmen. Of the Spanish population of Quemado, the only Protestant families were those of my grandfather, Jose Baca and my father, Conrado Baca. The Anglos were, to be sure, all Protestant or didn't believe in anything.

In 1895 we lived in Magdalena. It was a community comprised mostly of Anglos. There were at the most ten or thirteen Spanish-speaking families. There were about thirty Anglo families. Magdalena at that time was the shipping point for cattle, sheep, and wool. At that time, the strongest company was Becker-Blackwell, later known as Becker-Mactavish. Creenton and Graves were the first great shipping company. They were predecessors of Becker-Blackwell and Becker-Mactavish. It was probably the controlling company in those days. The town was wide open and the center of many a western scene of shooting and hell-raising by the cowboys who came in for entertainment. This is where my father worked as foreman of the lumberyard and also had the contract for water delivery to the homes. There was no organization with regard to

the water supply as there was in Socorro. Canuto Carrillo and Margarito Carrillo were gamblers and spent their time gambling. Tomas Apodaca, a fat man who wore a Mexican hat, was a sheepherder for an Anglo sheepman mostly and also for Solomon Luna. Also, Lopez and his children were freighters out of Magdalena for some of the big ranching outfits. Josefa Espinosa, about sixty, and her daughters were the sole source for laundering clothes. Other Spanish-speaking worked for the railroad as section hands. My father and grandfather also had the mail contract between Magdalena and Reserve. They used a buckboard and horses for this purpose. Don Juan Lopez was the mail driver for my parents. Still other Hispanos worked in the different mines or prospected and laid claims for various mines. Anglos and Spanish were the only inhabitants in Magdalena. There were no Negroes or Chinese. In 1907, Magdalena seemed to be prospering as a shipping point for cattle, sheep, and ore from the Kelly mines. But in this year, a panic struck and the banks tied up all the money. Everything was handled on a basis of I.O.U.. The mines failed and price of cattle and sheep and wool was bad. I was a merchant then. We had to close our doors with the collapse of these industries and the people began to leave. The Hispanos especially, and the Italian mine

workers who traded in Magdalena left for towns in the Valley--San Marcial, Socorro, Belen, Albuquerque. All these people in Magdalena had come from towns in the Rio Grande Valley. They all left broke and without paying their debts. The Italians left for Arizona mostly, since they could do nothing more than work in mines. If you don't believe me, check all the mining communities, such as Gallup, and other mining towns in Arizona. All you find in the mines are Italians and Chechoslovaks. Magdalena again saw a boom in 1914, when the mines reopened. This lasted until 1924. It seems to me that now with the paved highway running through and the development of the trucking industry, Magdalena has no chance for ever growing or booming. People would much rather come to the cities in the Valley where they can have some fun besides transacting their business. In those old days, Magdalena was such a thriving community that there was thought of moving the county seat from Socorro. Don Jose Ignacio Anaya, Justiniano Baca, Mactavish, Ben Beagle, Fred Nicholas, and other Republican and Democratic leaders fought constantly for the postoffice and county seat. But the Valley was stronger because here one found the majority of votes so that the Magdalena leaders finally had to give it up.

Jose Antonio _____
(great grandfather)

Rumaldita
Ascencion (my grandmother)
Abrana
Polita
Plageres

Petra _____
(great grandmother)

Mrs. Chavez
Julian
Máximo
Quilino
Felipe
Adán

Jose ___ y ___
(grandfather)

Piedad

Ascencion _____
(grandmother)

Conrado (my father)

Conrado A. ____
(father)

Jose S. ____(myself)
Lily R.
Juan M.

Juanita ____
(mother) (half Spanish, half Anglo)

David A.
Piedad

Jose ____
(myself)

Santiago (deceased)
Beatriz (deceased)
Juanita
Mayme

Enriqueta ____
(my wife)

Tillie
Lily
Gertrude

When my father married my mother, it was the first time any Anglo relations entered the family. My mother's half sister, Lily Shaw, Anglo, married James P. Chase. He was my uncle by marriage but most of the time I considered him a better man than most blood uncles. We had close, intimate family ties; we cooperated as a family and the atmosphere was always congenial. We would visit one another with the greatest of confidence, as if it were

one's own home. You know that feeling here at your aunt's home. If you don't feel at home, it is because in your generation that feeling, that love for your relations doesn't exist anymore. You know, that if you don't speak or are disrespectful to your aunts, it causes a deep pain in their hearts. When your Aunt Enriqueta died (his first wife), it caused great pain and suffering to your aunts. What she meant to them could not be replaced with any of the science and reasoning of your generation. If your brother's sons, your nephews fail to greet you properly or with respect, your feelings aren't hurt. These feelings are something that has existed among the Spaniards and also the Indian races; because it is a tradition; it is in our blood to be congenial, to love each other with deep emotion.

When an older brother was out at the dance courting a girl, and per aps drinking, and a younger brother happened to be around and see him doing this, he chose to leave the place and not face his older brother. This was a respect taught us towards our older brothers. There could be no comradeship between the oldest members and the younger ones. If the younger want to call the oldest brother for his mother or his wife and take him home, the younger brother had to be very respectful in the way he approached

the older brother; not so if the opposite happened. The younger brother would probably be cuffed all the way home.

I wish we were able to go back to those days of respect in the family, when respect and mutual help kept the families united not only within the families, but between families. As far as the family relations are concerned I wish we could go back to forty years ago. Though I do like all the modern conveniences of the home, automobiles, and all the modern equipment. This change in family relations has probably come about due to more education which makes the individual who is educated feel more superior to the next man who hasn't had educational opportunities. Education has made the individual look at these old customs as something rancid and unnecessary for modern living and for morals. If my family, any member, any one of my daughters fails to do these small respectful things towards me, it hurts me and cools me off towards them when I might do something for them.

Of my sons-in-law, they all respect me and come to see me. Of all of them, ____ and ____ and also _____ (husbands of the three oldest daughters) are probably better to a greater degree because of their greater merits. They not only speak to me well, respect me and visit me more often, but they also come to me for my opinion on

what they are going to do and they respect that opinion. These sons-in-law command more sympathy from me because as you know, I don't need anything from any of them. Yet, I want all of them to prosper the same, have a home, money and be happy. You know that I have helped buy the homes for all of them and as you know, I charge them no interest. I do this because I want to see my ideas, and what I have, enjoyed by my children.

_____ had admirable qualities. He was a good son to his parents; he was helpful to all, noble at heart, charitable, and proud of being an Hispano to the point of having killed for it. He had the quality I didn't like of using his office of lawyer and sheriff to impose his political ideas or personal caprices on others through intimidation. I didn't like his idea of using intimidation on those who didn't agree with him. Both, ____ and ____ tried this on me, but I would rather go to hell through a good will approach than to heaven by force. To my way of thinking, many of the charges against ____ are unfounded because if he did kill during his days as sheriff, it was because in my opinion, he was upholding an Anglo set of laws, to be sure, but it was a common law which demanded you to respect your superiors or elders (in this case the sheriff) and a law which asked you not to commit murder,

adultery, assault, robbery, and to remain within the bounds of your private property. This is what the family teaches you in any language or race. This is a moral life. The Anglo social life, not the common law that he introduced, is what I don't like. The Hispano now copies this Anglo social life which permits son and father to drink together, permits them a state of mind and thinking in which they place the Hispano as a fool, dull witted, and easy prey for anything they might want to do with him. I refer here to the new modern incoming Anglo, not of the Anglo of the early days who came here and worked with us under difficult conditions. You can see that in the old Anglo of early days, their family life was like ours. Divorce to them was as abhorred as it was to us.

The relationships between my brothers and sisters was a close and intimate one. We protected each other from the outsiders, in school or any place else. My money and my physical strength was always at any brother's or sister's disposal if anyone of them was in trouble. This was mutual as their efforts were at my disposal also. I was the oldest and so they looked to me for many things. I think modern education has been one of the main factors in disrupting the family we used to know. There is too much belief in nature and evolution. An example of this

isolation of the individual from his immediate family is found in your uncle ____, your father's brother, who went to school away from home, got college degrees, and came back mocking the biblical teachings of your grandfather _____, a minister. You can now see how he is considered strange and different and remains distant and isolated from the real participation in the family group. Another example is your brother _____ who provides everything he can in the way of modern comforts to your father and mother but who constantly keeps telling his father that all advice he gives him about any subject is something of the past and antiquated. I too provided material things for my father, but I also felt it my duty and vital to my existence to heed his advice even on such small things as choosing between two horses.

All this about the family I have told you, its cohesion, and mutual understanding and respect for the elders came to an end in my family--my brothers and sisters--about 1933. Because of the act of one member of the family, the family divides itself and thus begins the decadence of a family. There is a moral law which governs us and part of this law is the commandments of God which follow down into the family itself in the form of respect and obedience to elders.

I will show you what I mean. This is in the strictest of confidence. I know you aren't foolish and that you are sincerely trying to study these things which make life so painful for us. What I have to say I don't want printed, and I would never approve if you did. It pains me deeply to even allow my mind to dwell on these unfortunate, dirty, and abominable acts of my own flesh and blood. You know of the acts and you say that the acts of themselves are not important to you. You say that what is important is what I consider to be the truth in what took place and what I think caused it. Very well, I'll tell you.

Up until the first incident took place my brothers and sisters had heeded my advice and had shown their respect for me..... They turned against me because I protected my daughter against an injustice. But be it as it must be. I do not know how God will end my life but let me recall to you the incidents which followed this first rupture in my family. We never spoke to each other, and they began moving away and scattering. Shortly after began the events that left me alone, the only living member of the family.....

In the old days a father would never allow any of his children to take revenge for an act committed against him because this would leave his son open to personal

discredit in having to face the courts and possibly being convicted. In those days the head of the family took revenge for the family. One of the qualities that I do admire of modern education is that they have given us a constitution and added dignity to the law by making it possible for a man to peacefully appeal to authority for protection of his rights. The people elect the officers who administer the law and if in the process of getting elected a candidate buys votes it is only because those who sell their votes are not duly appreciative of those rights which the constitution gives them. This is applicable both to Anglos and Hispanos because I have bought them both. There is the case of ____ and his dealings with the trustees of the _____ grant. They were placed as trustees by the owners of the grant probably because those owners were convinced, through the acts of these persons and their dealings with them, that they were the best persons for the job of trustees. Now, _____, working for some cattle interests, used the same means to convince the trustees that the best thing to do was to turn over so much of the grant to him in order that the grant might not be sold for delinquent taxes. He probably convinced these trustees very much in the same way that the trustees convinced the people that elected them to office--either

through words or with certain personal benefits that might accrue to the trustees. ___ was, in turn, convinced to act in behalf of the cattle interests very much for the same reasons that the trustees were convinced.

I, personally, acting for ____, earned $5000.00 in three days when I convinced the trustees of the ___ grant to give ____ a five year lease with a ten year option for 29,000 acres of grazing land. When the deal was signed and completed, ____ gave me $5500.00, $500.00 of which I distributed among the trustees as a gift of gratitude.

Justice--is not to take away from someone that which belongs to him. To do justice--obey the law and enforce the law to the letter; not to take away that which belongs to someone, neither physically nor morally.

Note: (The following conversation took place between the interviewee and a cousin,____, who came to visit him that evening. It was not part of any formal interviews but reveals attitudes since the subject dealt with salvation of the soul and individual free will.)

Interviewee: I have been asked continuously to enter into politics time and time again, but I don't dare because every time I have been in politics I have lost money. There is no appreciation, one man for another in politics. They want me to be mayor of Socorro; the Republicans

because they want the patronage, the Democrats because they want to hold their patronage. I remember when I borrowed $1800.00 from the bank to run a campaign. I joined a fusion Democratic ticket and we defeated ____'s Republicans. Then the very man who loaned me the money, Mr. ____ and ___, who was part owner of the bank, stood on the stockyard fences while they sold my ranch for $3000.00 to liquidate my debt when the bank went bankrupt. After this ____ said I was still $600.00 short from what I owed the bank. I refused to pay. That was not right or just. I had nothing left. I haven't been in politics since 1934, but I sometimes get an itch for it.

His cousin: Then the most important thing to you is not salvation; politics are more important than salvation to you.

Interviewee: No, that isn't true because I have left those things behind in order that I might come to Christ's feet in repentance. In order to get my salvation I must remove myself from those temptations.

His cousin: But there is something between you and salvation, an artificial institution which you have supported and continue to support in the form of political parties and masonic lodges. So how can you save yourself when you have participated in all this after your baptism?

Your salvation comes first, the word of God says, and then your behavior must be such as to safeguard that salvation for you. You are far from Christ's feet because the word of God says that if you accepted the sacraments of baptism and the holy supper you should then know Christ and God and you have just stated that you have always accepted God and yet you have relegated God to the background for participation in political behavior and only since 1934 you say that you are keeping away from politics in order to safeguard your salvation.

Interviewee: Yes, but that part of the Bible you refer to is applicable to persons who remain inconverts until later in life and that for those there is an opportunity to reject their sins and past life and yet be accepted by Christ in God. My acts have not been perfect but they have been in keeping with my best judgment and interpretation according to God's laws and commandments.

His cousin: But your acts are not your salvation. The commandments and keeping of them are secondary. Salvation can only come through Christ. I have studied the Bible, I am looking for my salvation, I am not a politician.

Interviewee: You had better watch yourself for there was the man in the Bible who thought he was perfect and

when he faced Christ he had one thing lacking. That might be you.

His cousin: Maybe, but in St. John, it says that if man finds his salvation from the beginning and keeps faith in that salvation and God, he keeps his salvation.

Interviewee: Even if you are an adulterer, a killer, a robber, an unfaithful, truthless man?

His cousin: Those things are left to God's judgment, for He knows that man is weak and that certain acts will be committed by man, but in His judgement, he will know if this man kept his faith in Him or not. These sins are then weighed and judged by God in the light of his degree of faith.

Interviewee: But how do you account for God's word which says that if one commits all these acts contrary to the Sermon on the Mount, one won't even see the kingdom of God, one won't even get a chance to come before God's judgment. When you repent your sins, accept the sacraments and continue to love God in faith, adopting Christ's teachings, then the only way that you can justify your faith and salvation from there on is to change your way of behaving towards your fellow man and not continue in violation of God's commandments by sinning.

His cousin: No, you believe and have faith and Christ's blood will redeem you. The acts you commit are

of secondary consideration.

Interviewee: The Bible says--What must I do to be saved and He said, you lack one thing. You must follow the teachings and go out and sell everything and give it to others.

His cousin: Yes, but those are just the institutionalized laws given to the people to follow. We are not bound by the law. Our salvation comes by the grace of God and we were freed from the law by the Grace of God through His offering of Christ, His Son, and His blood.

Interviewee: I don't go to church any longer because church is not the place for arguments and attempting to drive into somebody ideas he might not want to accept. One should go to church with complete reverence, avoid anger rousing arguments in Sunday school, and if anything controversial in the form of opinions is handed out, the individual should in his own mind discard what is not good and use what is good. Sunday should be a day of reverence and the church should be revered also. The Catholics, in spite of what they believe, have this reverence. If that church or temple is dedicated to God, it should be for God and reverence and not for you or me to air our opinions like so many squabbling, gossipy women. I would much rather remain out and let those who are

scandalous continue to argue in church.

His cousin: But what if in my church, the word of God is not being preached "pure and without stain", then I think it is our responsibility to discuss and point out what is wrong and not acceptable.

Interviewee: Yes, but then it becomes scandalous. I accept that responsibility of pointing out the wrong things, but I will wait until that individual is out of God's temple before I point out these faults. God was so demanding in reverence to Him that even the temples to be built for worship were of a specific size and architecture, and even the greatest prophet of the day had to enter in his bare feet.

His cousin: Yes, I can almost agree with you. Maybe we are doing wrong, but if I disapprove of that way of doing things, then I have but one alternative, and that is to step out. Then I am neglecting and running away from my responsibility. It is very difficult because one must defend the doctrines of God and his word even against the doctrines of the Methodist church if they are distorting the word of God.

Case History Two

I was born in 1877, the second eldest of a family of six brothers and sisters. I was born right here in ____--I can't remember too much about those early days, but I do know that my father moved to Frisco for a while. I can't remember why or what he did there. I recall returning to ____ when I was about nine or ten years old and have lived here ever since.

My father always was a very poor but hardworking man. We always worked hard on the farm trying to get enough to live on. When I grew older I worked as cook for woolgrowers. It might have been interesting except for the fact that the "Americanos" were always firing shots at us at night when we camped at the water holes. I married here in ____ and got my own house and a little piece of land. I always tried to do my best to keep my family; that meant that just the land was not sufficient, so I would hire out to work on the fields for fifty cents per day. There was one thing for sure in those days and that was that if one got ill or in desperate straits, aid and cooperation was given, not only by the rest of the family but by the rest of the community.

Today there are only two of my children under my dominance (not married), but they are both over twenty-one

years old, and if they want and so desire they may help me; if not there is nothing to force them to do it. In my day there was no question but that we would help our parents. When my father, old and a widower, kept trying to keep up the hard farm work, my wife and I stopped him and practically had to force him to come and live with us. When my father died, I was entrusted with the division of his properties; though my older brother already had title to the family home and had taken his share of the farmland. I divided the property among the rest and some of my younger brothers and sisters offered their portions for sale to me, so I bought them. I don't remember that my father and mother were very harsh or ever struck us very much but I do know that we respected their every word. I have always felt a respect for elders, it goes without saying, you know how that was with us Hispanos, but also for all persons young or old. My conscience feels a necessity for respecting other people even if they are strangers. Children today seem to care very little. They greet their elders but only after their elders have greeted them first.

But I must say that on the whole things are much improved. We, the poorest today, are rich even in comparison to the richest of the old days. This industry

has done all of that. There is work every place and the wages they pay! In Albuquerque a man makes in one hour what I made in two or three days work. But industry has no use for old man like myself, trained in and knowing nothing but farming. We lived by the soil and I guess we'll die here. But the youngsters must go. They must train and educate themselves. My youngest son is now in Albuquerque, going to school and working. He studies piano and accordion. My sole education was three years of school comprising a total of three two-months sessions. I can still remember some of the Spanish sentences we were made to memorize. A man who knew what my nine year old granddaughter knows today was considered a king.

Yes, we keep up our church pretty well. It is the only truly worthwhile thing left that the community can look to. The school's all right but that belongs to the government. It isn't really ours. But the church is the only thing all of us have built with our own hands and sweat.

God has his own design for all humanity and every thing depends on him and what he dictates that we do. He does everything. We do have to work, of course, but then it is part of the design that man should do his share. You know that he cast our father and mother, Adam and Eve,

from the Garden of Eden and told them to earn their bread from the sweat of their toil. Unfortunately there is much lack of respect and regard for the Church. The processions for the fiestas are shorter and only the elders participate. You can even see some of the spectators ridiculing. Today is St. John's Day and you see for yourself many people working instead of going to church. Where are the statues of the saints that should be taken out so they might bless the fields and we might have better crops? Another thing is the great number of religions. There are too many other beliefs and ideas about God. The youth of today don't know where to turn. They separate themselves from the parents too much and when they come back you can't understand them anymore.

It is this lack of Catholic faith together with what the government has done in granting women equal rights and the right to vote that is causing so much trouble. Divorce, lack of respect, immorality are the results of these things. A decent woman in the old days knew that her home was her prime and only obligation. If single she went anyplace with her father and mother, under their care. If married it was the husband she must account to if she was to go anyplace or do anything. Today, women are to be found in saloons drinking alone or with strange

men. Am I not right in saying that this cannot be right?

Governments are good because God and his church are a form of government, but it is the people, the local administrators that are no good. The laws are made for the Americanos and the rich. The poor man has always suffered and worked hard. In the old days this was all right because your family was with you and you shared your poverty with one another. The land was ours and we had something to leave our children. This Conservancy law was passed and we were told it was going to be a good thing. But how can it be a good thing? My properties became tax delinquent. I was able to redeem, with my soldier son's help, only my house and a seven acre plot of farm land. The rest the government people sold to the rich Americano corporations and all I got for my signature was fifty dollars. For generations we tilled and earned the right to that soil. We made our living from it. This is not just; it isn't right. What is wrong, my young friend? If you cannot tell me with all your education, how is an old ignorant man like myself to answer these questions?

Anyway it is still good to be able to see our old lands produce more with all that machinery; but the bad thing is that these people are producing only hay and other animal feed for commercial purposes. First, they

should consider raising foodstuff for the subsistence of the family. Otherwise, how can one afford to buy even the bare necessities in foodstuff from the other parts of the world.

Yes, our children must go and they are all going. They aren't even as mischievous as they used to be. They don't form gangs at night, build fires under the trees, nor do they ever raid the orchards and melon patches anymore. Their parents saved their money when they were in the army, and now instead of improving their land or helping their parents improve theirs, they buy cars, go take up some trade in the G.I. school in _____ and spend their time over there. When they finish their school, there is no returning. They will go to the cities like Albuquerque and Los Angeles. There, they will become slaves to rents and salaries, clocks, stores and "mayor-domos gringos". No, my young friend, how can I leave my humble cradle for that sort of life? I am old; I can't live much longer. My father and mother are buried in this graveyard; so is my wife. I live alone in my house and I must say I am glad one of my daughters still lives in the community and close enough to look after me; for one doesn't know what might suddenly happen to an old man.

anglo landlords

Case History Three

(Drawing water from the well as I approached the front of the house)

Hello, there. Just a minute. I'll go and open the door for you...

I can't remember your name but I know you are one of Don ____'s sons. My son ___ told me that you were around. Sit down. How is your father and mother? We haven't seen them for years. So, you are ____? Well, you were a mere baby when you left and now you are a man as tall as the ceiling. How are all your brothers? My son told me something about what you are doing. I don't know much about history; nor too much of what goes on. You know we are a poor people, trying to farm our land, feed ourselves, and mind our own business. But it's getting harder and harder to accomplish.

I am now sixty years old. There were six men and three women in our family. My father and mother were both born here and died here. They were both very good parents. They taught us how to make our living by farming; how to love God by attending mass, and to obey them and respect them; for their advice and their ways of doing were always right and good. But they left us a long time ago. Many of the older folk are now dead and

their families have left the town and abandoned their lands to the government. Some of those who were able to work left during the C.C.C. days, and during the war, and worked in the factories. They have returned but only for an occasional visit. The younger veterans have returned, but they are dissatisfied and will leave as soon as they can. Of my five children all three boys were in the service. Only two of the boys are here now. The eldest is married and lives in that house next door. He has a job in ___(eight miles south) in the school of mines. My other son was in the Army three and one-half years. He contacted malaria and has been of very little use in the farm. He has been to the hospital and was given a small pension only to have it taken away from him as soon as he entered the G.I. school to learn shoemaking. He has told me many times that for nineteen years he has helped me on the farm, but that he won't do it any longer because at best we only raise enough to barely see us through the winter. I cannot condemn these youngsters too much. I can't hold with the idea that all my sons are interested in is to get a salary, a car, liquor, and a good time.

If they are not interested it is because the lands can no longer produce both for our subsistence and to pay

off the tax assessments. It was a bad day for our people and our "pais" (country) when the Conservancy district was formed. We were told by the commission that the woods would be cleared, that the lands would be leveled, that the ditches would be well maintained and cared for, that we would have adequate water supply...

Come with me over to my land and I will show you how things really are. I left the water running into my bean patch and I don't want it to overflow and cause my neighbor's patch any damage....

Look for yourself, the ditch has not been cleaned for two years, the dikes and sluice gates are in bad repair. The ditch is so silted that even if there is water in the river it can not reach high enough to furnish an adequate water supply for more than two farmers to irrigate at one time. These lands you see over there have been leveled with Conservancy machines at a cost of $16.00 an hour per machine. It took thirty days to do it. The returns those lands will give in the next five years won't pay off that tremendous cost; plus the tax assessments, and the fact that one has to keep on feeding the family in the meantime. No, these few commissioners that changed things for us, seem to me to have betrayed "el pueblo" (our people) just like the kiss of Judas

Iscariot. The Americanos who are buying these lands from the state, the county and the Conservancy must have no soul, for why should the rich Americano covet the meagerness of the poor. We used to clean our own ditches, work our own lands, when and how we wanted to. True, ours has been a meager subsistence, but we never had to answer a summons by the government to sign away our life inheritance for $50.00, because a law was passed. These "gringos" who buy these lands don't intend to settle and work them. They don't love the soil nor the plants, nor the animals. All they intend to do is hold on to these lands and then sell out to the agricultural corporations for profit. All they are capable of loving is money and tractors. They don't have nor feel personal responsibility toward that land. All they do is juggle figures with a pencil. Anyhow the land is responsible not they personally as men. Our "pais" suffers. So why shouldn't the youth leave? It hurts me to see them go for they will completely forget their church, their parents, and their land. But they must get educated, learn new things to do besides farm so that they may be able to rear their families.

My oldest son will probably stay with me and my wife. He has built his own house next to mine and I feel I can clear these ten acres from any taxes so that he can

have something. That is the only thing left for a man to do. Try to leave at least a little land to his children. All our parents did that; how can we fail even the eldest son?

The community is all disrupted. At least seventy-five of the old families have left, never to return, the houses abandoned. Even if they did return think of all the money it would take to try and restore their tumble-down homes. Maybe there are thirty or thirty-five families left. There are very few of our children in the school. Only about half of the students are our children, the rest come from these farms owned by the Americanos. Soon now we will be completely displaced by the Americanos. The families in the community are no longer united with one another. People don't cooperate towards one another like they did. There is no more courtesy.

What is happening is all very strange to me. As you probably remember, we were all close to each other in word and in action. We never asked of any stranger who came his why or wherefor. There is that stranger from the east who stays in Mr. _____'s vacant house. He is alone, works here and there on any kind of work he can find. We don't know how or why he came here. It is no concern of ours. All we know is that he doesn't fight;

he greets everyone respectfully; he steals nothing; he doesn't drink and is a very fine man. That is why whenever he lacks food or smokes the people are willing to give him a little something. They know he won't squander it.

We used to rear our children in peace. I remember my father used to tell me that a child is like a young newly planted tree. The wind will come when it is tender and bend it. One must come along and put a support to prop it so that it will develop strength to resist the wind and grow straight. This is what the parents should do. Unfortunately, so many things are happening to us that parents don't bother to straighten their children out in the ways of their forebears. Frankly speaking, and I hate to say this, there is no more respect toward the Church or the old ways of doing things. Smooth highways and high powered automobiles carry a girl or a boy from here clear into Albuquerque and back in one night. When you ask them where they have been, they lie to you.

In the old days a girl went out only with her parents on an old buckboard. If she went to some neighbor's house close by for a short visit and overstayed, she would be properly punished in front of the others so that they might not be tempted to follow the bad one's example. Yes, things are unrecognizable. One has no older folk

to turn to for blessing or advice. The government promises; but its promises are vain and hollow. They take care of theirs but the promises are never kept to the poor hispano. They took our sons, ruined them in health and spirit and now it takes our lands. I can only hope our eldest son will follow the path I taught him and hold on to our land.

What else can we expect when we abandon the old customs and ways of doing? What we have done is punishable by God. I hear it said that things will be better. I hope we can return to our forebears ways of doing things.

I hope you will excuse me. I have talked too much already. Don't treat these things as the rantings of a tired old man; treat them as truths of what is happening to us. I must get busy now and clear these weeds out of the bean patch. A poor man must always work or he doesn't eat.

Case History Four

(Mr. ____ less talkative, very taciturn. Mrs.___ was most voluble and having the reputation in the community of being a good conversationalist)

Husband: Come in, gentleman, in what can I be of service to you? You say you know me; of course, I remember you. You were right (to his wife) when you said that the man approaching the house looked familiar to you. He is

Mr. ___'s son. How are your parents?

Wife: Too bad about their illness, but God will heal them, if he so wills it. You have probably noticed for yourself all the abandoned homes. The community is lost. There are many deaths. The graveyard is more than half full. It is past the center cross. My own child completed the last row running parallel to the cross. The "moderna" (younger people) are leaving, especially those who went to the army. They can't sit still for a minute. But we have managed. God has been good to us. Our family is all here. Yes, all the old people are dying. My father and mother are both dead now. So are ____(her husband's). You may remember my father. He had that farm over by the big cottonwoods. He was the village cobbler and later he herded goats. When he died he was about eighty-four years old. You should have seen him. A full head of hair, all his original teeth were intact. He could still hit a potted meat can from here to that house twice in the same place with the rifle. He went deer hunting the year before his death. There was Mr. ____. He died in his eighties and still strong and healthy, working his own land. People don't seem to last that long anymore. Must be the fast moving life they lead. My father always used to say that if you will

stick to a good diet like that of the Spanish-speaking people, you will be able to maintain your health till your death. You know that atole and poleadas require no no chewing. About the only thing we used our teeth for was on meat. Today all the various diets require the use of your teeth and the foods one eats have no sustenence for a hardworking man. All those foods I mentioned are made from corn. There is nothing quite as nourishing as corn. Sweet things to eat is all youth thinks about today. I don't know what is to become of us.

Husband: Do you remember the farm land we used to have over by the woods? Well, as you know we used to make our living off that land. True, we were poor, but we managed to eat the diet of our parents. Sometimes we would make adobes and sell them during the winter to help us pull through till summer. But we were happy with our own land. The conservancy taxes got heavier and heavier on my land. We never made enough from the land to cover the taxes. Finally I had to sell it for what I could get or lose it completely. Truly things were in a bad way. But about ten years ago that rich cattleman from _____, Mr. _____, bought many of these lands that were tax delinquent. How he managed to do it, I don't know, but these days men with money find the doors open to them anywhere.

They know who to talk to. My three sons and I took these lands on a share basis and Mr. ____ furnished the machinery and we got half of what we harvested. Truly we were blessed by God. We made money; I improved my old house. My sons married and built their homes all clustered around my home here. My two sons-in-law built their homes right back of mine also. I gave all of them a share of their land to build their homes on. I sit in the middle of fifteen grandchildren. But last year Mr. ____ died. His lands were sold to some other fellow from Oklahoma, so now we are not farming anything this year. The boys are all working in and around ____ for wages. Pardon me, the wind is getting strong and I'd better lock the windmill. You see my home and those of two of my sons are close enough so that we decided to put up one windmill for all three. I told them that we weren't likely to fight each other. J____ has his own windmill because that road cut him off from us.

Another good thing about the farm was that none of my sons had to go to the army. True that ____(the second son) passed his physical examination and we could already see him as a soldier. We were resigned, there was no way out, for you know that when the government says to do something there is no way out for a poor man. But Mr. ___

the landowner, contacted somebody or other and in two or three days my son was released to keep working with us. How these men can accomplish these things I don't know. But he must have gone to high officials, because if it were left to the little local circle in the county seat, they would have even inducted us oldsters to save their own skins. It must be politics, don't you think so? I have been fortunate though, thanks to God.

Wife: But we haven't been as fortunate with our sons-in-law. Both of them died. One of our daughters who lives in the next house there has five children. The government, not the state, gives her a pension and it helps. You see he was a veteran and something happened to his lungs. They operated on him at the government hospital and said it was some kind of inflammation. He came back and one day while lifting a pig into the wagon he began spitting blood. We took him to the small hospital over here at the county seat and he died that night. Our other son-in-law was operated on too. He died of the operation. He left my daughter alone with three children. She gets a pension from the state but it isn't as good as the one my other daughter gets from the government. These operations are no good. My father always told me that

when these modern doctors operated they always left a possibility so that the man would always have to return to them. Money is all they want. Besides once they operate on you, even if it is a good operation, a man is never as good for work on the farm as he used to be. He gets old quicker. He isn't complete as God made him. So now all our children and grandchildren are with us. I guess we are more fortunate than most other parents. See these two little girls coming in now. These are two of our grandchildren. Speak to the gentleman. Say how are you. Shake hands with him. Don't be so misbehaved. They are very good children. See, the one over by the road loading rock on the truck with his father. That is another of our grandchildren. He is a very big boy for his age. His father has a very good worker in that boy already. That boy is so well behaved. He is timid, very humble, never fights, not outspoken to any of us, nor is he aggressive. He is hardworking. Never stops for a moment. Always looking for something to do. We have no land to farm but Mr. ____ let him have a few rows on his field and every morning early, he gets up, milks the cow, and goes to cultivate his patch. All our sons, thank God, are very good, hardworking, religious and respectful. The best of our boys is the eldest. He consults us for

everything. He always tells us where he is going, and everyday comes in for our blessing before going to work. He says he doesn't feel good unless he does that. Mr.___ is our only son who drinks but that is because among other things he is a plasterer. He plastered all our homes. My father always told me that you could tell a musician by his pot belly. If you'll notice anyone who is not a farmer but who is a plasterer, or carpenter, or has some other trade is usually a drinker.

Husband: Yes, you notice that closely and see if it isn't true.

Wife: It is not that I mind liquor. Men should have it once in a while. But ever since they let women vote and allowed them to enter saloons things have gone from bad to worse. Women now work behind the bar serving drinks. They go in alone and get drunk and even take their children in with them. That is happening even here in this small town of ___(county seat). This is not good for the home or the children. No one can tell me that the children aren't being led into habits that will develop a bad life in them. Even here in our little community the children aren't interested in playing in their own yards, around the haystacks or on the arroyo banks. All they want to do is go around the saloon and the pool hall,

asking for cigarette butts and watching what their elders do so they can go do it too. No, the children are becoming too independent from their parents. The women and men have abandoned the church for the saloon. Just the elders attend mass and we will all die soon. The school is just as bad. Everything is politics. They don't even separate the boys from the girls during recess.

There is no more discipline. We are very fortunate that our children respect us, like to live near us. They never have been much for wandering far in search of work. They don't want to buy land for farming but I don't blame them, conditions being what they are.

Case History Five

I saw you approaching with that little black book of yours and I thought you had come from the government. But now I know what family you are from. I can tell by that certain look. A woman as old as I doesn't forget these certain looks which are part of any family. Children are something to always be remembered. So you are ____, one of the youngest. Mother of God, you were just a baby. Your father and mother ill you say. Your mother blind and grayhaired. God of Life, what are you doing to us old folk? Such a healthy looking and hardworking woman your

mother was. And your father such a good teacher and neighbor. I shall never forget him and shall always appreciate him. The night my husband died he was the first to come in with my sons. He came to me and said that he would make all the arrangements. Yes, your father was a real neighbor. So your mother is grayhaired? And I am much older than she. I am seventy-two years old and you say she is sixty-five. And blind. I, too, was blind for two years. I thought I was never going to see again. My sons and my daughter, _____, who is the only one staying with me now, not married, all urged me to go to a doctor in _____. Finally, I consented to go for an examination. God help me but those doctors are inconsiderate, and so cruel. He forced my eyes open with those instruments and hurt me so much. They are not a bit considerate or tender with a person, as we are with our children when they are sick. It isn't like having your mother care for you. He gave me some medicine for the eyes and told me I needed an operation and that my eyesight would be restored. I didn't believe him at the time, because what God gives he takes away and only if he wishes does he restore it. Why should I go to a doctor and have him perhaps puncture my eyes out? My youngest son who has been many places and knows more about these modern

things finally made a trip here to see me. He told me of a very good and reliable doctor and said that even if I couldn't see after the operation it still would mean that nothing was lost. I consented to the operation but only after consulting with my God. Though, once I decided I went through with it; but you can believe me my whole body shook and shuddered just at the thought of the operation. But thank God for giving me back my eyesight. I guess he took pity on me. I had such poor judgment about directions when I was blind. I could do nothing without my daughter helping me so God must have taken pity on me. One of these days my daughter will get tired of me and leave.

Daughter: For God's sake, Mother, don't say things like that, much less think about them; not even as a joke.

Mother: No, I must say all my family has been very good and obedient with me. Go ahead and smoke if you wish, don't hesitate because of me. I know all you people who live in the big towns smoke everywhere. I let all my sons smoke in my presence now, because when they come to see me they stay such a short while that I hate to miss seeing them because they might have to sneak out around the house to smoke. One thing though, they never smoked in front of their father when he was alive. He knew they smoked but never in his presence.

Yes, customs are changing a lot, and the village

is unrecognizable. Nobody left.... ...

Look, this is my second eldest male grandchild. Speak to this man here. Isn't he a big boy? He is eighteen years old already. He was born about the time your father left here; he will finish high school next year.

As I was saying everyone is leaving our little town. The cities are getting so big and crowded. I never could stand that noise and bustle, cars and people, radios and movies. It is enough to kill anyone. Sometimes I wish they would push out some of the people back to the little town here, and among them that they might send my daughter. Daughters go where the husbands take them, you know; but I certainly do miss her. There has never been any consoling me, nothing to heal the pain of her leaving, having to go so far from me. (Sixty miles) Yes, I wish they would send some of those overcrowded city people to the little villages.

Grandson: Yes, and be sure to include some girls my age in the group.

Grandmother: Quiet, you ill-mannered child. Though you are right, there are probably only about three girls your age in town and all the boys run after them.

Well, I guess they won't be around long. The parents don't know too much about what their children are

thinking or doing these days. There used to be so many of us here. When my husband and I married he built me a house down below where Mr.____ lives now. At that time the railroad wasn't built so the river always used to threaten to flood us out and sometimes it did. Finally my husband built this home here on higher ground and we have lived here since. From here he would attend to his farm lands himself and later with the help of our children as they grew up.

Excuse me for a moment, let me call my daughter so that she may get us some fruit to eat....

That is all my daughter and I have to do to keep us entertained; clean the house and can fruit for the winter. What else is there left to do? Eat, sleep, clean the house, set a good example for my grandchildren, spank them if I can catch them, and sit and wait looking out this window, always hoping for a visit from a son or a daughter. That is all left for us to do.

Here eat some fruit, eat all you want. God blessed us with a lot of fruit this year.

Look out the back door, see that house. That belongs to my second oldest son ____. His wife ____ is there with the children. They have seven in all. His oldest daughter is already married and made him a grandfather. That makes

me a great-grandmother. ____'s son-in-law came by the other day and told her that he was leaving his wife and child there for a few days. He had to go to Magdalena to see about a job. My son ____ isn't here now. He and his oldest boy are working for the railroad in Deming. He said that if everything went well over there he was going to come for his family and go live over there. They insist on taking me, but I refuse to go. What business have I traipsing all over the world? If my family wants to see me they can come to the place where they were all born. I will always welcome them as a mother should. I still have obligations and duties right here in my home. Remember my youngest son who was always very ill. Well, he finally died. He died on that bed right there, where for twenty years I cared, prayed, and sat by his bedside, night after night till his death. May God rest his soul in Heaven! My poor, sick, ill-fated son! But he is now resting, of that I am sure for he was innocent of any wrongdoing. The priest always said that life was like a gust of wind, a deep breath, passing, short, transitory. I believe him when I have seen so much death and sickness. How could I ever leave here now? My sister, who never married came to stay with me. She has been very ill for the last eight years and if I can't provide care and a

home for her, who will? No, I can do it. I'll stay by her side and we'll wait for God to decide who he will take first.

Yes, vigilance over my sick ones has been my lot. But I am not complaining for God has given me very good children.

My grandson, the one working in Deming with his father, was operated on for appendicitis. One day he complained of a pain in his stomach. We figured he had eaten some unripe fruit. The next day he took the bus to school as usual but about noon he had to come back home still complaining of the same pain. That night we treated him with some remedies I always keep on hand for these emergencies. For two or three days after he stayed home sometimes feeling good, other times feeling ill. Finally, one morning, just as I had gotten through with my housework, my son rushed in and said that his boy was very ill and if I couldn't do something for him. I told him that if I couldn't God was big and generous enough to do something. I went over and tried everything I knew but he seemed to be getting worse, so I told my son to decide on whether he should call the doctor. We finally did, and the doctor came quickly from Socorro. He is a very fine and attentive man. He went in and examined him.

Then when he came out to the room where we were he told my son that his boy would have to be taken to the hospital to be operated on. His appendix had burst. It was like a bad dream. My son and daughter-in-law burst out crying. I felt faint to think that they would have to cut my grandson open. But someone had to do something. The doctor was waiting and it is a shame that a total stranger should have to get my grandson ready for the ride to the hospital. I called my daughter and we got everything ready for the trip. They took him and operated on him. Poor boy, that was only the beginning of his troubles. He got weaker and weaker so the doctor asked members of the family to give some of their blood for my boy. None of the members of the family had blood that was any good for my boy. Finally, Mr. ___'s son, who had come on furlough from the army, heard about it and came over and offered his blood, and just so one should always be aware of how God does things, the doctor said ___'s blood was good. My son revived with that blood. With all my heart and my life itself I appreciate what that boy did for my son. It is so good to see people so helpful that they are willing to give their blood so my son could live. When that boy went back to the army, I said special prayers before the Virgin every night so that boy would be able to come back

to his parents; and thank God, he did come back. While my grandson was resting in the hospital something else happened to him. He got some hard lumpy swellings in the groin. The doctor told my son that he might have to lance them. After all the suffering my grandson had gone through. My son asked me whether he should permit the doctor to do this thing. I told my son to take some vinegar and salt right to the hospital and to massage these swellings all the time when the doctor and nurse weren't there. They did and the next time the doctor came to see him the swellings were disappearing. The untruths these doctors tell!

My grandson was not looking good in that hospital. He kept telling us that he didn't like the water nor the food. And he didn't like it, I could tell; his eyes were very sad and he was never like that. We did something about the water. We took his drinking water to him right here from the well in his own backyard, but the food he could not stand. My poor boy, one day he asked his father in such a sad voice to bring him home right away. The doctor refused to release him but my son told him that he would take him home anyway. The doctor said if he did take him that he would not be responsible for whatever happened and he would have to sign papers to that effect.

My son told him that he wouldn't sign one set of papers, that he would sign two or as many as he wanted; that he had always been responsible for his son and always would be. So we brought him home and next day when I walked into the house there was my little son, standing up, his knees shaking, holding on to the arm of a chair. He was smiling and his eyes were happy. I prepared all his foods for him and when the doctor came to see him he was surprised to see my son walking around and playing with the other children. My home is now very quiet and peaceful. So many other homes are all broken up. My daughter comes from ____ to visit me and tells me that girls over there marry and then the man leaves her inside of a few days. I am glad to say that my family once married have remained happy together. May God keep me from seeing the day when one of my sons or one of my daughters has to get a divorce.

Court is something I never want to see any of my children in. It is shameful to have one of those men who come for wrongdoers come to one's home and ask so many questions. It happened to me and it was a frightful experience. Maybe you read about the death of Dona____, the woman that was killed by her own grandson. She lived next door. The experience left me ill in bed for two

weeks. How can one's own flesh and blood do something like that? He came from the army to see her--not to see her, to kill her. I can't tell you what a shock it was to me to have that life-long friend of mine covered with blood die in my own home; for it was here that she ran for help. So many people die and are killed by others, but when she told us that it was her grandson who had done this to her--I don't know, it seemed the whole world had come down to crush me. I keep telling my grandchildren, when they don't obey me immediately, if perhaps they too are trying to kill me. I thought I would never live to see that day when a child would kill his own grandmother! But I guess anything can happen in this day and age.....

Don't leave so soon. Stay and have lunch with us. Poor, meager, but you are welcome to whatever we have in the kitchen.....

Goodbye, go with God, my regards to your dear father and give your mother your fondest embrace for me and tell her that "la linda", for that is what she called me, still thinks of her constantly.

Case History Six

(Married to interviewee two's daughter)

As you already know, I am thirty-nine years old. You knew my parents and the house I was born in. There

were seven of us in the family. I was the eldest and the only man. My sisters are all married now and scattered all over, wherever their husbands have taken them. I can remember as a child, before I started school, I and other kids would go to the ditch bank and play farmer like our fathers. We would plow a small space on the ditch bank with a stick for a plow, flatten it with a board, build rows, plant corn and chili on them and them irrigate by putting a large can full of water at one end of our plot. We would make a hole in the can and use a small stick for a sluice gate. We would then build lateral ditches, release the water from the can and it would irrigate our patch. No sooner than what we had planted would start growing but the cows or horses coming to drink water would trample our patch, and we would have to start over again.

My mother, I remember, was the one we really used to bother for everything. Always asking her to let us do something, to give us something to eat at all hours of the day. We used to fight with each other at home and it was she who gave us some good hair pullings and beatings with a switch that she kept handy behind the kitchen stove. Father never really punished us, but his word we respected to the letter. Evenings when I would go out to play with

the other boys on the ditch bank or anyplace, a long sharp whistle from my father was the signal for me to go home and to bed. That whistle of his I could recognize anyplace; not even I could ever really imitate it.

When I was attending grade school with your father; I would get up early, mount my horse and join the other fellows as we drove the cows to the woods so they could forage all day. The rest of the day I would spend in school. In the afternoon I would help father on the farm after 4:00 o'clock and then get my horse and go after the cows before it got dark. Your father was a great help to all of us. When we graduated from eighth grade in school with him, he would talk to all our parents so they might let us go to high school in ____. It was up to our father to decide whether we were to go on in school or stay home to help him on the farm. Many of us went to high school in those days. Today, most of the younger ones finish the eighth grade then go to town to find work instead. In the days when I finished high school you could get a job teaching in one of the little communities if you promised to keep up your education in the summer. I did that for two years. I would go to ____ normal school in summer, then teach during the winter. After that, county politics changed hands and I couldn't get a job teaching

anymore. I came back and tried farming for a while but there never seemed to be enough to live on. This was the time of the depression and there wasn't any jobs to be had. Several of us boys from here made several trips to ____ trying to get into the C.C.C.. Some of us finally got in. I stayed in until about 1938. I had it pretty easy since I could cut hair and was made company barber every camp I ever went to. I had it even easier when your brother became top sergeant. I always liked him very much. He always fought for everything the rest of us had coming and couldn't get because we couldn't talk good English and wouldn't speak up to the commanding officers or the work foremen. It was during my last year in the C.C.C. that I got married. After I left the C.C.C. I came back here where my wife was staying with her parents and tried farming and working in the W.P.A. at the same time. All this time I had been trying to get the W.P.A. to send me to the Las Cruces college to learn a trade. They finally did and I took my preliminary training in pattern making. I did pretty well. I learned it fast and was very patient at drawing the fine lines required in the blueprints. One day our instructor said that I was good enough to go to advanced school. There I would learn some more and get paid at the same time. This was around the beginning of

the war. They sent me to a school in San Francisco. I was doing very well taking advanced pattern making, and the foreman had said that within a week I could go right into a factory making parts for ships and take over a full time job. Before the week was up I received a telegram that my mother was very ill and that she wanted to see me. My father also said to get home at once; that he was afraid she would not live. My wife was not feeling good either for her mother had been sick also. I packed up and came home. What else could I do? My mother died and my wife's mother became bed-ridden, so I stayed around for a while. Finally, I decided to get a job closer by so I could look after my father and be able to come and see my wife who stayed behind to care for her mother. I went to work for the Santa Fe between Belen and Mountainair as a truck driver and got to come on weekends to see the family. My mother-in-law continued very ill. I was made timekeeper and bought a truck which I put to work for the Santa Fe. It was this way that I was able to save quite a bit of money. My wife's sister came to stay with her mother; so my wife was able to take our little daughter with her and stay at the camp where I worked. Then her mother got worse and finally died. At about the same time a fellow with more seniority came back from the service and got my job.

Also my sister-in-law's husband came back from California and she had to leave. That left my father and father-in-law with no one to care for them, so I decided to buy this house and a piece of land, about forty acres, and do some farming. I am quite happy here. I own my house and my land. I have a truck, a tractor, a power hay-baler, and other machinery. I still have the old team of horses. My father keeps them in his corral. I was offered a good price for them a while back but they have worked so hard for us for about eighteen years that I hate to have someone who doesn't understand them take them and mistreat them. When we were poor, they were thin and worked so hard so now that they have a chance to rest and get fat, they may as well stay where they are.

Another thing about life here is that I never liked being told what to do and when to do it. Here, I get up whenever I feel like it. I irrigate, clear the weeds, and harvest when the soil and the weather call for it. If I feel like sleeping after lunch I do it here at home or under the shade trees out in the fields. Besides, it is my job as the only man in the family to take care of my father and father-in-law until they die. It is a good thing they have lived this long because when I was going to buy my farm, they advised me which would be the best.

They know more about the farm than I will ever learn. They have had so much experience at farming. The price of hay is fairly good now but if hard times hit us again and my father is still alive, I don't know what I will do.

Sometimes I think that if I could get a lump sum for all I own I might sell and start a business some place, but I don't know for sure. With prices on food the way they are it is good to be able to put up most of your own food for the winter.

Wife: Come in and eat, supper is ready. Tonight there is going to be rosary service, but I haven't heard the church bells.

Interviewer: The fiestas are on New Year's Day, aren't they?

Husband: Yes, we were the padrinos for the last fiesta. It was a very enjoyable fiesta, except I had to be quite careful, being padrino and all that sort of thing.

Wife: I was quite worried about you because you men sometimes forget that attending church should come before your friends and their invitations.

Husband: I suppose you were afraid I would get drunk?

Wife: That is not it. I don't care if you get drunk. I will always take care of you even if you get

sick from drinking. It's just that it would be very embarrassing before the priest and the rest of the people if you forgot your duties as padrino....I have been feeling a little better lately, so I think I'll go to ____Tuesday and see how my aunt has been getting along. She has been ill and stays home alone all day while her husband works....

(The following is a conversation with the wife while the husband was in the fields.)

I didn't hear you come into the front room. I was in the other room taking a nap.

Interviewer: How are you feeling today?

Wife: I feel quite well today. I have been to several doctors but they don't seem to know exactly what the trouble is. Sometimes I feel so weak. Though when I go to ____ or ____ to visit my sisters the change in climate, I guess, seems to do me good. You know, the other afternoon when you came in from downtown, I was in the other room crying. I felt so weak and miserable. I don't seem to like it here anymore. It is so quiet, so dead. All my sisters and brothers are gone to other places. But then there is my father; someone must care for him and my father-in-law. I wish ___(her husband) would go to ____ and take a job. My sister and her husband are living there. He is a carpenter and makes

good money. But, who am I to tell him what his duties are? I must be wherever he thinks is best for us. And poor father! He is too old and all alone. Though if we could go I would probably feel much better; we could send our daughter to a better school than we have here; but, I don't know. It is up to him to decide. He is stubborn like his father.

I don't enjoy myself at dances like I used to. And I always used to say that dances would be the one thing I would always enjoy. Mother always told us that after we got married the women always had to settle down more, especially with the children. I guess she was right. The only enjoyment left now is to go watch the boys play baseball on Sunday afternoon. It is strange about my younger sister. (Twenty-five years old, single) Before mother died she used to be so gay and a good dancer. Never missed a set. Since mother's death over two years ago she hasn't gone to a dance or anyplace for that matter. She is leaving again in a few days. The lady in ___ at whose home she lives and works told her to be sure and be back soon. There goes ___ on the tractor. I guess he is taking it to the barn. I think I had better start supper. _____ will be sweaty, tired, and hungry.