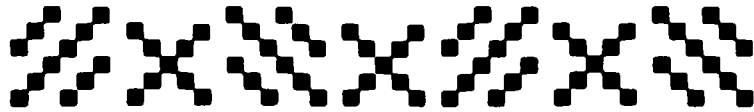


The Perrigo Paper: A Local Influence upon *Middletown in Transition*

Howard M. Bahr*



Robert S. Lynd's and Helen Merrell Lynd's study of Middletown, a small city in eastern Indiana, is one of the great landmarks of sociological research. The Lynds and three assistants did the field work for the principal study in 1924 and 1925, and the results were published in 1929 as *Middletown*. The book was the first piece of sociological research to attract wide public attention in the United States. It went through six printings the year it appeared and established expectations that influenced all subsequent American studies of stratification, local institutional patterns, and community power. Robert Lynd, with a staff of five assistants, returned to Middletown in 1935 for what amounted to a first replication of the original Middletown study. In the 1935 project the researchers concentrated particularly on the impact of the Great Depression and the institutional changes it had caused. The results of the second investigation were published as *Middletown in Transition* in 1937.¹

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¹ Although the actual name of Middletown is widely known, sociological protocol dictates the continued use of the pseudonym, particularly in a replication of the Lynd studies. In addition, research conducted under a grant from the National Science Foundation is subject to federal protection of privacy statutes; therefore, the principal Middletown family involved in the study is

Most of *Middletown in Transition* described how events of the preceding decade had affected the major aspects of community life (getting a living, making a home, training the young, using leisure, engaging in religious practice, and engaging in community activities) that had been treated in detail in *Middletown*. Among the book's departures from the format of the first volume was its controversial—and in retrospect, most famous—chapter about how one wealthy family seemed to exert inordinate control over the city's affairs. The chapter was entitled "The X Family: A Pattern of Business-class Control." Shortly after the publication of *Middletown in Transition*, Frederick Heimberger, a professor of political science at Ohio State University who had formerly taught at X State Teachers College, wrote to Robert Lynd to congratulate him on the accuracy of the material in the 1935 study. He was particularly impressed, he stated, with the quality of the Lynds' analysis of the influence of the X family:

For five years, 1931-1936, I taught in X State Teachers College, lived in an apartment owned by the X family, bought my clothes at the X Department Store and banked my cash in the X Bank. From this intimate contact with Middletown I have acquired some personal knowledge of the community you have interpreted so well. The thing that amazes me is the accuracy of your work. I find *very* few questionable statements of fact or of interpretation in the many situations with which I am personally familiar.²

In a subsequent letter Heimberger described one of Middletown's reactions to the revelations in *Middletown in Transition*:

the "heat" is being turned on certain persons to find out who talked to you during your most recent investigation. I visited Middletown about two weeks ago and it was my impression that there was considerable head-scratching to find out just where you got your remarkably accurate information on many points. Many persons seem to be considerably disturbed by your revelations of the innermost secrets of the modernized feudalism of Middletown.³

Middletown's confusion was justifiable. Lynd and his assistants had spent only one summer, about one tenth as many person-days of field work as in the original study, and

referred to as the X family in this article as it was in the Lynds' earlier works. Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in American Culture* (New York, 1929); Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown in Transition: A Study in Cultural Conflicts* (New York, 1937).

² Frederick Heimberger to Robert S. Lynd, June 16, 1937, Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd Papers (Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.)

³ Frederick Heimberger to Robert S. Lynd, June 23, 1937, *ibid.*

had conducted none of the systematic surveys which had produced much of the data for *Middletown*; yet, their grasp of what went on behind the scenes seemed much surer than a decade before. Sociologist John Madge has suggested that the Lynds needed far less time to produce a quality report in the second survey because they already had a network of contacts and, mainly, because they had "streamlined all their procedures and eliminated all luxuries and exploratory devices." In other words they knew the questions they wanted answered; they had a well-developed theoretical structure; thus, "they went directly into a newspaper-clipping routine, into an analysis of the records that had accumulated since they had left and they straightway undertook 'scores of interviews, both formal and informal.' Thus, with obviously much reduced effort they brought together the material for the second book."⁴

Some of the efficiency of the data collection in 1935 also reflected the wise use of newly available sources, such as the "Middletown F.E.R.A. Real Property Inventory,"⁵ which provided much of the empirical basis for the Lynds' discussion of housing in Middletown and which was the source of twelve of the fifty-one tables in their Appendix III.⁶ Another newly available document that aided the Lynds' research was a paper, "Muncie and *Middletown*, 1924 to 1934," by Lynn I. Perrigo. A former resident of Middletown whose employment during the 1920s and early 1930s had given him personal access to some of the "backstage" aspects of the town, Perrigo had written his paper for a graduate course in urban sociology taught by Professor Leonard L. Leh at the University of Colorado. The course consisted of three segments, one in each quarter of the aca-

⁴ John Madge, *The Origins of Scientific Sociology* (New York, 1962), 147-48.

⁵ This inventory, described by the Lynds as "an exhaustive local housing inventory" had as its purposes "(a) to make a complete survey of all structures containing dwelling units, by a house-to-house investigation, within the corporate city limits of . . . [Middletown], (b) to tabulate the results in a comprehensive and analytical form for local use as well as for the determination of governmental housing policies." The field work was begun in December, 1934, and completed in May, 1935, with tabulation of data continuing under the auspices of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration until July, 1935. The project acquired WPA sponsorship in October of 1935, and a final report was submitted in March of 1936. Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, 121; Works Progress Administration, Final Report, Real Property Inventory, City of . . . [Middletown], Indiana, 1935, Federal Project 18 F2-50 [1936], p. 3 (Archives Division, Indiana Commission on Public Records, Indianapolis).

⁶ Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, 186-87, 190, 192-97, 551-53, and also Works Progress Administration, Real Property Inventory, City of . . . [Middletown].



LYNN I. PERRIGO
1923

Courtesy Lynn I. Perrigo.

demic year 1934-1935. Perrigo recalls: "I gathered materials for the paper in Urban Sociology in the late autumn, wrote it in January, and presented it later in the spring quarter. And then sent Lynd a copy."⁷ Perrigo's paper was a substantial, well-documented piece of work, its length and quality partially attributable to its being a research project for a course that continued over three quarters and partly to the fact that, at this stage of his career, Perrigo was already an accomplished writer.⁸

⁷ Lynn I. Perrigo to Howard M. Bahr, May 14, 1980, in the possession of Howard M. Bahr.

⁸ When Perrigo received his Ph.D. from the University Colorado in 1936, he had already published a pamphlet and four articles, the latter appearing in the *Colorado Magazine* of July, 1934, and May, 1935; the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*; and the *Rocky Mountain Law Review*.

Born in Delphi, Indiana, in 1904, Perrigo graduated from high school in Knightstown, Indiana, in 1921 and moved with his family to Middletown, where he and his parents enrolled in the state normal school. After completing a summer term, he moved to Montana to teach school. He returned to Middletown in 1922 and enrolled in college again; he then applied to the city school system and was hired to teach at McKinley grade school. For four years, from 1922 to 1926, he taught seventh and eighth grade history at McKinley and coached basketball and track. He worked during the summer as assistant physical director of the Middletown YMCA. Several of the children of leading families were his students.

In that era the "elite" residential section lay immediately north of the business district, where large stone mansions lined exclusive Washington Street in the McKinley School District. One of my athletes who resided there regularly had his father send his chauffeur with a Cadillac to transport our basketball team to the games at distant schools. This ostentation elicited some joshing of my boys by pupils less privileged, but they did not mind that. That boy's mother also had me stop twice after school at their luxuriously furnished home for the tutoring of her youthful, red-haired daughter in some of her school subjects. Now, in 1973, that girl is the wife of a recently defeated Republican candidate for the presidency of the United States. The "elite" residential district where she once resided, however, has been transformed by the change occurring in urban ecology. Even in my time at McKinley School, the offspring of the wealthy parents became scarce among pupils, as the "elite" moved to modern mansions built on spacious, wooded lots out on the urban fringe beyond the college.⁹

For part of his residence in Middletown Perrigo lived at the YMCA, taught Sunday school at a local church, and sang in the DeKoven Male Chorus, "which rehearsed once weekly and presented concerts of operatic selections frequently in churches in Middletown and in neighboring cities."¹⁰ In 1924 he became a scoutmaster of the McKinley school troop, and late in 1926 he accepted the position of local scout executive. His six-year tenure in this position involved him in various public relations activities in the community. Since a number of local businessmen served on the board of the local Boy Scout Council, Perrigo was able to observe the Middletown business community at close range.

⁹ Lynn I. Perrigo, "The Process of Learning or the Tribulations of an Ordinary Professor," 157-58. This unpublished autobiography, dated 1973, can be found in the Bracken Library, Ball State University, Muncie, and the Lynn I. Perrigo Papers (Western Historical Collection, Norlin Library, University of Colorado, Boulder).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 160.

the officers of the Chamber of Commerce invited me to attend the weekly luncheon meetings of their "Dynamo Club" so that I would be on hand for consultation with the business men about my work. Likewise, because the Optimist Club emphasized boys' work, the local unit made me an honorary member in order to have me present as regularly as possible at the club's weekly luncheon meetings. . . . Moreover, because many churches in the community sponsored troops, the officers of the Ministerial Alliance invited me to attend their monthly meetings.¹¹

Perrigo's knowledge of the X family and its influence in Middletown affairs also came not because he was an intimate acquaintance of the family but because as an executive of an important local voluntary organization and as a teacher in the local schools he had extensive "secondary" contacts as well as some direct association with the X's. "Although I had some direct contacts," he states, "they did not reveal much, whereas by virtue of wide local associations through many years, including close indirect contacts, I was in a better position to gain insight than was an outside researcher, unless he were tipped off specifically to seek it out."¹² Perrigo's personal network included many of Middletown's leading citizens, over forty of whom were members of the central organization of the scouting program for which he was chief local executive.¹³ In addition, he writes: "I had a working relationship with hundreds more, who were troop leaders, local committeemen, and parents of the boys, as well as with many prominent women, after I organized three Cub Packs in the early thirties."¹⁴

Perrigo resigned as scout executive late in 1932 and returned to college full time in 1933. He graduated from X State Teachers College in 1933 and moved to Boulder, Colorado, where he took graduate work in history and received his Ph.D. in 1936.¹⁵ He minored in sociology, and one of his graduate

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 189-90.

¹² Lynn I. Perrigo to Howard M. Bahr, April 28, 1980.

¹³ Included in the "central organization" of people that Perrigo knew fairly well as a result of his job were the district attorney and several other prominent attorneys, the district judge, two bank presidents, three members of the X family and an X son-in-law, the college president, several business executives, including company presidents and vice-presidents, the Middletown school superintendent and two school principals, the Episcopal rector, and other influential businessmen and educators. Perrigo to Bahr, April 28, 1980; Middletown County Council, Boy Scouts of America Annual Report, 1928, copy in possession of Lynn I. Perrigo.

¹⁴ Perrigo to Bahr, April 28, 1980.

¹⁵ Perrigo's subsequent career as a teacher and writer included nine years at the University of Kansas City and over twenty years as head of the Department of History and Social Sciences at New Mexico Highlands University. He is the author of six books on the history of Latin America and the American Southwest and over forty articles in professional journals.

research papers—a study of crime, immediate environment, migration, and family history—was later published in *Social Forces*.¹⁶ Another, as indicated, became one of the documents used by the Lynds in writing *Middletown in Transition*.

Perrigo had met the Lynds when they were doing field work in Middletown in 1925. When *Middletown* came out he read it, "but in my reading of it I had observed an omission. He [Robert Lynd] had overlooked the all-permeating influence of the city's leading family of industrialists." Accordingly, when required to do a research paper in sociology at the University of Colorado, Perrigo set about to remedy this omission.

For one of my papers there I wrote about that family's holdings and philanthropies as a means of control having manifold tentacles. For sources I had at hand my newspaper clippings and my personal file of notes and correspondence. In addition, I could recall numerous conversations, and for substantiation of them I wrote letters to several persons and received their confidential replies in confirmation of what I had in mind.¹⁷

Perrigo had continued to subscribe to the Middletown newspaper, and soon after completing his research paper he read that Robert Lynd was planning to return to the middle western community for a follow-up study. He reacted to the announcement by sending the sociologist a copy of his paper.

I sent him a copy of my paper but requested that if he were to make use of the material in it, please to omit mention of my name as his source. By avoiding any local publicity as a telltale renegade, I was making allowance for at least a remote possibility that I might return to that city sometime for employment. The sociologist did embody my study, supplemented by additional interviews which it suggested, as a chapter on "The X Family" in his new book, entitled *Middletown in Transition*. And he did respect my request for omission of my name.¹⁸

Perrigo had organized his research around two themes: how Middletown had changed since 1924-1925 and whether the Lynds' original report had been an accurate portrayal of community life. His paper applied these two questions to each of the six major activities—getting a living, making a home, training the young, using leisure, engaging in religious practice, and engaging in community activities—around which the Lynds had organized *Middletown*. In addition, Perrigo wrote on two other topics that he felt the Lynds had neglected; namely,

¹⁶ Lynn I. Perrigo, "The Community Background of Denver Criminality," *Social Forces*, XVII (December, 1938), 232-39.

¹⁷ Perrigo, "The Process of Learning or the Tribulations of an Ordinary Professor," 204.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 205.

the ecology of the city and, in his words, the "X Brothers' Demesne."¹⁹ In his introduction Perrigo discussed selected letters from Middletown residents who described local reactions to the Lynd study. Some of the letters were reproduced in an appendix.

In his autobiography Perrigo states that his paper's major contribution to *Middletown in Transition* was the source material that it provided for the chapter on the X family. Although the Lynds' supplementation of material in the manuscript was quite extensive,²⁰ the Perrigo influence on chapter III is apparent. Somewhat less evident is the use that the Lynds made of the Perrigo paper in other contexts. A review of the book and of Perrigo's manuscript reveals at least four points of comparison: 1) Perrigo's criticisms—or those of individuals whose written opinions he had collected—of *Middletown* are mentioned by the Lynds and then discussed by them; 2) some of Perrigo's statements about changes in Middletown since 1924-1925 are either treated as local opinion about change or are accepted as accurate and included in the appropriate places in *Middletown in Transition*, typically with additional documentation; 3) Perrigo's writings on the inner workings of politics, business, and charitable or leisure organizations in Middletown, as recorded in his manuscript, are sometimes used as primary data from local informants; and 4) in at least one case—a content analysis of the Middletown newspapers in 1934—Perrigo functions as a researcher whose findings are reported by the Lynds and who is cited as fully as possible without revealing his identity.²¹

Perrigo generally was positive about the Lynds' published description of the Middletown that he knew. His major criticisms were that the influence of the X family had been overlooked, that the city's ecology had been largely ignored, that local artistic and spiritual values had been slighted, and that the influence of the state normal school had been minimized. In

¹⁹ Perrigo used the family name in his report.

²⁰ Perrigo's discussion of the X brothers' influence amounted to 5½ type-written pages in a 58-page paper; the Lynds' chapter is 27½ printed pages. Frequently a summary sentence or two from Perrigo is the occasion for several paragraphs or pages by the Lynds, and sometimes it appears that the Lynds have, in effect, "dug where Perrigo pointed the way."

²¹ Robert Lynd scrupulously respected Perrigo's request that the source of the paper be kept confidential. Indeed, the Lynds' references to material from the paper are varied so as to suggest multiple sources. Perrigo is thus referred to as "the Middletown people," "a local man familiar with this situation," "one citizen," "a responsible graduate of the local college," and "a few citizens." Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, xii, 113, 263, 292, 319, 376, 391.

Middletown in Transition the Lynds responded to three of these questions. The suggestion that more attention be paid to urban ecology seems to have been rejected; but the chapters devoted to the X family and to "The Middletown Spirit" are direct and substantial reactions to two of Perrigo's major criticisms,²² and the much shorter but convincing explanation about why the local college had not received more emphasis in *Middletown*²³ can similarly be related to Perrigo's comments.

In sum, the Perrigo manuscript served several functions for the Lynds: it was one of a number of works providing criticisms of the earlier study that the Lynds answered in print; it provided preliminary data on a topic to which the Lynds decided to devote an entire chapter; it contained some source material which was used directly as the words of local informants; and it seems to have had some "sensitizing" effect, not so much in telling the Lynds what to say as in identifying some avenues which might merit additional documentation.

A comparison of selected quotations from Perrigo's manuscript and *Middletown in Transition* reveals the Lynds' general reactions to and use of Perrigo's criticisms.

Perrigo's manuscript

Middletown in Transition

... Lynd's major tenets [in regard to training the young] stand unchallenged, with one exception. The significance of the local college in the community was not fully recognized by him (p. 14).

The earlier study has been criticized by Middletown people for not making more of the college (p. 214).

I also believe that at the time of the survey the college was of slightly more importance than is indicated by the book (Appendix, p. iii).²⁴

²² Perrigo was not, of course, the only person to make these points; his own manuscript indicates that others in Middletown had voiced similar criticisms, and it is likely that even without the Perrigo paper the Lynds would have arrived at the same general position. Nevertheless, the textual similarities suggest that Perrigo's statements about these more or less commonly held views were among the ones the Lynds chose to write about.

²³ Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, 214-20.

²⁴ References to Perrigo's Appendix are to letters from local informants to him and are in their words, not his. To facilitate comparison of the two sources all typographical errors in the letters as transcribed by Perrigo have been corrected.

*Perrigo's manuscript**Middletown in Transition*

Of course, by being as hypercritical as Lynd was cynical . . . (p. 47).

. . . objective evaluation, however earnest, is insufficient (p. 21).

I am afraid that I shall not be much help to you on the Middletown matter. However, I do feel that the authors either purposely or otherwise missed one big point about this town, namely that the X's dominate the whole town, are the town in fact (Appendix, p. v).²⁵

It doesn't seem to me that the importance of the X family in the city has been adequately portrayed. One must be careful, though, in this criticism as a considerable portion of the philanthropy bestowed on Middletown has been done since the survey (Appendix, p. iii).

I have always had a feeling that he dealt with the obvious and with the economic features that were most prominent. It appears that some of the spiritual leaders and activities were given too scant attention (Appendix, p. iv).

The words that Middletown inclines to apply to the earlier study are "cold," "cynical," and "mechanical" (p. xii).

The fact that a local citizen could, late in 1934, characterize as "the one big point about this town" the fact "that the X's dominate the whole town, are the town, in fact" suggests the reason for the separate treatment of the family in this chapter (p. 77).

One such comment in writing from a local source runs as follows: "It doesn't seem to me that the importance of the X family in the city has been adequately portrayed. One must be careful, though, in this criticism, as a considerable portion of the philanthropy bestowed by them on [Middletown] has been done since the 1925 study" (p. 74).

Chapter on "The Middletown Spirit."

In addition to focusing on the major lacunae in *Middletown*, Perrigo collected and reproduced in his manuscript accounts by several people about the ways in which the book had been received in the city. Some of these responses are referred to in the Lynds' description of Middletown's reaction to the book.

*Perrigo's manuscript**Middletown in Transition*

First, many people in the city are not aware that there is such a book. I have made two or three addresses to

The central criticism of *Middletown* by the Middletown people is, then, that, while true, it tends to be cold,

²⁵ In Perrigo's manuscript the real names of persons in Middletown are given in all references to the family designated by the Lynds as the X family, and the actual name of Middletown is also used.

*Perrigo's manuscript**Middletown in Transition*

groups out in the industrial section of the city in which it was quite evident to me that they had never heard of the book in question. The point here is that a considerable portion of the population here does not read books as difficult as MIDDLETOWN. On one occasion when I expressed surprise to a citizen that he had not read the book he asked me if it had pictures in it (Appendix, p. i)!

Perhaps one of the wisest observations came from a man who has traveled very widely and who has spent in foreign countries the better part of the time since the book was published. It was . . . who, after reading it, told me that it was a microscopic study which caught everything a microscope would catch. It, in his opinion, did not have enough perspective. He used this figure: "a fly crawling over a brick wall might see the wall but certainly could not see the building." He felt that there were forces there in Middletown that could not be comprehended or appraised by the staff making this study, which forces, however, were just as potent, if not more potent than the ones that came under the observation of the Lynds (Appendix, p. i).

Sorry . . . I have never read Lynd's "Middletown." But I remember at the time it was released to the public there was a lot of controversy as to whether it was a true representation of Middletown. Probably I have missed something in not reading it. If I could be of any help to you I could obtain a copy at the Library. It would be an interesting pastime for these long winter evenings (Appendix, p. v).

an aggregation of facts lacking some of the vital tissue that makes the city live. The writer doubts whether one hundred individuals in Middletown (other than students at the college) have actually read the book through, though many more than that have taken it from the library. The vagueness of the answers to the request²⁶ for specific criticisms suggested that many local people knew the book chiefly by hearsay. Most South Side people had apparently not even heard of the book. Local regard for the book has actually had its ups and downs . . . (p. xii).

²⁶ The "request" referred to here apparently is a multiple one, including Perrigo's letters asking several Middletown business and community leaders about their views on Middletown as well as Robert Lynd's query to "people of all sorts" on "what statements in the study of ten years ago do you Middletown people feel to have been distorted or inadequate? Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, xi.

To judge from the textual comparisons between Perrigo's paper and chapter III of *Middletown in Transition*, most of Perrigo's 5½ pages on the X brothers were used by the Lynds, either as a guide to topics worth investigating in greater detail, as a reflection of the relevant definitions held by the townspeople, or as authoritative primary source material. Perrigo's treatment of the X family consisted of six paragraphs, some of them over a page in length, with extensive footnotes. Paragraph one identified the X brothers as the peers of Middletown's industrial lords and briefly sketched their history. The second paragraph described the extent of their "fiefs beyond their original manor" and then said that in the remainder of the paper discussion would be limited to that "original manor," Middletown. The third described the property and businesses that they owned and their philanthropies; the fourth asked: "What does all this mean to Middletown?" and summarized the benefits to the city; the fifth paragraph described "some less beneficial effects" in considerable detail; and the final paragraph concluded that despite "what might have been," the family had, on balance, borne the responsibilities of wealth quite well. "They have," wrote Perrigo, "done more in proportion to their means to distribute the benefits of wealth and promote worthy causes than most others so favored."²⁷

Much of the Lynds' chapter on the X family follows a similar outline, and it contains many statements that are quotations, paraphrases, or expansions of material in the Perrigo manuscript.

Perrigo's manuscript

Only two of the original five brothers remain, but four sons and two sons-in-law share with those two their work and their wealth (p. 41).

Middletown in Transition

Of the original five brothers, four remained in 1924; and when shortly thereafter another died, the entire business of the city stopped during his funeral. Two of the brothers remain today . . . The two remaining X brothers, reinforced by the active entry into the family business of four of the sons and two of the sons-in-law of the family, not only still own and control . . . but have become . . . far more locally influential . . . (pp. 75-76).

²⁷ For a transcription of chapter III of the Perrigo manuscript see below pp. 22-25.

Perrigo's manuscript

With success came the wealth that has enabled them to extend their interests more and more until today they have extensive holdings, and most if not all of Middletown owes them fealty. . . . They have, too, enlisted a host of local knights under their banner (p. 41).

Middletown has a number of industrial lords, but the peers of them all are the X brothers [in a footnote Perrigo then lists by name six other families and their dominant industrial ties] (p. 41).

Many old Normal City houses, so near the new college and Westwood were unsightly and damaging to property values. X's attorney bought them at a reasonable price by telling owners a 'pest house' was to be established in their midst. Then X's remodeled, painted, modernized, and rented them. That is one way of improving urban housing conditions (p. 42n).

They bought the college site, gave it to the State, and then erected or aided in the finishing of most of its present buildings (p. 42).

Middletown in Transition

Middletown has, therefore, at present what amounts to a reigning royal family (p. 77). Only one wealthy business-class family in Middletown lies outside the X court, though at least one other acts with considerable independence (p. 77n).

Half a dozen other family names in Middletown are associated with the city's industrial development, but none of them so completely symbolizes the city's achievements (p. 75).

Meanwhile, through the early 1920's when the normal school was quickening into life, the X real-estate agents were quietly buying up parcel after parcel of residential property in the then socially nondescript Normal School section of town. These houses have subsequently been removed or improved and these extensive operations must have involved a tidy profit to the X family as promoters, offsetting their benevolences to the hospital and college (p. 83). It is stated by one man who lived in this section that the agent secured one of these properties by suggesting that a pesthouse was to be established in their midst as part of the new hospital development, and that the X's did not feel that it would be fair to property owners unless they bought up the homes in the neighborhood (p. 83).

. . . the X brothers bought in the property in a receivership sale in 1917. They arranged with the State to donate the property to the State on condition that a strong State Normal School be built out of the moribund institution. In 1922 the X family gave a quarter of a million dollars to the school toward its new building program (pp. 82-83).

Perrigo's manuscript

Nearby is the million-dollar X Memorial Hospital, which stands as an outright gift to the community (p. 42).

The family contributed heavily to the building of the Y.M. and Y.W. and established a "Y" camp in the north part of the State where a thousand boys spend a part of their vacation each summer (p. 42).

The X's also helped put up the local Masonic Temple and gave the aid that assured the completion of a Field House, an athletic field, and a golf course in the lowlands north of the business district and across the river from their Minnetrista estates. They either now own or hold the bulk of the shares in the County Fairgrounds, I know not which. The ground for the Middletown Airport was once donated by them to the city for a municipal field, but the city failed to do anything with it so the X's repossessed and developed it (pp. 42-43).

And the two local banks that survived the depression were able to do so because X money was in them, and the X's guaranteed the security of all moneys on deposit (p. 43). Middletown entered the depression with 5 banks. After failures and mergers only these two remained, and they were saved from closing in March, 1933, by the timely support of the X's (p. 43n).

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... and the location, adjoining the college, of the new million-and-a-half dollar hospital, an outright gift to the city by the X family (p. 82).

As noted above, the new million-and-a-half-dollar X Memorial Hospital is an outright gift by the family to the city (p. 90).

Both the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. buildings are X philanthropies ... The Y.M.C.A. summer camp, a show place in the state, is an outright X gift bearing the name of a member of the family. To it three to four hundred local boys go for a week or two of vacation, some of them on free vacations paid for by the X's (p. 84).

The Masons carry on their ancient mystery in a huge Temple, thrusting up above the city's skyline, made possible by X money. Among other things for which the city can thank X philanthropy are the donation of the ground and the equipping of the spacious local airport; the rejuvenation of the local county fair on property owned by the family; the donation of an entire city block containing an old mansion as headquarters for the American Legion; an important contribution toward a community drive to build a large field house and athletic field for high-school sports; a city golf course ... One of the brothers was for years city park commissioner, and the development of the city's park system as well as of the new riverside boulevard is in no small degree traceable to him (p. 85).

Middletown had five banks in 1925. When one spoke of "the banks" one meant the two leading banks and the affiliated trust company of one of them, in all three of which the X family had an interest. ... On February 27, 1933, on the eve of the nation-wide bank "holiday," the local press carried the front-page announcement: "X Brothers Guarantee

*Perrigo's manuscript**Middletown in Transition*

Sufficient Cash to Meet Needs of 3 [Middletown] Banks" A fortnight later, when Middletown's banks re-opened after the national bank holiday, there remained only one bank, with its affiliated trust company; Middletown had escaped the banking crisis, thanks to the X family, and the community had avoided a serious loss in the case of one major bank through a "merger" (p. 78).

Few churches have been built without the generous aid of the family (p. 43).

A number of local churches, including working-class churches, have been helped in their building programs by X generosity (p. 85).

The X contribution is usually the final amount necessary to put across each Community Fund drive (p. 43).

Year after year the deficit at the close of the Community Fund drive has been anonymously met on the last day and Middletown has gone "over the top" (p. 89).

The depression, too, was alleviated in Middletown by the presence there of the X's and their factory, for they not only gave generously to aid the poor and helped the banks through the crisis, but when other factories were closed, the return of home canning everywhere made business for the glass industry. The X factory produced at peak load throughout those critical years, and even more employees than were needed were added to its payroll (pp. 43-44).

It so happens that their industry, the making of glass fruit jars, is one that thrived on the depression; the great plant was not only kept busy, often employing night shifts throughout the lean years, but it returned profits reported to have been among the largest in their forty-five years of business. As the general level of the surrounding ground fell away in the depression, their preeminence increased. Their financial liquidity has been such that, with their spirit, they have been able to cushion the local impact of the depression at a number of points (pp. 76-77).

At the same time, the greater part of the local community leaders find the ends that they served tied up with the X interests or dependent upon them for support. They then become hesitant about making decisions without the express sanction to the X's or confidence that what they do is in harmony with previously delineated X policies (p. 45).

It cannot be too often reiterated that the X control of Middletown is for the most part unconscious rather than deliberate. People are not, when one gets beyond the immediate army of direct employees of the family, dictated to. It is rather the sort of control that makes men hesitant about making decisions of importance unless these are in harmony with X policies (p. 97).

Perrigo's manuscript

In fact, the college had become the center of much of the local artistic life (p. 23).

If one adds the number of people connected with the college, the city schools, the X stores, and so on, to the 1200 employed in the glass factory, it becomes apparent that about one-tenth of those gainfully employed in Middletown are thus directly obligated to be faithful to these men and what they represent (p. 44).

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As noted in Chapter VII, under this sponsorship, the artistic center of the city has shifted to the college (p. 85).

If one aggregates the portions of Middletown's population that are directly or indirectly dependent upon the X's, the total becomes a sizable *bloc* among Middletown's twelve-and-one-half thousand families. It includes the families of the approximately 1,000 employees in the X's factory, five large floors of managerial and sales personnel in their department store, the staffs of the local college, hospital, Community Fund agencies, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., of the banks and the leading newspaper, and a long list of political, religious, real-estate, retail, and industrial units which "cannot afford to offend" the X's (p. 97).

These selections do not represent the entire influence of Perrigo's writings about the X family upon the Lynds' chapter III. They do, however, contain most of the parallels where phrases or sentence structure suggest a direct linkage between the two documents.

Perrigo was seemingly unaware of his influence upon portions of *Middletown in Transition* other than chapter III. However, he served the Lynds as an expert informant on radio construction in Middletown, on the "game" of local politics and government, and as anonymous content analyst of Middletown newspapers. In fact, the Lynds' most extensive quotation from the Perrigo manuscript is found in the chapter entitled "The Machinery of Government" and is attributed to a "nonpartisan local analyst."²⁸ The Lynds footnote Perrigo's description of politics and government in Middletown with the statement: "The local source of this written statement may not be disclosed. It was based both upon familiarity with local conditions and upon careful study of available records."²⁹ Further, they quote one of the letters that Perrigo had obtained from friends in Middletown and included in his appendix as corroboration of the viewpoint of their "local informant."³⁰

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 319.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 319n.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 319-20.

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There is considerable point to the local observation that any study made five years ago is naturally a study of conditions which have changed through powerful forces from without. Five years ago found us in ancient history. If it were then true, as the text of MIDDLETOWN seems to imply, that the educated classes in Middletown failed to supply the guiding ideas of the city and did not serve in any advisory capacity or assist in making opinions for the city, such today is certainly not wholly the case. More and more the trained groups are either being pulled in or are injecting their influence into the city's affairs. This is true perhaps in every field but with the possible exception of local politics (Appendix, p. i).

Another commentator bears out this point in a written communication: "It was true [in 1925] as the text of Middletown seems to imply, that the educated classes in [Middletown] failed to supply the guiding ideas of the city and did not serve in any advisory capacity or assist in making opinions for the city; such today is certainly not wholly the case. More and more, the trained groups are either being pulled in or are injecting their influence into the city's affairs. *This is true perhaps in every field but with the possible exception of local politics*" [Italics ours] (p. 320).

In his analysis of city administration Perrigo suggested that Middletown—except perhaps in the fields of local politics and government as such—had made certain, if somewhat minimal, changes. The Lynds apparently concurred although they followed the long quotations from the Perrigo manuscript with the conclusion that the "returning visitor does not even rub his eyes, so familiar are the old civic issues . . ."³¹ In another statement Perrigo himself pointed out that Middletown had remained basically static in the years between 1925 and 1935. Again the Lynds agreed and quoted:

*Perrigo's manuscript**Middletown in Transition*

Generally speaking, Middletown is sitting on about the same spot as it was when the survey was made (Appendix, p. iii).

. . . other persons remarked as did one business man, "Generally speaking, [Middletown] is sitting on about the same spot as it was when the survey was made" (p. xiii).

Perrigo served the Lynds as a content analyst in his assessment of the Middletown afternoon papers for July 12 and December 29, 1934. His comments were included in one paragraph in his manuscript. The entire paragraph was used by the Lynds and was attributed to "a responsible graduate of the

³¹ *Ibid.*, 320.

local college.”³² Perrigo was also quoted with respect to the changing role of radio in Middletown’s leisure activities and on the less beneficial consequences of the X’s beneficence:

Perrigo’s manuscript

[By 1934] the radio had established itself in nearly all homes. The latter no longer existed as a manipulative hobby except for a very few, and its use had become entirely passive, yet it offered a different kind of recreation from that of organized groups (p. 23).

There is one other less serious result. Not all of the X monumental structures have adequate endowments for maintenance. The hospital, Masonic Temple, Y.M., and Y.W., for example, with their splendid equipment have high operation costs. As a result, these organizations are sometimes burdensome financially to their members and the community at large, and in some cases their humanitarian service is crippled by too much emphasis on ability to pay (p. 45).

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According to a local man familiar with this situation, the manipulative outlet afforded by radio construction in 1924-25 had declined with the introduction of small cheap sets, and radio is now almost entirely a passive form of leisure in Middletown (p. 263).

A few citizens are critical of the X family for not setting up an adequate endowment for the hospital when they gave it to Middletown. As one of them stated this in writing, “Not all of the X monumental structures have adequate endowments for maintenance. The hospital, Masonic Temple, Y.M.C.A., and Y.W.C.A., for example, with all their splendid equipment, have high operating costs. As a result, these organizations are sometimes burdensome financially to their members and to the community at large, and in some cases their humanitarian service is crippled by too much emphasis on ability to pay” (p. 390-91).

The bulk of Perrigo’s manuscript dealt not with the X family or with Middletown’s reaction to the Lynds’ book but with changes that had occurred in the ten years since the original survey. The influence of his work upon the rest of *Middletown in Transition* is hard to document because, where it exists at all, it is imbedded in over five-hundred pages of text. Nevertheless, occasional segments which seem to indicate utilization of Perrigo’s paper can be identified.

Perrigo’s manuscript

Subsistence gardens became prominent among other relief aids. Besides the many small tracts that were assigned to indigents, there was the

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As summer came on, free seed and vacant lots were provided for the unemployed to raise vegetables “so that they can profit by self-help” (p. 105).

³² *Ibid.*, 376.

*Perrigo's manuscript**Middletown in Transition*

large community garden where men worked in return for allowances at the commissary (pp. 32-33).

The City Hall basement served as a dormitory for homeless wanderers until a transient camp was provided on the outskirts of the city (p. 33).

Some interpreted the single failure of the Comm. Fund as an intended lesson on the part of the X's that the remainder of the community must carry its share and not depend on them too much (p. 43n).

... there was an increasing use of the airplane in business, perhaps of more significance to "Middletown" of the near future than the present; yet this efficiency-aid and the aviation industry itself were even in 1934 contributing to better business in that city. In that year the planes owned by business men and professional flyers of Middletown flew an estimated 190,000 miles and consumed over 20,000 gallons of gasoline (p. 7).

There were about the same number of "movies" in Middletown in 1934 as ten years earlier ... (p. 23).

Likewise, organization had reached down into the lower age groups. There were 28 Boy Scout troops in the county, each city school had its Girl Reserves, and the Y.M.C.A. boy's program, formerly conducted *en masse*, excepting the school Bible classes, had been organized into the smaller Pioneering and Citizenship groups (p. 22).

... and humorous "human-interest" stories were written about the "new fraternity in Middletown" composed of hoboes, "a by-product of present financial conditions," who meet in their "fraternity house" in the basement of the Court House and sleep on the concrete ... (p. 105).

It is reported informally that the X family deliberately let the drive fail of its goal in that year as a lesson to the community (p. 113).

At the close of 1934 the press reported that during the year planes owned by businessmen and commercial flyers of Middletown flew an estimated 190,000 miles out of Middletown, averaging over 500 miles a day (p. 248).

Movies occupy much the same large place in Middletown's leisure today that they did in 1925 (p. 260).

The organization of leisure has reached down further into the younger age groups since 1925. ... The Boy Scout movement has grown, and each city school now has its Girl Reserves. The Y.W.C.A., with its new building and enlarged staff, offers a much more heavily organized program of leisure to the girls of the city, while the Y.M.C.A. boys' program, formerly conducted *en masse* save for the school Bible classes, has now been organized into smaller Pioneering and Citizenship groups (pp. 290-91).

Perrigo's manuscript

Music and athletics remained important phases of school activities in 1934; but in the latter year the high school 'Bearcats' no longer occupied the whole stage because of the competition for people's loyalty of good teams at Burris High School, the college, and the several junior high schools (p. 17).

There had been, however, an era of church-building since Lynd's observation that economic and social considerations had stopped that kind of activity. Easy money, building loan companies, denominational rivalry, and crusading preachers—all figured as factors in this spectacle. At least five new buildings went up before the depression reached its depths, and two of them, downtown, were great cathedrals with fully modern equipment and machine-made imitations of medieval artistry. This enthusiasm for building, even where not ultimately realized, tended to stimulate church attendance in the boom years, while the continued expansion of the program into extra-religious activities maintained Sunday school attendance. The depression brought some change. The last mentioned activities were not seriously curtailed, but the churches that had not yet built new homes had to postpone realization of their ambitions, and those that had built were burdened with depressing financial obligations (p. 26). The "building preachers" moved on to other fields, leaving the financial problems and depleted and haggling congregations to their successors (p. 26n).

Perrigo's research project treated in small scale the questions Lynd and his assistants faced a year later, and the Perrigo manuscript seems to have had some impact upon both the Lynds' data collection and upon their writings. Considered with reference to the entire *Middletown in Transition* volume, the

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A third factor is the development of teams at the new high school opened in the fall of 1929 as part of the college laboratory school, in the junior high schools, and at the college. All of these have tended to divide somewhat the loyalty that, ten years ago, headed up exclusively in the Central High School team. As one citizen remarked, "The Bearcats no longer occupy the whole stage" (p. 292).

The first indication of change in Middletown's religious institutions since 1925 struck one almost as one got off the train. In the heart of the downtown section of the city two imposing new stone churches have replaced rusty brick buildings that dated back to the gas-boom days of the 1880's. One of these churches is a \$350,000 plant including a \$30,000 organ. In the outlying sections of the city three other new churches were completed during the early years of the depression. . . . All of these churches represent boom-time planning of the late 1920's (p. 296). Easy money, denominational rivalry, and crusading preachers coincided with the obvious obsolescence of much local church property in producing this church-building boom. At least three other churches began to build but were caught by the depression; they succeeded only in putting in foundation and basement, roofed the latter over, and now worship in these dugouts. Both ministers who drove through the building campaigns for the two large downtown churches have since left, one of them under fire (p. 296).

Perrigo influence is quite small. Perrigo's paper, however, is a complete source document from a local informant; by tracing its impact on the completed sociological study, scholars can perhaps find clues as to the Lynds' methods of research.³³

It does not appear that the Perrigo paper had much influence upon the Lynds' ideas about community power in general. Perrigo's manuscript deals only slightly with power structure in the abstract and does not treat the theoretical issues that intrigued Robert Lynd long before he returned to Middletown for the 1935 follow-up study. Rather, Perrigo seems to have been useful to the Lynds because he dealt specifically with Middletown and the X family and was better informed about some aspects of life in Middletown—but not about community control by power elites generally—than were the sociologists. Of course Lynd and his associates could have learned many of the facts that the Perrigo paper contained from other sources; indeed, they did obtain much additional information on many of the points as well as on issues not covered in Perrigo's manuscript. Perrigo was only one of many local informants, but without his contributions as critic of *Middletown*, expert informant, and preliminary analyst of a decade's change, the shape of *Middletown in Transition*, especially the chapter on the X family, might have been different. Robert Lynd acknowledged as much in his private tribute penned on the flyleaf of the copy of *Middletown in Transition* that he mailed to Perrigo: "To Lynn Perrigo, who helped to make this book what it is." Now, more than forty years after that private acknowledgment, it seems proper that Lynn I. Perrigo's contributions to *Middletown in Transition* be publicly recognized.

³³ In addition to the Perrigo paper the Lynds had access to another small-scale attempt to measure a decade's change on Middletown. In 1934 *Business Week* magazine published a three-part series entitled "Middletown—Ten Years After." See *Business Week* (May 26, 1934), 15-16; *ibid.* (June 2, 1934), 18-20; *ibid.* (June 9, 1934), 12, 14. The Lynds cited this work twice, using it both times as a source for a Middletown resident's quoted comment. Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, 41, 372. Perrigo cited it many times in his paper.

Appendix

X Brothers' Demesne*

Middletown has a number of industrial lords,⁵³ but the peers of them all are the X Brothers.⁵⁴ The five of them founded a glass factory there back in the days of natural gas. They specialized in Mason and X fruit jars and soon enjoyed a world-wide market. With success came the wealth that has enabled them to extend their interests more and more until today they have extensive holdings, and most if not all of Middletown owes them fealty. Only two of the original five brothers remain, but four sons and two sons-in-law share with those two their work and their wealth.

These lords have many fiefs beyond their original manor,⁵⁵ but we are concerned here only with their interests in the latter, or Middletown.⁵⁶ They have, first, a demesne—strips of land here and there—on which their tenants labor for shares. They have also erected a number of mills and buildings elsewhere on the manor and these may be used by local metayers and freeman, in most cases for a fee. They have, too, enlisted a host of local knights under their banner. Let us see, in more modern terminology, what all this means.

The property in and near Middletown owned by the Xs includes their large glass factory, a paper mill, the X Stores,⁵⁷

* The following is a transcription of the section of the Perrigo paper treating the X family. The footnote numbers are those that appeared in the original research paper. The name of the principal family involved in the study has been changed to X family and the name of the city to Middletown; otherwise, the Perrigo manuscript has been reproduced as nearly like the original as possible.

⁵³ Others include the Davis-Johnson family of the Borg-Warner corporation, the Kitselman Brothers of wire fence fame, Ganter with their silverplate industry, the Wysor-Marsh group of the Indiana Bridge Company, etc.

⁵⁴ This brief account is not based upon a study of Xs' business records and bank accounts, but merely upon hearsay as well as some facts that are common knowledge of Middletown people.

⁵⁵ Several other glass and paper plants, interest in railroads, the zinc industry, a camera concern, colleges, banks (including the Federal Reserve) State and National politics, etc.

⁵⁶ We are interested here because of this phenomenon of urban life, and because some in Middletown thought that the local importance of the Xs was slighted by Lynd. He mentioned them occasionally, but that is all—*Middletown*, 302, 453. See also 10 *supra*, and letters in Appendix I. [Appendix I not included here.]

⁵⁷ See X Store ad section in *Press*, 13 Nov., 1934. Also the map herewith. [Map not included.]

the family homes on Minnetrista Boulevard and in Westwood, the Elliot Apartments, a number of houses and lots near the college and elsewhere,⁵⁸ a dairy north of town, a 'model' farm southeast of town, and others—perhaps more than is generally known. They have contributed to the building of many local institutional centers and have in some cases added liberal endowments for maintenance. They bought the college site, gave it to the State, and then erected or aided in the finishing of most of its present buildings. Nearby is the million-dollar X Memorial Hospital, which stands as an outright gift to the community. The family contributed heavily to the building of the Y.M. and Y.W. and established a "Y" camp in the north part of the State where a thousand boys spend a part of their vacation each summer. The Xs also helped put up the local Masonic Temple and gave the aid that assured the completion of a Field House, an athletic field, and a golf course in the lowlands north of the business district and across the river from their Minnetrista estates. They either now own or hold the bulk of the shares in the County Fair-grounds, I know not which.⁵⁹ The ground for the Middletown Airport was once donated by them to the city for a municipal field, but the city failed to do anything with it so the Xs' repossessed and developed it. And the two local banks that survived the depression were able to do so because X money was in them, and the Xs guaranteed the security of all moneys on deposit.⁶⁰ In addition, either contributions or active participation of members of the family in many community affairs have created many bonds between the Xs and varied phases of local life. Few churches have been built without the generous aid of the family.⁶¹ The X contribution is usually the final amount necessary to put across each Community Fund drive.⁶² _____ X is

⁵⁸ Many old Normal City houses, so near the new college and Westwood were unsightly and damaging to property values. Xs' attorney bought them at a reasonable price by telling owners a 'pest-house' was to be established in their midst. Then Xs remodeled, painted, modernized, and rented them. That is one way of improving urban housing conditions!

⁵⁹ The Fair Association, like the big department store, was about on the rocks when Xs took it over and assured its continuance.

⁶⁰ Middletown entered the depression with 5 banks. After failures and mergers only these two remained, and they were saved from closing in March, 1933, by the timely support of the Xs. See also "Middletown," 26 May, pp. 15, 16.

⁶¹ One of Middletown's best and most liberal ministers was almost ready to fight once when one of the younger Xs, a member of his church, was invited to serve on a committee connected with another church!

⁶² Some interpreted the single failure of the Comm. Fund as an intended lesson on the part of the Xs that the remainder of the community must carry its share and not depend on them too much.

president of the college board of trustees and _____ X is a member of the city school board.

What does all this mean to Middletown? Obviously, the whole city has been benefited in many ways, for the Xs have been benevolent lords. They have built, worked, contributed, and advised, as few men in similar circumstances do or have done. And throughout the city stand structures that are not only monuments to the Xs but great educational, religious, humanitarian, and artistic centers. The depression, too, was alleviated in Middletown by the presence there of the Xs and their factory, for they not only gave generously to aid the poor and helped the banks through the crisis, but when other factories were closed, the return of home canning everywhere made business for the glass industry. The X factory produced at peak load throughout those critical years, and even more employees than were needed were added to its payroll.⁶³ And finally, the Xs themselves by their industry and altruism, their interest in art, education, and religion, and their own high moral standards, have been an inspiring and stimulating example to the whole community.⁶⁴

However, all this is not without some less beneficial effects. First, the very fact that so many local groups are indebted to the Xs in one way or another tends to limit freedom and stint initiative. Above all else, the very name of this family stands for the existing economic system, for individualism and *laissez-faire*. So, as one of my correspondents cautioned,⁶⁵ a person must be careful what he says about them lest they might cut some local group out of their will. That means, too, that if one is employed in any of the X-supported institutions he must be discreet in his criticism of the existing social and economic order. If one adds the number of people connected with the college, the city schools, the X stores, and so on, to the 1200 employed in the glass factory, it becomes apparent that about one-tenth of those gainfully employed in Middletown are thus directly obligated to be faithful to these men and what they represent.⁶⁶ At the same time, the greater part of the local

⁶³ See "Middletown," 26 May, 15, 16.

⁶⁴ The older ones, particularly, are at their desks long hours each day, and there they may be approached by almost anyone with little trouble.

⁶⁵ Appendix I, iii.

⁶⁶ A college professor was dismissed after his wife had divorced him, but it was said that his critical attitude toward the Xs was also responsible.

It was interesting to observe, too, when the X dairy was started, how quickly X milk displaced other brands at the college and Y cafeterias and at the hospital.

community leaders find the ends that they serve tied up with the X interests or dependent upon them for support. They then become hesitant about making decisions without the express sanction of the Xs or confidence that what they do is in harmony with previously delineated X policies. There is one other less serious result. Not all of the X monumental structures have adequate endowments for maintenance. The hospital, Masonic Temple, Y.M., and Y.W., for example, with their splendid equipment have high operation costs. As a result, these organizations are sometimes burdensome financially to their members and the community at large, and in some cases their humanitarian service is crippled by too much emphasis on ability to pay. Of course Middletown might not even have those splendid facilities to offer if Xs had been less generous. Finally, there is the criticism of Middletown socialists, who point out that all this wealth was accumulated by exploiting natural resources and local labor, that if production had been controlled and profits shared, the people themselves or the city acting for them could have done and built as much or more, and the workers would have had to bow down to no one. Just who from among the masses would have given initiative and leadership to such enterprises is not clearly indicated as a part of that argument. Perhaps the Xs themselves, as mere members of a cooperative society, would have given coordinating leadership to community projects. Or have they emerged as benevolent and foresighted promoters under the existing system merely as a result of that system's giving them the wealth that made leadership not only possible but almost unavoidable among economic men?

Debate concerning what might have been is beside the point. Regardless of the apparent tendency of Middletown folk to look to and seek out the Xs, like a group of apple-polishing school children crowding 'round their kindly teacher, much credit must be given that family for the noble way in which it has accepted and carried the responsibilities of wealth. They have done more in proportion to their means to distribute the benefits of wealth and promote worthy causes than most others so favored. An appreciation of the significance of these philanthropists and of their pervasive local influence gives one another key to an understanding of life in "Middletown."