

AMERICAN CULTURE AND AUTHORITY:
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS,
WITH SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

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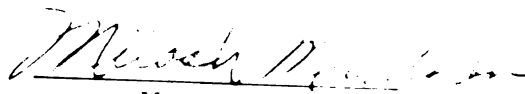
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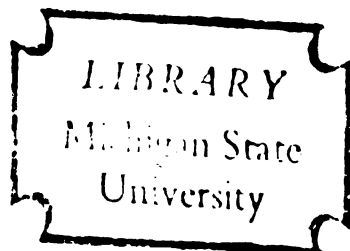
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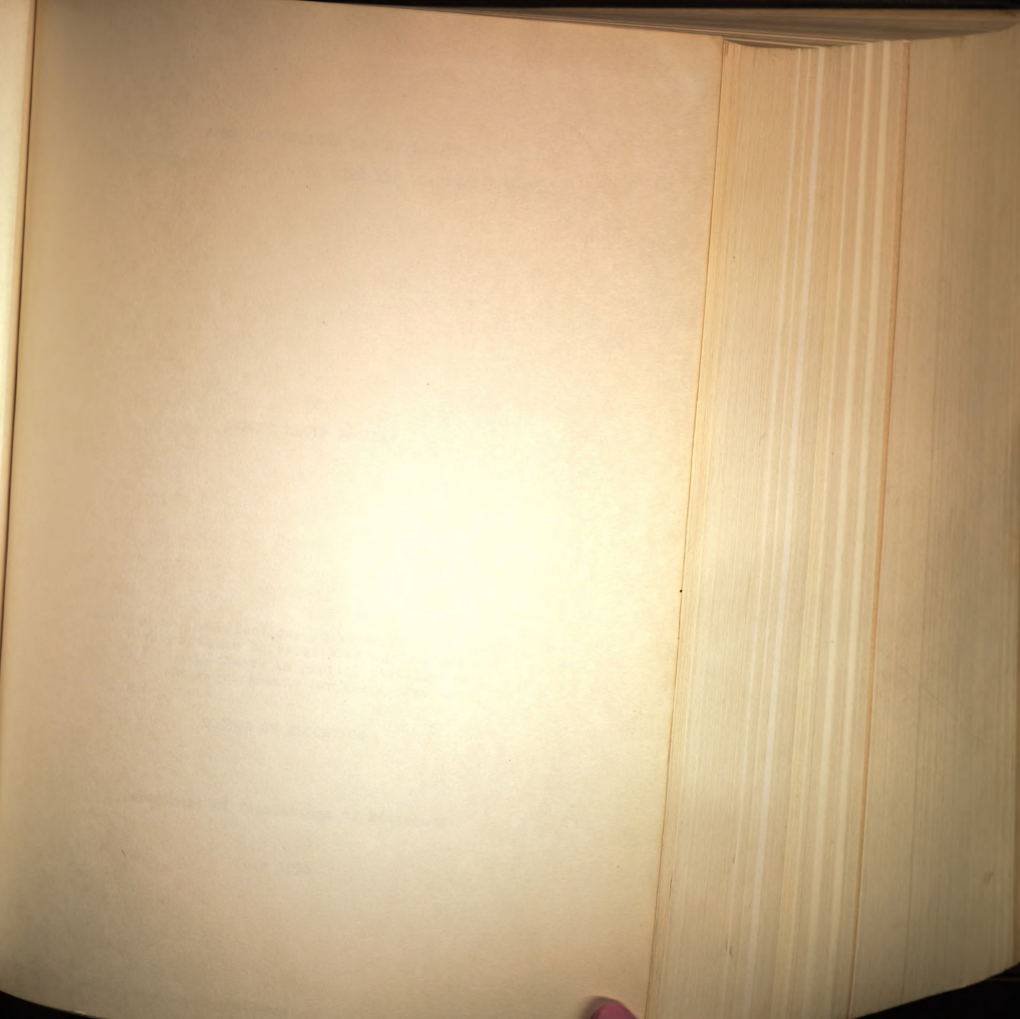
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

By

AUBREY LLOYD PULLIAM

A THESIS

Submitted to the School for Advanced Graduate Studies of
Michigan State University of Agriculture and
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DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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AMERICAN CULTURE AND AUTHORITY:
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS, WITH SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

By
AGNET LLOYD FULLIAM

"IF WE COULD FIRST KNOW WHERE WE ARE, AND WHITHER WE
ARE TENDING, WE COULD BETTER JUDGE WHAT TO DO, AND HOW
TO DO IT."

Abraham Lincoln, A House Divided,
Address at Springfield, Illinois,
1858

IN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the School for Advanced Graduate Studies of
Michigan State University of Agriculture and
Applied Science in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

Department of Foundations of Education

Year 1956

Milosh M. Mityan

Aubrey Lloyd Pulliam

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If educators understand the behavior of the people with whom

they work, they may hope to be more effective as leaders.

The cultural complex of "authority" is most influential in

determining the behavior of Americans.

By

This study is confined to authority in the Protestant culture

AUBREY LLOYD PULLIAM

of white, predominantly Protestant, third generation Americans, who

live outside of ethnic communities, in urban northeastern areas

of the Northeast and the South, but including metropolitan areas

of the United States.

The individual is central in the American Protestant culture.

Only authority in American Protestant culture is the individual.

AN ABSTRACT

Individuals are free to choose their own path in life.

Submitted to the School for Advanced Graduate Studies of

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While the ideology made forth in urban and the glories of

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behavior in authority relations.

Year 1956

relationship must be evaluated on its own merits.

The behavior of the individual includes those activities in

Approved: Milosh Muntyan

activities which require the contribution of more than

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

If educators understand the behavior of the people with whom they work, they may hope to be more effective as leaders.

The culture complex of "authority" is most influential in directing the behavior of Americans.

This study is confined to authority in the Protestant culture of white, democratically oriented, third generation Americans, who reside outside of ethnic communities, in urban sociocultural areas outside New England and the South, but including metropolitan cities in the United States.

The individual is central in the ideological foundation underlying authority in American Protestant culture. Cultural patterns which reinforce individualism are freedom, independence, self-reliance, equality, antipathy to control, and self-interest phrased as materialistic success. Moral and religious sanctions support these patterns.

While his ideology holds forth to urban man the glories of individualism, his environment, characterized by dependence and control, denies them. Resultant conflicts in society and personalities makes it difficult to predict behavior in authority relations; each relationship must be evaluated on its own merits.

The authority of the individual includes those activities it is within his competence to accomplish alone.

In all activities which require the contribution of more than

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one person, authority, as here defined, lies with the subordinate. This is true because the subordinate has it within his power to deny the contributions necessary to make cooperative activity a success. Subordinate authority is reinforced by individualistic ideology which results in the feeling that individuals have the right to participate in decisions which affect their self-interest. Individuals who perceive that their success demands it, will give overt conformity to superiors, and behave covertly in accordance with their group culture and personality.

Democratic authority is that condition where the majority of people in a specific social situation approve the action of leadership and provide the requisite means for exercising it effectively.

Every human relationship is an authority relationship because approval or disapproval of the behavior in the relationship is present in some degree. Consequently, all human relationships in education are involved in the problem of authority.

The theory of "superior authority" is dominant in the general culture and has some practical usage in educational activities. However, because most educational activities are cooperative in character, authority in most educational activities lies with the subordinate.

In learning activities, the teacher has the authority of the community to teach and to control the activities of the students. Since "student" learning lies within the student's authority, the

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teacher's authority does not go beyond "teaching" and "controlling."

Because the educator is in the position of stimulus-leader, the way he phrases his behavior will be a major determinant of the amount of psychological acceptance and authority which others grant to his leadership.

Other people grant authority to the educator when his communications are understood, when they are compatible with self-interest and perceived patterns of success, and when the individual is able to accept and act upon them.

To win the authority necessary to be effective and efficient, the educator must be competent in the psychological and socio-cultural aspects of his relationships with subordinates, peers, and superiors. He must be competent in his general role in profession and community, and in his annual task of winning authority to practice his expertness. The adult educator must be capable of winning a clientele; in a compulsory situation the educator must win the clientele assigned to him. Winning psychological acceptance of his communications is necessary to make the educator's authority complete.

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CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION
SECTION I

THE PROBLEM OF AUTHORITY

PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

Teachers, who have taken upon themselves the job of giving all Americans at least a highschool education, are sore beset by the problem of a sociocultural nature. Teachers are confronted with students who range in status from the lower-lower social class to those of the upper classes. Ethnic composition, and consequently, race values, varies widely. Administrators and facilities must deal with these mass diverse social and cultural groups on matters of buildings, facilities, and curriculum. School boards, as representatives of the community, are also faced with the problem of trying to satisfy these many cultural groups. And finally, colleges, where we are attempting to supply some of the leadership in solving these educational problems, are in a position to investigate, summarize and focus on which to base recommendations for successful policies.

In spite of this need, there is a dearth of material of a sociocultural nature which is in usable form as it may be applied to educational problems. Yet there is considerable material in various bits and fragments, that, were it brought together in a book, could be very useful in the field of educational theory. Teachers, like other Americans, take little time for the study of theory, a learning activities which they hope will solve their problems. One of the most of behavior too often is to "try something", and

CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

Educators, who have taken upon themselves the job of giving all Americans at least a highschool education, are sore beset by many problems of a sociocultural nature. Teachers are confronted with students who range in status from the lower-lower social class to those of the upper classes. Ethnic composition, and consequently, group culture, varies widely. Administrators and faculties must deal with these same diverse social and cultural groups on matters of buildings, facilities, and curriculum. School Boards, as representatives of the community, are also faced with the problems of trying to satisfy these many cultural groups. And finally, college educators, who are attempting to supply some of the leadership in helping to solve educational problems, are in need of insights, understandings and facts on which to base recommendations for successful action.

In spite of this need, there is a dearth of material of a sociocultural nature which is in usable form so it may be applied to educational problems. Yet there is considerable material in scattered bits and fragments, that, were it brought together in synthesis, would be very useful in the field of educational theory. Educators, like other Americans, take little time for the study of theory in planning activities which they hope will solve their problems. The mode of behavior too often is to "try something", and

hope it will work. Obviously, the incidence of error and failure in such behavior is high. An integration of Psychology, Sociology, Anthropology, and Biological Science is badly needed as the foundation on which educators can rely to lead their communities in the solution of educational problems. The purposes of this study lie within the general framework.

One purpose of this study is to try to bring together some of the materials that concern a few of the major universals of American culture. A second purpose is to try to develop some insights and understandings of these cultural complexes through the perspective of their historical development. A third purpose, which develops out of the second, is to try to gain a total view, and perhaps some meaning, of the development of an urban culture and society, now dominant in the United States. No one can give much thought to this problem without being forceably struck by the cultural lag that is present in the United States. We are attempting to solve our problems with a culture that is decades behind the environment in which we live.

Most people are aware of the "physical" environment in which they live their daily lives; but many people are unaware of its meaning, as related to their lives in the international, national, state, and local setting, so complex is urban society in our complex world. For example, it is doubtful if few Americans actually realize the implications, for their own lives, of the fact that in terms of

cultural direction, the corporation is the major social institution in American society today. Neither do many people realize that 135 huge corporations are in a position to, and do, exercise indirect control over the economic affairs of the American citizen.

That this same cultural lag is present in education is all too evident. In the state of Michigan, for example, we view a situation which varies from the one room rural school with a few pupils and one teacher, to the huge administrative organization of a big city school system with over 200,000 pupils and over 8,000 teachers. Educational concepts have not kept pace with the rapid development of an urban society.

But in spite of these general problems one finds teachers who are very effective in leading students, one finds superintendents and principals who are very effective in leading faculty and citizens, one finds schools and other educational organizations which are very effective in serving their communities. One finds also far too many who are very ineffective. Why - why this difference? We have any number of answers, and much advice on how to be successful in these various roles. But no answer or combination of answers seems to be adequate. At least educational problems seem to be growing faster than they are being solved. Yet, if all human behavior is caused, and we can gain some insight into the cultural patterns which are the causal agents of behavior, we may be able to advance a little in understanding the behavior of Americans. And if educators understand

how most Americans behave, they may learn how to be more effective in exercising their role of leadership. The combination of these two

But one is immediately faced with the question of where to start one's study. It soon becomes evident, in studying American culture, that the basic culture complex which, more than any other, guides and directs the behavior of the American citizen, is that complex which we call "authority". The basic thing that makes the American different from the European or Asiatic, outside of the difference in physical environment, is the way authority is phrased in the culture. For to have authority is to have leadership; to delegate authority is to delegate to someone else the role of leadership. The difference in authority patterns in two cultures, one democratically oriented, and the other authoritarian, are many. The American, for example, if he is free to follow the dominant cultural pattern, delegates authority to the group, and divides it wherever possible. The European, on the other hand, delegates authority to an individual, and centralizes it wherever possible. The American delegates authority to the successful;* the European to those of social position, talent, and education. These are basic differences which are socialized into the psychological systems of individuals living in these different cultures, differences which direct the behavior of the citizen.

It has also become evident that one of the major problems of

* Patterns of success in American culture and society are discussed in Chapter IX.

American society in general, and of education in particular, is the struggle for authority, for leadership. The combination of these two factors has led to the development of this study around the patterns of authority in American culture and society.

Dewey¹, Benne², and Muntyan³ have made some excellent studies regarding authority in education. Their studies are philosophical, and while they do not neglect conditions, they are centered on what "ought to be"; this study attempts to state conditions as they are, regarding authority in American culture and society, the conditions with which educators are confronted and must work. For in order to get "where we ought to be", we are forced to start from "where we are". This study, then, is attempting to shed some light on where we are, in regard to authority, so educators may have a better socio-cultural basis on which to begin work toward closing the gap toward where they ought to be.

In a study of this sort, the diversity of American culture and society immediately presents a problem. Indeed, it is this heterogeneity that is part of the authority problem itself. In no other nation in the world have educators set for themselves such a difficult task. Not only do they attempt to give all the people a highschool education, but they must perform this task in one of the most complex cultures and societies in the world.

Williams⁴ described American culture as "loose, experimental, pluralistic", and states that these characteristics run through the

total pattern of the culture. Thus we may expect the main patterns and themes of American culture to have opposing themes and patterns. This is the result of cultural complexity plus the dominant theme of freedom (not necessarily toleration). While being cognizant of minority themes and patterns, we are here concerned with the dominant patterns of authority in American culture. Because of this socio-cultural pluralism and complexity, we can do no more than attempt to establish a general frame of reference relative to American patterns of authority, a frame of reference which may serve as a starting point for teachers, administrators, and educational leaders to use in examining the problems of authority in the context of the "specific social situation" in which they are working.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The complexity of American culture and society, coupled with the paucity of studies in the area, makes it necessary to limit the scope of this study. There are almost no materials available on Catholic culture and society in the United States. While Catholic culture is not nationally dominant, it is certainly an important segment of American society, and is most important in the area of authority relations, as our study, by implication, will show. In the rural areas of the nation sociocultural conditions will vary widely from the most patriarchal, primary group type of culture and

society, to the areas that are highly urbanized in character. We are faced also with the fact that there are, in our society, many immigrants whose psychological systems have been formed in Old World cultures. Moreover, there are many second and third generation Americans who are living in ethnic communities and make little effort to conform to the dominant American cultural patterns. In the Deep South and the New England states there are those whose culture is aristocratic in character. Also excluded are those people with authoritarian personalities, comprising some 10% of the population.⁵

These exclusions leave as the scope of this study the Protestant culture of those white, democratically oriented, third generation Americans, who reside outside of ethnic communities, in the urban sociocultural areas outside of New England and the Deep South, but including all metropolitan cities in the United States.

METHODOLOGY

A study of this type is necessarily confined to the available library resources of literature in the field. As we have already stated, one of our purposes is to try to bring together into a workable synthesis the few contemporary materials relative to American culture that are applicable to this particular problem of authority. But the bringing together of these contemporary materials

is not enough. To gain adequate insight and understanding into American culture, and to begin to get some meaning out of individual behavior, requires a knowledge of our cultural development, of its ideological seeds, and of the English and American experience that has gone before us. Margaret Mead outlines for us the importance of a knowledge of historical experience in the understanding of contemporary culture. In her words, "Our behaviors, good and bad, our strengths and our weaknesses are the resultant of the choices, voluntary and involuntary, of those who have gone before us...The experience of generations of men, in a changing world, leaves its mark upon the culture, in the very bodies and souls of the next generation..."⁶

This is why, in a Protestant culture, we have started our study with the Reformation, and have tried to select out of the mass of historical materials those that are most pertinent to the problem at hand. Certainly it is the essence of the Protestant Reformation and of the American Revolution, in combination with several decades of frontier living and experience, that gives authority in the United States its own unique and peculiarly American character. Certainly also, without a knowledge of man's struggles over the authority question through the history of western civilization, one cannot begin to realize the deep emotional content, and the moral and religious overtones surrounding authority relationships in American society today.

LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

It has been pointed out that one of our purposes in this study is to try to shed some light on the problems of authority in American culture, with particular reference to education. In order not to defeat this purpose, and in the interests of intellectual rigor, it is imperative that the limitations of the study be pointed out.

First of all it should be made clear that this is not a complete analysis of American culture in relation to authority. Our study, in its historical aspects, dwells heavily on the Calvinistic heritage of American culture as it developed out of New England Puritanism. This emphasis has been chosen because the evidence supports this stream of culture as being very influential in American cultural development and as gaining dominance in American society. This is particularly true as regards the major cultural motive of self-interest expressed in materialistic terms. Moreover, this Calvinistic motivation has been the dominant influence in the development of freedom, self-reliance, and independence, the conditions necessary for the exercise of democratic authority by the individual.

Throughout the manuscript, it will be called to the attention of the reader that other streams and segments of American culture are important, but because the Calvinistic heritage has been emphasized the reader may gain the impression that it is presented as the complete heritage of authority in American culture. Nothing could be further

[illegible]

from our purpose, and it is our desire to forewarn the reader against any such impression.

The writer is anxious to be clear on this point because the expression and phrasing of authority in human relationships in American society is not Calvinistic. This expression is uniquely a product of the social relationships which developed out of some twenty-five decades of frontier living. While some of the consequences of Calvinism were found in frontier society, the frontier environment soon modified the authoritarian character of social relationships found in early Puritanism. As the frontier developed, the expression of authority in social relationships became thoroughly democratic in character.

In selecting out of some four centuries of human experience in western civilization those events which were felt to be most pertinent to the development of authority relations in American culture and society, there has been the risk of leaving out some pertinent events, and because of this circumstance, of lending too much emphasis to others. But when it is impossible to cover all of the material in detail, selection and choice are inevitable. Because of this limitation an effort has been made to choose those references which are commonly given major recognition.

It is desirable also to call attention to the lack of studies in many sociocultural areas. As a consequence, it has been necessary to rely quite heavily on a few studies. The writer is aware of this limitation, which prevents a generalization of the results. Moreover, even where previous sociocultural studies do exist, other social

situations are never identical to the original study, so that the use of these studies involves human judgment and evaluation. It has been necessary, too, in some instances, to use existing studies as far as they would reach, and then use reason and logic to further develop a hypothesis. Few human beings are entirely logical in their behavior. As one author has said, man is a "reasoning", not a "reasonable" animal. Nevertheless, reason and logic are most useful where studies do not exist, but we need be ever cognizant of their limitations concerning human behavior.

If the reader will view this study as an attempt to develop some evidence concerning authority relations in Protestant American culture, if he realizes that it should be evaluated and tested before its use in every social situation, and that it merely serves as a frame of reference for further action, then he will have this study in proper perspective.

Let us now define a few terms, before we bring together the materials on American culture and authority.

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CHAPTER II - DEFINITIONS

CULTURE AND SOCIETY

It is fitting that first of all we define what we mean by "culture", and how we propose to use it in this study. The term "culture" is an abstraction, a construct which describes the man-made part of the environment.

As a general term, "culture" means the total social heredity of mankind, while as a specific term "a culture" means a particular strain of social heredity.¹ The culture of mankind, therefore, is composed of a number of "cultures", each of which pertains to a definite group of individuals.

Groups may vary in size. Two or more persons may comprise a family or an informal group, while a national group, such as China, may have as many as 500,000,000 people. The term "social" implies the interaction of human beings, and "heredity" implies not only ancestry and inheritance, but also the element of time. Cultures are developed through the interaction of human beings over a period of time, and thus the size and age of any group are influential factors in the nature of its culture.

Our next question is what is included in the term "social heredity" or "culture"? Malinowski would include in the term "culture" inherited artifacts, goods, technical processes, ideas, habits, values, and social organization.²

Davis believes "culture" to be "the basic social habits, emotions, and values of any group of people. From the point of view of the

individual", continues Davis, "culture may be objectively defined as all that behavior which he has learned in conformity with the standards of some group. This group may be his family, his play associates, his colleagues in work, his same sex companions, his religious sect, his political party, or all of these groups together."³

Herskovits defines culture as "a construct that describes the total body of belief, behavior, knowledge, sanctions, values, and goals that mark the way of life of any people ... in the final analysis it comprises the things that people have, the things they do, and what they think ... (culture) is manifested in institutions, thought patterns, and material objects."⁴ In this study we shall use this general definition of culture.

It is apparent that culture has its ideological or super-organic aspects, which are manifested in observable social institutions, attitudes, behavior, material artifacts, and technical processes. While one cannot talk about culture without being aware of the total concept and all it includes, it would appear that the use of the term "sociocultural" to describe both organic and super-organic aspects of culture is a more definitive term of greater clarity. We propose to use the term in this way in this study. When speaking of the super-organic aspects of culture alone we shall most often use the term "ideology".

When speaking of the individual in reference to culture we shall also have in mind the ideas of Davis that in its specific sense culture

refers to all the behavior learned by a specific individual in conformity to the standards of the specific groups with which he is associated in some way.

Context is especially important in the area of human relationships, as we shall have an opportunity to point out many times. This study is primarily concerned with the ideological aspects of authority as they are manifest in behavior in human relationships in American culture and society. Of secondary concern are the social institutions which Americans have devised to implement their ideology of authority.

For the purposes of this study we shall refer to the term "society" as any group of people with a social structure. Both formally organized groups, such as a church or labor union, and informal groups, such as a friendship clique, are included in this definition.

AUTHORITY IN AMERICAN CULTURE

What American Democratic Authority "Isn't"

The main concepts of authority in American culture at the intellectual level are European in character, are based on European cultures. These concepts do not correspond to the on-going day-to-day human relationships of the American people, as we will show later in some detail.

Let us be specific. Michels, writing in the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, defines authority as "the capacity, innate or acquired, for exercising ascendancy over a group. It is a manifestation of

power and implies obedience on the part of those subject to it.... Authority can neither arise nor be preserved without the establishment and the maintenance of distance between those who command and those who obey. Even when authority rests on mere physical coercion it is accepted by those ruled, although acceptance may be due to a fear of force."⁵

In American society there are some communities which still retain their European culture, and some social institutions which are authoritarian in character. But with these exceptions, it appears that Michels' definition is not in keeping with the practice of authority relationships in American culture. Ascendency--obedience--social distance--power--these key terms in Michels' definition are at home in a culture of kings, aristocrats, and patriarchs, where the predominant human relationship is one of ruler and subject, as found in a rigid class society. It is the essence of American experience and culture that such an ideology was dual rejected first as a consequence of the Protestant Reformation, and secondly by the forces which won the American Revolution. The Revolution was, above all other things, a contest between two different concepts of authority. To say that American ideology denies concepts of authority based on European culture, does not deny that practice in authority relationships by some people in American society may be European in character. *Classes enough conformity is indicated to try to image*

The word "obedience" is a word that is almost foreign to social practice in American Protestant culture. This does not mean that the term is not used; it is, however, seldom that it is accepted psychologically. "Conformity" is a term that represents more nearly the

psychological feelings of most Americans when they are in a social situation in which they feel it their best interests to accept outwardly the direction of their behavior by others. Children conform to the edicts of parents because they fear that the parents' love will be withdrawn, the allowance reduced, or use of the family car denied. The worker conforms to the boss' orders because he wants a promotion; the student conforms to the teacher's direction because he wants a degree. Whether such conformity implies also the approval and psychological acceptance of the leadership of the person of superior status depends entirely upon the nature of the social relationship between superior and subordinate, and the psychological pre-dispositions of the two persons. One needs to look only briefly at the American experience and heritage to see why "obedience" as a term is largely rejected in American culture. Personal responsibility of the individual was originally the major tenet of the Protestant Reformation. Independence and self-reliance have been characteristics which were demanded above all others in a frontier environment and a highly competitive society. As a result, most parents, in the socialization process of rearing their children, inculcate into their psychological systems the habits of independence, self-reliance and personal achievement.⁶ In the middle classes enough conformity is inculcated to try to insure middle class control and order in society; lower class parents may actually teach their children to disobey superiors, since laws and social institutions in American society, represented by the superior,

are largely based on middle class ideology.⁷

Let us look briefly at one other definition of authority before we attempt to elaborate our own definition based on American culture and function. Bierstedt is the author of a definition of authority quite often cited for use by sociologists. He elaborates his definition of authority as follows:

Authority is institutionalized power....it is in the formal organizations of the associations that social power is transformed into authority...the right to use force is then attached to certain statuses within the association, and this right is ordinarily what we mean by authority. It is thus authority in virtue of which persons in an association exercise command or control over other persons in the same association.

It is authority which enables a bishop to transfer a priest from his parish... a policeman to arrest a citizen who has violated a law. Power in these cases is attached to statuses, not to persons, and is wholly institutionalized as authority.

Bierstedt is correct in defining "formal authority" as institutionalized power. But such a definition includes only one segment of authority relationships in American culture and society. Again because of a frontier heritage, a fear and distrust of formal government, and a hatred of the formality associated with aristocracy, the American people have long preferred to deal informally whenever possible. Moreover, informality is consistent with the major cultural universal of "equality", and the flexibility of informal relationships serves well another major cultural universal of "self-interest." For these reasons the majority of authority relationships in American culture are on the informal level, including those within formal organizations. It is only when the nature of the function to be performed and the numbers of

people ultimately involved in a decision demands it, that formal authority is resorted to. This is not to deny that formal authority is sometimes used when informal authority would serve better, or vice-versa. After all, which type of authority is used will be determined by the people making the decision, and the judgment of human beings is subject to error. It is a common pattern in American culture to agree on the informal level how authority shall be constituted, and then as a matter of record and means of enforcement of the agreement, to constitute it formally in writing. In certain segments of the society informal authority relationships are used most entirely. Hunter describes the authority relationships of the Power Structure in Regional City as almost entirely informal, for the obvious reason that those who wield power in a society where democracy is a universal ideology, are not anxious to have their dealings open to the public view.⁹ The power leaders, according to Hunter, use the formal authority structure to legitimize the exercise of power in public projects which requires the actions of many people to accomplish. Or, as in the case where the Progressive Party was denied a place on the state election ballot, the machinery of state government was utilized by the power leaders to legalize their position, and place at their disposal the courts and police to enforce such a legalized decision originally made at the informal level.

In addition to the informal authority relationships which Merstedt's definition of authority fails to include, his elaboration

of the "meaning of authority" is not consistent with the patterns of psycho-social relationships in democratic American society. He speaks of persons who are exercising a "role of office" in a formal association as exercising "command and control over other persons in the same association." While the terms "command and control" may describe the authority relationships of the Power Structure which Hunter infers is in control of most American cities,¹⁰ such terms do not describe the feelings of the majority of Americans concerning authority. These terms describe authority relationships in an authoritarian society. Indeed, as Hunter points out, it is only by virtue of the economic vulnerability of citizens in a capitalistic, urban society, plus control of the press and the machinery of government, that the Power Structure continues to exercise its control.¹¹ The majority of citizens do not approve of control by the power leaders, but few are in a position to resist it.

Even in such authoritarian societies as the Armed Services or a corporation, authority is won by "leadership with", rather than "command and control over" the members of the organization. Here again the reasons lie in cultural patterns. The American is taught to be independent and self-reliant, and because of this rebels inwardly if not outwardly when another person attempts to command or control his actions. The European, in contrast, is taught from birth to obey persons of authority and control; he is at home in an authoritarian culture and feels that superiors ought to make most of the decisions. The best

evidence of the behavior and reactions of Americans in an authoritarian society is Stouffer's¹² monumental studies on the American soldier.

American Authority Relations Are Unique

It is one of the premises of this study that American authority relations are unique among the cultures of the world, and are based on the ideology, if not the practice, of democracy. It is a further premise that European concepts of authority were ideologically rejected early in the experience of the American people, that democratic relationships were largely practiced under the conditions of frontier living, and have been only slowly replaced in practice, but not in ideology, by authoritarian relationships as the society has become urban and bureaucratic in character. It is very important, in understanding the behavior of American citizens, to distinguish between the ideology, the beliefs and psychological feelings of the individual concerning authority, and the actual practice of authority in human relationships.

American Authority Defined

We have tried to discuss what authority "is not" in American culture; now let us try to describe what it is. For a partial definition of authority we quote from Chester I. Barnard, who bases his concept of authority on many years of experience in human relations as President of The New Jersey Bell Telephone Company.

Authority is the character of a communication (order) in a formal organization by virtue of which it is accepted by a contributor to or "member" of the organization as governing the action he contributes...If a directive communication is accepted by one to whom it

is addressed its authority for him is confirmed or established. It is admitted as the basis for action. Disobedience of such a communication is a denial of its authority for him. Therefore, under this definition the decision as to whether an order has authority or not lies with the persons to whom it is addressed, and does not reside in "persons of authority" or those who issue these orders....¹³

What Barnard is describing here may be either formal or informal authority in a formal organization. The communication he refers to may be formal and written, such as for example, a written instruction from the president to all department heads. It may also be merely a spoken request from a foreman to one of the laborers, in which case it would be informal. But the key to Barnard's definition is the fact that authority depends upon the acceptance of the communication by the one who receives it. We may expect, in any organization which is representative of the total social structure, that acceptance of a communication may range from positive psychological acceptance to complete rejection. When an individual gives positive psychological acceptance to a communication, then the initiator of the communication has received a full grant of authority in that specific instance. If the individual feels free to act, his overt behavior will reflect the nature and degree of his acceptance or rejection of a communication.

Let us explain why, and under what conditions, authority lies with the subordinate. Perhaps our explanation will have greater clarity if we use the example of a factory foreman who supervises a work team of five electrical workers who are assembling generators. The role and authority of the foreman includes, among other things, instructing new

workers, giving first aid to worker's injuries, making out production reports, transmitting communications from the Plant Superintendent to his workers, and the supervision of his work team. The success of the foreman is judged primarily by the production output of the work team under his supervision.

Such things as instructing new workers and making out production reports lies entirely within the competence of the foreman himself to accomplish. The authority to accomplish these things, therefore, lies within the individual foreman. The foreman may be able to assemble a generator, but efficient production is beyond his competence, and requires the contributions and cooperation of every member of the work team. Because the effective and efficient contributions of the five workers of the entire work team are required for the high production of generators, authority, in this case, lies with the subordinates or workers. It is within the power of the worker to give or deny the contributions which are essential to the efficient production of generators.

We may say that in all activities which are within the competence of one individual to accomplish successfully, authority lies within the individual himself. In those activities which require the effective and efficient contributions of more than one person, authority lies with the subordinate.

The leader may act, but unless what he does is approved and accepted by his followers, his action is of no value in any endeavor.

that may require the action of a group, and he is no longer, in that specific social situation, a leader. No one may be a leader without followers who accept, approve, and delegate authority for leadership.

In such organizations as a factory or an army, the fact of subordinate authority soon becomes apparent in profits or losses, victories or defeats. In other organizations, such as a school, it may be more difficult to recognize subordinate authority, because the individual learnings of pupils are difficult to evaluate and quantify.

While the acceptance or rejection of the superior's leadership, and the grant of authority which attaches to this acceptance, rests with the subordinate, the way in which the superior plays his role is highly influential in the authority relationship. The teacher and foreman, for example, usually initiate and lead the activities of students and workers. The responses of students and workers are highly influenced by the stimuli they receive from the teacher or foreman. How the superior phrases his role, therefore, is a major determinant in the response of his subordinates, and the authority which is granted him. We may say, therefore, that the authority relationship is reciprocal between superior and subordinate.

Moreover, the relationship between superior and subordinate is usually one of interdependence in regard to authority and control. The superior, by virtue of his position, may be in control of the subordinate's advancement and success. The subordinate is in control of his own response, which, if positive in relation to the superior's leadership,

constitutes a grant of authority which may be a factor in the superior's success. Both superior and subordinate are in control of their share of the authority relationship to the extent that each is capable of phrasing his behavior to win the approval of the other. We must hasten to point out the many exceptions to the phrasing of the superior-subordinate relationship which we have just described. Some superiors do not need the authority of subordinates to advance, and some subordinates are not under the superior's control in regard to advancement. This is particularly true in highly organized and closely controlled societies such as the specialists in the medical profession, and in industries where the labor unions have a great deal to say about job grading, promotions, wage scales, and working conditions.

While we have used the superior-subordinate relationship on which to focus our concept of authority, we must point out that every human relationship is an authority relationship. Whether the relationship be between parent and child, husband and wife, sister and brother, peer and peer, teacher and pupil, foreman and worker, and so on, the factor of approval or disapproval, acceptance or rejection of the human behavior involved in the relationship, is present in some degree.

Authority relations are common, also, between individuals and groups, as well as between two or more groups. When we speak of authority within an organization, we need to recognize "that authority in the aggregate arises from all the contributors to a cooperative system, and that the weighting to be attributed to the attitude of

individuals varies...the maintenance of an organization requires the authority of all essential contributors."¹⁴ An industrial organization, for example, has in it factory workers, foremen, union stewards, engineers, departmental heads, and various kinds of executives. Some of these people, because of their position, skill, or leadership, hold more authority within their control than do others. It requires executives with a great deal of sociocultural skill to know how to weigh the various people in the social structure of their organization relative to their real authority. Failure to evaluate these factors correctly has cost organizations incalculable damage in inefficiency, labor troubles, and profits.

Within social organizations of all kinds, corporations, schools, factories, and so on, there appears to be a sort of "community of authority" among the organization members. This is a group attitude which is informally arrived at and which is always in the process of change as events change within an organization. This feeling regarding the activities of any organization is peculiarly the product of its members, and comes from their daily interaction as they associate together in their many cliques. How this informal "organization feeling" is developed is one of the amazing facts of social relationships, but apparently some employees, whose official functions facilitate the role, serve as the communicators between informal groups.

While experienced superiors and many subordinates appear to realize that actual authority in many activities resides in the

subordinate, both maintain the myth or fiction that authority lies with the superior. This fiction has its practical side, however. It enables subordinates to accept orders from superiors without making an issue of them and without feeling subservient, or losing individual status with peers.

The fiction of superior authority also serves to place the responsibility for organization decisions on the superior, who is in a much better position to make them than is a subordinate. The fiction of superior authority also tends to depersonalize a communication, giving impersonal notice that it is issued for the good of the organization, with the subordinate's own self-interest at stake as a part of the greater whole.¹⁵

Good administrative procedure demands that communications should not be issued that cannot be and will not be accepted. Experienced executives know that to do so destroys authority, discipline, and morale.¹⁶ This means that the effective administrator will need to know at all times what authority has been granted him by his subordinates, peers, and superiors, where social power and authority lies within the social structure of his organization, and how to go about securing authority which is needed for action.

We may say that in American culture and society, democratic authority in any specific situation which involves two or more persons, is that condition where the action of leadership is approved by the majority of people involved in that social situation.

But there is another condition which must also be present before authority may be effective. When a person is elected to the office of township supervisor, for example, he is given majority approval to provide leadership in exercising the rights, duties, and privileges of that office. The role of township supervisor includes the authority to repair the roads to the township. But if there is no money in the treasury the supervisor cannot repair the roads. He cannot exercise his authority without the means to do so, and so the authority which accompanies his role as supervisor is not effective, and actually, in fact, is not authority until the means are available to exercise it.

We must enlarge our definition of democratic authority then, so that it includes not only majority approval of the action of leadership, but also the means to effectively exercise such leadership.

The authority which attaches to an office involves certain functions. Pigors states that the general function of authority is representation, and its specific functions are initiation, administration, and interpretation.¹⁷ The person, for example, who occupies the office of teacher, represents the general community in mediating the culture to its youth. In his various roles, the teacher is responsible for initiating educational activities, and administering them effectively and efficiently so a maximum of learning will occur. He is also responsible for interpreting educational activities and their content so that laymen are able to understand and grasp the significant meanings from their educational experience.

Conditions Which Affect The Granting Of Authority

There are four conditions, according to Barnard, which must occur simultaneously before an individual "can and will accept a communication as authoritative." These conditions are "(a) he can and does understand the communication, (b) at the time of his decision he believes that it is not inconsistent with the purpose of the organization, (c) at the time of his decision he believes it to be compatible with his personal interest as a whole, and (d) he is able mentally and physically to comply with it."¹⁸

While Barnard is obviously talking about administrative matters in a corporate social structure, it would appear that his hypothesis may be widely applied. Certainly a communication from a superior which is, for any one of a number of reasons, not understood by a subordinate, can have no authority, no acceptance by him. A communication which is not understood has no meaning for a subordinate; the only thing he can do is either disregard it or ask that it be clarified until he does understand it.

What action the subordinate does take in regard to a communication he does not understand will be determined by a complex of sociocultural factors. If the communication is from a superior to an immediate subordinate, however, the subordinate may, if he desires, ask for a clarification of an unintelligible communication. If, on the other hand, the communication is from a corporation president to the workers on an assembly line, the social distance, both psychological and spatial,

which normally separates the two, would prevent the worker from asking and receiving any clarification of such a communication. He could ask his immediate superior to clarify the communication, or he could disregard it altogether.

If a communication appears incompatible with the purpose of an organization as the subordinate understands it, psychological conflict would be the immediate result, and in extreme cases, the subordinate could not and would not comply with such a communication. For example, a school superintendent who issued an order to teachers to let their pupils spend three hours a day on the playground for the next month would be asking teachers to violate their view of the purpose of school. Interpretations of the purpose of an organization is also influenced by self-interest; teachers and pupils, for example, may have different views on the purposes of school activities.

Self-interest is especially important as a determinant of the individual's granting of authority. In Barnard's view, "the existence of a net inducement is the only reason for accepting any order as having authority. Hence, if such an order is received it must be disobeyed (evaded in the more usual cases) as utterly inconsistent with personal motives that are the basis of accepting any orders at all."¹⁹ Barnard points out further that malingering and intentional lack of dependability are the usual means of evading communications that are perceived as counter to self-interest.

There are many physical, emotional, and sociocultural reasons why subordinates cannot comply with a communication. Asking a tall man to

work at a job on an assembly line that is at knee level would be a physical impossibility. Or asking one capable member of a work group to work at a faster rate than the whole group desires to work could not be accepted without loss of social status and being subjected to working conditions which are socially intolerable.

The Difference Between "Authority" and "Control"

In a society which believes in democracy, it is important to distinguish between "authority" and "control". Laswell makes an excellent differentiation between the two: "We distinguish between authority and control since the king who reigns may not rule, and the elected Governor may be subservient to the unelected boss. Authority always carries with it some modicum of control, however tenuous; control may have no shred of authority. When expectations concerning who "ought" coincide with who "does", authority and control can be reached at the same address."²⁰ Authority exists in both democratic and authoritarian culture and society. It is the character of each type of authority, however, with which we need to be familiar, since both types are present in our society. We have already defined "democratic authority" as the positive approval and acceptance, by the majority, of specific leaders, plus the means to exercise such authority as is delegated to leadership. This implies that the members of the majority "feel free" to exercise their choice, and have the essential facts on which to base their choice of leaders. It implies on the part of aspiring leaders the lack of any coercion or arbitrary use of their social power to gain a position of leadership.

In the case of the "men of power" which Hunter studied in Regional City, authority rests wholly on the use or the threatened use of social power to win and maintain dominance and control. The "men of power" who have control of affairs do not have the approval of the majority of citizens for their leadership; in fact, these power leaders isolate themselves and use every means possible, including control of the press and government, to keep the majority in a state of ignorance regarding the affairs of the community. The only authority which the men of power hold is that approval of the ruling oligarchy of which they are a part, plus their personal authority. The authority which subordinate members of the power structure have comes solely from an individual in the ruling oligarchy, or from the collective oligarchy; it does not come from the majority of the citizens, who seldom know what is going on. Some authority exists whenever social action takes place, but it may or may not be democratic authority. Whenever social power is exercised in such a manner that a feeling of coercion exists in the social relationships of Americans, then democratic authority, which is based on the willing and voluntary acceptance and approval of leadership, is usually replaced by control. In such situations outward approval is often given because of fear, or a perception of self-interest; psychological acceptance is not given, which is the primary condition for the delegation of democratic authority. It is evident that in a society where belief, if not practice, in democracy is a part of the psychological systems of most people, the character of the authority relationships

that occur have important implications for all phases of human behavior. This is especially true as regards superior-subordinate relationships, and the effective operation of democratic society.

Not only does democratic authority involve voluntary approval of the majority, it must include "accountability" of the leadership to the people. Accountability means that the majority of people have the facts on which to judge the stewardship of their leaders, and since unfaithful leaders may be replaced, accountability is an effective means of influence upon the actions of leadership. Devices of accountability include freedom of the press, periodic reports, auditing of activities by impartial citizens, freedom to organize loyal opposition, freedom from coercion during elections, frequent elections, short terms of office, initiative, recall, and referendum, federation and devolution, separation of authority by a system of checks and balances, and effective protection of individual civil and human rights.

The men of power of Regional City were accountable to no one for their actions except to the ruling oligarchy. The authority exercised in an authoritarian society involves no accountability except to the individual or oligarchy who delegated it. Democratic authority, then, involves voluntary approval and psychological acceptance of leadership, provision of the means to exercise the authority delegated, and the accountability of the leadership to those who delegated their authority. In the case of democratic authority, power and control reside in the people, and is exercised by the majority, which, in theory, is influenced

by the minority. In an authoritarian culture, authority, power, and control usually rests with one individual or an oligarchy of the few, and is usually exercised by their subordinates for them and under their direction.

The Authority Of Formal and Informal Roles

Miller has defined the "capacity of authority (as) that body of rights and privileges belonging to certain roles within the community."²¹ In every society all roles are endowed with a certain amount of authority, that is to say, whether the role be one of father, daughter, chairman, chief, shaman, or premier, each role is defined in the culture and society with approved norms of behavior. The individual who is occupying a certain role has the authority of his society to behave in accordance with the norms of his role, and his behavior, if within those norms, will not be questioned. For example, the role of father in American culture and society includes the right to discipline his children. But beating his children is not culturally defined as normal or desirable behavior for a father. If he does beat his children, society, in the form of its institutions represented by the police and courts, and using the law which rests on the customs of the society, will discipline the father for overstepping the authority of his role. And if the father continues to beat his children, he may be deprived of his active role as father, either by placing him in prison, or by removing the children from his custody.

Roles may be informal, or formally constituted in an office with

formally prescribed rights, duties, and privileges. The important thing to remember about the authority which attaches to roles is that whether it be formal or informal, the culture prescribes rights, duties, and privileges for every role, and thus the authority for action within the role comes from the culture. The only difference between informal and formal roles, in effect, is that in the former case the rights, duties, and privileges are understood by members of society, whereas in the formal role they are formally defined, often in a constitution and by-laws. It is important to remember also that normal behavior, the authority accompanying every role, is enforced by sanctions and deprivations of society. In American society, whether authority is informal, or formally constituted in an office depends upon function, the task which society desires be performed. For example, there are certain tasks which we may call "daily ongoing" or "permanent" functions. County and city government, such as the offices of Water and Light Commissioner, County Clerk, etc., are examples of this nature. The services provided by these offices are needed in the daily lives of the people. Since the people are busy with their own tasks, and do not have time to constantly supervise such offices, they formally constitute authority into such an office, choose a person to fill the role, and reward him for servicing their needs. Control and accountability is built into the office by periodic elections, and by audit and review of activities by approved leaders of the community, or by specialists chosen by the leaders to accomplish such a task.

On the other hand, there are community tasks which are short term in character. Such tasks, for example, may be organizing a 4-H club, or holding a carnival to raise money for playground equipment, or other similar tasks that are accomplished in a short time. While committees for such activities may or may not be formally organized, their actions are usually quite informal, and such organization as exists is dissolved as soon as the task is accomplished. In either case, regardless of whether authority is formal or informal, the important point is that objectives are accomplished, decisions are made and executed, the needs of people satisfied. If the function is accomplished the same amount of authority is constituted in both the formal and informal situation, that is to say, enough to accomplish the task. Whether formal or informal authority is chosen depends upon the nature of the function to be performed, and the judgment of the leadership as to which is preferable.

In American culture and society there is also the authority which is constituted in the social institution. For example, the family has the authority, that is to say, the approval of society, to reproduce and rear children, the public schools to provide for their formal education, the church to provide for their religious leadership. Like the roles which are filled by individuals, institutional roles have rights, duties, and privileges prescribed by the culture which determines their normal behavior, and which is also enforced by sanctions and deprivations, rewards and punishments.

We find that both formal and informal groups, such as the Chamber of Commerce, or a clique of middle class wives who play bridge together once a week, have certain amounts of authority accorded to them. Here again the culture defines the amount and kind of authority each group shall have. The Chamber of Commerce, for example, has the authority to indulge in a wide variety of business, civic, and community activities; the women's bridge clique will find their authority largely confined to the social activities of its members.

The Authority Of The Person

While there is authority which attaches to an individual role, there are some personal roles which give wide latitude for interpretation, so that some authority is related to, and retained by, the individual himself. The normal individual, of course, always has authority over those functions which adhere to the person, such as thinking, speaking, eating, and so on. But in addition to these normal body functions there are certain competencies and aspects of the person which may help an individual who possesses them to win authority, or approval of leadership. Miller lists such personal resources as respect, morality, success, obligations, subject-matter competence, organizational skills, and skill with symbols.²² Family position and wealth are personal resources which may also help the individual to win authority.

The Culture: Ultimate Source of Authority

It is the culture which is the ultimate source of all authority.

We have already stated that it is the culture which defines the authority which attaches to individual roles, to social institutions and groups. If authority resides in the people as agents of its expression, then it is their customs and ideology, or culture, which directs their behavior in authority relationships. It is in the field of law that the power and authority of culture is best demonstrated. "Custom," says Cairns, "is the rule of conduct, one of the means of social control. Law," he continues, "is both a part and a product of social heredity. Social heredity, or culture, is the core of any general theory of society and hence of law. The authority of the community is canalized within patterns of a legal kind..."²³

The law which rests most perfectly upon the culture and customs of the people will need little enforcement. The Common Law rests almost entirely, at least in its origin, on the customs of the people.

Westermarck, Hobhouse, and Sumner have worked out the stages in the formation of societary control which culminates in the statutes of law. These stages are summarized by Eubank as follows:

1. An emotion of approval or disapproval in a particular case.
2. A judgment of approval or disapproval constituting a generalization as to the desirability of cases of this type.
3. Folkways, mores, and usages, informal non-institutionalized embodiments of previously formed judgments of approval or disapproval, but generally understood and commonly accepted as applying to all cases of this general class.

4. Accepted institutions, culminating in law, the formal crystalization of the previously formed judgments of approval or disapproval, into express statutes, with definite penalties for violation.²⁴

These stages represent a general trend of development and do not necessarily occur in the same way in each case.

According to James Truslow Adams, the spirit of lawlessness and disrespect for law as such, is deep in American culture.²⁵ But as we shall show in a later chapter, what often appears as lawlessness is really an exertion of the cultural pattern of democratic authority which is common to the majority of Americans. Most Americans do not feel obligated to obey any law or regulation which was formulated without their participation or direct representation, or which violates selfish interests. One of the reasons colonists disobeyed the laws of the British Crown was because they had no representation in the British Parliament; frontiersmen in the West disobeyed the laws of the Federal Government when it was in control of a group different from their own; people in the South today circumvent the Supreme Court decision on desegregation in the schools. In this light it is imperative that laws be based on the culture of the people and effectively represent the total citizenry if they are to be effective as a means of social control and part of the authority structure. American history and experience is filled with examples of laws that were in direct conflict with the culture. Three such examples are the edicts of George III which were circumvented and defied in every way possible, the Fugitive Slave Law of the Civil War period, and the Volstead Act.

One of our best examples of the authority of culture is found in the British experience in Burma.²⁶ When the British administrators came to Burma they found among the Burmese no army, no regular police, and almost no prisons. The only visible authority structure was that of a king who had certain customary powers which were respected, and the authority of hereditary chieftans in relation to a "circle" of people who lived in adjoining villages. These chieftans governed people, not a district. The groups of villages were thought of as having always belonged together and their chief as having been born to them.

Their laws also belonged to them and were part of village life and structure; they were followed as inherent to a way of life. A man acted with what amounted to honesty and uprightness because that was the way to act, rather than out of social responsibility, or out of concern for others. The chieftan guided and arbitrated, he did not coerce. He had no policemen because they were not needed; crime was almost non-existent because the accepted behavior, customs, were a part of the psychological systems of the people. Normal behavior was acceptable behavior. In other words, people, law, custom, and culture were a unity; the law was in the people and they were immersed in it.

The British, as representatives of western culture, found the Burmese system "confusing, inefficient, and irrational." They soon replaced the authority structure of the "circle", based on human relationships between specific people, with a district, an administrative unit based on space. For Burmese custom, the rule of law was substituted,

which included the British form of trial by jury. Soon after the headmen had been transformed into salaried officials, it was found necessary to form a village police force. Shortly after, the courts, established along Western lines, were filled with cases. Crime rose rapidly, and corruption among officials was rampant, when interpreted by Western standards.

Let us see if we can determine why these people, among which crime was almost unknown, experienced a rapid rise in crime after the British system was instituted. First of all, when the organic unity of the village was shattered, when external control with penal sanctions was substituted for the authority inherent in a traditional way of life, the traditional guiding principle of social conduct was destroyed and there was nothing to take its place. Moreover, there was no fundamental ethical commitment to British law, based on customs entirely foreign to the Burmese. While even more individualistic in terms of personal autonomy than the British, the Burmese culture had as its main motivation, not success in material terms, but a personal increase in merit throughout life, achieved through giving to others and by good deeds, so that the individual would be reincarnated at a higher stage of development. All males lived in the village monastery at least for a short time. The monks gave them, through theory and example, education in "how to live." These things, plus the regular religious ceremonies, were all built into the main cultural motivation of reincarnation. The culture was built around religion, and material things were of value only for subsistence. This is in contrast to the secular, materialistic,

British culture, which the Burmese could not understand nor see any reason to obey.

The key to the authority of a culture is its intimate relationship to the psychological system of the individual, its basis in ongoing daily human relationships, surrounded and reinforced by ethical considerations and moral obligations between people. What happened in Burma when the British imposed their rational, impersonal system of law, is, in many respects, what has happened in the United States as the primary relationships and customs of a rural society have been replaced in urban society by the control of positive law based on penal sanctions. Such methods of societary control are seldom undergirded by any personal, moral sanctions or obligations.

Social Power And Authority

It is desirable that we define the term "social power" in relation to authority. Hunter defines power as "the ability of persons to move goods and services toward defined goals."²⁷ Bierstedt states that social power comes from three sources, "(1) numbers of people (2) social organization and (3) resources."²⁸ Both of these statements require elaboration to be meaningful and inclusive. First let us distinguish "social" power. The term "social" as related to power refers to those aspects of power which are present in any social relationship between individuals or groups of human beings. "Social" power is thus distinguished from other types of power such as electrical or mechanical power. The resources which individuals or groups of individuals carry with them

into any social situation is the key to the behavior of the people involved in a specific social relationship. Such resources we have already listed as relevant to the authority of the person, resources which enable the person to gain from others approval of leadership. Such resources as wealth, family position, respect, morality, position in the business structure, success, access to important individuals or groups, mutual obligations, time for action, subject-matter competence, skills with symbols, organizational skills, holding an important office, or being a legendary personality of favor, are all resources which may be held in varying degrees by individuals or groups. These resources may be referred to as "assets of social power", assets which may be used in a variety of ways in the field of social relationships.

Such assets may be used as a means of "dominance and control" of community affairs, the way the men of power used such assets in Regional City, described in the study by Hunter.²⁹ Such assets, or the ingredients of social power, may also be used to win democratic authority, that is to say, the majority approval of leadership exercised by persons who have social power. Social power may also be used as the basis for influencing decisions in the social structure. For example, the views of a man of wealth, a possible heavy contributor, may influence the actions of a committee deliberating on a hospital for the community. Or as is frequently the case, social power may not be used at all. The fact that social power is not used, however, does not deprive it of influence in certain social situations. For example, the wise political candidate always takes steps to win or neutralize all sources of social power.

He never knows when unused social power, under the influence of a rival candidate, may become active against him. In such cases, the mere fact that social power exists, regardless of whether it is being used or not, influences the behavior of the political candidate.

It is evident that social power may at times reside in sheer numbers of people, as for example, in elections where a majority "has the power" to win the right to "delegate authority." Such a majority, however, may not be organized so that all of its members vote. In such cases an "organized" minority may win the election. If such be the case, social power resides in "social organization", rather than in the sheer numbers of an unorganized majority.

Hunter's definition of social power as relating to "goods and services" is much too limited. Social power is a component of every social relationship between human beings, and as such may be psychological, social, or economic in character. For example, a youth who decides to go to college, may find his major motivation and influence in such a decision in the fact that his uncle, whom he adores, has been very successful and lays his success to his college education. The uncle may never have spoken a word to his nephew about entering college, yet he is the major influence in his nephew's decision. In this case social power has nothing to do with goods and services, except perhaps indirectly in the materialistic American success pattern.

We should note also that with the exception of "wealth" and "office holding", the resources of social power are so much a part of the personality that they are non-transferable. Thus, with the exception

of "wealth" and "office", social power cannot be delegated or transferred to other individuals. This is not the case with groups, however, where a change in group membership may be accompanied with a change in social power. The social power of a group is merely the collective social assets of its members, and when the membership changes, the character of the social power of the group is bound to change with it.

Finally, we may define social power "as that component which is present in every social situation, which is embodied in the social assets of the individual, and may or may not be used to win democratic authority, influence decisions or other behavior, or win and maintain dominance and control. In the group situation social power may also reside in numbers of people and in social organization, in addition to the social assets of the collective membership."

The Law Of The Social Situation

Of considerable operational value is the concept of "the law of the social situation."^{*} The essence of the law of the social situation is that each specific social situation determines the amount, kind, and quality of the social power which each participant brings to the social relationship, and thus the amount of authority each is able to win, the influence each is able to exercise, or the amount of dominance and

^{*} This concept has been adapted from the original idea by Mary Parker Follet, as explained in her collected papers, "Dynamic Administration", edited by Henry C. Metcalf and L. Urwick, New York: Harper and Bros., 1940, pp. 58-64.

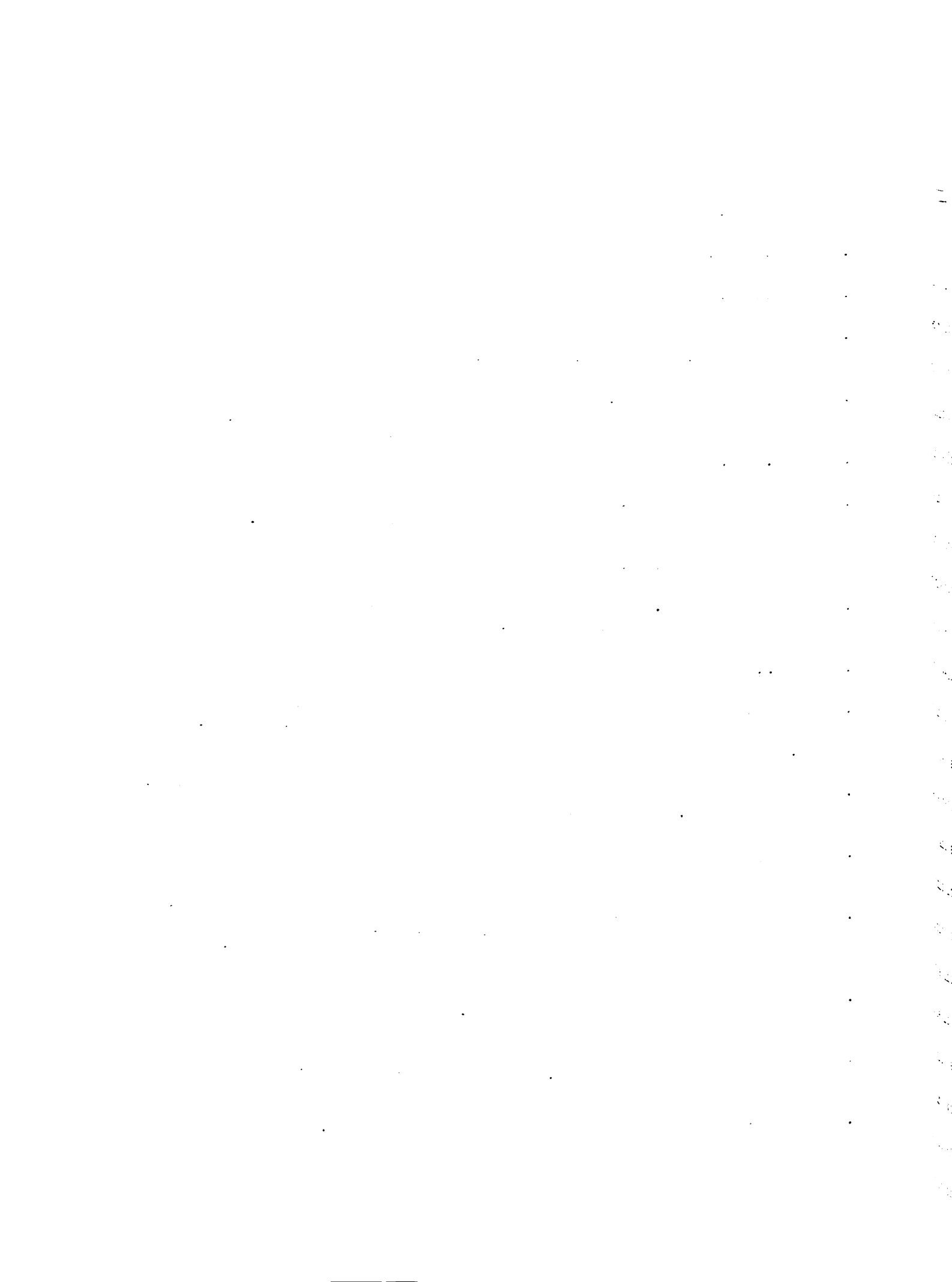
control each may be able to gain. It must be evident that human beings and their social assets are constantly changing, that some are gaining and some are losing social power. Moreover, the motivations, pre-dispositions, and inclinations of persons are never exactly the same from one social situation to the next, even when the relationship is between the same two people. Certainly, as the participants in the specific social relationship change, the law of the social situation would be fully operative.

Now that we have defined democratic authority as related to various sociocultural patterns, let us turn to the primary conditions which the citizen must have to exercise his authority, the conditions of freedom, independence and self-reliance. In addition to trying to determine the extent of the existence of these cultural patterns in the Protestant segments of culture in the United States, we must try also to determine their cultural character. To do the latter we must trace their cultural development from the beginning of the Protestant Reformation.

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SECTION II

FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE, SELF-RELIANCE, AND AUTHORITY

The citizen must be free, independent, and self-reliant to exercise his democratic authority effectively. In this section we have attempted, in brief, to trace the cultural development of freedom, independence, self-reliance, and democratic citizen authority from their ideological seeds in the Protestant Reformation to their present status in American culture and society at mid-twentieth century.

Our documentation shows that in the United States there was a steady rise together of all four culture complexes until about the mid-nineteenth century. At this point in our history the beginning concentration of wealth and power, and the resultant growth of urban-industrial culture and society, meant also the beginning of the decline of freedom, independence, and self-reliance. In the city, specialization and dependence replaced the self-sufficiency and independence of rural society. And as men of wealth gained control of the national economy, the economic independence which is the foundation of freedom in a capitalistic society, was lost to the majority of citizens. In urban society the individual has dropped into insignificance, and the area in which he is competent to exercise his authority is a narrow one confined to his person, family, and job functions.

In sum, while constitutional law has continuously widened the legal sanctions undergirding individual freedoms outside economic affairs, the bureaucratic character of urban-industrial culture under the dominance of

a few business leaders has served to effectively nullify these legal gains. The citizen's exercise of authority has, as a result, been steadily restricted in scope.

Margaret Mead has said that the way Americans behave today rests upon the experiences of the generations of men and women that have lived before contemporary times. In an attempt to gain some insight and understanding of how Americans behave in authority relations, we have tried to bring together information on the developing character of the Protestant American, and the cultural patterns and social institutions which flow from his cultural character. Beyond that we have touched upon some contradictions and conflicts in American Protestant culture, and its developing character of authority.

Under Protestantism the personality of man underwent great change. When the individual was made responsible for his own salvation and was told there was no one between him and God, the stage was set for man's transformation. He developed from passive acceptance of his lot to intense activity on his own behalf; from being his brother's keeper to keeper of himself. He became spiritually independent, alone, non-conformist, and could accept no mortal master but himself. He must have freedom to pursue selfish interests. And his self-reliance was a natural development of the pursuit of self-interest in an atomistic society.

Two and a half centuries of frontier experience on a rich, virgin continent drove deeper into American culture the individualistic and selfish characteristics of Protestant man. Those patterns of Protestant

culture which were not compatible with a frontier environment were modified to suit it. For example, frontier equalitarianism was not compatible with the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination and election. In a capitalistic society, the churches employing this doctrine had two choices: they could survive and grow by changing their doctrine to conform to frontier culture, or they could refuse to change and suffer institutional death. They changed toward conformity to the controlling culture. In a frontier society man formed the habit of acting alone as a free individual, and his rebellion was quick when someone tried to tell him what to do.

The development of education, reason, inquiry, self-government, religious freedom and other basic liberties were the means for the individual to realize self-interests. Almost all areas of American culture reinforce individual accomplishment and self-interest.

The capture of Protestantism by secular leaders, coupled with its basic foundation of protest, has resulted in great contradictions and conflicts in American culture and society.

The nature of "Calvinistic man", developed in protest to the moral laxity of medieval Catholic leaders, denied the very humanity of the social animal called man. The Calvinistic Protestant must deny everything human: his emotions, his association with family and friends, the fatigue of his body if he needed to keep working---anything which might possibly come between him and God the Calvinist must deny. In modern American culture these humanity-denying patterns are the same---the goal has merely been changed from "salvation" to "success". These

cultural patterns are in direct conflict with the essential bio-social character of man, which dictates that man must have love and social relations as the basis for good health.

When secular leaders captured Protestantism they made the pursuit of self-interest a virtue. This basic motivation is expected, accepted, and rewarded in American culture today. Christianity is also a part of American culture. And Christ taught absolute unselfishness. Insofar as the teachings of Christ do have influence upon Americans they are in conflict with the dominant cultural motivation of self-interest.

The negative character of the freedom which undergirds self-interest is in conflict with the total welfare of society. Freedom and equality are in conflict with each other, a fact which became rapidly evident shortly after the Civil War as business leaders gained societal control. There are other cultural contradictions--these are the major ones influencing the character of American authority.

Out of this developing experience has come also the basic character of American authority. Inherent in Protestantism is the antipathy in the American character to all forms of "control". This was true during the Colonial Period, the American Revolutionary period, during the settlement of the frontier; it is true today in relation to "figures of control" such as the teacher or policeman. In contrast to control, the American people have always accepted "authority" created by themselves through direct choice of their own leaders. To restrain the power of the individual, and to control authority which is delegated to leaders, the American people devised the multiple authority structure

such as the committee. They divided and limited authority whenever they could, instituted checks and balances, proclaimed and enforced through elections the right to instruct their representatives. The purpose of these devices was to enable the ordinary citizen to retain control of authority. Wherever possible, schools, churches, city and county government were kept under local citizen control.

As established in American culture, therefore, authority rested in the hands of the individual citizen. The motive behind the desires for self-government, through which individual authority was expressed, was the pursuit of self-interest most often manifest in material terms.

The character of American "democratic" authority is unique and different from the European heritage of its people. A clear and definite break with Old World concepts of authoritarian authority came with the winning of the Revolutionary War. Democratic concepts of authority were implemented by an authority structure, headed by the Federal Constitution, which is uniquely American. Authority relations were further democratized by some twenty-five decades of frontier living. It is the ideology and form of authority held by the majority which has been democratic; practice may have been another matter.

At the same time, also, authoritarian concepts and practice of authority have always been present in American society. Indeed, the major struggles within the society have been and continue to be, authority struggles. The Federalists under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton would have no part of authority resting in the hands of that

"great beast", the people. The Civil War was a struggle over authority. Northern democracy wanted to extend authority, and a southern aristocracy wished to retain its control. Business dominance of society was and is authoritarian in character, and ordinary citizens have been in a constant struggle to gain some freedom and independence from this dominance. Today we see the same struggle of "control" versus "authority" in the desegregation issue.

Thus it was that American culture and the character of American authority was established out of a Calvinistic, Protestant heritage modified by two and a half centuries of frontier experience. This basic cultural character was well formed by 1850, and was fully established by 1900.

This is the scene at mid-twentieth century: the basic culture and its ideology and form of authority relations, which developed under frontier conditions prior to 1900, are being perpetuated by the culture transmitting institutions which are in control of a few business leaders; leaders who desire frontier freedoms and individual authority and/or control for themselves. This individualistic ideology of authority is in direct conflict with an urban environment which demands cooperative, team-playing, inter-dependent action by the individual as a part of a group effort.

The new century has also brought millions of Catholic immigrants from Europe to settle in American cities as the labor force for a growing industry. Their ideology of authority is also in conflict with the

ideology of authority established in American culture under early and continuing Protestant dominance.

These basic sociocultural conflicts are indeed serious. They are reflected within the personality of the individual citizen, and influence his behavior in authority relations.

CHAPTER III - IDEOLOGICAL SEEDS

Freedom, independence, and self-reliance are important conditions necessary for the individual to exercise his authority as a citizen in a democratic society. Freedom is a state of society, a cultural pattern, and a state of being and feeling insofar as the individual is concerned. The negative aspect of freedom in relation to authority, is a feeling of "freedom from coercion" in the exercise of authority. The positive aspect of freedom, in this relationship, is culturally bound. This aspect of freedom is not only the actual condition of freedom, but the attitude, or lack of it, in the culture and in the individual, which directs him to use his freedom in the exercise of his authority in all areas in which he is competent. Many Americans, for example, are free to vote in elections, but do not use this freedom to exercise their authority. The other important sociocultural aspect of freedom in relation to authority, is how many people actually are free, legally and culturally, to exercise civil authority as normal citizens of a democratic society.

Moreover, man cannot exercise his authority freely in a capitalistic society unless he is economically independent, and unless he is self-reliant enough to take such action as is needed to exercise it.

One of our first tasks, therefore, is to try to gain perspective, insights, and understanding into contemporary sociocultural patterns of freedom, independence, and self-reliance in the United States.

We are not attempting here to write a history of American authority in relation to freedom, self-reliance, and independence. We have chosen

those historical events which we feel are most important in the shaping of American authority relationships, with the hope that an understanding of these events will help to clarify authority relationships as they are found in American society today. At the same time, however, we are fully cognizant that history is not a series of isolated events; rather, it is the ongoing daily experience of human beings. Nevertheless, while being fully aware of the importance and interconnectedness of all history, we are forced to choose those events we feel are most important to serve our purpose, and leave the others untouched.

Let us begin by briefly discussing Martin Luther's contribution to the ideology of authority.

MARTIN LUTHER AND INDIVIDUAL AUTHORITY

Salvation By Faith Alone - Breach In The Ideology Of Authority.

When that young monk and Doctor of Theology, Martin Luther, posted his ninety-five theses on the door of Castle Church in Wittenberg in 1517, he set in motion a train of events that have led to contemporary, democratic authority relationships in American culture and society. Out of this one act by a German dissenter from the Roman Catholic Church, have sprung the ideological seeds of democratic authority that have come to full fruition in the free soil of the New World.

After several years of terrible conflicts in his own soul, Luther had found his own salvation and peace through the study of the Scripture. In the atmosphere of fear then prevalent in the Catholic Church, God had

always been portrayed to him as a majestic and wrathful God; now through the cross of Christ, he had become a God of love and mercy. Out of this experience Luther had come to believe that all man needed for salvation was faith that through Christ he would be saved.

These were beliefs, in Luther's day, of rank heresy. For the Pope, at that time, claimed to be both the temporal and spiritual sovereign of all persons. This claim rested on another: that the Pope was the successor of St. Peter and the representative of Christ on earth. The mediation of the priest, as the representative of the Pope, was thus believed to be necessary to all people as the means to salvation. It was also this religious sanction which made the Pope, in the eyes of most people, far superior to all secular authority.

To assert, as Luther did, that all that was needed for salvation was faith on the part of the individual himself, was to eliminate completely the need for the mediation of the priest as the way to salvation, and at the same time undercut the Pope's claim to supreme authority on earth. But Luther's initial clash with the Roman Church was over another matter, that of indulgences. Some two centuries before Luther's time, Pope John XXII had systematically made the dispensation of grace, temporal and eternal, a matter of revenue. For a sum specified by the priesthood, a person could purchase an indulgence in exchange for remission of sins. Indulgences were so successful financially that the Church had, by Luther's time, begun to use them as a major means to finance Church activities.

It was the authority of the Pope to grant indulgences, and through them remission of sins, against which Luther spoke out in his ninety-five theses calling his colleagues to debate the matter.

Luther made the mistake of sending a copy of his theses to Albert of Mainz, who himself was using indulgences to advance his own station and power within the Church. Albert sent the copy to Rome, and from that day forward developed the battle between Luther and the Roman Church which culminated in the Protestant Reformation and the freedom of western man from the authority of the church.

Luther Plants The Seeds of Freedom and Independence

About a year after Luther had nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of Castle Church, he was called before Cardinal Cajetan to recant. When he was asked to recant, Luther demanded to be instructed in his error, and said, "I am not so audacious that for the sake of a single obscure and ambiguous decretal of a human Pope I would recede from so many and such clear testimonies of divine Scripture."¹

The Cardinal then said that Scripture must be interpreted, that the Pope is the interpreter, and that the Pope is above Scripture and everything else in the Church. "His Holiness abuses Scripture," retorted Luther. I deny that he is above Scripture."²

Later, in a written reply to Cardinal Cajetan, Luther said, "I deny that you cannot be a Christian without being subject to the decrees of the Roman Pontiff."³

Here we see the authority of Scripture being substituted for the

authority of a human Pope to grant salvation to the members of the church. It is doubtful that Luther could see even the immediate implications and consequences that were soon to flow from this original breach in the ideology of authority in the western culture.

In July, 1519, a year later, in a debate with John Eck at Leipsig, Luther had clarified his position still more: "I want to believe freely and be a slave to the authority of no one, whether council, university or Pope."⁴

But it was before the Diet of Worms in 1521 that Luther enunciated the full kernel of the creed that eventually loosed the bonds of western man. The scene was Luther standing before the Emperor Charles and a Plenary Session of the Diet, a hearing before the German nation, in fact. Luther was asked to repudiate his writings and utterances against the Pope and Church. He had given a qualified refusal, and when asked to simply state whether he did or did not repudiate and recant, he replied, "... Unless I am convicted by Scripture and plain reason---I do not accept the authority of popes and councils, for they have contradicted each other---my conscience is captive to the word of God. I cannot and I will not recant anything, for to go against conscience is neither right nor safe. Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise. God help me. Amen."⁵

In this outward defiance of the authority of Pope, Church, and Council, the amazing Luther exerted the authority of free men to think, to believe, and to act in accordance with their own conscience. Their only authority was to be Scripture, and that interpreted by the individual himself, instead of a Pope.

The Seeds Of Individualism And Equality

But perhaps most important insofar as authority relations are concerned, is the beginning psychology of individualism. When Luther said, "here I stand", the implied emphasis was on the "I". There was no one between him and God. Not the Pope, or priest, or church, but man --- was in charge of his own salvation --- salvation by faith alone. Luther explained it this way:

"...the sacrament depends for its efficacy upon the faith of the recipient. That must of necessity make it highly individual because faith is individual. Every soul...stands in naked confrontation before its maker...no man can die for another, no man can believe for another, no man can answer for another..."⁶

While the extent of Luther's individualism was only that every man must answer for himself to God, the consequences of freedom, individual action, and the use of reason naturally led beyond his mortal vision.

Most important, as far as reform was concerned, was the implementation of Luther's ideas in the lives of the common people. What affected them most, because it altered their daily devotions, was reform of the liturgy. The laity was now allowed to take the bread into their own hands and drink wine at the sacrament, where previously only the priest was allowed to do these things. They were also allowed to participate extensively in singing sacred hymns, could take communion without confession. Part of the mass was said in the native German, and priests discarded the vestments, wearing plain clothes at the altar. Priests, monks, and nuns married. Vigils ceased and masses for the dead were

discontinued. Images were smashed, and meat eaten on fast days.

Not only had salvation become individual, but these reforms planted the seeds of equality, the basis for new and different authority relations.

Moreover, with the first city ordinance of the Reformation, at Wittenberg, the foundation of "local authority" was laid. This ordinance confirmed reforms already instituted in Castle Church by Carlstadt, Luther's colleague. Luther's ideas on social reform were also implemented: "Begging was forbidden, prostitutes banned, images removed from the churches, and the genuinely poor maintained from a common fund."⁷

Faith alone could bring salvation, but men only partially free had already begun to improve the material aspects of their society so the spirit, they thought, could the better flourish.

The Seeds Of Materialism

Out of Luther's ideology we see also the first seeds of materialism, so important in the authority relations of western civilization. Luther's theory of the mass was "that the mass is not a sacrifice but a thanksgiving to God and a communion with believers. It is not a sacrifice in the sense of placating God, because he does not need to be placated, and it is not an oblation in the sense of something offered, because man cannot offer to God but only receive."⁸

Where previously much of man's time was occupied with keeping himself in the good graces of a wrathful, fearful God, so that he might hope to enter heaven instead of burn forever in a terrible hell, now he must only

have faith and love God. Outwardly, there is little he can do or need do for his salvation. Not only is he armed with individual freedom and reason, but he has more time to pursue the material things, to be occupied with the "self" in matters other than salvation. Even Luther, it is said, began to worry lest "the glorious liberty of the sons of God was in danger of becoming a matter of clothes, diet, and haircuts."⁹ But it remained for John Calvin, Luther's successor as Reformation leader to organize a Protestant theology which resulted in the economic and materialistic virtues being made a duty to glorify God.

Authority Transferred From Church To Secular State

"Luther's revolt against authority was an attack, not on its rigor, but on its laxity and its corruption."¹⁰ But the logic of his reforms, in giving the individual rather than the Church, the responsibility for salvation, led rather to further lessening of authority over man by his social institutions. This consequence soon became evident in the tragic Peasant's War, with its touching appeal to the Gospel, stimulated by Luther's previous work. The peasants demanded that villeinage should end, because "Christ has delivered and redeemed us all, the lowly as well as the great, without exception, by the shedding of his precious blood."¹¹ But Luther would have none of it. Said Luther, "This article would make all men equal and so change the spiritual kingdom of Christ into an external worldly one. Impossible! An earthly kingdom cannot exist without inequality of persons. Some must be free, others serfs,

some rulers, others subjects. As St. Paul says, 'Before Christ both master and slave are one.' "¹²

After Luther had written "The Freedom of the Christian Man," it and its author had been severely criticized because it "would prompt the masses to reject all authority."¹³

Luther had been severely criticized time and time again by the Roman Church because it said, "his teaching makes for rebellion, division, war, murder, arson, and the collapse of Christendom."¹⁴ He saw in the Peasant's War the confirmation of this criticism, and since he viewed the Reformation as spiritual, that is to say, internal rather than external in relation to man, he would not have the anarchy of the peasantry, concerned with a social revolution, impede the spiritual progress of the human soul.

It is highly significant, and portends of the future struggles to come, that the idea that all men are on the same footing before God, and thus in this respect equal, had so soon produced a revolution aimed at the realization of the same idea in the social structure. This idea is a seed which grows into full flowering of the adult plant only after many subsequent revolutions.

Also of great consequence as a result of Luther's religious premises is the divorcement of secular activities from previous spiritual restraints. In the words of Tawney, "it riveted on the social thought of Protestantism a dualism which, as its implications were developed, emptied religion of its social content, and society of its soul."¹⁵ The human soul, according to Luther's teaching, is spoken to God, in the

heart alone. Man-made social institutions and a priesthood are not necessary, are irrelevant to salvation. The soul is thus isolated from human society that it may seek its relationship to God, which is paramount. "The medieval conception of the social order, which had regarded society as a highly articulated organism of members contributing to a spiritual purpose, in their different degrees, was shattered...Man's actions as a member of society were no longer the extension of his life as a child of God: they were its negation. Secular interests ceased to possess, even remotely, a religious significance; they might compete with religion, but they could not enrich it."¹⁶

Although certainly not intended by Luther, we see in this dualism of secular and religious spheres of life, the seeds of division between church and state, the beginning of secularism, both of which are to later prove so important in the authority relations of the United States.

Since Luther would not have the Church wield authority over the secular affairs of man, and the anarchy of the peasants threatened to thwart the progress of the religious reformation, Luther had no place to turn but to the state. Peace and order he would enforce by the Prince's sword. "You see it is as I said," said Luther, "that Christians are rare people on earth. Therefore, stern hard civil rule is necessary in the world lest the world become wild, peace vanish, and commerce and common interests be destroyed...No one need think that the world can be ruled without blood. The civil sword shall and must be red and bloody."¹⁷

Thus we see authority and the maintenance of Christian morality transferred from the altar of the Church to the throne of the civil state. In Germany in particular, and in much of Europe, the citizen was never to be free from this authoritarianism, which at this crucial juncture in history, was transferred from the Church to the State, and up until the military defeat of Nazism, had constantly become stronger in the society and culture of many nations.

It was John Calvin, who, using many of the basic ideas propounded by Luther, welded them into a way of life which was to revolutionize the society and culture for western Europe, Great Britain in particular, and culminate in the democratic authority relationships of the American people. Let us turn now to a consideration of Calvin's ideology and its consequences in authority relationships.

JOHN CALVIN AND INDIVIDUAL AUTHORITY

Importance Of Calvinism In American Culture And Society

Most important in the foundation of American culture is the ideology of Calvinism. It was the English followers of Calvin, the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, and the Pilgrims of the Plymouth Colony, who had so much to do with the shaping of American culture and society in colonial times.¹⁸ These hardy people, whose glorification of God was expressed in hard work and capitalistic enterprise soon spread in all directions across the American continent. Because of historical accident these people were first to become established on the American continent, and

because their ideology spurred them ever to seek their fortune and the glory of God, they were usually first to open up new territory in the West. Naturally, they carried their social institutions and culture with them wherever they went, so that the first beginnings and social institutions in many communities were based on Calvinist ideology.

By the time of the great migration from Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the foundation of American culture had been laid, and it was the new immigrants who were forced to adjust to the American way of life.

Furthermore, it was the religious sects which developed from early Calvinism that have played so great a part in the development of the continent west of the Mississippi river. Chief among these were the Methodists and Baptists, whose circuit riding preachers followed the settlers west, and were active in establishing their religion early in the new communities. The Quakers and Mennonites, and the Congregational and Presbyterian faiths, all of Calvinist origin, have played a major role in American culture and society since the establishment of Plymouth Colony.

The victory of the industrial North in the Civil War also served to accelerate, in American culture and society, the consequences of the Calvinist ideology which was and is so firmly embedded in the culture of that area.

While the passage of human experience over four centuries has brought major changes and modifications in the Calvinist ideology, it is necessary to know something of the ideological seeds of Calvinism in

order to gain a fuller understanding of its contemporary influence. In this perspective let us turn to the development of Calvin's ideology. We shall begin with his personality, experience, and ideological background, since these are major influences in setting the direction of his theology.

Calvin's Personality, Experience, And Ideological Background

Calvin was indebted to other leaders of the Reformation for his major ideas. Especially did he owe a great debt to Luther and Martin Bucer. In its doctrinal outlook, the first edition of Calvin's "Institutes" might well appear a product of the German Reformation, especially as the movement had developed in the Rhine Valley.¹⁹ In fact, Calvin's whole theological work was made possible only by the antecedent labors of Luther.²⁰

Calvin's mind was formulative rather than creative, and with the logic of his legal training, he was able to take the fundamental principles of the Reformation, and organize them into a consistent body of theology which was able to withstand the major efforts and criticisms of its opponents. It was Calvin's ability to carry his theology into the daily living of the people through discipline and the organization of civil life, plus the education of the citizen in religious doctrine, that gave it the power that Lutheranism never developed. In short, Calvinism became a way of life, rather than just a religious doctrine, which sought not merely to purify the individual, but to reconstruct

Church and State, and to renew society by penetrating every department of life, public as well as private, with the influence of religion.²¹

Not unlike the experience of Luther, Calvin's theological development was influenced at the outset by the experience of his conversion. Like Luther, he found that even though he performed the outward duties of a member of the Roman Catholic Church, he experienced periods of terror, and had no peace of mind. Since the culture of the established church was so deep within his psychological system, he resisted his first contacts with Protestant ideas. But through contacts with friends who were Protestant, through study of the Scriptures, and aided by the abuses of the Church, he was converted.

Calvin regarded his conversion as the sovereign work of God. He felt that only the immediate and transforming intervention of God himself through his divine power could have wrought the change which he recognized as having taken place within him.²²

Nothing was between him and God, Calvin felt, and as God spoke through his divine laws embodied in the Scripture, he could but listen and obey. He came to believe that he was "called" by God to do his work, and as God's servant he felt he expounded the very words of God.²³ He had found relief from his burden of sinful feeling, and it is understandable why his beliefs concerning this experience were so deep in his psychological system.

As the foundation upon which his ideas of authority are based, and as the ideology which transformed "humble sinners" into "selfish, self-

governing, self-confident saints," let us describe briefly the major tenets of Calvin's theology.

The Power, Authority, Divine Justice, And Omnipotence Of God

Calvin's theology was centered around the idea of the power, authority, divine justice, and omnipotence of God. Since God created each one of us, he explained, we owe our lives to him, and belong to him, are subject to his authority. Because of these facts, said Calvin, our knowledge of God should teach us to fear and reverence him, "to implore all good at his hand, and to tender him the praise of all that we receive."²⁴

"God asserts his possession of omnipotence ... governs heaven and earth by his providence and regulates all things ..."²⁵ If not even a sparrow falls to the ground without God's knowledge and will, then certainly nothing happens without his will and counsel.

"The will of God is the highest rule of justice, so that what he wills must be considered just, for this very reason, because he wills it," said Calvin.²⁶ The smallness of the human mind, Calvin believed, prevents man from comprehending divine justice. Moreover, divine justice is too high to be measured by human standards, and for these reasons it would be highly presumptuous for man to even question God's ordering of the universe and human society. Calvin's major idea that God was everything, that man existed for God, rather than God existing for man, was based on his idea that all mortal beings are tainted with original sin because of the fall of Adam. He explained it this way:

"...the miserable ruin into which we have been plunged by the defection of the first man, compels us to raise our eyes toward heaven...to seek thence a supply for our wants...to learn humility...to perceive and acknowledge that in the Lord alone are to be found true wisdom, solid strength, perfect goodness, and unspotted righteousness."²⁷

This overwhelming sense of God's majesty, and the duty of man to submit to God's will, which is the core of Calvinism, is very important in the development of authority relations, as we shall see later.

Predestination, Election And Calling: Foundation For Individual Authority

It was Calvin's concept of "predestination, election and calling" which broadened the foundation for individualism, and was the foundation for the American idea of "personal authority" held by the "selfish, self-governing saints" of the New World. Calvin defined predestination as "the eternal decree of God, by which he has determined in himself what he would have to become of every individual of mankind."²⁸ Thus, God, in his righteous judgment, foreordained some to his Kingdom of eternal life, and some to the Kingdom of hell and death. God exercised his sovereignty over the human race, according to Calvin, by working through the lives of those he elected to heaven, influencing their behavior on earth in the direction of his will and for his divine purposes.

Calvin based his concept of election on the Scripture of St. John (6:43-45). "And this is the will of him that sent me, that everyone which believeth on the Son, may have everlasting life. No man can come to me except the Father draw him. Every man that hath heard and learned

of the Father, cometh unto me."

Thus God, the Father, delegated to Christ, the Son, the authorship of election, and makes known to Christ those he should call to the Kingdom. In order to obtain salvation and immortality, therefore, man should contemplate and look to Christ. Christ has declared, said Calvin, "that if we hear his voice, we shall be numbered among his sheep."²⁹

Man does not enter into the blessings of God's election until he is "called," Calvin believed, but as soon as he is called God makes him aware that he is among the "elect." Moreover, since "God creates whom he chooses to be his children by gratuitous adoption," those he elects are not necessarily distinguished by virtues, but are determined and called by his secret will to fulfill his divine purposes. Thus man can do nothing in the way of earthly works to insure his election, but he can regulate his behavior so he may hear "the call" of Christ.

The way to hear the call of Christ and salvation is through "faith alone," Calvin said. Man may apprehend "faith" through the study of the Scriptures, which declares God "as the creator of the world, and declares what sentiments we should form of him." Scripture also describes "God as he appears in his works." The Scripture never seriously affects us, however, until the grace of God works in our hearts to confirm it. The testimony of the spirit is superior to all reason. In order that God's grace may come to us, Saint Augustine justly observes, says Calvin, that piety and peace of mind ought to precede study of the

Scripture.³⁰

Man may, on the other hand, live such a pure and holy life as to apprehend the righteousness of Christ; and whoever believes in the righteousness of Christ, whether he reaches that state solely by faith or by works, is "justified in the sight of God," and will be called to salvation and immortality, Calvin said.

In an age when the after-life of immortality was more important to man than the affairs of the world about him, the major question for the majority of individuals became "Am I of the elect?" For Calvin this was not a problem. He felt himself to be a chosen agent of the Lord, and was certain of his own salvation. To those who were unsure of their election Calvin gave the answer that they should be content with the knowledge that God has chosen, and depend further only on that implicit trust in Christ which is the result of true faith.³¹

Such an answer was impossible for the mass of people, whose faith was not of such strength. As time passed, the concept of predestination was in many cases abandoned, reinterpreted, or reduced in importance. Pastors were, of course, faced with the practical consequences of the concept in dealing with the daily lives of their congregation. One type of pastoral advice held it to be an absolute duty to consider oneself of the elect, and to combat all doubts as temptations of the devil, since lack of self-confidence is the result of insufficient faith and imperfect grace. Thus, in one's daily living is one to attempt to make certain of salvation, and success in worldly affairs is recommended

as evidence of God's grace, and leading to confidence in one's salvation.³²

Identification of true faith was still a problem for the individual. How successful in the life of this world must he be in order to be sure of salvation? A type of Christian conduct which served to increase the glory of God, was the general answer to this question. The implication of such an answer was that the individual must each day live in such a fashion, and make steady progress toward greater worldly success as evidence of his election.

Since God has chosen the elect for salvation, they in return make the aim of their worldly life the glorification of God. There is implied here a compact between God and man, while St. Paul states that the real end of election is for man to lead a holy and blameless life, which implies that the elect are tools of the divine will on earth. The logic of the concept of predestination made it impossible for the elect to lose God's grace and assurance of salvation, once they had attained it.³³ Were this not so, God's plan for every life from the instant of its conception, would be shattered.

The practical consequences of good works being the sign of election is that although they cannot purchase salvation, they are the means of getting rid of the fear of damnation. The Calvinist is in a position to create the conviction of his own salvation, or, God helps those who help themselves.³⁴ Supplementary to the ideas of election and good works, Calvin developed the idea of "calling." This was not a new idea, for it was originated by Luther in his translation of the Bible (Jesus Sirach XI: 20-21). It is a Protestant idea.³⁵ Luther's concept of

"calling" was that every man is placed in a certain position in this world, which he must accept willingly, and adapt himself to because it is the will of God. Labor in one's calling, was, in Luther's view, an outward expression of brotherly love, of discharging one's duty to obtain for oneself the necessities of life. This was in contrast to the life of the monk, who must be supported by the rest of society. Since all worldly callings were the will of God, Luther believed that every legitimate calling has exactly the same worth in the eyes of God. The consequences of Luther's concept of "calling" was to support the status quo of the social structure, and limit man's economic activities to subsistence.³⁶

Calvin took the concept of "calling" and harnessed it to "election," making good works a sign of grace and salvation. In this relationship calling became "a task set by God" to glorify his kingdom. The way to live acceptably to God was to do one's duty in worldly affairs, to succeed materially. All every-day, worldly activity took on religious significance, became the means to certainty of salvation. Where calling, in Luther's interpretation, had meant subsistence in the status quo, as the means to conviction of the outward signs of salvation, as interpreted by Calvinism it became the bugle call to battle for the Lord. It was the father of revolutions, both social and economic.

Calvinism Leads To Individualism In Personality And Culture

Calvinism, first of all, changed the personality of its adherents. In protest against the Roman Church, it rejected the humanity of man

which the Catholics accept in their cycle of sin, repentance, atonement, release, followed again by renewed sin. There was no longer the mediation of a priest who could dispense atonement, hope of grace, and certainty of forgiveness. The Calvinist was alone with God, in deep spiritual isolation. The private confession, which released tension and guilt for the Catholic, was no longer available for the Calvinist.³⁷

Moreover, with its emphasis on the fall of man, original sin, and a transcendental God beyond human understanding, Calvinism was bound to build up a tremendous feeling of guilt. Under such tremendous tension and guilt the search for salvation and grace becomes a psychological necessity, for certainty of salvation means release, and at last some peace of mind. Individual self-interest becomes not only a necessity as a means to salvation, but also spiritual peace. Weber³⁸ cites Bunyan's *Pilgrims' Progress* as the most widely read book of Puritan Calvinist literature, and describes the scene wherein Christian realizes he is living in the City of Destruction, and has received the call to make his pilgrimage to the Celestial City. His wife and children cling to him, but stopping his ears with his fingers, and crying "life, eternal life," he staggers forth across the fields alone, leaving his wife and children behind. Only after "he" is safe does he realize it would be nice to have his wife and children with him.

In English Puritan literature especially, the individual is warned against the friendship of man, for man is liable to lead one away from God. Too much interest in one's family is also likely to detract from

attention to God and his will. Only God must be man's confidant, and nothing human must stand between.³⁹

The consequences of such ideology are many. Man is terribly alone in this world that he may find God in the next. Earthly social institutions are atomized into a society of individuals, each one seeking for himself alone the certainty of salvation. Instead of the unplanned life of the Catholic, the Calvinist God demanded a life of good works combined into a unified system.⁴⁰ All behavior of the Calvinist must be subject to a consistent method which will lead to the glory of God. This method had at its base the control of the emotions so that spontaneous, impulsive enjoyment might be destroyed, and man be constantly able to maintain and act on his motives to glorify God.⁴¹

Thus man is alone in a constant struggle--against his emotions to maintain a life of reason, and against society, which may provide obstacles to his upward climb--upward, he hopes, to God. The individual must be alert, clear in thought, develop inquiry, read and study the Scriptures, use reason, be quiet and peaceful that God's Grace may work in his heart. Here develops a great need for education and self improvement.

Work becomes not just an economic means, but a spiritual end, for in it alone can the soul find health. Religion must be active, not merely contemplative. Since God has commanded all to labor for their daily bread, even the rich must work.⁴² In the protest against the evils of Catholic monasticism, every Calvinist becomes, in his rational, planned

life for God, in effect, a monk, and the whole of Calvinist society becomes a monastery.

When the Calvinist became certain that he was of the elect and had been granted salvation, a powerful feeling of light-hearted assurance came over him, and his tremendous tension and guilt due to his sense of sin was released.⁴³ With this release came a new burst of energy in the joy that he was saved. Where the Calvinist has worked before to be sure of salvation, he now works in gratitude to God. The important thing is that he never stops working if he is physically able. The humble sinners of Catholicism and Lutheranism, now, under the influence of Calvinism's "election," become self-confident saints who are laboring in the "vineyard of the Lord." The accumulation of material goods becomes the external evidence of salvation, and the basis for internal faith that God has chosen one for his agent on earth, and kingdom in heaven. An assurance of salvation, and the belief that one is chosen by God Himself to do his work, is the stuff of which martyrs and revolutionists are made. This is the evidence which history brings of the trials and executions of these Protestant martyrs, where God's elect, in their quiet self-control, exhibit a deep contempt for the blustering emotions of the princes, prelates, and magistrates who persecute them.

Walker gives us an idea of the psychological feeling of the elect: "To a persecuted Protestant of Paris it must have been an unspeakable consolation to feel that God had a plan of salvation for him, individually,

from all eternity, and that nothing that priest or King could do could frustrate the divine purpose in his behalf."⁴⁴

And Preserved Smith describes the psychology of the Puritans, "the choice and sifted seed wherewith God sowed the Wilderness of America...." "Believing themselves chosen vessels and elect instruments of grace, they could neither be seduced by carnal pleasure nor awed by human might. Taught that they were Kings by the election of God and priests by the imposition of his hands, they despised the puny and viscious monarchs of this earth."⁴⁵

These were the hard Puritan merchants of New England, the leaders of a revolution against their English monarch, and eventual conquerors of the American continent. No one, they felt, had authority over them but God. As individuals elected to the kingdom of God, they could interpret his authority in their own way. No mortal being had the right to make decisions for these individuals, but the elect might make decisions which would order the lives of the reprobate. Their feeling of personal responsibility to God has also been carried over into civil affairs.

This is the ideological origin, which, reinforced by a century and a half of frontier living, is the basis of the feelings of personal, individual authority in American culture. Calvin, however, had much to say directly concerning the subject of authority. Let us now turn to his views on this subject.

All Authority Is Moral And Divine

In conformity to the main tenet of his theology "that God is all

and man exists for him," Calvin put forth the supporting idea that all authority rests with the Lord, who has delegated authority to Christ as head of the church, and to ministers to interpret his holy word and promote his spiritual Kingdom on earth. God has also delegated authority to magistrates and princes to rule in earthly, temporal matters. Calvin's views on authority were also in support of the idea that no human being or institution ought to stand between man and his God. "I only contend for this one point," he said, "that no necessity ought to be imposed upon consciences in things in which they have been set at liberty by Christ; and without this liberty...they can have no peace with God. They must acknowledge Christ their Deliverer as their only King, and must be governed by our law of liberty, even the sacred word of the gospel, if they wish to retain the grace which they have once obtained in Christ."⁴⁶

In Matters Of Conscience --- Exemption From All Human Authority

Since God is all-knowing and all-foreseeing, mere man needs only to know his will and obey it. "Everything pertaining to the perfect rule of a holy life, the Lord has comprehended in his law, so that there remains nothing for men to add to that summary. And he has done this, first, that since all rectitude of life consists in the conformity of all our actions to his will, as their standard, we might consider him as the sole Master and Director of our conduct; and secondly, to show that he requires of us nothing more than obedience....,"⁴⁷ Calvin stated.

In matters of the conscience then, believers are ultimately subject

only to God, or to Christ, and to Ministers of the Church in those affairs where he has delegated authority. The logic of this view in its negative aspects was that humans have no authority over others in matters of conscience; ministers are the only exception to this, and their authority is carefully defined. Calvin was explicit on this point. "Now, since the consciences of believers...have been delivered by the favor of Christ from all necessary obligation to the observance of those things in which the Lord has been pleased they should be left free, we conclude that they are exempt from all human authority."⁴⁸ Because Paul "extols the service of God and the spiritual rule of a holy life above all the statutes and decrees of men...human laws...are not on this account binding on the conscience,"⁴⁹ although human laws, generally, ought to be obeyed. Believers who are seeking an assurance of their justification before God should raise themselves above the law, and concentrate on Christ alone. Moreover, any human tradition which, without the word of God, attempts to place the conscience under religious obligation, prescribe a method of worship, advocate ceremonies which obscure the simplicity of the gospel, and are used for dishonest gain, ought to be rejected by the Church and all pious persons,⁵⁰ Calvin elaborated. Let us turn now to Calvin's views on civil authority.

Civil Authority Subordinate To The Authority Of The Church

Those men who would have no restraint on their liberty except Christ alone, Calvin believed, "foolishly imagine a perfection which can never be found in any community of men." He thought it the duty

of civil government not only to restrain man in his wickedness, but to excite him to the pursuit of a life of holiness. To these ends, man is under both spiritual and civil government. Said Calvin, "Man is under two kinds of government - one spiritual by which the conscience is formed to piety and the service of God; the other political, by which a man is instructed in the duties of humanity and civility, which are to be observed in an intercourse with mankind..."⁵¹ Again, since the service of God is paramount, civil government exists to support the spiritual affairs of man, and as an enforcement agency of Church decisions, must be separate from Church government, he believed.

The jurisdiction of civil policy will "be no other than an order instituted for the preservation of the spiritual polity....Spiritual polity...is entirely distinct from civil polity..."It is the duty of the magistrate to purge the Church from offences; the duty of the Minister of the Word to prevent the multiplication of offenders...Use of the spiritual power of the Church ought to "be entirely separated from the power of the sword..."⁵² These are Calvin's early ideas on the organization of the Christian Commonwealth.

Calvin elaborated on the objects of civil government by saying that offenses against God and religion "may not openly appear and be disseminated among the people; that the public tranquility may not be disturbed; that every person may enjoy his property without molestation;...in short, that there may be a public form of religion among Christians..."⁵³

Calvin is here moving religion into the market place that it may encompass the whole life of man. For, as a Puritan leader later explained, "it is through the minutiae of conduct that the enemy of mankind finds his way to the soul; the traitors to the Kingdom might be revealed by pointed shoes or golden earrings..."⁵⁴

Magistrates And Rulers Vicegerents Of God

Calvin's early ideas on temporal authority was that magistrates and other rulers are "vicegerents of God" to whom he has delegated authority to order civil affairs. They should understand that their tribunals are "the throne of the living God." "Let governors take care of their people," Calvin said, "preserve the public peace, protect the good, punish the wicked, and administer all things in such a manner as becomes those who must render an account of their office to God the supreme Judge." Moreover, he continued, if magistrates allow the liberty of their subjects to be diminished or violated, "they are perfidious to their office, and traitors to their country."⁵⁵

On the other hand, said Calvin, "the people should honour their governors, patiently submit to their authority, obey their laws and mandates, and resist nothing to which they can submit consistently with the divine will." After all, since both ruler and subject, master and servant, are "brethren and companions in the service of the heavenly Master," both should cheerfully and willingly discharge their obligations and duties to each other. Since all rulers and magistrates have their authority from God, subjects should submit even to those who are unjust

tyrants; tyrannical rulers have been raised up by God to punish the iniquity of the people, and it is his province to reduce them when he sees fit. There is just one exception to this, said Calvin; rulers who command anything against God ought not be obeyed.⁵⁶ When Calvin said that the people should obey their magistrates, he was not speaking of persons but of the office they hold and the functions they perform as God's ministers. "I am not speaking of persons as if the mask of dignity ought to palliate or excuse folly, ignorance or cruelty...but I affirm that the station itself is worthy of honour and reverence; so that, whoever our governors are, they ought to possess our esteem and veneration on account of the office they fill."⁵⁷ This concept of the authority of "office," with the ultimate source of authority changed from God to the citizenry, is prevalent in American culture today.

Let us now review Calvin's concept of the authority of the ministers of God's Church.

The Authority Of God's Ministers

In the sphere of spiritual polity, Calvin believed it was the first duty of the minister to preserve to Jesus the authority which God has delegated to him as head of the Church. Here again, as in civil authority, God has delegated his authority to the "office" of minister, not to his person. "For when they were called to their office, it was at the same time enjoined that they should bring forward nothing of themselves, but should speak from the mouth of the Lord," said Calvin. Ministers have

the authority to constrain all the strength, glory, wisdom, and pride of the world to submit to his Majesty; supported by his power, may govern all mankind, from the highest to the lowest, may build up the house of Christ, and subvert the house of Satan...may instruct and exhort the docile, may reprove, rebuke, and restrain the rebellious and obstinate; may bind and loose...but all in the word of God,"⁵⁸ he explained further.

Citizen Authority Under Early Calvinism

Most important to the future of democratic authority relations was the fact that Calvin advocated that ministers be "appointed with the consent and approbation of the people." He felt also that the power of both the Church and the civil community should be wielded not by one man, but "by a legitimate assembly." In this way the citizen got his foot in the door of democratic authority, a position he never fully relinquished until he gained his economic and political goals in the New World.

Calvin was certainly no advocate of democracy; it was rather the consequences of his views that led in that direction. He felt that "private persons should not, without being called upon, intermeddle with affairs of state, or rashly intrude themselves into the office of magistrates, or undertake anything of a public nature," unless commanded by the governor whence they would than have "public authority."⁵⁹

Here was a vital contradiction in Calvin's ideology. Laymen who became accustomed to electing their ministers naturally began to wonder

why they should not also choose rulers and magistrates. And by the time of the seventeenth century this question had become great enough to be the major issue in the English Civil War, and later was the main issue in the American Revolution. Calvin conceded that "the vice or imperfection of men renders it safer and more tolerable for the government to be in the hands of many, that they may afford each other mutual assistance and admonition, and that if anyone arrogate to himself more than is right, the many may act as censors and masters to restrain his ambition..."⁶⁰ But he favored an aristocracy, or a mixture of aristocracy and democracy.

The choice of their ministers, elders, and deacons by the people had in it the seeds of republican, representative government. By the close of his career Calvin had seen autocratic kings oppress so many of his followers that he developed the theory of constitutional resistance through divinely appointed representatives responsible to God and to the people. Such resistance on the part of estates or parliaments was constitutional and rational, he stated, because it was based on the word of God (the Bible), a political covenant or compact (preferably written), a coronation oath, and some form of fundamental law. Thus, even in Calvin's own lifetime, he progressed from advocating "obedience to all rulers" who did not violate the will of God, to advocacy of representative government by common consent in both church and state.⁶¹

Calvinism Stimulates Growth Of Materialistic Secularism

Perhaps of greatest significance in American authority relationships

is the sanction and direction which Calvinism gave to economic activity and property. Coincidental with the religious revolution which was taking place in Europe in Calvin's time, was a commercial and economic revolution of even greater significance. Calvinism started in the urban centers, and being largely an urban movement, was face to face with a culture of commerce, industry, and the increasing power of the middle classes engaged in these activities.⁶² Calvin, as the main leader of the Protestant movement of his times, was faced, in the main, with two choices in regard to economic activity. He could adopt the view of Luther that all economic activity beyond the need for subsistence is immoral, greedy, and disturbing to the social order, because, said Luther, it leads men away from God, injures one's human brethren, and disturbs the world as God has ordered it. Or he could accept the existing culture and try, through the Christian religion, to transform the whole of man's life into the City of God. Trained as a lawyer, Calvin was both a realistic and pragmatic. He was quite willing to use whatever worked toward attainment of his goals, and he varied his means as his experience showed previous means to be in error toward successful accomplishment. Whatever his motives, Calvin had before him the demonstrated political weakness of Luther's position relative to the rising commerce and industry, and perhaps he saw that the political success of his religious movement hinged on integrating it into the existing culture. That, at least, was the choice he made.

Calvinism recognized the existence, if not the necessity, of credit,

banking, large scale commerce and finance, and the other practical facts of business life. Calvinistic leaders placed the profits of trade and finance on the same level of respectability as the earnings of the laborer and the rents of the landlord. The financier, formerly under the censure of the Church for his activities, under Calvinism becomes a useful member of society. And lending money at interest, once condemned as usury, is sanctioned by Calvin provided the rate is reasonable and loans are made freely to the poor.⁶³ Calvin did not abandon the claim of religion to moralize economic life, but tried, instead of denouncing economic activity, to get men to dedicate material interests to the service of God. Not as any scheme of social reform, but as elements in a plan of moral regeneration, Calvinists stamped on the aptitudes of the business life a new sanctification, where the fruits of such a life were used for the glory of God.⁶⁴

Thus it was that the virtues of economy, modesty, industry, thrift, an organized life dedicated to God, and the conduct of business as itself a kind of religion, since it was in God's name, became highly rewarded in Calvinist society. This way of life was the exact anti-thesis of that advocated by the Roman Catholic Church, and the protest against Catholicism was undoubtedly a factor in its advocacy.⁶⁵

At the same time, the sanction of economic activities fit in very well with the concepts of "election" and "calling". It so happened that not only did a sober, frugal life of hard work constitute "a sure road to heaven, but also a dependable way to economic independence."⁶⁶ God's

spiritual elect, whose salvation was evidenced by prosperity in material things, were thus also the elect in economic power, a fact which R. H. Tawney and Max Weber advocate as responsible for the rise of "modern" capitalism, as found in the United States.

In Tawney's words, "such teaching...was admirably designed to liberate economic energies, and to weld into a disciplined social force the rising bourgeoisie...proud of its vocation as the standard bearer of the economic virtues, and determined to vindicate an open road for its own way of life by the use of every weapon, including political revolution and war, because the issue which was at stake was not merely convenience or self-interest, but the will of God."⁶⁷

Because it sanctioned the way of life they were already leading, Calvinism took rapid and deep root among the middle classes of Western Europe, especially in Great Britain where the commercial revolution was progressing most rapidly, was Calvinism most welcome, and it was there that some of its most outstanding leadership was developed.

Adam Smith, in his book "The Wealth of Nations," called "the Anglo-Saxon middle class Bible" by some, interpreted in an economic way the fundamental belief of English and Scotch Calvinists. Smith's main idea was that the individual should be allowed to work out his own salvation in economic affairs, unhampered by governmental restrictions.⁶⁸ Thus was economic individualism added to the already existing religious and intellectual individualism of the Calvinist, it indeed being the consequence of the latter two.

Calvinism Stimulates Education: Means For Intelligent Exercise Of
Authority

In contrast to Catholicism, where man's conviction of salvation depends only on his faith in the efficacy of the church and its priesthood, Protestantism, on the other hand, emphasized the personal responsibility of each individual to know and do the will of God, as the way to his grace. In the Protestant concept of salvation, therefore, is inherent the need for intelligence and its development through education. Calvin believed that a true Christian life of piety depended upon intelligence; his appeal was largely to the intellect, which led to positive action by the individual.⁶⁹ This is again in contrast to Catholicism, where the primary appeal is to the emotions, and education of the intellect is not an implied requirement for the highest type of Christian living.

Calvin saw in education not only the means for God to reach the individual, but the means, as well, of maintaining the purity of the Church, and of propagating the doctrine through an educated clerical and lay leadership. As the basis for his Christian Commonwealth, Calvin now advocated and proceeded to organize three major supports. These were pure preaching, the thorough discipline of every life, and now, to these he added religious education. His disciples should not merely have the Evangelical faith, they should be able to give a reason worthy of the respect of every man of learning for the faith that was in them.⁷⁰

As he attempted to do with most of his major ideas, Calvin was not long in putting his educational ideas into practice. In 1538 he

collaborated with two educators in publishing a prospectus of the Geneva Elementary schools. His main curriculum features were language study, arithmetic, and training for civil and church leadership. Later he and his followers developed Secondary and University education, to make his educational system complete.⁷¹

It was Calvin's theological seminary, as the main part of his Genevan University, then called an Academy, which provided the training for disciples which spread Calvinism to Western European countries and eventually to America. Calvin made of Geneva a haven for Protestant refugees. The Marian Exiles from England were provided with a church in which to worship in their own tongue. John Knox, in voluntary exile from his native Scotland, absorbed the major ideas of Calvin while in Geneva. Knox later declared that Calvin's system of religion was "the most perfect school of Christ that ever was on earth since the days of the Apostles."⁷² These disciples, convinced that Calvin's message was that of God, were willing to fight and suffer for their faith. They became leaders of the Puritan-inspired revolution in England, and the Presbyterian revolution in Scotland. The influence of Calvinism was also spread to France and the Netherlands in similar fashion.

These disciples of Calvinism, who had studied in Geneva, naturally carried with them upon return to their homeland Calvin's ideas on education as an integral part of the training of youth to maintain the Christian community. His system of education also provided a model for his followers throughout the world.

Calvin viewed the office of teacher as of divine appointment, having as its highest duty that of educating "the faithful in sound doctrine" from the Old and New Testaments. The teacher was thus to be a part of the ministry, and subject to its regulations. Calvin intended for teachers to be chosen by the ministers, but the Little Council of Geneva, in a position to take a share of the power which the ministers desired to exercise alone, passed a provision that the teacher must first be presented to the Council and examined by two of its members.⁷³ Teachers, in this way, originally under Calvinism, secured their authority to teach from both the civil and religious segments of the community, and were therefore responsible to both for their behavior and teachings.

Let us now try to summarize and evaluate the ideological contributions of Luther and Calvin toward democratic authority. We shall also attempt to evaluate the consequences of their ideology as these consequences developed in the society and culture of the western world and lay the foundations for democratic authority relations.

Ideologically speaking, Luther's contribution to freedom and independence is a major one. His basic idea of salvation by faith alone is the idea that breached, in European cultures, the authoritarian ideology of authority held and enforced by the Roman Catholic Church. This ideological breach led eventually to Protestantism, freedom, and self-government. This was also the beginning of individualism, of the individual's personal responsibility for his own salvation, of his

concentration and reliance upon the "self", rather than a concern with his role in corporate society.

While Luther's ideology implied self-reliance, especially in regard to personal salvation, his emphasis on the socio-economic status quo limited this configuration as compared to the impetus it received from Calvin in all spheres of life.

While others were laboring also with ideas similar to those expounded by Luther, his role and value in western culture is that of the pioneer, not unlike, in many respects, the pioneers of the New World who had the spiritual courage to face adversity, defeat, and death. True, Luther was an ideological, not a continent-conquering pioneer, but the spirit is the same. Luther was the scholar and theologian whose soul-searing experience of psychological fear and terror as a young man drive him relentlessly on in his search for spiritual peace. After he, by his own efforts, had found his peace in faith through study of the Scriptures, to have given it up in conformance with Catholic doctrine would have meant spiritual death. He was psychologically bound to expound and defend the very foundation of his own emotional peace; when he said, "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise," he was speaking a psychological truth.

It was the coincidence of history, or perhaps, as a Calvinist would say, "the hand of God" directing earthly matters, which placed Luther in the proper environment at the moment which enabled him to defend successfully his ideas which led to the Protestant revolution.

Others before him had gone to the stake for similar heresies.

But it was Luther's good fortune to appear on the stage of history when nationalism was rising and the German princes and their subjects were chafing under the yoke of the Church. And certainly even more important was the fact that Luther's own prince, Frederick The Wise, believed in Luther enough to protect him and allow him freedom to study, write, and preach his ideas.

Starting with the idea simply of a protest against abuses of the Church, Luther was soon driven by the Catholic pope and prelates to develop an ideology to defend his original position. This was followed with further ideological development as the social consequences of his ideas, such as the Peasant's Revolt, demanded such expansion. The cultural significance of this manner of ideological development is its negative character. While Luther's basic idea of "salvation by faith alone" came as he sought freedom from terror, it was positive in the sense that it was seeking a positive good, spiritual tranquility.

But a major share of Luther's ideas were born out of protest to an already existing culture. Time after time one is confronted with the fact that the major characteristic of much of Luther's and Calvin's ideology is its exact antithesis of Catholic culture. The emphasis on work as an end in itself, on the evils of luxury and extravagance, on foresight **and** thrift, on moderation and self discipline, and on rational calculation, are examples of this fact. For these ideas were the exact

opposite of the Catholic culture of corporate society, where man, for salvation, needed external good works, not reason; where he was assigned a role by God in a society which provided for the needs of all; where he must concentrate on salvation in the next world rather than concern himself with earthly affairs; and where the leaders of the Church, as vicegerents of God in absolute power, but subject to the vices of mortal man, at times reveled in an orgy of sensuality, luxury and extravagance.

Luther, in particular, renounced the evils of monasticism, since his religious offices as a monk had not been effective in bringing him psychological peace. And the fact that the German people did not like to pay for the upkeep of the idle friars, may have also influenced Luther in this matter.

The emphasis upon work which has been so prevalent in American culture had its origin in Luther's ideology. It is not a positive emphasis on work as the basis for physical and emotional health; rather, its cultural foundation, now modified, to be sure, was that idleness is a sin. With the monks as an example of the evil of idleness, Luther merely advocated the exact negative of this Catholic cultural pattern. He maintained that every man should labor for his own subsistence, and reinforced his idea by making idleness a sin.

Both Luther and Calvin protested against the moral laxity of the Catholic Church. Both were willing to sacrifice man's freedom that he might be forced to obey God's laws, and in spite of himself, reach

the eternal peace of salvation. Luther would have the divine princes of the civil state enforce God's laws; Calvin would have the dictatorship of the ministry, resting on the power of the subordinate civil state, accomplish the same task.

But the seeds of freedom, so abhorrent to both men, had been sown in the ideas of individual responsibility for salvation and the equality of all men before Christ. Luther started with the idea that man should be free from the priesthood and alone with God that he might find salvation. But he had no idea of extending freedom into the other areas of culture. However, the peasants wanted to be free from their masters, and the squelching of their efforts to gain liberty later led to their desire for freedom from the Church and from religion, which was standing in their way.

The significant point here is that freedom in the Protestant culture of Western civilization is "negative freedom"; the negative cultural foundation of freedom set by Luther has never changed. The middle classes wanted, fought for, and won -- freedom from restraint by religion and the state over their economic activities. The American Colonies wanted freedom from the mother country. The frontiersman wanted freedom from restraint over any of his activities. The modern businessman and the American schoolboy want the same freedom from restraint. This negative aspect of freedom has progressed so far in urban society, that Erich Fromm has written a thought-provoking book called "Escape From Freedom."

The negative aspects of Protestant culture have powerful implications in other areas. We shall comment later on the conflict between Protestant culture and the social nature of man.

Since our subject here is freedom, independence and self-reliance, let us comment in that relation on the consequences of Luther's ideology in the social structure of the civil state. Luther's emphasis on the individual's direct relation to his God fastened on society an ever-widening dualism between spiritual and secular affairs. Not only had the egoism of the Protestant stimulated selfishness, but the Church no longer had authority or power to regulate man's secular affairs. As we have already mentioned, Luther turned to the civil state for regulatory power in the Peasant's War, an act which merely transferred the authoritarianism of the Church to the State. Except in the environment of the New World, man never attained complete freedom under Lutheranism.

And even in the New World, where complete freedom did become a reality under the conditions of frontier living, it was the selfish, negative freedom of Calvinism in a secular environment, as opposed to the positive freedom for social responsibility as taught by Christ.

Where Luther was the pioneer in ideology, Calvin was the theologian, formulator, organizer, disciplinarian, and educator. He took the ideas of Luther and Martin Bucer and welded them into an explicit theology which was adopted by the middle classes as the salient ideology in their struggle for power.

Calvin's statement that in matters of conscience, no other human

was to stand between man and God, is an example of how he made Protestant ideology explicit. Luther's ideology had implied this for the total culture; Calvin stated it explicitly. The ideological difference in the two men was in their focus of emphasis. With Luther the main focus was on salvation by faith; with Calvin it was discipline and social organization as the means to establishing the Christian commonwealth. Luther turned to the social structure only when the consequences of his ideas forced him to; with Calvin this was the major emphasis.

We see in Calvin's major tenet of theology; the majesty, power, and omnipotence of God, and the original sin of man, ideas which are essentially no different from the character of man and deity as expressed by Catholicism.

But it was the dynamic concept of predestination, election and calling, coupled with this concept of man and deity, which revolutionized man, culture, and society in the Western world. The acceptance of existing economic activity, if used for the glory of God, merely made Calvinism acceptable to the middle classes, who selected out of it the things useful to their purposes in winning power.

As it was Luther's ideology, it was the sociocultural consequences of Calvinism which ultimately led to freedom, independence, and democratic authority.

Certainly of primary importance in the development of democratic freedom was the change that came over the personality of the Western

man who embraced Calvinism. Formerly under Catholicism he had been little moved to change. He lived in a corporate society which provided for his basic spiritual, social, and physical needs. As a Calvinist he was alone in the world with the same just and fearful God, and could have no spiritual peace, as tainted with the sin of Adam, he must work and deny and work until his external accumulation of material goods convinced him he was among God's elect. And anyone who denied his freedom to accumulate the external evidence of salvation was bound to incur his dedicated opposition and wrath, because he was being denied psychological peace. As one writer so aptly phrased it, the Calvinistic Puritan, because there was within him the feeling that "maketh him more fearful of displeasing God than all the world, he is a natural Republican, for there is none on earth that he can own as master."⁷⁴

This was particularly true after the Calvinist was convinced he was of the elect, and there was nothing mortal man could do to alter God's plan for him. This was the spiritual independence which provided the self-confident saints with the psychological power to stand up to prelates, princes and parliaments, or anyone or anything that stood in the way of their freedom.

Non-conformity, growing out of this same spiritual independence, has been not only invaluable in the maintenance of democratic freedom, but also, through the production of new ideas, has been and is the engine of spiritual, social, political and economic progress.

Other consequences of Calvinism have served to reinforce and buttress the new personality which it fashioned. Calvin taught that no one but God was to have authority over the conscience of the individual. Since the affairs of conscience were sum and substance of the most important goal of earthly living - salvation - why should man be under the authority of his mortal brethren in civil affairs, those things of lesser importance? The fact that man was wicked and needed restraint, as Calvin explained, so God's work, and not man's be done, apparently did not alter man's desire for freedom in all aspects of his life. This is particularly true when the elect are God's chosen few in both spiritual and worldly goods, and freedom is necessary for them to continue the way of life they are already pursuing. Moreover, Calvin had later in life championed liberty as that state of society most conducive to the happiness of the people.

The fact that the citizen had become accustomed to electing his minister inevitably led to the question of "why should he not also choose his civil ruler?" And the fact that rulers and magistrates acted like ordinary men, varying in character from the saintly to the knave, only served to add emphasis to the question.

Calvinists who were accustomed to interpreting the Scriptures in their search for salvation, were logically bound to interpret for themselves whether or not the command of a ruler was contrary to the will of God. The elect especially, who owned no other master but God, could not help but question the rightfulness of human statutes

and institutions. Justice, in this manner, often became equated with the interests of the elect, and revolutionary political movements carried a religious sanction.

As a major tool of religious individualism man was led to seek education and skill in the use of reason and inquiry. These were necessary if man was to hear the call of Christ to salvation and immortality, and to be able to read and study the Scriptures, so he might know God's will after he had been elected to his kingdom.

These same tools, of course, were useful in any area of culture, and were very powerful in the hands of the elect who were seeking political, economic, and religious freedom.

Calvinism was also important in bringing education to the masses. John Knox, one of Calvin's most famous disciples, as a result of his democratization of the concept of election to include the common man, created, at the same time, a need for the common man's education. As a result, Knox and his followers developed the concept of education as a national requirement. Everyone, rich and poor alike, needed education; the rich would secure education themselves, but the poor must be compelled to attend schools, even though the public has to support them,⁷⁵ Knox said.

Education for the total citizenry has been one of the most important concepts to come out of Calvinism as a tool for winning and maintaining freedom and independence, and for the intelligent exercise of democratic authority. But education, which first was motivated by the

desire to bring man closer to God, secondly to enable the individual to discharge his duties of democratic citizenship, has now been harnessed primarily to the motive of the accumulation and consumption of material goods.

The foundation of the cultural character and motive for freedom and democratic authority we find in the development that saw the middle classes, particularly in England, embrace Calvinism because it accepted and gave religious and moral sanction to the economic activity that was already, for many, the major motivation. It must have been a happy discovery to these people to find that business success also led to election to God's Kingdom.

What actually happened was that the leaders of the times selected out of Calvinism those ideas useful to their purposes, and harnessed them as the power to reach their own goals. Calvinist theology was often accepted where Calvinist discipline was repudiated.⁷⁶ The individualism in Calvinism was helpful in the struggle of the middle classes to gain power. The Christian society, or the disciplining of civil life in accordance with God's laws, was not acceptable to the middle classes, so this part of Calvinism was rejected and remolded to support individualism. Individualism, and the Christ-like society, were, in Calvin's day, and still are, contradictory and incompatible. As Calvin in pragmatic fashion changed his position, he won political and economic power through his adherents, but in the process, whatever authority existed in his religious position was gradually compromised away. In the words of one

writer, "The classes whose backing was needed to make the Reformation a political success had sold their support on terms which made it inevitable that it should be a social disaster."⁷⁷

Moreover, we find that the separation of Church and state, a cultural pattern which developed most under Calvinism, provided an effective wedge for the middle classes to win freedom and independence. At the same time this separation resulted in the Protestant churches losing their power and authority over the character of society, and eventually forced religion into a compartment in ineffectual isolation from other sociocultural affairs. The weakness of the position of the Protestant church became evident even in Calvin's day, when the Council of Geneva simply refused to act on the minister's suggestions in regard to the economic affairs of the laity.⁷⁸ The only weapon which Calvin and his Church had to win the authority of the people was to appeal, through preaching and teaching, to their intellect and emotions in the moulding of public opinion. In a capitalistic society, even this requires some money. And since Calvin separated church and state, and gave the power of law enforcement, necessary for taxation, to the state, he in effect emasculated the effectiveness of the authority he attempted to retain. For the poor, who would support the Christ-like interpretation of economic activity, have no money to give to the Church; while the rich, in return for their support to the religious community, will demand such terms as will render religion inoffensive to, or in support of, their economic activities.

These two consequences of Calvinism, its adoption by the middle classes and the separation of Church and state, resulted in freedom remaining negative in character and being won on the wings of secular materialism. These consequences meant also that the major motive behind the desire for freedom and democratic authority, self-interest, was first religious in character as man sought salvation, secondly, both economic and religious in character as business success assured the Calvinist of election, and finally, as secularism won control, becoming primarily economic in character.

The materialistic consequences of Calvinism, while ultimately leading to loss of freedom and independence, up until the mid-nineteenth century, actually increased the independence of Americans. At this point in American history, a higher percentage of Americans were economically independent, and thus had more actual freedom than ever before or since. Certainly, the characteristics of enterprise, diligence, thrift, and hard work, so stimulated by Calvinism, have been important cultural patterns in the winning of freedom and independence. But these same cultural patterns in Calvinism long kept the common man from winning his freedom and independence. This part of Calvinism meant that economic inequality was fostered -- the elect and successful in business gaining great power which they used to deny freedom to those they considered reprobate. This was also morally defensible under the concept of predestination, for God, it was believed, had predestined some to his Kingdom and others to serve them.

The moral overtones which attach to freedom in American culture have their foundations in Calvinism. As we have already pointed out, self-interest, originally directed toward salvation and psychological peace, was partially responsible for the moral overtones which freedom acquired. But perhaps of equal, if not more importance, in the clothing of self-interest in moral terms was the religious character of the society in which the middle classes were trying to gain freedom. Calvin had much to say about the character of civil society as a part of the Christian Commonwealth.

Under Calvinism we see the implied compact between man and God in religious life extended to ruler and subject in civil affairs. Since, under Calvinism, all authority resides ultimately in God, governments in civil affairs are valid and ought to be obeyed only if they are founded on God's laws. Calvin was explicit on this point. "I approve of no human constitutions, except such as are founded on the authority of God, and deduced from the Scripture, so that they may be considered as altogether Divine. . . The question is, whether it be a human tradition, which everyone is at liberty to reject or neglect."⁷⁹

Moreover, since all of life, under Calvinism, took on moral significance in the positive sense, as the road to salvation, the explicit addition of civil affairs to God's domain meant that those in control, as well as those advocating change, must clothe their ideas and actions in moral terms. Both political and economic activity, to be legitimate in the eyes of the people, needed moral sanctions. The middle classes,

for example, while they had victories still to win, were the spearhead of revolution. Once in the saddle they became advocates of order in the social structure.⁸⁰ And both positions were maintained in the name of God.

The strenuous morality which was very much a part of the Calvinist way of life denied freedom to some and won it for others. Calvinists have been the spearheads of social reform in all English-speaking nations. In the issues of slavery and woman suffrage, both so important in freedom, independence, and the widening of democratic authority, Calvinist Puritans have been notable as leaders.

The other side of the coin of the strenuous morality of Calvinism was the bigotry, and lack of charity and freedom for those men who insisted on being human, and who could not or would not abide by the patterns of culture in Calvinistic society.

Two characteristics of authority, important in the maintenance of freedom and independence, also have their cultural foundation in Calvin's teachings. Calvin not only explicitly defined the authority of various offices, but enunciated also the principle that anything not authorized by God through the Scriptures must be prohibited to man.

We find both of these Calvinistic principles working in the American Constitution, where authority is carefully defined, and expressly limited, so that any authority not delegated by the people still resides in them and may not be used.

The concept of equality, which came to the fore early as the basis

of the Peasants' Revolt in Germany, has always been most important as a basis for seeking freedom in Protestant culture. As these German peasants stated, if Christ died for all men, why should our masters be free and we be serfs? Even though illiterate, these peasants were not long in seeing the implications of equality under Christ as related to their freedom. Luther had said, too, that all employment is important in the eyes of God; Calvin had stated that both master and servant are brethren in the service of God. If man is equal in the most important sphere of life, God's grace and salvation, why should he not be equal in those areas of life which are of lesser importance? And if some men have freedom, why should not the rest, their equals in God's sight, have freedom also?

These are the implications of Christ's teachings, long hid from the masses under Catholicism, which suddenly became evident under Protestantism, as man studied the Scriptures in the search for his own salvation. And particularly in those segments of Protestantism whose ideology is based on the New Testament teachings of Christ, has the revolutionary impetus toward freedom and equality been great.

Self-reliance has, of course, been inherent in Protestant culture ever since Luther enunciated his doctrine of salvation by faith alone. To be sure, Luther had no idea that the individual should be self-reliant in anything except salvation. It was Calvinism which provided the cultural foundation for self-reliance in economic affairs. The consequences of the individualism inherent in the ideology of both

Luther and Calvin ultimately led to self-reliance in political activities. Like that of freedom, the character of self-reliance was negative, in the sense that reliance on self was primarily based on self-interest and not on the shared interests of the community.

The contradictions and conflicts in Protestant ideology was early discovered in the culture of the people. For example, the separation of church and state has certainly made freedom possible in both spiritual and temporal affairs. At the same time, the dualism of religious and civic life, which resulted from the separation of spiritual and temporal power and authority, has resulted in the ascendance of temporal, materialistic secularism, and the decline of religious and ethical influence over the affairs of society. Negative freedom, unrestrained by ethical and moral considerations, has resulted in the people, to attain "success", bartering away their freedom for materialistic gain.

The Calvinistic emphasis on predestination, election and calling stimulated inequality whereas other patterns of Protestant culture promoted equality. Perhaps the most important contradiction of all is between self-interest as the major motive power of individualism, and the social nature of man in the Christian commonwealth. The person who is conditioned by his Protestant culture to be an individualist in the social meaning of the term, is going against the deepest physical and social drives of the human animal, so biologists and social scientists tell us. To obtain and maintain even the first requisite of life, that of good health, we are told, man must have love and the

companionship of fellow humans. Calvinism would have man put human associations into the background, lest, in a weakness of the flesh, they lead him away from God and salvation. While the religious motivation has been replaced with "success", this humanity-denying pattern is very pervasive in American culture today.

These basic contradictions in Protestant culture have been largely responsible for the rise and decline of freedom, independence and self-reliance in the United States.

We have discussed the ideological seeds of freedom, independence, and self-reliance; let us turn now to their development in England and America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

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CHAPTER IV - MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA, 1600-1800

The rise of the middle classes in Europe progressed most rapidly in England and Scotland. In these two nations the leaders of the Protestant revolution for political and economic freedom were Calvinistic. John Knox, an avid disciple of Calvin, whom we have already mentioned, led the revolution in Scotland. John Milton, as a prolific writer and ideological leader, was influential in both nations. It was he who led the way in the resistance to unjust rulers such as Mary, Queen of Scots. John Locke, who is credited with considerable influence upon the ideas of American Revolutionary leaders, was also an effective writer in advocating resistance to tyranny. He was a major exponent of the doctrine of mutual contract between ruler and subject. And Oliver Cromwell was the military leader who led the Calvinist middle classes successfully to power during the English Civil Wars.

The period which preceded the English Civil Wars was an important one. The Marian Exiles, who had drunk deeply at the fountain of Calvinism in Geneva, returned to England and were leaders in the middle class struggle for power and freedom. This struggle was brought to focus in the Civil Wars. While not forgetting the importance of the preceding period, let us turn our attention to the English Civil Wars, as the important events wherein freedom and other ideological foundations of democratic authority were central issues.

THE FIRST AND SECOND ENGLISH CIVIL WARS

Freedom Of Conscience And Equality of Authority

Especially significant in the development of American democratic

authority relations are the First and Second English Civil Wars. Not only did the struggle of that time result in 20,000 Englishmen migrating to the New World, but man, if but briefly, actually gained a measure of freedom at that time. Most important, too, was the ideological ferment of the times, which resulted in many of our modern democratic ideas and institutions. Here also the issue of authority was clearly joined on a much wider plane. Not only was the major issue, the religious one of freedom of conscience or individual authority, at stake, but the issue of King and aristocracy having authority over the common man was also important. The aristocrats were the most devotedly Royalist and the largest owners of land. The Catholic Earl of Worcester and the Earl of Herby, and many others of lesser name who maintained in their great country houses an almost feudal state, were the target of bitter feelings by ordinary men.¹

Thus, it was in the bitter struggle against the Royalists that so much hatred of the aristocracy was generated, a feeling that crossed the ocean with many of the English immigrants, was increased and spread during the American Revolution, and is now deeply embedded in American culture. During the first Civil War, many of the troopers in Cromwell's New Model Army, especially among the calvary, "had enlisted to win themselves civil and religious freedom." Two years afterward, the New Model Army remained as an instrument of the Independents and the Republicans.²

After the first Civil War had been brought to a close, soldiers had much idle time and since many of the officers and noncommissioned officers were preaching the Protestant religion to the troops, new ideas

grew rapidly.

New Model Army leaders said that "King and Lords must go.... Individual merit should be the sole road to greatness."³ We see here what we now call equality of opportunity, based on talent and ambition rather than hereditary position. Every man born in England, the poor man included, said these Army leaders, "had a right to elect his rulers, (and) share in the framing of the laws." Colonel Rainborough, one of the New Model leaders, appealed to the "law of God", and the "law of nature", as the basis for his proposal that every man ought to have "the choice of those who are to make the laws for him to live under."⁴ Here was a voice calling for political freedom as a basis for other freedoms.

For the natural implication of these ideas was universal suffrage, republicanism, and religious freedom. These were the things "The Levellers," political and ideological leaders in the army, demanded of Cromwell and Parliament. Although these ideas were submerged in the course of events, never to rise again in England, except in different form more in keeping with English culture, they do appear again in the Jeffersonian ideology of the American Revolutionary era, and even prior to the English Civil Wars in Roger Williams' Rhode Island colony. In fact, the opening paragraphs of the Declaration of Independence recite these same ideas, and Jefferson's concept of the "natural aristocracy" is based on the talents of the individual.

This, indeed, was a new idea of authority. Every man was to be equal in authority, the citizen was to be the sovereign, in equal

sharing with all other citizens. King and Lords were no longer to have authority over the poor, the citizens of meaner station in society. And no one was to have authority over the citizen's religious thinking and worship; he was to be free. It was the "attempt" to control worship and thought, fiction though it was, that the Independents wanted done away with. And to exercise his new authority, the citizen was to have the franchise, important as a foundation for freedom. But it was at the close of the second English Civil War, culminating in the execution of Charles I, that the issue of freedom and authority was brought clearly into focus. The soldiers of the New Model Army, Independents under Independent leadership, had learned they could not trust a Presbyterian Parliament. Very unlike the freedom and democracy which they had advocated, Colonel Pride and his soldiers stationed themselves at the doors of Parliament, and either imprisoned or excluded those members who were not amenable to the Army views. The Rump that remained in Parliament passed this resolution:

That the people are, under God, the original of all just power; that the commons of England, in Parliament assembled, being chosen by and representing the people, have the supreme power in this nation; that whatsoever is enacted or declared for law by the Commons in Parliament assembled hath the force of law, and all the people of this nation are concluded thereby, although the consent of the King or House of Peers be not had thereunto.⁵

Here was a statement of political freedom leading to democratic authority, made by a group who used authoritarian methods to exclude those members from Parliament who held dissenting views. This group, as history soon recorded, had, through their monopoly of force, temporary

control of the government, but they did not have authority, approval to act for the majority of people. A few weeks later, as he was awaiting his fate upon the scaffold, Charles I proclaimed the Old World ideas of authority:

For the people....truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whatsoever, but I must tell you, their liberty and freedom consists in having government, those laws by which their lives and their goods may be most their own. It is not their having a share in the government that is nothing appertaining to them. A subject and a sovereign are clear different things.⁶

Here, in these two statements of Rump Parliament and conquered King, the issue of freedom, independence and authority is clearly joined. Shall the citizen hold the authority of government, and in common freedom with all other citizens, be his own sovereign? Or shall he be ruled by, and be a subject to, the authority of others?

Although resolved "ideologically" in the United States at the time of the American Revolution in favor of freedom of citizen authority, other aspects of American culture have provided the basis for the issue to remain an increasingly important one in contemporary times. Of this we shall have more to say later.

The execution of Charles I was indeed a symbol of the rise of freedom and citizen authority, even though the deed itself, opposed by the majority of people, killed all hope of democracy in England for many years to come.

That the "authority" of the times rested with the people, even though the external power and control appeared to rest with Cromwell and the Army Leaders, was evidenced in the people's support of "Freeborn

John" Lilburne, England's spokesman in 1649. Lilburne was one of those "self-confident saints" of Calvinism who did not fear to stand up to those in control in defense of the rights of the people. As an example of the influence such a leader had on the advance of freedom and citizen authority, let us describe some of Lilburne's major activities.

John Lilburne --- Fighter For Freedom And Citizen Authority

A short time after Charles I was executed, Lilburne had begun to openly castigate the Cromwell government. When called before a Council of State, he refused to take off his hat, saying the gentlemen of the Council had no more legal authority than he.

The Rump Parliament had made it an act of treason to write or speak against the government. Lilburne had written that the government was an usurpation and a tyranny. When brought into court to face treason charges, he bullied the judges and said it lay with the jury alone to decide whether his writings had contravened the law. Although the issue "in law" was clear, the brow-beaten judges not only left the decision to the jury, but accepted, in apparent fear, a verdict of acquittal, which openly defied the government and its law. When the verdict of acquittal was given, there arose "such a loud and unanimous shout as is believed was never heard in Guild Hall, which lasted for a half hour without intermission; which made the judges for fear turn pale and hang down their heads. Such a demonstration in the presence

of a tribunal backed by the political power of government had been a thing unknown in England in the time of the Tudor and Stuart Kings."⁷

The Rump Parliament then passed a special act banishing Lilburne and including the death penalty should he return. Within a year he was back and saying that the passing of the act of banishment was beyond the powers of Parliament.

A second time he was placed on trial for his life. Some six thousand spectators witnessed his trial, and public opinion was so much aroused in his favor that Cromwell massed his soldiers in fear of an outbreak by the people. Lilburne was again acquitted by a jury which defied Parliament and its law. In somewhat the same spirit as Martin Luther, Lilburne had defied those in control, fighting for the freedom and rights of the individual, and authority based on the majority of citizens.

"Lilburne's two trials had established that juries were judges of law as well as of fact, and could even set aside an unpopular law by their verdict."⁸ The people knew Lilburne was fighting their fight; that was why so many were supporting him. His courage gave them courage and confidence, stiffened the backs of the juries to exert the authority of the people in the face of those in control. These events were exceptional in the advance of freedom and citizen authority for the English speaking people.

The Quakers --- Examples Of Individualism, Freedom, And Equality

Out of this great intellectual and religious upheaval of the

English people arose a number of religious sects. One of these, the Quakers, led by George Fox, was, in its members, the epitome of freedom, equality, and the authority of the individual. Luther's idea that every man was to interpret Scripture for himself was here to bear its most individualistic fruit. The doctrine of "inner light", that inspiration comes from within each man, not from without,⁹ was the center of Quaker ideology. Every man and woman was a priest, Fox said. The influence of example, martyrdom, wickedness of war, constant joy, the possibility of heaven on earth through the good works of man, engendered a positive psychology that expressed itself in the most militant individualism.

Refusing to accord any outward respect to officials and magistrates, the Quakers scorned all worldly authority, and outwardly refused, by dress and behavior, to acknowledge anything but equality, an implication accepting no earthly authority over them.

To implement their individual authority, so that the religious appeal was made as simply and directly to the person as possible, all ordinary religious services and rituals were abolished. No special priesthood or church organization was allowed, so that the "inner light" would be unimpeded in leading the individual to joy and heaven on earth.

Many thousand Friends emigrated to the United States, and their militant authority of the individual has had a wide influence in our culture. Their living example of equality and freedom, their exertion of the rights of the individual, not only dramatized the importance of

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these rights but gave others the courage which was needed to win them. Let us turn now to Roger Williams as the earliest New World leader for freedom and democratic authority.

ROGER WILLIAMS: LEADER FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

Social Revolt For Freedom And Independence

The story of social revolt in America begins with Roger Williams.¹⁰ Unwilling to compromise his Separatist convictions with the conformity necessary to practice his calling as clergyman in England under the policies of Laud, he had come to Massachusetts in 1631. Finding in the Bay colony a theocracy of church and state equally if not more authoritarian and conformist than he had left in England, Williams, in line with his convictions, began almost immediately to dissent against the Puritan oligarchy.

Since he believed in the separation of Church and state, Williams said repeatedly that magistrates could not punish religious offenses without exceeding their lawful authority.¹¹

In the first American attack on white man's imperialism, he had disputed the King's right to give a patent granting land to his subjects without considering the rights of the Indians, whom, Williams said, were already proprietary owners of American soil.

He had refused to take a "residents oath" required of all inhabitants who were not freemen of the Bay Colony. Used by the magistrates to consolidate their control of affairs, this resident's oath involved

swearing to submit to the laws and the authority of the governor and magistrates, and to "give speedy notice" of any sedition "plotted or intended against the government." Williams objected to the oath because it mixed the things of Cesar with the things that belonged to God.¹²

But it was the threat of "democratic congregationalism" which caused the clerics and magistrates to finally banish Williams from the colony. In great contempt of the controlling oligarchy, Salem church had made Williams, a man of unacceptable views, their minister. Rejecting both Williams' views and Salem's petition to act on a claim for land, the General Court felt they had the situation in hand. However, in the first recorded American instance of trying to generate public opinion against those in control, Salem Church wrote to other churches "to admonish the Magistrates" for their "heinous sin, and likewise the deputies."¹³

In the words of Brockunier, "the crime of Roger Williams was that he dared to oppose and to appeal to the people."¹⁴ He had dared to act as a free man, had appealed to public opinion and opposed the governing class, action which no authoritarian oligarchy could tolerate. In the words of his sentence, he "hath broached and divulged dyvers newe and dangerous opinions, against the auctoritie of magistrates..." Here we see the issue of authority and freedom openly broached, one of the first instances on American soil. The same issue was later brought to focus in the English Civil Wars by the same Puritan

Separatists from whence Williams had come. Although Williams' banishment from the Bay Colony appeared, at the time, to preserve the control of the oligarchy, the deed actually resulted in further development of contemporary democratic authority. As a result of his banishment, Williams established a new colony at what is now Providence, Rhode Island. "The reign of Belial was broken forth anew, under the very noses of the horrified saints - and just beyond their jurisdiction."¹⁵

Freedom, Independence, And Democratic Authority Become Natural Rights

As one of their first acts the Rhode Island settlers made a covenant establishing liberty of conscience as a natural right. Family heads, married men, held the franchise, and through mutual consent controlled the affairs of the colony. The whole body of voters held the town's common land in trust and had the power of making allotments. Thus with the right to vote went a right to property, which in Providence Plantation meant a grant of land equal to that of the other purchasers and an equity in the common or undivided lands on similar terms of absolute equality.¹⁶

The Providence Compact of 1640 was a constitution drawn up by a committee elected by the inhabitants....It was not framed and adopted on the authority of the magistrates but was initiated and ratified by the whole body of townsmen.¹⁷ And in 1658 all freeholders were made eligible to vote.¹⁸

Here for the first time on American soil we see the embryonic development of religious, economic, and political freedom, economic

independence and democratic authority. Moreover, these basic foundations were regarded as natural rights. We see also the beginnings, not only of the ideology of equality in the New World, but an effort, through equal allocation of land and the universal franchise for all family heads, toward its implementation.

Forerunner, even at that early date, of the ideas of Robert La Follette and Theodore Roosevelt, Williams' "political ideas were grounded in a concept of social cooperation rather than atomic individualism." He believed that "the very principles by which the government was obligated to protect civil rights to life, liberty and property....meant refusal to protect an acquisitive and arbitrary freedom of action which infringed the rights of others...."¹⁹

A refuge for the oppressed and unorthodox dissenters, the Providence colony also played a large role in the breakdown of authoritarian orthodoxy. It became a base for Quakers who had succeeded, by 1661, in breaking the monopoly of the orthodox church in the Bay Colony. Certainly we may say that Williams was a precursor of Jefferson in many of his ideas. He was also an example for others in the New World. But let us look now at colonial life prior to the American Revolution.

COLONIAL LIFE IN AMERICA PRIOR TO 1776

Early Patterns Of Authority Relations In America

The cultural development in authority relations during the colonial period of our history has perhaps been most important of any

period of our nation's development. For it was these original experiences that established the sociocultural and psychological foundations of modern, democratic authority. Subsequent developments, it can be shown, have merely served to stamp deeper into the culture the character of authority which originated in this early period of our history.

Three patterns of great importance in authority relations were developed from earliest colonial times: (1) the resistance to any authority or control which did not serve the convenience, self-interest, or purpose of the individual or group, (2) the freedom of the individual to escape the jurisdiction of any authority or control over him; this was provided by the unlimited space of the frontier, and (3) the development of the authority of the group as one means for individual success (exchange of work, and self-defense). Although the forms have changed, these three factors in the ideology of authority are very deep in American culture today. Modern examples of resistance to control and authority are the black market, juvenile delinquency, and corporations who hire a battery of lawyers to find legal ways to circumvent government regulations. And during World War II, when winning was used to justify any means used, there was open violation of all sorts of government regulations.

The frontier has vanished, and with it certain kinds of freedom. But the individual is still able to escape control over his person to a great degree by becoming lost in the jungle of the modern city, by

the ease of moving to another part of the country where he may choose new associates, and by his shallow involvement in group life which is common in an urban society.

The modern counterpart of the authority of the group we find very highly developed in the use of the committee as the major form of social action in our society. Let us turn now to some of the historical experiences behind these patterns in authority relations, and to the cultural development of freedom and independence on which they are based.

Colonial "Authority" versus British "Control"

One of the earliest colonies, the Massachusetts Bay Company, was chartered in England and was, in the eyes of the English government, a business corporation. Leaders of the Bay Colony secretly carried the charter with them to the United States and used it as the constitution of their self-governing state.²⁰ Thus, the very beginning of American experience was marked by resistance to constituted authority. These Puritan leaders wanted to be free to govern themselves.

The colonists made up their minds not to obey law just because it was law, but merely to obey such laws as they individually approved of, or such as did not interfere with their own convenience or profit. In every colony there was constant conflict with the Royal Governors. The executive, therefore, represented to colonists a person who was an "outsider" and hostile to their interests. Executives came to be considered as someone to be distrusted, disobeyed and thwarted whenever

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possible.²¹ Here Americans experienced the idea that for them to be free, the power and duties of executives must be carefully defined and limited.

In a similar fashion, the judiciary, which was usually an arm of the royal executive or a member of the royalist group, came to be distrusted and thwarted whenever possible. Juries would not convict no matter how flagrant the law breaking. The people stood together to defeat the courts and to protect the interests of their friends, neighbors, and of themselves.²² This was a pattern, moreover, that existed until the last frontier was settled. And since the differences between the English government and the colonists continually widened, culminating finally in the American Revolution, this habit of resistance to control grew continually deeper in American culture. By the time of the American Revolution it had become a patriotic duty to break the English laws and resist their efforts at control. This ideology was, of course, promoted by such radical leaders as Samuel Adams and Thomas Paine, who were developing public support for the start of the War of Independence.

Influences Toward Democratic Authority

When Roger Williams traveled into the periphery of the frontier beyond the jurisdiction of the authority and control of the oligarchy of the Bay Colony, there to establish his life again, he was establishing a pattern of culture which was followed on the American continent so long as the frontier lasted, until near the close of the nineteenth

century. If a man grew tired of those in control of affairs, all he need do was to remove himself beyond their jurisdiction, where he was free to exercise his own authority in such a way as he was capable of. We shall have more to say later about the influence of the frontier on authority relations.

From the very start, too, the progress of the individual depended upon the authority of the group. He needed help to build his log cabin, to clear enough land to raise food for his family, and to protect them from the Indians. He did, of necessity, defer to the opinions and decisions of the group in order to survive. This pattern of behavior also followed the frontier, and is now very deeply stamped in our culture.

There was another factor which developed as the colonies grew which greatly bolstered the authority of the individual and his primary groups. Trevelyan points out that the middle colonies of Delaware, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, soon came to resemble the tolerant religious character of Roger Williams' Rhode Island Colony because they were the asylum of different races and religions. These colonies contained, besides the English-speaking Puritans who had left the northern colonies, Swedes, Dutch, Finns, Huguenots, Palatines, Scots, and Quakers.²³ The very heterogeneity of the people made it necessary, if the citizen was to enjoy for himself any measure of freedom in the exercise of authority in individual matters, to extend the same freedom to others. Toleration, rather than conformity, thus became the

basis for political rights, as the means for the exercise of authority. Freedom, independence, self-reliance, and cooperation were the implications of the facts of life in colonial times in America.

THE NEW ENGLAND TOWN - MOTHER OF DEMOCRATIC AUTHORITY

Cultural Foundations of the New England Town and Town-Meeting

The New England Town has played a major role in the development of self-reliance, freedom, and independence in American culture and society. It developed out of the response of people of English culture to a frontier environment where they must provide for themselves, survive or die. When they left the frail craft that carried them to the shores of the New World, and plunged into the unknown wilderness to build homes and hack out an existence, they had no one to rely on but themselves. Adams portrays the difference in the Old World Society they had left, and the conditions they faced in America:

For those towns there was no prophet, no chief, no lord, no bishop, no king. Those dwelling in them were all plain people. As such, they were neither guided nor protected from above. They stood on their own legs, such as they were; and there was no one to hold them up. They had no 'saviors of society'; nor, in their dark and troubled hours, did they look or call for such.²⁴

It is not unusual that a people who had left an authoritarian culture should build for themselves in a new environment an entirely different pattern of authority and government. Moreover, the demands of a frontier environment meant that problems must be solved or consequences suffered which might easily result in death.

Because of these two cultural and environmental circumstances, we find both fast and slow evolution toward self-government. For example, in Braintree, Massachusetts, one of the earliest towns in the Bay Colony, we find that the first government of the town was similar to the government found in the business corporations chartered by the English King to foster trade and settlement in other parts of the world. Braintree was first governed by a sort of board of Directors which met in the Great and General Court, and not for half a century, in 1693, did the town meeting, legislative type of government evolve.²⁵

The town of Hadley, Massachusetts, on the other hand, was founded in 1659 with the town meeting type of government.²⁶ Its founders had acquired considerable experience in Connecticut Plantation.

The motives behind this self-governing type of citizen authority was expressed at an early date. Before they left the parent Connecticut Plantation, the fifty-nine people who established the town of Hadley met at Hartford and drew up a compact for self-government which was also "a contract to protect and promote the mutual interests of the proprietors in undivided lands."²⁷ As was often the case, the impetus which led the Hadley proprietors to break with the parent settlement was religious controversy, the major motive in the new settlement was economic, and the means for implementing this interest was democratic self-government.

All three patterns were important in the culture which the people of New England colonies brought with them to America. As Calvinists

their salvation depended upon economic success and the free exercise of their talents as individuals. As rugged individuals controversy was inherent in their social relationships, and since their social relationships were centered in the churches, it was here that controversy started. Moreover, self-government is the only type of government that is psychologically and socially compatible with individualism as a universal of culture.

This fact is brought out so well at the time when the clergy and magistrates of the Bay Colony were met in solemn conference to consider the problem of what to do if a Governor-General should be sent out from England. Their answer was: "We ought not to accept him, but defend our lawful possessions, if we are able." Adams evaluates this statement as "prophetic, ... not only ~~of~~ a century and a half of history, destined to include the War of Independence, but also the essence, moral and social, of a civilization, instinct with stubborn individuality and self-reliance."²⁸ But perhaps the most prophetic of all was that the primary concern of these leaders was their possessions, the material things of life.

The cultural foundations we have been discussing are important in understanding the character of that social institution which evolved out of these foundations, the New England town. By the time the town meeting, legislative, democratic type of self-government had evolved in the towns, the secular and economic interests were, if not in ascendance, shortly to become so. Freedom and independence in the

New World are secular in character and tied primarily to the economic motive, even though in terms of individual feelings, freedom and independence have psycho-social manifestations also. Organized Christianity had been a continual barrier to freedom and independence until Americans won these things through secular institutions. This fact has had much to do with the isolation of religion from the civil affairs of the community, as well as influencing freedom in the direction of irresponsibility.

Now that we have described the cultural foundations of the New England town and town-meeting, let us describe briefly its character as a democratic institution which has influenced the character of American culture and society.

The New England Town-Meeting

The size of most New England towns was determined by convenience in getting to Sunday meeting, for all were obliged to attend church, even for some time after the theocracy had lost control of community affairs. Thus every town was small in area, an incorporated republic of one community of families centered around the meeting house.²⁹

The meeting-house was used for religious services and for town-meetings having to do with civil affairs. In both cases the social aspects of the meeting were also important. In the towns organized at a later date, such as Hadley, the first town-meetings were held in the homes of the proprietors, and thus were informal in character. Regardless of the local differences between towns, the sociocultural

foundations and manifestations in each were similar. It is especially significant that the New England town which was the foster mother of much of American democracy was based on the intimacy of primary social relations and obligations of people who knew each other well. These people were also relatively homogeneous in culture, and lived under the same physical environment. These facts gain significance when contrasted with the character of urban culture and society today.

While the number varied from town to town, as few as three townsmen could call a town-meeting in the early days of Hadley. There also, each inhabitant was warned of the meeting by word of mouth; this was later changed to "posting the warrant" in conspicuous places to announce the impending meeting.³⁰ Some towns, especially in their early development, levied fines for non-attendance and tardiness at meetings. The business to be transacted at the meeting was listed in the warrant, and no other business could be transacted on that meeting day.

Gould describes the preparation for town-meeting in the contemporary era in the hill country of Vermont, where he says these meetings are still "less than two cents different from town-meeting in Boston days when homes were a foot-race away from the block-house."

Town meeting day is the climax of a feverish season. The tax collector has sold property on which taxes remain unpaid; selectmen have printed the Town Report; the Warrant has been posted. Caucuses have been held, candidates are lined up. Every item of business to be transacted has had full and complete public discussion. Groups have debated in the store and post office. Men have sat by the kitchen stove and considered the reports. Women have talked at sewing circle and Mizpah

Class. Children have been holding mock town-meetings at school. Only town-meeting itself remains.³¹

We find here sociocultural conditions with all of the components of successful self-government, once praised by De Tocqueville as the most successful example of pure democracy he had seen. Citizens have been fully informed of the business of their government; it has been fully discussed; they are ready to render judgment on past transactions, and approve the direction and means for handling town affairs for another year. In these little republics, all power rests in the people, who delegate very little authority to town officers, just enough to carry on the necessary business. These officers are carefully instructed in their duties, are accountable for their actions in the Town Report, and are forced to answer questions in town-meeting regarding their stewardship.

The officers of the town, with the exception of those who are fully engaged in town business, serve with very little pay. Their regular vocation comes first; their duties as a town officer are mainly done "after hours" of the regular vocation.³²

In the early history of town-meeting government there was an enforced equality of town service. Serving as constable or surveyor was looked upon as a public duty to be performed by everyone in turn. In some towns failure to accept service after election to office entailed a fine. Moreover, the town constable had to collect all the taxes, for which he got no pay. To add insult to injury, he had to account for the taxes he failed to collect. With men desiring to avoid

such an office, it became a standing joke of town meeting to elect someone to office just to get his fine.³³ This system was, of course, changed by the middle of the eighteenth century.

It is significant also that in Hadley, considered a typical town, there was for many years no official ballot prepared for the election of town officials. A row of boxes, one for each town office to be filled, was arranged on a platform at the front of the meeting house. Voters merely placed in each box a slip of paper bearing the name of the person they desired to fill the office.³⁴ This is the direct delegation of authority from each individual person, in collective action with his fellow citizens, to those he would have carry on the affairs of the town. Political organization, by limiting the voters' choice to those on an official ballot, kills this kind of direct democracy.

Use of the committee form of authority appeared early in town meeting. It was used mainly as the vehicle to allow a group of the town's best qualified or trusted citizens to study a problem and report to a later meeting of the total citizenry with the facts on which to base action.

Certainly this form of self-government was about as near government by the total body of citizens as is possible. The influence of every citizen could be brought to bear on officials and on the decisions affecting him as a member of the community. The budget and every business transaction of the town was, in effect, approved or disapproved

by every citizen who voted, with the majority ruling the affairs of the town. It is also in this primary relationship type of democracy that the minority can actually make its influence felt in due proportion to its strength.

Not only does the culture of the people affect the character of their social institutions, but their experience in their social institutions affects the direction of their cultural change and development. This reciprocal relationship has been most noticeable in the character of the New Englander and the town-meeting form of direct citizen authority.

The Culture And Character Of The New Englander

Certainly the primary cultural pattern developed by the town meeting was self-reliance in all things. This was a part of the American character that was so necessary to the pioneer as he subdued the American continent during the next two and a half centuries. In their town meetings New Englanders dealt with all sorts of problems: religious heresies, land titles, internal improvements, means of communication, education, temperance, pauperism, care of the insane, public lands, currency, taxation, municipal debt, and so on. It is true that their solutions to problems were often crude, superficial and wrong. But the important thing insofar as the culture of the people was concerned was that they were solving their problems in their own way and living with the consequences of their own actions. They paid for their experience as they went along, which only served to

drive practical self-reliance deeper into their culture and emotions. They built up the habit of relying upon themselves in all things, a pattern they were forced to adopt at the outset because they could not do otherwise, but one which took on a positive character as these hardy people gained experience, self-respect, confidence in their own ability, and the love of the freedom that is attached to self-action.

The New Englander in town-meeting days was also characterized as the epitome of rugged individualism and absolute independence. "No one tells a Yankee how to vote, no one dictates; and only another Yankee can persuade. When a man arises and cries, 'Mr. Moderator!', and is properly recognized, no man living is big enough to make him sit down. So long as he speaks on the subject, uses proper words, and obeys parliamentary procedure he can say what he pleases...Each voter brings his utter independence into the hall, and from the congregation results a majority decision in which unity is attained without anyone's losing the least bit of his own separate self."³⁵ This maintenance of independence, possible only among the self-reliant, free, and economically independent, has been, and continues to be, an important factor in the behavior of most Americans. The reaction of the New Englander when he feels he is threatened with a loss of independence is one of quick and decisive rebellion. Voters show concern lest someone put something over on them. They will argue for hours over a principle, and then in a matter of minutes pass a school budget of several thousand dollars, with scarcely a comment.³⁶

Gould describes an instance of this independence in action.

In Freeport, Massachusetts, one year, the school superintendent was asking for money to make some alteration in the system. His speech was to the point, he knew what he was talking about, and he made only one mistake. He concluded: "In the neighboring town of Yarmouth this plan has been in operation for five years and has proved highly successful--I therefore move that we adopt it in Freeport." Instantly a farmer in the back of the room jumped to his feet and called, "What do we care what they do in Yarmouth?" That was all. The motion was defeated by the thunderous "No".³⁷

This day to day concern of the New Englander with his own problems, and the fact that he paid the bills for his own experience, made him intensely practical in both private and civic affairs. The same experience had a tendency to foster "localism", a natural prior concern with the problems of his own community, and little concern with outside problems in state or nation except when they began to affect his pocketbook or freedom and independence. A good example of this are the resolutions passed in 1809 by the town of Hadley, protesting the National Embargo Act which was hurting the pocketbooks of local people.³⁸

The maintenance of freedom, independence and self-reliance demands equality of authority in ordering the affairs of the community, that is to say, equality of citizen sovereignty. In New England town-meetings an almost rude, absolute political equality prevailed which was rigidly enforced by custom amounting to a common law. This was not only the

right to vote, but the privilege of every citizen to be heard on the issue at hand. Thus the equality of responsibility for public service, already described, was balanced by equality of political privilege. This did not mean that the people did not defer to the leadership of squire and parson; but let any leader behave in a manner which ignored the independence and equality of the individual and he would be rudely put in his place.³⁹

The self-government of the New England town was an example of the maximum use of informal relationships in exercising citizen authority. Informality comes naturally in the small community republic where everyone knows everyone else and primary relationships are the rule. Town-meeting day is a perfect example of the formal legitimizing of decisions that have already, at least in large part, been made in the informal councils of the community. It is nothing short of amazing that the town business for an entire year, including election of officers, can be decided and approved in a single day. This could only be accomplished where most of the decisions have already been informally made, and need only formal approval by the majority of citizens to make them legitimate.

Let us consider now some of the influences of the New England Town on the cultural development of freedom, independence, self-reliance, and democratic authority in the nation.

Influence Of The New England Town On The Nation's Culture

While it is impossible to evaluate the influence of the New England Town except in a general way, it is conceded to be a great

educator of the common man in America. The experience which he gained in coping with the problems of the town in New England was carried with him as he moved across the continent into the frontier settlements and mining camps of a growing nation. His culture went with him also, of course, and the cultural patterns of love for freedom, self-reliance, equality of political and social privilege, absolute independence, and quick rebellion when he thought these natural, God-given rights were being ignored or trampled upon, have become embedded as universals of American culture.

True, the frontier environment also nurtured these cultural patterns of self-government and individual authority. But it was in the New England Town that they were first used as a basis for the building of a society and social institutions which manifested and implemented the basic ideas, values, and attitudes of the culture. It was this experience in the building of a community and its institutions that has been so valuable and so influential in the building of the young nation that is the United States. The Calvinistic character of the New Englander which drove him relentlessly onward meant that the breadth of his influence would be great. Often the first to arrive in the frontier community, the New Englanders fast became leaders and were ready, with experience gained in the older settlements, to establish the kind of society and culture they already knew and valued. In spite of the land-regulating Ordinance of 1787, we find the New England town as far west as Wisconsin, where it has been a major influence in the cultural development of that state.

[illegible]

The close connection between the economic interests of the individual and the local government of the New England towns, was a pattern that also spread across the nation. Individual interest and responsibility in town government was often due to the fact that in the small community the citizen could easily see a definite, tangible advantage to be derived from the honest and efficient administration of his community affairs. While this pattern remains exceptionally important today, it should not lead us to ignore other motives of a social and psychological character which give direction to the lives of many people. Women, especially, have more freedom than men to openly express such motivations in American society. Self-interest coming out of the Protestant Calvinistic culture of the New Englander, however expressed, remained the major motivation in the development of American culture.

It was a natural development also that the rebellion against the British started in New England, and the first two years of the Revolutionary War were largely fought there. Samuel Adams found in Boston Town-Meeting the perfect vehicle in which to originate and carry forward his activities which finally led to a Declaration of Independence. In the tight-fisted, freedom loving, independent New Englander, he found the type of personality whose emotions reacted quickly to George III's economic and liberty-denying measures. Adams needed only to supply the ideas leading to the remedy for the grievances, independence, and organize the distribution of his propaganda. Such an organization he

found already available in the New England towns which he welded together with his Committee of Correspondence.⁴⁰ This was the combination, the New England Town and the New England personality, which, understood so well and utilized so effectively by Samuel Adams, eventually exploded on the green at Lexington that April morning in 1775, leading to the formal break with the Old World conception of authority. Much of the cultural change in authority relationships had already occurred; the formal break with Old World patterns of authority occurred with the Declaration of Independence and the winning of the Revolutionary War.

The town-meeting experience and the character of the New Englander was naturally carried over into private, state and national affairs. One important cultural pattern which was started in the New England towns and received new impetus under Jacksonian democracy, is the accountability of State and Federal Congressmen to their local constituency. The delegates which the New England towns sent to the legislature were carefully instructed what course they must pursue. If they went against the wishes of their constituents they were liable to sharp censure. And every year, rather than every two or six years, as is now the case, the New England legislator had to stand for re-election. If his actions had not conformed to the wishes of a majority of his constituents he was promptly returned to private life and someone else elected in his place.⁴¹ This strict accountability has been basic in the maintenance of the power and authority of the private citizen

in state and national, and now international affairs. It has also been influential in maintaining "localism" in the affairs of the nation and is the means for control of congressmen by those who have the power of concentrated wealth.

As we have pointed out, the development of the town-meeting type of self-government and the self-starting, self-reliant citizenry occurred in the small community of primary relationships in a homogeneous culture. Moreover, even though economic self-interest was always a paramount motive of the people, the social and moral obligations that are always present in primary relationships, served to keep the selfish motivations within the bounds of community interest. Socio-cultural patterns could scarcely have been developed, with the possible exception of economic self-interest, which would have been more in harmony with a frontier environment. These cultural patterns were, certainly, an outgrowth of Calvinism as it developed on the American frontier, and so this harmony was to be expected. So long as the frontier lasted and most Americans had a chance at economic independence the culture which came from New England served the people well. This is true in spite of the greed which developed from the economic aspects of the culture.

When the physical environment of the American people changed from the small rural community to that of the city with a more heterogeneous population and culture, and from primary to secondary relationships in society, the old culture would no longer fit the environment,

and sociocultural disintegration began. For various reasons, which we shall not discuss here, the ideology of the New England-frontier culture has been maintained in American society and social institutions. Actual social practice, however, which is directly influenced by the socio-physical environment, has undergone considerable change in urban society. This has resulted in a conflict not only between ideology and social practice, but also great psychological and social conflicts in the lives of people and their institutions. These cultural developments have important implications for education. These we shall discuss in our final chapter.

Let us consider the American Revolutionary period in relation to our discussion of the development of freedom, independence, self-reliance and democratic authority in American culture.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Not unlike the fire which burns the glaze of the potter's vase so that it withstands the erosion of usage for centuries, the American Revolution fixed the basic character, in our culture, of the feelings and patterns of behavior regarding authority. It also, of course, advanced freedom, independence and self-reliance.

Wars and Revolutions are times of deep emotions, and it is the ideology of such periods that becomes deeply etched on the psychological systems of the people, and in the same way becomes deeply embedded in a culture.

George III Restricts American Economic Freedom

For several years prior to the start of the Revolution, the gulf between George III and the American colonists had grown steadily wider. While there was a complex of factors involved, the developing struggle originated primarily out of a clash of economic interests, and ideologies were molded to support those interests. "Mercantilism, an economic arm of the rising nationalism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had as its major objectives national self-sufficiency and prosperity for the dominant merchant and banking class....Colonies existed solely to be exploited by the mother country to produce essential raw materials cheaply, to provide an unlimited market for surplus manufactured goods, and to offer a minimum of economic competition."⁴² Due to their struggle with the French, the British rulers had neglected the American colonies, who had used the opportunity to successfully wrest from the mother country an expanding freedom in the control of their own affairs. With the defeat of France, the British again turned their full attention to economic affairs, which meant the strict enforcement of colonial policy, particularly in regard to economic matters. The Sugar Act (1764), the Currency Act (1764), the Stamp Act (1765), the Townshend Duties (1767), the Tea Act (1773), and the Intolerable Acts (1774), attempted to tighten the restrictions on the Colonial trade and economy.

Since the colonies themselves had developed considerable trade, and had started to manufacture their own goods, these restrictions

evoked immediate resistance.

Economic Interests Become "Rights Of Man" For Colonists; "Law And Order" For Crown

In the Western world, where Christianity is a part of the culture, self-interest must be clothed and justified in moral terms. Economic interests early became "the Rights of Man", or "law and order", without which no man can progress. "Royal (and even Parliamentary) efforts to enforce mercantilist policies were damned as contrary not only to the rights of Englishmen but to the natural rights of man as well, while the colonists' fundamental antipathy to taxation of any kind achieved immortality in the idealistic slogan, no taxation without representation!"⁴³

Americans, in their quarrel with Crown and Parliament, appealed from their Charter rights to their rights as Englishmen under the British Constitution...they insisted that it was "fixed"; that it was, in the words of John Locke, a standing law to live by. Not only was the Constitution unalterable but it contained in it the immutable laws of nature. Just what these laws were was nowhere made clear, but that they included "life, liberty, and property" was universally acknowledged. Finally, Americans said, Parliament itself was bound by the Constitution, and by the laws of nature. "As the supreme legislative derives its authority from the Constitution, asserted the Massachusetts Circular Letter, it cannot over leap the bounds of it without destroying its own foundations. And if Parliament should, nevertheless, pass its

constitutional limits, its acts would be null and void and of no force."⁴⁴ The rebuttal of Crown and Parliament was one of law, representing authority to the British, and control to the Americans. British statesmen insisted, in the Declaratory Act of 1766, that the colonies "have been, are, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto and dependent upon the imperial Crown and Parliament of Great Britain," "and that Parliament had full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind colonies and people of America...in all cases whatsoever."⁴⁵

These principles were behind the restrictions placed on the colonial economy. Although all other duties imposed by the Townshend Acts had been repealed, a token duty on tea imports into the colonies had been maintained "to enforce the principle." The colonists, exerting their individual authority in a cooperative fashion, had almost stopped drinking tea. The East India Company, as a result, fell into financial difficulties, and the British Government, in 1773, allowed it to export tea to the colonies at a very cheap price. Lord North, British Prime Minister, insisted on maintaining the three pence-a-pound duty in the colonies, saying the king regarded it as "a test of authority."⁴⁶ Such a situation was made to order for Samuel Adams, who was trying to organize revolt anyway, and on the night of December 16, 1773, he induced a party of about fifty men to disguise as Indians, board the ships in Boston harbor and dump their tea overboard.

George III, outraged at this action, rushed through Parliament

the Penal Acts against Massachusetts, which provided for the closing of the port of Boston, cancelling the charter of the colony, and ordering political trials of Americans to be conducted in England. For the purpose he was working for--independence--Sam Adams could not have asked for more appropriate action than that of the British King. For he cut away the last remaining open colonial opposition to independence. As one historian, an Englishman, states it, "The Penal Acts meant in fact war with the colonies. They were defensible only as acts of war...."⁴⁷

After this it was only a matter of time until the outbreak of open conflict at Lexington in April, 1775. It is not hard to visualize the emotional upheaval of those Americans who were actually engaged in the war against the fountainhead of their own culture.

Let us try to analyze briefly the issues at stake in this struggle. We have already mentioned the clash of economic interests between Britain and America. But there was also at issue two different concepts of authority, based on the culture and environment of two different social systems. Operating from two different and opposed ideological systems, the misunderstanding that arose would appear to have been inevitable.

A Clash Of Different Cultures And Concepts of Authority

Trevelyan gives a good description of the cultural and social differences in England and America on the eve of the Revolution.

English society was then still aristocratic, while American Society was already democratic...In England politics and good society was closed to Puritans, while Puritanism dominated New England and pushed its way thence into all the other colonies; it was Anglicanism that was unfashionable in Massachusetts. English society was old, elaborate, and artificial, while in America property was still divided with comparative equality, and every likely lad hoped someday to be as well-off as the leading man in the township. In England political opinion was mainly that of squires, while in America it was derived from farmers, water-side mobs, and frontiersmen of the forest.⁴⁸

Out of these two cultures and societies came two opposing concepts of authority. The American concept, although resting on an English heritage, involved the concept of natural rights, a government existing solely to protect those rights, a written constitution limiting the powers of such government, and sovereignty residing in the people or freemen.

Since "George III governed without party, making the Cabinet a mere instrument of the royal will and Parliament the pensioner of the royal bounty,"⁴⁹ the rights of his subjects, the constitution and the government were what he conceived and made them to be. The king, himself, was the sovereign of the people.

Reconciliation of such widely opposed concepts of authority was impossible, and action had gone beyond the point of compromise.

But even though conflict had already started, the colonists were still reluctant to take the decisive step of declaring their independence. At the moment of need, Thomas Paine, in his pamphlet "Common Sense", supplied the synthesis of American ideology which galvanized American leadership into action and lit the spiritual flame which bore

the people over the terrible days of a difficult war. Since by its very success we know it was an expression of the dominant segment of American culture and society at that time, we may gain considerable insight into some of our cultural patterns by examining the major tenets of Paine's "Common Sense."

Thomas Paine Brings American Ideology Into Synthesis

"Society," said Paine, "is produced by our wants and government by our wickedness, the former promotes our happiness positively by uniting our affections, the latter negatively by restraining our vices...Society in every state is a blessing, but government even at its best state is but a necessary evil...."⁵⁰

We see here the negative ideology of external authority. Government, that is to say, external restraint over man, is not desirable, but a necessary evil. Paine explains that when white men first arrived on American soil, they were in a "state of natural liberty. The strength of one man is so unequal to his wants...that he is soon obliged to seek assistance and relief of another, who in his turn requires the same...Necessity...would soon form our newly arrived emigrants into society, the reciprocal blessings of which would supercede, and render the obligations of law and government unnecessary...."⁵¹

Paine recognized that as society grows and man becomes more independent of his neighbors, his self-interest, which formerly led to cooperation, may now lead to injury to others in the community.

"....but as nothing but heaven is impregnable to vice, it will unavoidably happen that in proportion as they surmount the first difficulties of emigration, which bound them together in a common cause, they will begin to relax in their duty and attachment to each other: and this remissness will point out the necessity of establishing some form of government to supply the defect of moral virtue."⁵²

Since man has his vices, the inability of moral virtue to govern the world makes government necessary. It is simply the least of two evils that man gives up a part of his property to a government as a means of protecting the rest. Security, then, is the design and end of government, said Paine, security for the protection of property, freedom, and the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience. Paine had his own ideas as to the way government should be organized. He first advocated an assembly, chosen from the people, to frame a written constitution to guarantee, implement, and secure the major values of property and freedom. Following his idea of a state of natural liberty, he based his mode of government on the growth of society and the self-interest of man. So long as the community and colony is small, the habitations of the people near, and the public concerns few and trifling "every man by natural right will have a seat in the first Parliament."⁵³ But when society grows beyond this original state it becomes more convenient "to leave the legislative part to be managed by a select number, chosen from the whole body, who are supposed to have the same concerns at stake which those have who appointed them,

and who will act in the same manner as the whole body would act were they present."⁵⁴

To guarantee the latter Paine would hold elections often and base the number of representatives on the population. He would have a large number of representatives, advocating at least 310. To insure accountability he would also divide the duties of election and representation. There should be an annual meeting of the legislature, and only officer of the government would be a President who would be chosen in rotation from among the several colonies.

In Paine's theory of government we find that "authority of the citizen" is a natural right, the government is delegated only a very minimum of authority, and every means is exercised to see that that authority is limited and checked so it will remain within the intent of the citizenry, and they will be able to exercise and delegate authority in their own best interests.

Most important in this theory is the idea that government is organized to serve the citizen, rather than to exercise authority over him. That amount of authority should be delegated which will most nearly guarantee to the citizen the same blessings that would occur to him were he in a state of natural liberty. After Paine had outlined his theory of government, he set himself to prove how unnatural, base, selfish and tyrannical the English government was to which the colonists had so far submitted, and from which they were reluctant to declare their independence. He begins by condemning the monarchy and the

aristocracy. "In the English Constitution we shall find the base remains of two ancient tyrannies,...monarchial tyranny in the person of the King, and...aristocratical tyranny in the persons of the peers. Mankind," continued Paine, "were originally equals in the order of creation," and there is "no truly natural or religious reason" why men should be divided "into Kings and subjects."⁵⁵ Kings and aristocrats symbolized loss of freedom to the American, and Paine was playing on this deep emotion.

Paine cites Old Testament Scripture to prove that men with an earthly king will forget their true king, God. He equates monarchy with papacy, and declares that original sin and hereditary succession, are parallels. He crowns his argument against hereditary right in kings by saying that nature itself disproves it, else "she would not so frequently turn it into ridicule by giving mankind an ass for a lion."⁵⁶ The deep emotions attached to kings and aristocrats are compounded by the unpleasant feelings of guilt attached to original sin, and all heaped upon George III by Paine.

Defining the meaning of independence squarely as an issue of authority, Paine says, "...independence means no more than this, whether we shall make our own laws, or whether the King, the greatest enemy this continent hath...shall tell us there shall be no laws but such as I like."⁵⁷

Thomas Paine had done his work well. His pamphlet "Common Sense" is credited by some with converting Washington to the cause of

independence, the creation of enough public opinion to support a declaration of independence, and the war which leaders realized would follow such a declaration. It would appear that Paine did at least bring together the feelings of the Radical third of the people who supported the Revolution, and molded these feelings into a salient ideology which convinced the leaders of the colonies to take the step they had been reluctant to take--the break from the mother country.

Declaration Of Independence--Symbol Of Freedom, Independence, And
Democratic Authority

The Declaration of Independence, coming a little over a year after the fighting had started in April, 1775, at Lexington, formally and permanently rejected the European concept of authority. At the same time it established in our heritage that uniquely American philosophy of authority based on democratic relationships. This cultural heritage has been deeply planted in the emotions of Americans, and remains functional in American behavior. So we may analyze this philosophy, let us first quote from the Declaration of Independence itself.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights,

governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security..."⁵⁸

The remainder of the Declaration cites some twenty-seven grievances against the actions of George III, which are in direct contradiction to the American theory of authority.

Let us analyze, briefly, the meaning, to our culture, of the American concept of authority as embodied in the Declaration of Independence. First, we see that the American concept of authority is based on "the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God." God's laws, which we see operating in nature, entitle a people to a "separate and equal station" among the powers of the earth.

Later, transferring these self-evident truths to the individual, the Declaration states "that all men are created equal" and that their "Creator" has endowed them with "unalienable rights", among which are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The psychology of democratic authority relationships is embodied in the reason for a written declaration of independence; "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind" requires such procedure. This

is the psychology of "democratic accountability" to the citizenry as authority, in contrast to the actions of kings, who considered their origin divine, and thus not required to account to the people, their inferiors, not equals, for their actions.

God, say this declaration, has given every man the right to life, freedom, and the "pursuit" of happiness. Since these rights are given by God they are "unalienable"; no mortal, whether king or commoner, nor any government, it is here implied, has the right to withhold these values, including life itself.

Indeed, the reason for government is to "secure these rights" to the individual, to make sure they are not taken away or abrogated by some selfish fellow human being. And to make sure the government does protect these unalienable rights, it should be organized to derive its power from "the consent of the governed," the people. If for any reason a government should refuse to carry out its function of protecting the rights of the citizen, it is not only the right, but the duty of the people to "alter or abolish" such a government.

We see here a clear-cut transferrance of authority from king to citizen, with a cultural ideology to support it. Individuals were no longer divided into kings and subjects; they were equal in the sight of God and before the law. The citizen held the power and delegated just enough authority to government to protect his rights. The government and government officials were to exist solely to serve the citizen, rather than the citizen serving the government. And if government

ceased to serve the citizenry, then its authority may be withdrawn and delegated to others. But it is not enough to be able to merely declare an ideology; its efficacy in the crucible of human society will be determined by how well it is carried into social institutions, so that it may be effective in the daily lives of the people.

Social Change Toward Freedom, Independence, And Democratic Authority

Fortunately, leaders of the Revolution had the ability to put their ideology into practice. Even while the Revolution was in progress the colonies held conventions, abolished old governments and set up new ones, writing into their constitutions guarantees of man's unalienable rights.

More important still was the means for all citizens to be included in the authority structure. By the end of the Revolutionary War the ballot had been freed in Pennsylvania, Delaware, North Carolina, Georgia and Vermont so that any male taxpayer might vote. The fact that many conservative loyalists left the United States for Canada, the West Indies, and England, after the British lost the war, made it that much easier for those remaining to create a democracy. Nevins and Commager give us a pungent view of American culture at the close of the Revolutionary War.

"....the homely, hard-working farmers, shop-keepers, and artisans were free to create a civilization after their own hearts. Dignity, leisure, and culture thenceforth counted for less, energy and rude self-assertion for more. The pushing trader and speculator were more

prominent in American society. Everybody was counted equal, everybody was in a hurry, and nearly everybody thought more of the dollar."⁵⁹

The nature of authority is determined not only by government, but by other social institutions in a society, such as the church, family, organization of the economy, and education. It is the total culture, and the relative influence on man's behavior of the various social institutions in the society, that determines the nature of its authority relationships. Of this we shall have more to say later.

It is worthwhile to say here, however, that the reason the European concept of authority has changed so little is because its social institutions were already so old and so well rooted by the time of the Enlightenment, that change has naturally been slow. On the other hand, the reason the American concept of authority has been realized, has evolved from its European heritage to a uniquely American cultural form, is because its ideological concept of authority came at the birth of the nation, while the frontier and unlimited living space gave it room to change and grow, to throw away some of its Old World fetters.

During the war and prior to the writing of the Constitution in 1789, many internal reforms were accomplished which served to undergird citizen authority. Governors, and upper houses in the legislatures, were now elected by the people instead of being appointed by the crown. Those three Virginia aristocrats, Thomas Jefferson, George Mason, and James Madison, led the fight for civil rights and economic democracy.

In 1776 entail was abolished, and in 1785 primogeniture also. After the war many of the large Tory estates and the Crown lands were confiscated and resold in ordinary sized farms. The established Anglican Church was also wrecked in most states. North Carolina guaranteed religious freedom in 1776 when it adopted its Constitution. But it was Virginia, which, after a fierce struggle in 1786, passed Jefferson's famous bill for religious freedom which later became the cornerstone for similar statutes in other states, and the experience which lay behind that part of the Federal Bill of Rights.

Revolutionary leaders also saw that a democracy depends upon an educated citizenry. Governor George Clinton of New York, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, in particular, advocated the education of the common man from the very beginning. And the Land Ordinance of 1785 made millions of acres of public lands available as a beginning endowment for public schools.

American citizens were gaining increased political and religious freedom, unlimited land gave them a measure of economic freedom and independence, and beginnings had been made for educating the common man so he might exercise his authority wisely. But even as this new nation gained its independence, there was evidence that Americans had thrown off one despot only to take unto themselves a new tyranny of their own choosing, the tyranny of anarchy and irresponsible, selfish freedom.

Articles Of Confederation--The Social Impotence Of Selfish Freedom

The Radical leaders who had succeeded in gaining a Declaration of Independence and in starting the Revolutionary War to secure that independence, were naturally reluctant to grant much authority to a federal government, even of their own choosing. The Articles of Confederation were their answer to the need for a national government. Reflecting their experience with royal government, and the fact that they had only just declared the sovereignty and authority of the citizen, so long fought for, the Confederation had almost no authority.

"The sole organ of government was a one-house Congress in which each state retained its sovereignty, freedom, and independence and possessed but one vote. The agreement of nine states was necessary to pass legislation of importance, and a unanimous vote was required to amend the Articles....Congress might make war or peace, raise an army by requesting quotas of men from the states, look after Indian affairs, borrow money, and administer a postoffice."⁶⁰

There was no executive department, and no permanent federal judiciary. The Confederation had no power to regulate commerce between the states, and above all it had no power to levy and collect taxes. The Confederation is a perfect example of the citizenry delegating authority to act in their behalf, without also delegating the means to carry the action into effect. This, in effect, was no authority at all. About the only authority which the Confederation had was the total influence on public opinion and behavior embodied in the personalities of

the members of the Congress.

That this is true is reflected in the conduct of the Revolutionary War. Washington was plagued from the beginning by short enlistments and desertions, and lack of money to secure supplies for his army. He finally succeeded in getting the Congress to approve long-term enlistments and court-martial for deserters. But the efficacy of law depends upon the power of enforcement, in turn based upon the sanction of the people. The Congress could not tax, had no money, and so these measures were not enforceable, and of little actual help to Washington. "The whole amount raised for national purposes by state taxation, down to 1784, came to less than six million dollars in specie value, or not quite two dollars per capita...The principal reliance of the United States in fighting the Revolution had to be placed upon paper money."⁶¹ Had it not been for the independent efforts of thousands of patriots led by such persons as General Washington, himself, who willingly gave of their time and fortunes, and had not the British made so many blunders, it is doubtful if the Americans would have won the war. Certainly it was not won through the action of central authority in the form of a national government.

Propertied Classes Want Restrictions On Freedom And Democratic Authority

Prior to, and during the war itself, there was a noticeable cleavage among the American people along social class lines, which has always been reflected in different concepts of authority in American culture.

Different social classes had different reasons for supporting the Revolution.

"A conservative group composed of wealthy Southern planters and Northern merchants, bankers, lawyers, and speculators sought independence to be free of British mercantilist restrictions and of an intolerable burden of debt to the mother country. But for the most part they wanted no fundamental social or economic change within the colonies themselves, and the status quo was to be maintained after independence was assured, with political power remaining in the possession of the well born, the educated, and the rich. On the other hand, the yeoman farmers, mechanics, artisans, and small businessmen who made up the radical patriots sought a two-fold revolution. Political ties to England were to be broken merely as a first step towards a revolution at home; and a new democratic government, based upon popular rule and responsive to the will of the people, was to destroy the social and economic privileges enjoyed by the colonial aristocracy."⁶²

Relationships between the thirteen states had grown steadily worse, and by 1786 the outlook was dark indeed. Pennsylvania and Vermont had been breaking heads over boundary lines, courts in the different states were handing down conflicting decisions, there was no uniform currency, states were erecting tariffs against each other's goods, and Spain had closed the mouth of the Mississippi so that trade could not leave the nation by that outlet.

But the event which the conservatives were waiting for came in

the form of a farmer's revolt in Massachusetts led by Daniel Shays, a veteran of Bunker Hill. The whole country was in the grips of an economic depression in 1785-86. The major issue was between the debtors and creditors, the haves and have-nots. The debtors wanted paper money and inflation so they could pay their debts; the creditors, of course, were interested in maintaining the value of the currency. The paper-money forces had carried seven state legislatures, but the Constitution of Massachusetts had "special defenses for property in suffrage office-holding qualifications." Its conservative legislature had rejected the paper-money forces and then levied heavy taxes to pay the Revolutionary debt, largely held by wealthy speculators. The farmers revolted.

The Confederation government proved powerless to deal with the rebellion, but leaders in Massachusetts itself, using their own money and acting through the Governor, effectively ended the uprising. The conservative middle classes had become very much alarmed at this uprising. General Knox wrote George Washington that those in the revolt and others of like views had shocked "every man of principle and property in New England."⁶³

The States had already been meeting to discuss cooperation in trade and commerce; now Alexander Hamilton proposed a convention to revise the Articles of Confederation. In May, 1787, the Convention met in Philadelphia to begin its work. The fifty-five delegates to the convention were conservative men of property, and Radicals were conspicuous by their absence. The constitution which the convention

wrote was a victory for the propertied classes, and met most of their objections to the weak confederation.

The Constitution--Basic Authority Structure Of American Culture

According to the Constitution, the Federal government could maintain order and protect property, could maintain an army and navy, coin money, levy taxes and duties, regulate commerce, quell domestic violence. And after John Marshall got through interpreting it, "he had extended the protection of the Constitution to the propertied classes and had made of the Supreme Court a bulwark of economic conservatism."⁶⁴

The views of the middle classes are eloquently expressed by Madison in his Federalist Paper Number Ten. He speaks of an "interested and overbearing majority" deciding issues by their "superior force" rather than "according to the rules of justice." He implies that the interests of the creditors being a minority, are trampled upon by the majority, the debtors. "A rage for paper money, for an abolition of debts, for an equal division of property, or for any other improper or wicked project, will be less apt to pervade the whole body of the Union than a particular member of it..." Madison said. To destroy the rights of property is wicked, Madison says here--human rights are not mentioned. The remedy, continued Madison, for the passion of the majority, a pure democracy, was a republican form of government, which, of a federal nature, would by its very size, be difficult to control.

And the representatives, elected by the people, would be more likely to use wisdom and reason in public affairs than would the masses.⁶⁵ The men who framed the Constitution guarded against the "excesses of democracy" by indirect election of the President and Senate, equal representation of large and small states in the Senate, a difficult amending process, an intricate set of checks and balances, and separation of powers.

Three of the delegates refused to sign the Constitution, among whom was George Mason, author of the Virginia Declaration of Rights. The Radicals now rallied their forces and succeeded in getting the "Bill of Rights" included as the first ten amendments to the Constitution. With this compromise the Constitution was ratified, becoming the foundation for authority structure in American culture and society.

Let us see if we can analyze this great cultural instrument in terms of authority. The first thing about the American Constitution is that it is written. It and the earlier constitutions in the colonies and states were the first written constitutions in history. Having had unhappy experience with a constitution that was not "fixed", and which was subject to the vagaries of a Parliament and King, Americans determined that their inalienable rights would be written into the constitution itself. It is significant that the intent of the main body of the constitution was the protection of property, while the Bill of Rights, to protect life and liberty, came as amendments, a political concession to the common people to gain ratification. The history of the nation

has proven that the consequences, in the long run, of any cultural instrument, such as the Constitution, depends not only on its intent but also on the way it is interpreted. Interpretation depends upon the dominant ideology in the culture as reflected by the representatives of the people in positions of authority. For example, judges pursuing theories of strenuous individualism have read laissez-faire doctrines into the Fifth, Tenth, and Fourteenth Amendments, while it would appear the main intent of these amendments is to protect human rights. On the other hand, with the exception of the period from 1890 to 1937, the laws of the land having to do with the civil relations of the people, have been largely determined by the people through their election of a President and Congress in spite of frequent control by power groups.

Certainly all social classes wanted authority of the government limited to the minimum necessary to preserve freedom and order. The founding fathers had experienced, in the preceding twenty years, two tyrannies; that of George III, and that of irresponsible, selfish freedom under the Articles of Confederation. Their answer was a federal government with adequate but limited powers. The ancient fear of government, the belief that if not limited it would usurp the liberties of the people, coupled with fear of the masses, led to an elaborate system of checks and balances in state and federal government alike. The Senate was balanced against the House of Representatives. The Executive, Judiciary, and Congress were balanced against each other.

Annual meetings of the Congress, and frequent elections made the actions of the people's servants accountable to them. Accountability was also provided by publishing the Journals of both Houses, the rendering by the Treasury of a statement of expenditures and revenues, and the Report on the State of the Union by the President.

It is the Tenth Amendment which definitely limits the authority delegated by the people to that enumerated in the Constitution, although Marshall's doctrine of "implied powers" has extended the authority of the federal government considerably.

Authority was also limited by distributing powers between local, state, and federal government. The theory was that only that authority should be delegated which could not be exercised effectively in the local community. The significance of the Bill of Rights is that it embodies for the individual "freedom from authority", as well as protection in the exercise of his authority. There is nothing pertaining to the responsible use of freedom, or the responsibility of the citizen to exercise the authority for which protection is granted. Freedom and self-reliance may or may not include action in other than selfish, personal affairs.

Certainly we can say that Americans revere the Constitution. When Franklin D. Roosevelt, at the height of his popularity, undertook to pack the Supreme Court he was savagely rebuked by members of his own party. Jessup suggests this reverence for the Constitution is because "it contains a principle of self-limiting power and thus expresses the

American's bias against all formal government."⁶⁶ Jefferson's statement that "free government is founded in jealousy, and not in confidence" would seem to sum up the American feelings on authority at the birth of the nation.

The struggle for freedom, independence, and democratic authority had just begun, however. Two men, Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, epitomize, more than any other, the nature of this eternal struggle.

JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON--THE ETERNAL STRUGGLE

The struggles between the masses and the classes over authority came into full view in the economic depression of 1785-86. It was made a national issue over ratification of the Constitution, has always been, and is today, one of the major issues of American culture and society.

Jefferson and Hamilton, in their basic philosophies, personify these two major positions relative to authority. Although historians portray these two positions as Hamilton being in favor of a strong central government, and Jefferson against it, this is an oversimplification of the facts and sheds little light on the matter. To understand these two basic positions we must know something of the motives, view of man and of society, held by these two men.

Two Views Of Man

Hamilton, true to his Calvinistic background, viewed man as inately

immoral, a sinner. The masses, especially, he believed, were always giving vent to their passions, and no government could have stability if based directly on the actions of the common people. Hamilton summed up his view of the common man when he said, "The people, your people, Sir, is a great beast."⁶⁷

On the other hand, Hamilton viewed the rich and the well-born as being above their passions, and more inclined to the use of reason in public affairs. Since law and order are primary requisites of government, Hamilton said, it follows that the authority and control of government must be in the hands of wealth and good birth.

Jefferson, on the other hand, had more faith in the common man than in the aristocracy, whether it be based on wealth or family. "I believe...that morality, compassion, generosity, are innate elements of the human constitution...",⁶⁸ he said. Jefferson often spoke of the "good sense" of the people, of "the common sense of mankind in general." Not only did every man "possess the right of self-government," he said, "but there is no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves."⁶⁹

Jefferson, from his first hand experience with English and French aristocracy, regarded them as wolves and parasites. He said that "an industrious farmer occupies a more dignified place in the scale of beings... than a lazy lounge, valuing himself on his family, too proud to work..."⁷⁰

Moreover, his experience had convinced him that the aristocracy supporting a King, was less capable of governing than was the collective

will of the common man. This he expressed in his first Inaugural Address: "Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of Kings to govern him?"⁷¹

In a letter to Dupont de Nemours in 1816, Jefferson expresses the difference between his own view of the people and that held by the group which Hamilton represented.

"We both consider the people as our children, and love them with parental affection. But you love them as infants whom you are afraid to trust without nurses; and I as adults whom I freely leave to self government."⁷²

But it was in their motives, as well, that Hamilton and Jefferson differed in relation to authority.

Hamilton--Advocate Of Order And Stability In Society

"Hamilton's primary objective, as Secretary of the Treasury, was to make of the new government a powerful instrument for order and stability...It was Hamilton's plan to secure for the federal government the active support...of the powerful few, merchants, bankers, and speculators who made up the creditor classes...."⁷³

To realize his objective, Hamilton funded the national debt and assumed the state debts into the federal financial structure. This pleased the speculators who held national and state paper. He set up a Bank of the United States and established a national mint, which

secured the support of moneyed men, since it made all financial transactions easier and safer. He argued for tariffs in his Report on Manufacturers, and Congress did pass a low tariff which gave aid to eastern manufacturers.

Hamilton's policies "successfully wove an intricate net of profit that secured to the national government the enthusiastic support of wealthy Federalists."⁷⁴ His objectives may have been order and stability in government, for which he would exclude the masses and rely on the wealthy few; but the "wealthy few", who were his supporters, and formerly wanted order and stability so they could go on with their business of making money in peace, now saw in government a new ally who would channel money directly into their pockets. In this group property rights have always come before human rights, and if they had their way, power, control, and authority would be confined to the few who comprise their group. They want freedom for themselves, but for the masses they feel freedom should be restricted.

Jefferson--Advocate Of Democracy

Jefferson's major motives were freedom for the individual, and democracy resting on as broad a base as possible. These motives were interdependent, for Jefferson believed that only in a broad democracy could man be free, and only by being free and independent could and would maintain democracy. Illuminating as to Jefferson's motives was the fact that in the Declaration of Independence he substituted "the

pursuit of happiness" for "property", as one of man's inalienable rights. Happiness, whatever that may be, was, according to Jefferson, the chief end of man. Freedom and democracy were merely means to the end, the conditions most conducive to man's happiness.

Above all, Jefferson was the apostle of freedom. "He fought for freedom from the British Crown, freedom from church control, freedom from a landed aristocracy, freedom from great inequalities of wealth. He was an egalitarian democrat in ideology. He disliked cities, great manufacturing interests, and large banking and trading organizations--they promoted inequality..."⁷⁵

The human rights and social reforms which Jefferson spent his life fighting for had as their first purpose enabling the citizen to exercise his authority freely, independently, wisely, and without fear.

Jefferson and the factions he represented--farmers, artisans, merchants, and small businessmen--were certainly not against property; indeed, they spent a considerable amount of their time trying to make property available to all. That was the meaning of Jefferson's fight in the abolition of entail and primogeniture, and of his Louisiana Purchase. But here again, property was the means to independence and happiness, not the end in itself. Jefferson believed "that a right to property is founded in our natural wants, in the means with which we are endowed to satisfy these wants, and the right to what we acquire by those means without violating the similar rights of other sensible beings."⁷⁶ Although Jefferson believed in economic freedom, that

freedom was limited by the rights of others. This constituted one of his most serious objections to wealth being in the hands of the few.

In summation, both Hamilton and Jefferson wanted freedom; Hamilton wanted freedom for the wealthy few, so they could accumulate more wealth, and create a government of order and stability. Jefferson wanted freedom for all men, so democracy might live and grow, and happiness be available for all.

Both men wanted to advance the interests of property, Hamilton for the few as an end in itself, assuming happiness for all would follow; Jefferson wanted property for all so men could be independent in the exercise of their authority, a necessary bulwark of democracy as a condition of happiness.

Both men were not adverse to using the powers of Federal government to advance their major motives; Hamilton of property rights, Jefferson of human rights and happiness.

And in the time that has passed since the beginning of the American struggle over authority, both groups have had periods of control which have allowed each to make advances in our society. That the United States has become a great industrial power, that the men of finance and industry have great influence in the government cannot be denied. In this respect Hamilton has been a greater prophet than Jefferson. At the same time, the authority structure has been continually broadened to include more and more people, and to make it possible for them to exercise their authority more directly. Other cultural changes have

deterred the American citizen from exercising the authority available to him.

Jefferson's Ideology Of Authority

Since Jefferson's ideas of democratic authority are deeply embedded in American culture, it is desirable that they be quoted here.

We think experience has proved it safer, for the mass of individuals composing the society, to reserve to themselves personally the exercise of all rightful powers to which they are competent, and to delegate those to which they are not competent to deputies named, and removable for unfaithful conduct, by themselves immediately. Hence with us, the people (by which is meant the mass of individuals composing the society) being competent to judge of the facts occurring in ordinary life, they have retained the functions of judges of facts, under the name of jurors; but being unqualified for the management of affairs requiring intelligence above the common level, yet competent judges of human character, they choose, for their management, representatives, some by themselves immediately, others by electors chosen by themselves.⁷⁷

Although Jefferson's synthesis of ideas formed the basic structure of American ideology concerning authority, it was the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828 which brought the common man great progress in the exercise of his authority.

SUMMARY

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were periods when freedom, independence, self-reliance and democratic authority took great strides forward in the English-speaking societies of Europe and North America. Calvinism was the ideological weapon which the middle class leaders of the commercial revolution in England used so effectively in their rise to power. In little over a century after Calvin had enunciated his doctrines in Geneva, the middle class leaders of England were ready, in the English Civil Wars, to force the issues of freedom of conscience and citizen sovereignty.

Out of this period of great social upheaval and ideological ferment came many of the ideas which crossed the Atlantic with the 20,000 Englishmen driven to the shores of America at that time. These were the cultural foundations, which, modified and stamped deeper into American culture by two and a half centuries of frontier living, formed the major basis for the unique character of democratic authority in the United States.

It was during the English Civil Wars that king and aristocracy became symbols, to many Englishmen, of a denial of freedom to the common man. This cultural pattern was, of course, stamped deeper into the culture of Americans during the American Revolutionary period. A reinforcing pattern with its origin in these same sources is the negative feelings which most Americans have toward any person who acts superior in any way.

The issue of authority was clearly joined in the Second English Civil War. Charles I maintained, even on his death scaffold, that "a subject and a sovereign are clear different things." The Rump Parliament, representing leaders with democratic ideas, proposed "that the people are, under God, the original of all just power." The implications of this position of democratic authority were equality of opportunity based on talent and ambition, and citizen sovereignty as a natural right based on the laws of God. Also implied were the means to realize these rights: religious and political freedom, republican government and universal suffrage.

To logically justify the sovereignty of the ordinary citizen, English Calvinist leaders had to adopt the concept of man's equality, and a government to serve the citizen. These leaders were explicit in these concepts when they said that "Kings are of the same dough as others....People were not made for kings, kings were made for people."⁷⁸

Thus it was that in little over a century after the birth of Calvinism, its social consequences had resulted in a complete reversal of ideological position on authority. Calvin had advocated the complete authority of God, and man's existence solely for the glory of the divine being; temporal rulers, of divine origin as to office, also held divine authority, and logically, in God's labors, people existed also for them, through which God was glorified. Leaders of the English Revolution completely reversed this position by saying

that kings exist for the people. This reversal of position came about as middle class leaders, doing, they thought, the will of God in advancing their own economic interests, which required freedom, were able to equate, in the eyes of the people, the office of monarch and the personalities of incompetent kings who were attempting to rule the English in the seventeenth century.

The rise of the commercial interests to power also meant that the cultural definition of man's relation to God was undergoing change. This change of man's position in relation to God is significant in that it advances the cultural foundation for the isolation of religion away from man's civic affairs, and the denial of divine sanctions over his economic activity. It is here that materialistic motivations gain ascendance to power. The moral and ethical problems that have grown so rapidly in Protestant cultures as the old religious roots of the culture weakened and died, also find a point of advancement in this period of English sociocultural development.

"Freeborn John" Lilburne, leader of the English Levellers, and Quaker leaders such as George Fox, were living examples to the ordinary English citizen of individuals who tried to live their creed of freedom, independence, and equality. In this fashion they were spiritual as well as ideological leaders, and did much to give the common man confidence and spiritual power to carry forward his fight for sociocultural goals. The ideological leadership of Lilburne extended into the New World, and as many thousand Quakers emigrated to America,

they carried on their leadership there in person.

Beginning prior to the English Civil Wars, Roger Williams led the first social revolt for freedom and independence in the New World. Dissenting from the authoritarian theocracy of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and sentenced to return to England, Williams traveled into the frontier beyond the jurisdiction of the Colony, and established Providence Plantation in the spring of 1636. There for the first time on American soil religious freedom was established as a natural right, and all family heads were given the franchise. Economic independence in the form of equal grants of land undergirded this political freedom.

The early colonial life in America saw the development of three patterns of authority relations which are still important in American culture. These were (1) resistance to any authority or control which did not serve the self-interests of the individual or group (2) the opportunity provided by the frontier, and now by the city, for the individual to escape control in the pursuit of freedom and (3) the development of the authority of the group, of which committee action is an example.

From the beginning colonial life was marked by almost every form of resistance to British "control". Colonists demonstrated again and again that "authority" lay in their own hands as they thwarted courts, royal governors and other officials to protect their own interests. By the time of the American Revolution it had become

a patriotic duty to break the English laws and resist British efforts at control.

The actual freedom of those living on the edge of the frontier, the cooperation of frontier people in house-raising, land clearing and defense against the Indians, plus the many cultural groups which made up the middle colonies especially, were all influences toward freedom and democratic authority.

New England Town government and town-meetings played a major role in the development of democratic authority in America in the eighteenth century, and its influence is still deep in our culture. As New Englanders dealt in their own way with their own problems they developed self-reliance, individualism, independence, and a rude equality of public service and privilege. This led to a public spirit and interest in community affairs which was largely based on the tangible economic advantage which citizens could see in the efficient operation of their little republic called a "town". As educator of the "New England common man", who carried his culture with him as he led the settlement of the American continent, we may say that the town-meeting of New England was the mother of democratic authority in the United States.

It was the American Revolutionary period which placed the indelible stamp of democratic authority on American culture. True, these cultural patterns of freedom, self-reliance, independence and citizen authority had been developing ever since the first colonial

settlement on the shores of Massachusetts. But it was the Revolution which made these cultural patterns highly emotional in character, with the result that they have been deep in the psychological systems of most Americans ever since. It was also the Declaration of Independence and the winning of the war that produced the formal break with the Old World concepts of authority and cleared the way for the American leaders to build social institutions which would implement the democratic authority of the ordinary citizen.

Many cultural patterns which reinforce dominant cultural values received great strength during the Revolutionary period. The economic restrictions of George III greatly strengthened the pattern of phrasing economic self-interest in moral terms such as "God-given rights" and "liberty of the individual." This same cultural pattern was strengthened still more after the war in the struggle between the American debtor and creditor classes.

During the Revolutionary period Thomas Paine proclaimed government as a necessary evil, justifiable only as a protection for freedom and property. This idea still has great strength in our culture, if one may use the American Press as a reflection of at least one segment of our society.

The Declaration of Independence drove into American emotions the attitudes that all men are created equal, that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are God-given, unalienable rights which no government can take away. While Jefferson substituted "happiness"

for "property" in the Declaration, insofar as American culture was concerned at the time, property was also considered as an inalienable right.

During the Revolutionary War itself, and in the period following, rapid social progress was made in the advancement of freedom, independence and democratic authority in American society.

Each colony established a new government and wrote constitutions which included civil rights. In Pennsylvania, Delaware, North Carolina, Georgia, and Vermont, all male taxpayers received the franchise. Formerly appointed by the Crown, the governors and upper houses of the state legislatures were now elected by the people. Religious freedom was established in North Carolina in 1776. Ten years later the Virginia law on religious freedom was passed, later to be used as the model for the federal Bill of Rights. Jefferson, who had led the fight for religious freedom in Virginia, also struck a blow for economic independence by leading the movement to abolish entail and primogeniture. Entail was abolished in 1776, primogeniture in 1785.

Benjamin Franklin, Governor George Clinton, and Thomas Jefferson had also begun to fight to educate the citizen so he could exercise his newly-won authority with intelligence. And in the Ordinance of 1785, Jefferson took a long step in that direction by making millions of acres of public lands available as an endowment to be used to start public schools and universities.

Expressing the antipathy of Americans toward controls of any kind, American government under the Articles of Confederation was an example of authority without the means to make it effective, the epitome of impotence in the affairs of the nation. Following the Revolutionary War, the debtor classes had gained control of several state legislatures to the disadvantage of the people with property. With the advent of Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts, the leaders of the propertied classes in all the states felt the time ripe for a stronger central government. It is significant as to one of the basic characteristics of authority relations in American culture that the first nationwide struggle over authority in American society was a struggle based on economic motives. This struggle came to a focus in the economic depression of 1785-86, and was the major motive behind the Constitution written for the new nation by the propertied classes to protect property and curb the excesses of democracy.

As the basic authority structure of the United States, the Constitution, as finally ratified, is contradictory in relation to freedom, independence, and democratic authority. As the main body of the Constitution was written, it was designed to curb the freedom of the common man in relation to property. The Bill of Rights, designed to protect the rights of humanity rather than property, was, nevertheless, negative in relation to freedom. The Federal Bill of Rights establishes man's freedom from authority and control. It is

not, in the cultural sense, freedom for positive action toward building a better society in which all citizens may share. The negative character of American freedom is selfish and individualistic; positive freedom is corporate and unselfish in the sense that the major motive behind it is the shared good of all members of society.

As it was written, and as it has been interpreted by the United States Supreme Court, the Constitution lays powerful sanctions upon property and stimulates the economic motive already basic in the culture. Political and religious freedom reinforce and provide the means for economic freedom as the basic motivating force in the culture. The form of government, which provided a system of checks and balances, separation, limitation, and definition of authority, with the remainder of authority to be retained by the people, was agreed upon by all socio-economic classes.

The struggle between the democratic and authoritarian concepts of authority in the United States came into the open in the struggle over the Constitution. But this was to be an eternal struggle in a society with a culture which has in it so many basic contradictions. The motives and actions of Thomas Jefferson bring to focus the basic American ideological concepts of democratic authority. He had faith in the common man and in his ability to exercise authority wisely. As the foundation upon which citizen authority must rest, for the intelligent exercise of that authority, he wanted a free and responsible press, and education for the common man.

Alexander Hamilton, on the other hand, represented the authoritarian concept of authority. He viewed the common man as a beast subject to his passions and unfit to exercise authority. Hamilton wanted freedom, independence and control limited to the wealthy few, so that stability and order might be achieved in society.

Certainly it may be said that the events of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are most important in establishing the character and direction of authority relations in American culture and society. This period saw the majority of Americans complete the ideological break with the Old World authoritarian concept of authority, and the establishment of new social institutions to implement the cultural patterns of democratic authority. The difference and uniqueness of American democratic authority was thus established deep in the culture during this highly emotional period.

Unlimited freedom and economic self-interest, two cultural patterns, incompatible with democracy, both received great impetus during this period, ultimately to result in the decline of freedom itself. But the freedom, independence, and authority of the ordinary citizen was still advancing at the close of the eighteenth century. Let us turn now to the developments of the nineteenth century, which marks the apex and the beginning of the decline of freedom, independence and democratic authority in the United States.

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CHAPTER V - THE NINETEENTH CENTURY REVOLUTIONARY RISE OF THE COMMON MAN IN THE UNITED STATES

JEFFERSON LAYS THE IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

The eighteenth century had seen America break with the Old World authoritarian concept of authority and establish a new nation, the United States, based on the concepts of democratic, citizen authority. But the artisans, small farmers and common man Radicals who had done the most to win the Revolutionary War were "on the outside" of the Constitutional Convention when the representatives of "property" wrote the Constitution to curb the excesses of the masses. The common man had won the war only to have his new-won freedom curbed by the powerful minority group of the propertied classes.

Presidents George Washington and John Adams were able representatives of the propertied interests. With the help of the able leadership of Alexander Hamilton they established new social institutions, precedents, and cultural patterns which greatly strengthened the central government of the infant republic, and attracted to its support the people of wealth. At the same time, a combination of small farmers, states-rights adherents in the South, and the anti-British element had formed under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson to establish the Republican party. Even in the election of 1796, as Washington, retiring from the presidency, was able to bestow his great prestige to the favor of the Federalists, John Adams only managed to defeat Jefferson by three electoral votes.¹

In what Jefferson termed the "Revolution of 1800" he was elected to the presidency, and with this event the freedom of the common man was again rising. It is significant that one of the major issues of the election was the Alien and Sedition Acts which were designed to keep liberal aliens out of the country and curb criticism and opposition to the Federalist government. Republicans convicted under the Sedition Act were held by Republican leaders to be martyrs to the cause of free speech, and examples of what the people could expect with continuance of the Federalist government.²

In 1800 the United States had slightly over five million inhabitants, nine-tenths of whom still lived east of the Appalachian Mountains. Yet it was prophetic of the future that the new western states of Kentucky and Tennessee voted for Jefferson, and that the frontier people generally voted heavily for him.³ The influence of the frontier in the rise of the common man had already, in 1800, begun to be felt.

While Jefferson had already made his major contributions to American culture before he was elected to the presidency, he was greatly influential in the social action which brought the common man to power. He organized the Republican elements into the nation's first political party, the vehicle which the ordinary citizen must have to win victory for his own interests. In his conduct of the presidency, Jefferson instituted "equality of social treatment" to all, regardless of title or rank. This was in contrast to the imitation of British Court procedure which Washington and Adams had used.

His conduct in office was an example of simplicity, democratic equality, and a quality of freedom which was in sharp contrast to the preceding Federalist government noted for its restrictions on freedom. When Jefferson purchased the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803 he opened up the opportunity for the expansion of the frontier, and with it the continued rise of democratic freedom and authority in the United States.

But even though Jefferson understood and believed in the judgment and common sense of ordinary citizens, and thought that, as President, he represented them, he was no advocate of popular rule. Jefferson felt that the "natural aristocracy", men of greatest talent, should manage "affairs requiring intelligence above the common level", while the common man's exercise of authority should be confined to the judgment of facts and character in the election of their representatives, plus those other affairs "to which they are competent". As one historian aptly puts it, the Jeffersonian's "believed in government of and for the people, but not necessarily by the people, and it was not until the age of Jackson that equalitarianism became a pervasive theme of American life."⁴

It was Jefferson's contribution to lay the ideological and organizational foundations for the rise of the common man. But it was the growth of the frontier, democratic element in the population, and the leadership of Andrew Jackson which finally brought the ordinary citizen into the full exercise of democratic authority in American

culture and society.

As the frontier moved steadily westward, the leavening influence of the independent, free and self-reliant frontiersman rose in the culture and society of the nation. Between 1800 and Jackson's election in 1828, the states of Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Maine and Missouri had come into the Union. Most of these new states granted manhood suffrage outright, or established qualifications so slight as to amount to the same thing.

In the original thirteen states the property qualifications attached to the franchise began to crumble before the pressures of the masses in the growing factory system. Politicians, who saw in the widening of the franchise a chance to advance their own position, led the way in demanding suffrage for all men. By the time of the election in 1828, five of the original thirteen states had abolished all but nominal property qualifications for voting. So that in the majority of states the common man had the franchise and also the desire to use it when Jackson ran for president. His election and leadership of the ordinary citizen into full exercise of individual authority was foreseen long before it occurred.⁵

Another pattern which gave the ordinary citizen more control over the exercise of his authority was the tendency to make more and more officials subject to the direct will of the people. By the time Jackson was elected in 1828 only Delaware and South Carolina permitted their legislatures to choose presidential electors; in all other states

they were chosen by popular vote.

Prophetic also of cultural change in the expression and phrasing of authority relations in American democratic culture and society was the fact that for the first time, in 1828, "personalities" held the center of the election stage, and "issues" receded into the background.⁶ So long as the people of wealth and education had control of affairs it was possible to appeal to issues. That the followers of John Quincy Adams were living in a fool's paradise of the past is evidenced by the way they carried on their campaign in Missouri, the state nearest the frontier in 1828. Meetings of Adams' supporters in Clay and Howard counties in Missouri were said to be attended by "gentlemen who decorously and carefully discussed and weighed the issues of the day, and who in the end allowed reason to prevail."⁷ And a speaker at a Boonville, Missouri meeting of Adams' supporters pictured the administration men as unemotional persons of reason. This speaker went on to say that Adams' peculiar fitness for office was because he was a man of unusual self control, able to use reason, and "divest himself of prejudices and partialities and inquire after truth as with a mind previously unoccupied."⁸

This was the image which the upper classes of the Northeast carried relative to themselves. They thought of themselves as men of reason who would never allow human emotions to sway their judgment of major issues in community and state as the passions of the masses were wont to do.

Certainly it is true that the common people were avid and passionate supporters of Jackson. In Missouri the ordinary citizen "might honestly doubt the ability and honesty of any candidate who did not support the democratic Jackson against the aristocratic Adams."⁹ And while reason may be good for analyzing issues, it did not win elections after the masses had gained the franchise, as the Federalists found out. What is apparent to the student of history is that regardless of whether Americans use reason or passion as the tool of social action they usually arrive at the same position--self-interest. Most significant, also, is the fact that after the masses received the franchise the majority of the electorate did not have education enough to understand some issues. The turning point in the expression and phrasing of authority relations in American culture and society was when sufficient numbers of ordinary citizens received the franchise which enabled them to elect their own candidates to office. This meant that they had the power to control whom-ever they elected to office. The phrasing and expression of their authority was bound to be in terms they could understand. Moreover, the character of authority delegated is bound to reflect the socio-cultural character of the people who delegate it. This meant further that the person who best fitted the democratic culture of the frontier would win the trust and vote of the majority of the electorate. In 1828 that man was Andrew Jackson. Let us describe a few of the cultural changes relative to freedom, independence, and democratic authority

that were established during the Jackson era.

THE JACKSONIAN IDEOLOGY OF DEMOCRATIC CITIZEN AUTHORITY

Andrew Jackson had experienced poverty and hardship as a child. As an adult he had had experience in law, business and soldiering on the Western frontier. He was the first "common man" to be President. Jackson brought with him into office "a new equalitarian conception of public office: that all men were essentially of equal talents, that each American of normal intelligence was capable of holding any position in government, and that democracy required a rotation in office to prevent the development of an untouchable and undemocratic political bureaucracy."¹⁰ Westerners believed that an upstanding man who could command a militia company, run a plantation, and make a good stump speech was fitted for almost any office.¹¹ They did not believe, moreover, that the rewards of public office should be reserved to those of good family, wealth, and education. There was good evidence on which to base such a belief. Self-made men like Henry Clay and Thomas Hart Benton had been leaders of the Congress. Jackson's own success was further evidence of the soundness of such a view, and Lincoln's contribution thirty years later confirmed it again.

Jackson had a simple but very effective creed for his times. Briefly, it was faith in the common man, belief in political equality;

belief in equal economic opportunity; hatred of monopoly, special privilege, and the intricacies of capitalistic finance.¹²

This equalitarian ideology was expressed in numerous ways. Presidential electors had earlier, in 1804, begun to be chosen by popular vote. Direct nominating conventions to choose presidential candidates replaced the Congressional caucus in 1836. The popular vote in the Presidential elections rose from 350,000 in 1824 to 2,400,000 votes in 1840, a seven fold increase which represented some population gain but was mainly due to more people having the franchise. Jacksonians also advocated the election of judges rather than their appointment. Not only do we see in these changes the broadening of the authority structure to include a greater number of ordinary citizens, but also the actual participation of ordinary citizens in the exercise of delegated authority in the role of public servants. Direct nominating conventions for presidential candidates and the election of judges also made it possible for the common man to exercise his influence more directly and effectively in those chosen to serve him in public office.

Leveling tendencies were also more noticeable in the social life of the nation. Due to the influence of a frontier society manners were becoming more democratic, less formal and punctilious. The person who acted superior was quickly put in his place. And there was less and less difference between the behavior of the masses and the classes.

The majority of the people not only believed in equality, but "felt equal", as well. This is evidenced by the fact that the Whigs, in the 1840 election, pretended that their candidate, William Henry Harrison, an educated and wealthy man living the life of a country gentleman, was really a tough pioneer who had been raised in a log cabin. Progress was also being made to enable the citizen to exercise his authority more wisely. Newspapers were made available at a price the ordinary man could afford. Horace Mann was leading the fight for free public schools. Religion, influenced by a frontier culture, grew most rapidly in those sects which were most democratic--the Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Campbellites. Leading authors of the day, such as William Cullen Bryant, Washington Irving, and James Fenimore Cooper, contributed literature to the culture which was more democratic in character.

Reform movements were started for women's rights and the abolition of slavery which would one day widen the authority structure still more. The common man had come into his own for the first time, and for a brief period he experienced real freedom and independence. Progress was being made in American culture toward making authority relationships democratic, not only in ideology but in practice.

But the opponents of freedom and democratic authority never stop fighting, and on the horizon loomed the greatest authority struggle in the history of the nation - the Civil War.

THE CIVIL WAR - STRUGGLE FOR AUTHORITY

Lincoln Defines The War As A Struggle Over Democratic Authority

It was Abraham Lincoln, the great commoner, who, in his immortal utterances on the battlefield of Gettysburg, defined the meaning of the Civil War for American culture. On that memorable occasion Lincoln said:

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure..."¹³

Lincoln was merely stating the facts of history in relation to the struggle in which he and the American people were locked.

In no other nation of the world, except possibly Switzerland, did the ordinary citizen hold the reins of authority, exercised by the will of the majority, and necessarily resting on a culture of freedom, independence, and equality of individuals.

Unfortunately, at the time the Constitution was framed, there was a compromise between the Northern industrial interests and the slaveholding South, the Northern states getting concessions for commerce and industry, and the South being allowed to retain slavery under the sanction of the Constitution. This compromise was possible

because of the then almost equal political strength of the two regions, and the desire of both to establish a government which would allow each to pursue selfish interests in a society of order and stability. George Mason said at the time, that since man lives under a just God, the issue of slavery would rise again to plague the nation.

By 1860, some 71 years after ratification of the Constitution, the North and West, who had little economic reason for wanting slavery, had grown to the point where they would soon hold the position of majority power in the Federal Government. Under the agitation of the abolitionists, the South began to fear that as a minority group, they would soon lose the institution of slavery. Slavery was the foundation of their economic prosperity, and of the social aspects of their culture and society. When Southern leaders became convinced that, after Lincoln's election, there was no longer any hope of maintaining their culture under peaceful and constitutional means, they started the war.

Free Democratic Authority vs. Aristocratic Control And Slavery

The war was essentially a conflict between two different cultures and societies. "More than three-fourths of the white population (of the South) had no direct interest in the plantation-slave system at all."¹⁴ Twenty-five percent of the families owned the majority of the slaves and also comprised the social aristocracy which held the dominant political power of the region. Most people in the South

supported the slave-holding culture, however.

As Lincoln said on one occasion, democracy and slavery are incompatible; for if men are equal, and freedom is necessary for man to exercise his democratic authority, there is no justification for one man enslaving another. Only in the culture of an aristocracy could slavery be justified, and with it freedom and equality only for the aristocrats, who, because of their superiority had, they felt, the only right to govern. Power and control in the South at the time of the Civil War was in the hands of the minority, the few; there was no belief in, nor evidence of, the authority of the common man exercised in democratic relationships.

In the South the culture rested on an economic foundation of cotton, sugar, rice, and slaves. The sociocultural basis of the North and West, on the other hand, rested on commerce, industry and small farms. Although many laborers were not economically free and independent, the influence of the frontier had been one of freedom, and most men believed in equality. The Puritan influence in this area also was behind the idea that slavery was morally wrong. While the operation of the authority structure was not perfect by any means with wealth, power, education and family still playing major roles at least in the New England states, the common man was gaining steadily in his freedom and influence, and the majority did believe passionately in democratic authority.

The Civil War, then, was a struggle between these two cultures

and societies; equality and freedom vs. inequality and slavery; cotton, cane, sugar, and free trade, vs. industry, commerce, small farms, and high tariffs; authority in the hands of the common man, exercised by a democratic majority, vs. control in the hands of the aristocracy, exercised by the few, the minority.

In the struggle for power, control, and authority, it is only natural that each culture should try to justify its position. As a result, we have, during this period, several definitions of democratic authority, and several examples that power and authority actually does ultimately reside in the people. Early in the struggle between North and South, some thirty years before the war, in fact, Senator Hayne of South Carolina had spoken out violently against New England in an attempt to alienate the West from the North. Hayne spoke in favor of state's rights and nullification of federal legislation as the answer, for both West and South, to "Northern tyranny".

Webster Defines The Democratic Concept Of Authority

Daniel Webster, Senator from Massachusetts, and a giant in congressional leadership, in his reply to Hayne, gives some very excellent discussion on the democratic concept of authority. Webster said:

This leads us to inquire into the origin of this government and the source of its power. Whose agent is it?...It is, Sir, the people's Constitution, the people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people. The people of the United States have declared that this Constitution shall be the supreme law. We must either admit the proposition or dispute their authority.¹⁵

Webster went on to say that both national and state governments derive their authority from the people, that the powers of the Federal government are defined and limited, with the remaining powers belonging to the states or the people themselves. Neither state nor federal government is primary, but each has been delegated different authority by the people, and each is supreme in its own area. To argue that the states had the right to nullify federal legislation, said Webster, was to advocate a return to the condition that existed under the Articles of Confederation. Webster then took up the question of who should interpret the power delegated by the people to their government. He continued:

Having constituted the government, and declared its powers, the people have further said that, since somebody must decide on the extent of these powers, the government itself shall decide; subject, always, like other popular governments, to its responsibility to the people. And now, Sir, I repeat, how is it that a state legislature acquires any power to interfere? Who, or what, gives them the right to say to the people, 'We, who are your agents and servants for one purpose will undertake to decide, that your other agents and servants, appointed by you for another purpose, have transcended the authority you gave them!' The reply would be, I think, not impertinent: 'Who made you a judge over another's servants? To their own masters they stand or fall.'¹⁶

Webster is here saying that not only are the people in a democracy the only ones who may delegate authority, but they are also the only ones who shall ultimately judge whether that authority is being used in their interests or not. All agents and servants of the people are ultimately responsible to their own masters, the people, for their authority, and no one but the people has the right to extend or reduce

such authority. That Webster was right in the enunciation of his theory of authority, was demonstrated more than once during the Civil War era, and continues to be demonstrated in our national life.

The People Take Authority Into Their Own Hands

The people, who, rightly enough, had defined the supreme law of the land in the Constitution, had, in the intervening years, experienced changes in their culture which resulted in radically changed views. This was true in both the North and the South. The Constitution, in its "service and labor" clause in Article IV, very definitely protected the institution of slavery. In Article VI it states that "this Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof...shall be the supreme law of the land."

Yet, it appeared that the people of the North were determined to ultimately destroy slavery, and South Carolina openly resisted the tariff law of 1832 passed by the United States Congress. When the Congress passed the Fugitive Slave law, the people of the North answered by refusing to assist in the capture of slaves. They also developed an "underground railroad" to help slaves escape, and many times rioted to prevent agents of the federal government from returning or capturing slaves. Many Northern states passed "personal liberty laws" which openly nullified the Fugitive Slave Act. State and local courts, which were subject to the immediate pressure of public opinion,

also openly defied the United States Supreme Court.

The people, who had originally delegated authority to the Constitution and the Federal Government, now, in both the North and South, withdrew this authority into their own hands, and used it in accordance with their contemporary views. As Lincoln stated in his first inaugural address, if all people continued to abide by the National Constitution, "the Union will endure forever." Civil war could not occur under the Constitution. It was when the people of the North and the South took authority into their own hands that war was possible.

Lincoln, always sensitive to the will of the people, and more aware than most that all power and authority ultimately reside in the people, demonstrated, by his behavior, the truth of this fact. More than once he acted beyond his delegated authority, but never did the people refuse, through their congressional representatives, to approve his action. At other times he refused to move when under the greatest of pressure from other government leaders, sensing that the opinion of the people would not support the action.

In his first Inaugural Address Lincoln showed his awareness of the people's authority. He stated that he would faithfully execute the laws of the Union in all the states "unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary."¹⁷ He saw the futility of trying to enforce federal law without the sanction of the local people.

"Where hostility to the United States," he said, "in any interior locality, shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices."¹⁸

He recognized also that the Fugitive Slave law could not be enforced because "the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself."¹⁹

Ideology Of Democratic Authority Triumphs--Freedom Declines

While the issues of the Civil war were many and complex, we may enumerate some of its results in terms of authority. Lee, with his jeweled sword, Grant in his common private's dress, shaking hands at Appomattox, was symbolic of one of the major results of the war. The common man, symbolized by Grant's private's uniform, won, and in so doing, had maintained his freedom; the aristocracy, symbolized by Lee's jeweled sword, had failed to win control in the nation or in the South, at least temporarily. The rule of the majority, rather than the minority, was also symbolized in the victory. The Union, constitutional government, and separation of powers between Federal and State governments was again supreme. Most of all, the greatest

victory was that concept of democratic authority which made the ordinary citizen the sovereign and ruler of his nation, with the power to maintain his freedom, independence, and authority.

At the same time, however, we see, stimulated by the war, the triumph of Northern industrialism, which kept itself in power in Washington for another twenty years by waving the "bloody shirt." This was the beginning of the concentration of great wealth and power in the hands of a few families, and with it the beginning of the decline of freedom, independence, and authority of the common man. Urbanization, which followed industrial growth, destroyed man's old social institutions, and changed his mode of living from the rural primary groups to the impersonal, special self-interest, secondary social institutions of the city.

The forms and ideological concepts of democratic authority had triumphed in the war, but the beginning of changes in urban-industrial culture would make it increasingly difficult, socially and psychologically, for the ordinary citizen to exercise his authority effectively.

"No fair-minded observer could conclude that the war had advanced democracy in any direct or immediate sense."²⁰ Any immediate gains of the war were thrown away by the policies of greed of the victorious Northern industrialists during the period of reconstruction. The Radical Republicans, in control of a post-war Congress, and in turn controlled by the industrialists, used every means possible to perpetuate their power in the federal government, in order that

manufacturers, railroad builders, and financiers might have policies favorable to their enterprises in the accumulation of wealth.²¹ The establishment of military administration over southern states, were two of the most obnoxious means of maintaining the power of the North. This use of force, intrigue, and unscrupulous action against the southern people, only seemed to drive deeper into their culture the hatred of the North that had been generated by the war itself. These policies of the Union government also made the South into a one-party region under the Democratic banner. And most important, the intense reaction of the Southern people to anything Northern only served to convince them that their own culture was, after all, far superior, and as a result it was perpetuated in its entirety wherever possible. The quality of the Northern administration in the conquered South was a great blow to the possibilities for freedom and authority of the common man in that area.

The struggle of the South to regain the right to rule themselves brought into bold relief again the power of the people locally, and the fact that although they had lost control of their own affairs to the Union administration, authority still rested in the hands of the people.

Southern leaders, after the war, organized the Ku Klux Klan, which frightened Negroes away from the polls and sent carpetbaggers hurrying back north. Southern people regained control of their own political machinery, and the only way the Northern interests could

remain in power locally was by the use of federal garrisons.

And finally, although four million negroes had been freed from their physical chains, the greed of the Northern leaders bartered away their educational, economic and social development, until they remained, in fact, slaves of a new kind under the control of their old masters. Several decades passed before the negroes and their descendants began to exercise their new-won authority and freedom, and this battle is yet far from won.

We have now covered over two centuries of American experience. We have mentioned the influence of the frontier in the rise of democratic authority and its foundations of freedom, independence, and self-reliance. But let us now broaden our understanding of democratic authority still further by examining frontier life in a little more detail.

THE FRONTIER, FREEDOM, SELF-RELIANCE, INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRATIC CITIZEN AUTHORITY

The Frontier Influence On The European Heritage

In the United States of America, the influence of some two and one-half centuries of frontier experience has played a major role in the rise of freedom, independence, self-reliance, and the democratic authority of the ordinary citizen. It was Frederick Jackson Turner who pointed out to Americans the importance of the frontier in shaping American culture and society. In a paper read to one of the

World's Fair Congresses in Chicago, July 12, 1893, Turner said:

American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character.²²

Turner argued for the dominant influence of environment in shaping the culture and society of Americans. Certainly, when we realize that from the time the first English colonies were established at Jamestown, Massachusetts Bay, and Plymouth, every part of the United States has been through the frontier process, we begin to visualize the great influence that the frontier has had on American culture and society. At the same time, however, we must realize that with the exception of the Indians, all Americans are immigrants or descendants of immigrants, some not many generations removed. Every immigrant brought with him his already established Old World culture, and it was these cultural patterns, customs, ideas, and beliefs, with which he started life when he reached the shores of America. This culture, which he carried deep in his emotions, could not do other than direct his efforts in his new environment. That the frontier environment, and later, the contact and intermingling of many diverse cultures, has modified the English culture which was first established in America, is very much apparent.

While it was, in a sense, mere historical accident that the English established the first permanent settlements on the Atlantic coast, it was no accident that English culture became dominant in the

United States. As we have already pointed out, the Calvinist Puritans which settled New England were "men of iron." These "self-confident saints" were sure that God spoke English, and that he had called them to conquer the American continent in His name. The fact that these disciples of Calvin believed that materialistic success showed that God had elected them to His Kingdom, was also a potent driving force in an environment of abundance. Thus it was the combination of relentless, militant Calvinism, and the frontier environment amenable to its culture, which made it possible for the English Puritans, the "choice and sifted seed", to sow their culture from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. Not only were these tight-fisted, individualistic, hard-working, English Puritans first to become established in New England, but their Yankee descendants were always in the vanguard as the frontier moved westward. With generally the best education in the nation, experience in the self-government of the New England Town, and having been reared in an atmosphere of orators and dialecticians, these Yankees naturally became leaders in the frontier settlements. In the state of Wisconsin, for example, which joined the Union in 1848, the majority of political leaders up until the twentieth century were Yankees who had emigrated from New England, some by way of New York. As a result, the majority of social institutions first established in Wisconsin were modeled after those in New England.²³

While the culture and society in the southeastern part of the

United States has never had much direct influence from New England, there has been some influence, however much modified, through the Calvinistic heritage of the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian churches as the dominant religious bodies in that area. We must recognize too, that the Calvinistic influence is not the same in all areas. The further west the frontier moved, the greater the opportunity for many factors to modify the New England heritage. It is in the western states where environment has had the greatest influence. Yet in spite of the many modifications of the original Puritan culture, many, and perhaps most, of the main cultural foundations have lived on as part of the basic foundation of modern American culture and society.

We have already described the New England Town and its concurrent development with the character of the New England people. Let us summarize also some of the major facets of the Puritan heritage as it developed in America, so we may have a little fuller understanding of these bearers of the New England culture who played such a great role in the building of the United States.

The New England Heritage - Calvinistic Puritanism And Town Government

We have already outlined the reciprocal relationship that occurred in the development of town-meeting government and the cultural character of New England citizens, as both were subjected to the harsh physical environment of the northeastern part of the American continent.

We said that these people who were forced to cope in their own way with all kinds of problems, developed exceptional self-reliance, a love of freedom and independence, and equality of civic service and political privilege. These cultural patterns of self-government were primarily based on the motive of economic gain, and rebellion was quick when the citizen felt his rights of liberty and property were being infringed upon.

While the majority of English people who came to America during the English Civil War period did not become members of the churches, the leaders of the English colonies were Calvinistic Puritans, and all English people had been exposed to the ideology of Calvinism. Although perhaps most colonists did not accept the religious theology of Calvinism, its socio-economic doctrines were ideal for the primary economic motives held by many people exposed to the great natural wealth of a virgin continent.

It was in the sanction of economic activity that Puritanism found its great militant force in America, a cultural pattern that soon led to the dominance of secular interests in the colonies.

Not unlike Calvin himself in his Christian Commonwealth at Geneva, the New England Calvinist ministers, while "excoriating the behavior of merchants, laborers, and frontiersmen, they never for a moment condemned merchandising, laboring or expansion of the frontier. They berated the consequences of progress, but never progress; deplored the effects of trade upon religion, but did not ask men to

desist from trading..."²⁴

Under the Calvinistic concepts of "election and calling" the accumulation of wealth was a sign of divine blessing. It was the duty of American Christians to acquire property and devote their time to business. Reinforcing the accumulation of property and wealth was the idea that although poverty itself was not a sin, it was caused by sin, and "to accept it voluntarily is utterly reprehensible."²⁵

Gradually, however, from 1689 onward, the religious spirit becomes less and less "the cause of prosperity, and becomes instead a benediction upon the process, to be prized for the adventitious grace it bestows upon wealth, or for the consolation it extends to poverty..."²⁶ Naturally, since all good Christians must labor in a calling, and the accumulation of wealth involved hard work, purposeful activity was a major value, and idleness a sin. Even if a man were wealthy, he must still work. One of the Puritan ministers put it in unmistakable fashion: "If thou beest a man that lives without a calling, though thou hast two thousands to spend, yet if thou hast no calling, tending to publique good, thou art an uncleane beast."²⁷ This pattern of hard work was further reinforced by the necessity that all must labor to survive and progress in a frontier environment.

Recreation was to be used only to enable a person to accomplish more work; time became valuable (time is money). In such a social

system, where the accumulation of wealth is the service of God, there is no place for sentiment. "You must buy, and trade, and marry, and weep, and care for these things, as if you did not,"²⁸ a New England leader said. Property naturally became more valuable than human beings, at least human beings not of one's own class or family.

Moreover, if man was to spend his life accumulating wealth, he must have the right to keep it. Samuel Willard, in his summa, made this fact plain: "...God has not given possessions to be held in common, but hath appointed that every man should have his share in them, wherein he hold a proper right in them, and they are his own and not anothers."²⁹ It was Joseph Moss, a New England Whig, who said he felt that rulers ought to be men of good estate because the poor are "apt to be mean and mercenary spirits." And because the poor would destroy themselves by slothfulness if left alone, their exploitation by the rich was justified. These ideas were buttressed by Calvin's medieval concept of society, which held that men were placed in unequal status by God, and ought to remain thus. But the ideology of hard work, coupled with abundant American resources, and the idea that wealth is a divine blessing, soon destroyed the fixed social structure.

The developing American Protestant ethic, however, was not entirely a gospel of wealth. Ministers of the gospel made it clear that once wealth had been secured, the wealthy should not forget their

indebtedness to God for His blessings, and to pay their debt, should "do good works". It was Cotton Mather who said, "Our faith itself will not be found good and profitable if good works do not follow upon it."³⁰

The man of wealth, in exchange for his high estate, must help the poor, try, through benevolence, to lift society upward to a higher level, closer to himself. Thus the Protestant ethic in America became "a social gospel; it recognized evils and proposed to do something about them."³¹ Bowing to the developing character of American society, the Puritan divines advocated secular, voluntary associations for the tasks of social action. The club, the fraternity, the lodge--associations of all kinds developed to serve this function. Of course, a club developed to serve the poor may also serve its members in other ways--socially, politically, economically, for example.

Government, which, under the founders of the Puritan culture, had been divinely instituted to keep sinful creatures from destroying each other, was soon transformed into an agent of progress, to be used by the community to attain such ends as were desired. "Government must be suited to the principles of reason, to the nature of man, and the ends of civil society,"³² a New England leader by the name of Pemberton declared.

The social goal of "the good, the just, and the honest," as defined by John Winthrop, was transformed to mere "happiness". And how was man to know of what happiness consisteth? By the use of reason. The

Puritan clergy were confident that reason would serve "to propagate the piety of the everlasting gospel. Did men act reasonably, they would live religiously."³³ Men of reason would not sin, would believe the Scriptures, would do good unto others, they believed.

But the ministers of the gospel failed to see that the same process of rational thinking, which, to them, could lead nowhere else but to the support of religion, could, in a different frame of reference, cast doubt on some of the main tenets of Christianity. As a result, since man could now, with the use of reason, determine wherein his own happiness lay, religion was placed in the position of proving "that the maxims of salvation are also engines of happiness."³⁴

In this process we see the emergence of the secular society into the dominant position, with religion faced with the necessity for proving its value and right to exist. This same process of secularization meant that Christianity in America became the minion of property, to which it must turn for economic support, and that economic activities were now free of effective religious censure.

Some leaders espoused religion for its utilitarian qualities, rather than its power to lead the citizen to holiness. "How well doth it become every rational creature! How useful and serviceable doth it render persons in societies,"³⁵ one New Englander remarked.

Thus, religion is advocated for the citizen because it will make him more acceptable in society, and perhaps give him more prestige with his fellow-men if he is able to exhibit its qualities in an

impressive manner.

Originally to hear the call of Christ, now to acquire wealth, the individual had a great desire for knowledge. It was Nathaniel Appleton, New England educational leader and clergyman, who advocated the original reason for the cultivation of knowledge and wisdom: "If we would be just to ourselves, we must be improving and advancing our rational faculties, by getting a further knowledge of things, especially of God and Christ, and of the way to eternal life..."³⁶

But if man can use education to learn more about God and Christ so can he also use and desire education to help him in his quest for wealth and power.

It was felt, in the New England culture, that "everyone has a talent for something, given of God, which he must improve." No one has to be content with his station in life, if he would develop and improve his talents. Everyone could advance, and advancement meant making more money. This was powerful cultural impetus for personal improvement, and education was its tool.

After secular society had won dominance in New England, the leading clergy acknowledged that man has certain rights, whether he be Christian or not. Cotton Mather, in his clearcut way, voices his thoughts on these matters: "For every man to worship God according to his own conviction, is an Essential Right of Humane Nature... A man has a Right unto his Life, his Estate, his Liberty, and his

Family, altho' he should not come up to these and those Blessed Institutions of our Lord."³⁷

We find also in this early New England culture, the pattern for the use of force, whether it be fighting by an individual, or a nation's use of war. Again we find our interpreter in the person of Cotton Mather, who, in trying to justify the loyalty of his colony to William and Mary in the war on the French, said: "Certainly, my countrymen, 'tis time to look about us. We are driven upon a purely defensive war, which we may now make justly offensive to the first aggressors in it. You are fighting that the Churches of God may not be extinguisht..."³⁸

War is permissable if the cause is just, in this case the defense of Protestant Christianity. And the rules governing the use of force are that after the opponent (the French in this case) strikes the first blow, then one must do everything in his power to win the battle as speedily as possible.

Intense activity, hard work, devotion to the practical, the use of reason, the high value placed on education and self improvement, derision for idleness, the urge to make good use of time, recreation condoned only to support work, a government to serve a secular society, the use of war if the cause is just and the opponent strikes the first blow, a devotion to the basic human rights of life, liberty, property, and family, and happiness defined in material terms--these were some of the major cultural patterns embodied in the person of the New Englander

and his social institutions.

Certainly there was little freedom and independence under the New England theocracy. But within a century after the Puritans landed on New England shores the religious aristocracy had been replaced by an aristocracy of wealth and property as rulers of the Commonwealth. As we have already pointed out, freedom and independence in the United States have been achieved through secular, not religious institutions, even though Calvinism had in it the ideological seeds and social consequences which secular institutions used and fostered to gain freedom.

The importance of the New England Puritan culture relative to American freedom, independence, and citizen authority is that it supplied part of the motive power which caused people to strive for freedom. Once the people had experienced freedom they were not content with any other social condition. Hard work, education, practicality, and self-government, as they developed out of Calvinism into secular patterns, were merely supporting means to attain the major goal of economic gain.

Besides the socio-economic consequences of Calvinistic Puritanism, it was the modifying influence of the frontier which proved to be the democratizing factor in the development of American culture and society. We find an early example of this in the case of Roger Williams, who traveled beyond the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay Colony into the frontier where he was actually free, there to

establish Providence Plantation; there also, Williams and his followers made freedom a natural right.

Roger Williams Sets The Pattern For Frontier Freedom

When Roger Williams left the confines of the Bay Colony and traveled into the free frontier to settle on new land with other people who also wanted freedom and independence, he was following a pattern of action that was thereafter followed for two and a half centuries until the last frontier was settled. After the early colonies were established, the frontier settlement process had three initial stages. In the vanguard were the hunters and trappers who were dealing in furs. Following these were the squatters, and sometimes outlaws who did not like the social climate of the established communities. These would often move on through to the next frontier when the third group, the permanent settlers, began to arrive. It was this latter group who built the frontier communities.

In many respects the cultural development of Providence Plantation was similar to the development of many frontier communities. In Providence, the heads of families, as voters, met regularly to direct the affairs of the colony. In 1640 a committee elected by the inhabitants drew up a constitution that was ratified by the townsmen. And in 1658 all freeholders were given the franchise.³⁹

While the details varied from settlement to settlement, this was the kind of direct democracy and citizen action that occurred in

most of the frontier communities. Moreover, the ease of acquiring land bulwarked political and religious freedom with a certain amount of economic independence. The lack of any social controls at the salient edge of the frontier, the established freedom, non-conformity, and the majority rule of self-governing citizen action in the established communities, fostered a type of democracy that was peculiarly fitted to a frontier environment. This was the type of rugged frontier individualism which would tolerate no other authority than was created directly by the people themselves.

In fact, as president of the Providence colony, Williams had the same difficulty that occurred in many frontier settlements, the reluctance of citizens to submit to any authority. In 1657 Williams summoned Catherine Scott, Rebecca Throckmorton, Robert West, and Ann Williams to the court of trials under a presentment as "Common Aposers to all Authority."⁴⁰

One William Harris openly defied the laws of the colony, and after trial by the Assembly, went free when evidence against him was lost. Like Harris, many frontiersmen wanted freedom from all authority or controls of any kind.

A group of men, including Williams' son-in-law, formed a group of vigilantes, and took the law into their own hands to rescue a person from the neighboring Bay Colony.⁴¹ This direct action by citizen vigilante groups to establish order, serve justice or self-interest, was a pattern of action that followed the frontier from

coast to coast. Let us describe these vigilante groups as an example of the direct exercise of authority by self-reliant, free, and independent citizens.

The Vigilantes

As the frontier moved westward there was an absence in the early stages of settlement of any effective form of social controls of a formal nature. To protect life and property, ordinary citizens organized vigilante groups to enforce law and order as the need arose. These groups naturally varied with the character of the people who were in them, and with the purposes for which they were organized. A few examples will serve to describe the character of these vigilante organizations.

Following North Carolina precedent, some of the leading citizens of Missouri formed a band of "Regulators" in 1815 to try to bring some law and order into the territory. This group was said to include men of unimpeachable character, including members of the legislature and several former Army officers. The purpose of the Regulators, more specifically, was "to drive out all counterfeiters, hog stealers, gamblers, and other objectionable persons..."⁴²

As was often the case in those days, the Regulators soon began to be used for selfish purposes. Innocent men were sometimes accused by their enemies and punished by the group in control. Sometimes criminals got into the organization, and some ordinarily good men became outlaws when they found for the first time a great deal of power

at their control ready to advance selfish interests.

In 1849 a group of New York rowdies who had just mustered out of the Army after the Mexican War began to terrorize the people of San Francisco. This group of outlaws called themselves "The Hounds", and stealing and murder was common with them. Under the leadership of Samuel Brannan, who started the first newspaper in San Francisco, four one hundred-man companies of citizens were formed to clean out The Hounds and raise relief for their victims. A citizens' court tried nineteen of the gang, convicted nine men and banished them from the city. Their work done for the time, at least, the People's Court then disbanded.⁴³

After nearly a hundred persons had been waylaid, robbed, and slain in Montana Territory by a fully organized band of assassins, vigilantes organized in 1863-64 and caught and hung twenty-four desperadoes and murderers in a few weeks. This group of vigilantes never hung an innocent man and after its work was done quietly disbanded.⁴⁴

Where officials were helpless or corrupt, law non-existent, jails insecure or non-existent, and criminals were escaping justice for other reasons, citizens had to work together as vigilantes to protect life and property. Often they made their own laws on the spot, caught outlaws, tried them before a People's Court, and either strung them to the nearest cottonwood or escorted them to the edge of the community and told them never to return. While the People's Courts usually

observed the legal forms, mistakes were made and justice sometimes not served. But more times than not their actions were fair and a semblance of order was established for a time in the community.

The Committees of Vigilance and the People's Courts marked quite an advance over the feuds and range wars which brought so much violence to many frontier communities. These citizen organizations were spontaneous expressions of a self-reliant people willing and capable of coping with their problems in their own way. The verdicts of the People's Courts were usually the embodiment of community judgment. Time after time the majority of citizens in frontier communities demonstrated their support of vigilante action. In many communities order came before law, and as a step in this direction vigilante groups were often forerunners of the established courts.⁴⁵

Again we have example after example of free and independent frontier citizens exercising their individual authority directly in informal cooperative action to solve a community problem. These people asked for no outside help; they were in the habit of relying on themselves or the independent action of their own group to solve their own problems, and they continued to be effective in doing so.

Let us now turn to another form of free and independent citizen authority so important in the culture of the Western part of the United States, the government of the mining camps.

Mining Camp Democracy

In the western third of the United States institutional life

traces its beginning to the mining camp.⁴⁶ It is the coincidence of history that gold was discovered in California Territory in 1848 before the territory west of Missouri, Iowa, and Texas had been settled or organized. In many states of the West, therefore, the search for gold came eastward from California as those resources were soon depleted. Thus it was that the men who had worked out self-government in the early mining camps of California, took this experience with them as they moved to new states to search for gold, and once again help to organize mining camp government. The earliest mining camp, in the majority of cases, was established before there was either territorial or state government. The miners had no choice but to organize themselves for protection of life and property.

There is a great deal of similarity between the government of the New England Town and the western mining camp. Each camp, like the town, was a little republic, subject to no higher authority than the sense of right and wrong embodied in the citizens who occupied it. In its earliest form, the mining camp was governed by the whole body of miners in open assembly,⁴⁷ quite analogous to the New England town-meeting.

But perhaps no greater commentary could be made on the change in American culture over the two centuries since the Massachusetts Bay Colony had been established, than to compare the origin of these two infant republics having so much to do with contemporary American culture and society. The New England Town had been established as a community

which was most convenient for its inhabitants to get to church. Religion played the dominant role in the establishment of the earliest towns, and the meeting house was at its center. Two centuries later, the mining camp republics of California were established by individuals whose common interest was the digging of gold. When these camps were established, the secular, economic interests had been dominant in American culture and society for over a century.

The contiguity of miners determined the boundaries of the mining camps and the governmental unit. In 1848, when there were only a few miners in California, there were no organized social controls except when the need arose for social action. Anyone who felt he had a need for the judgment of the community would tell his friends, who would tell others, until the miners of the camp assembled, providing they deemed the cause worthy. If there was a criminal to be tried or a claim to be settled, the assembled miners elected a presiding officer or judge and proceeded to discuss the business at hand. After the discussion, the case was submitted to the entire assembly for a decision viva voce. The chairman then named enough miners to carry out the decision of the assemblage.⁴⁸

As miners increased in number, different forms of government evolved which rested on direct citizen authority. Disputes over claims usually led to the first citizen action toward organization and regulation of camp life. Just enough social organization was established to enforce the will of the camp as to what was fair and

right. Often the presiding officer elected at the first assemblage of the miners remained as head of the camp until there was reason for choice of a new leader. Camp boundaries and size of claims were usually established at one of the first meetings.

While the whole body of miners in free assembly, what Charles Howard Shinn termed "the folk-moot of the Sierra" was the original and central institution of mining camp democracy, two other institutions served equally as well. One of these institutions was the Committee of Justice, elected by the miners as a more permanent governing body. The third institution was an adaptation of the Spanish alcalde system, democratized under the American cultural influence. The alcalde, or miner's justice of the peace, was elected by the whole body of miners. Since his authority was delegated by them, he was also responsible to, and removable by, the total citizenry of the camp. Indicative of the cultural origin of some miners, a town-constable, the same as existed in New England, was sometimes elected to help the alcalde.⁴⁹

Behind the elected officers of the camp was always the direct authority of the total assemblage of miners, to prevent unjust and arbitrary decisions, and to remove officials no longer deemed to be serving the interests of the majority. What money was needed for mining camp government was raised by a recording fee on claims, by taking up a collection when money was needed, or by an assessment on each claim.

Shinn terms mining camp society a form of "unconscious socialism."⁵⁰ Ownership of claims was equal, taxation was equal, and social status was about as nearly equal as possible to get it in human society.

Other characteristics of mining camp society would indicate that it most nearly resembled a frontier, self-governing, independent, and self-supporting republic, based on the undeniable and omnipotent facts of mining camp environment. Ownership of claims of equal size was an attempt at equality of opportunity to gain wealth, a form of equality which was really based on self-interest. In the settlement of a new nation, the people soon discovered that whether the scarce value was land, a mining claim, or the right to vote, its denial to some constituted at least the threat of denial to oneself, when power graduated to a different group. The self-government devised by the miners was just enough, and no more than was needed, to protect each individual in his peaceful pursuit of gold as the road to wealth--the American definition of success. These miners were careful to retain power in their own hands--the authority they delegated was always under constant scrutiny, and was soon withdrawn if they felt their common interests were not being served.

Mining camp democracy fitted perfectly the definition of government enunciated by Thomas Paine three-quarters of a century previously: The wickedness of men made government the necessary choice as the least of two evils to protect property and freedom.

Nowhere did man have more freedom and independence than did men on the Western frontier. And nowhere were these privileges valued more highly, given up more grudgingly, or watched more zealously. Men had to be self-reliant and solve their own problems in order to survive; there was no one but themselves to turn to for help. Equality was also inherent in the need for individual survival and progress in a frontier environment. Common interests and exposure to common dangers demanded common protection. But when society became organized, giving man unrestrained freedom to work selfishly for the gain which previously had been partially controlled by the common need for cooperation, then self-interest began to lead to inequality and the decline of independence and freedom.

These habits of self-reliance, equality in cooperative effort for individual gain, freedom relinquished only to protect property, life, and freedom, and the direct exercise of citizen authority in the self-government of the local republic answerable to no higher authority than the citizens themselves--these were the foundations and patterns of authority which, at mid-nineteenth century, were to be socialized and acculturated into the emotions of the American people for almost another half century.

Justice, Authority And Lawlessness

For some two and a half centuries, as the frontier moved westward Americans were in the position of being forced to make their own laws

and enforce them to protect life and property. This meant that in a sense justice on the frontier was self-determined, subject, of course, to the culture of the individual or individuals who happened to be making the determination. This pattern of self-determination of justice became established in the earliest colonial experience and stemmed from two factors. The first factor was the clash in interests between the Colonists and the English capitalists who financed the colonies. In the case of the Massachusetts Bay Company, the colonists wanted to govern themselves, their motives being both economic and religious, so they smuggled the colonial charter aboard ship and brought it with them to America. The English financiers who loaned the capital to establish the Bay Colony were interested mainly in profits. This pattern was dominant in all colonies, and was later the basis for a clash of interests between colonists and King.

The second factor which made self-determination of justice a dominant pattern in American culture was the nature of the salient edge of the frontier with its infant settlements. When Roger Williams traveled beyond the jurisdiction of the Bay Colony to establish Providence Plantation, he and his followers were forced to establish their own laws and social controls. There was no one else to establish them; what law and law enforcement there was could only be established and enforced by the few settlers who were there. This is the pattern and process that repeated itself over and over again as

the frontier advanced.

The trappers and squatters who formed the vanguard of the march westward were most always beyond the jurisdiction of any organized form of social controls. They were their own law, and in their dealings with other humans they determined the nature of justice. When the first permanent settlers began to arrive there was still often no law, no courts, no jails, and no law enforcement officers. If crime arose the people were faced with the choice of living with it as best they could, or organizing themselves to deal with it as best they knew how, until the settlement had become well enough established to have adequate laws, and courts to enforce them. Usually crime had to get rather serious before the settlers would leave their strivings after survival and gain to organize vigilantes to deal with the criminals. It was only after several murders and robberies that vigilante action took place. This type of citizen justice was prevalent from coast to coast.

Even after courts were established, citizens who were in the habit of enforcing justice often took it upon themselves to see that justice was done if they felt the legal authorities could not or would not enforce it.

One example of this occurred in San Francisco in 1851. After many murders some two hundred leading citizens formed a Committee of Vigilance. This committee published their constitution and by-laws in the local newspapers. They also called attention to the insecurity

of life and property, and gave notice that while seeking to sustain the laws, they were prepared to take direct action to punish criminals who had escaped justice through corrupt officials, quibbling of lawyers, or insecure jails. After this group of citizens had hanged two men, Judge Alexander Campbell of the Court of Sessions denounced the hangings as inexcusable and impaneled a grand jury to indict the persons responsible. The jury refused to indict anyone. Editors of San Francisco newspapers supported the citizen action, the Herald saying, "Whenever the law becomes an empty name, has not the citizen the right to supply its deficiency."⁵¹ It is evident the people were behind their citizen leaders who were attempting to supply the justice which the legal bodies had failed to accomplish.

Many examples of this same type of action could be cited. Just as soon as the citizens were convinced that the courts and law enforcement officers were meting out justice in service to the community, they disbanded their citizen organizations formed for that purpose.

We find also that frontier juries adjusted matters to suit their sense of justice. When the nineteenth century opened criminal laws were harsh. For perjury and murder, hanging was the penalty required by law. The pillory and stripes were still authorized. When grand juries thought the law was too severe they indicted for manslaughter instead of murder. Often, for the same reason, the petit jury refused to convict. The average citizen was likely to emphasize a rude justice more than the letter of the law.⁵²

Dueling, also, which was continued on the western frontier under a more informal but nevertheless well understood code, is an example of the local citizenry sanctioning quick justice outside the legal forms of action. Juries seldom convicted the killer in a duel; in fact, his reputation was often enhanced. In Missouri, in 1824, opponents of dueling forced a law through the legislature which made dueling illegal and subject to severe penalties. At the same time, however, legal officials, members of the legislature, and the governor all refused to obey the law to prevent dueling. They were aware that it was still sanctioned by the majority of the people, including the state leaders.⁵³

Lynchings in the Southern states are also another form of citizen action which takes the law into the hands of some of the local people. While there is a difference in the lynching group and the committee of vigilance, there are, nevertheless, some things in common. These we shall discuss in terms of authority and justice.

Let us first, however, try to delineate some of the cultural foundations on which the American concept of justice rests. We may recall that when the fathers of Massachusetts Bay Colony answered the question of what they would do if the King sent them a governor-general, they replied, "We must protect our lawful possessions, if we are able." Later, prior to the Revolution, colonial juries refused to convict their neighbors who had filled their purses in violation of the Crown laws.

James Madison, in his Federalist Number Ten, states "that measures are too often decided, not according to the rules of justice and the rights of the minor party, but by the superior force of an interested and overbearing majority." He infers that the decision of the majority is seldom just. In the same era, the debtor classes had taken it upon themselves in several state legislatures to supply their idea of justice in the form of "stay laws", which gave the debtor a chance to retain his property rather than have it taken immediately by the mortgagor. And a modern counterpart of these same aspects of justice is the conflict between labor and management, both sides holding forth the justice of their position, and the immorality and injustice of the other side.

The main point here is how the individual defines justice in American culture and society. In relation to property, including civil and criminal cases relating to property, the individual defines justice relative to self-interest. Justice between person and person is based on an informal code which may be called "fair play", as exemplified by the expected code of behavior of two men on the frontier who had a personal quarrel and decided to shoot it out.

With the cultural definition of justice we may also define lawlessness. Lawlessness, in a democratic American culture, may be defined as violation of the customs and accepted codes of behavior of the groups of which the individual is a voluntary member. It has been pointed out by one author that the miners in the western camps

"were not a lawless group. Their leadership went with the majority."⁵⁴ Yet in relation to the laws of the eastern states, these miners could easily be considered lawless, and often were branded as such.

In the same fashion, the colonists might be considered lawless in relation to the Crown laws, but they seldom violated the authority of the majority of their own immediate group. The propertied classes felt the debtor group were a passionate, lawless group; the debtor classes felt that men of property were unjust when prices fell and they lost their property to loan agents. It is obvious that lawlessness in American culture is determined by whether or not the individual or group feels it has full voice and participation in the making of the law which is upheld or violated.

Social controls which have the sanction of democratic authority are violated much less often in American society than are controls placed in effect by a power group which has control but little authority. This generalization will hold whether the social controls are in a clique, a community, college class, state, or nation.

The violation of social controls which had not been sanctioned by the local group was not considered a lawless act by frontier citizens. As we have already pointed out, the breaking of the Crown laws by the colonists during the revolutionary period was sanctioned and lauded by the colonists as a patriotic act. Moreover, ever since this period, there has grown a pattern of American character which may be called rebellion against any form of control. This tendency to rebellion was

enhanced by the complete freedom and lack of control experienced by people during the long period of frontier settlement.

Rebellion, in fact, is inherent in Protestant culture. Protestantism originated as a rebellion against the authority of the Catholic Church. Its middle class leaders came to power in the English speaking world during the English and American Revolutions, revolutions which were organized and prosecuted by the Calvinistic wing of Protestantism. It was the self-appointed saints of New England who could own no earthly mortal as master, who gave direction to cultural development in the New World, and led the rebellion against Mother England. In the Old World, established social institutions tended to stifle the Protestant cultural pattern of rebellion; the American frontier made this pattern stronger and drove it deep into American culture.

In the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson enunciated the proposition that it is not only a right but a duty to rebel against an unjust government. Since the American Revolution, there have been several domestic rebellions. Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts in 1787 closed the courts and brought the state close to Civil War. The Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania in 1794 was of such character that Washington sent 15,000 federal troops to quiet it. There were riots against the Catholics and Irish in New England in 1833-53; against the Mormons in Missouri in 1833.⁵⁵ There has been open warfare between homesteaders and cattlemen, and open defiance of federal law; riots between labor and management; the farm mortgage riots led in Iowa in

the nineteen thirties by Milo Reno. And, of course, the greatest rebellion of all, the South rebelling against the Federal Government, which led to the Civil War.

We have already mentioned the quick rebellion of the New Englander when he thinks his freedom, independence, and rights are threatened or ignored. On the southern frontier the Scotch-Irish were not only rebellious, but contentious and quick-tempered besides. These cultural patterns apparently developed in the long struggle for freedom experienced by these people in their homeland, and were carried with them when they came to America. These two main cultural streams on the Northern and Southern frontier played major roles in the development of American character and behavior. The cultural pattern of rebellion was deep in both streams of culture, was manifest in the personalities of the people, who carried it with them as they settled the rest of the nation.

Rebellion, self-determination of justice, and democratic authority are manifest in American culture in culturally sanctioned feelings of rebellion toward "figures of control" such as the parent, policeman, teacher, and boss. While overt rebellion to these figures of control is seldom expressed in their presence, the parent may tell his family how he outwitted the traffic cop, the schoolboy boast to his gang how he "foxed the teacher," and the factory worker tell his friends how he "told off the boss." Persons who have the courage to openly defy these figures of control are given much admiration by their peers and

sometimes by superiors. Disobedience, either passive or open, to figures of control, is thus culturally sanctioned and socially rewarded in American culture and society. When Americans are told what to do there is often, therefore, a feeling of instant rebellion. This feeling may be covertly concealed and expressed indirectly, or as becomes more frequent, may be openly expressed.

How should we define "figures of authority," as opposed to "figures of control?" "Figures of democratic authority" are those leaders who are chosen from the membership by a majority of any group. The teacher, for example, is a figure of authority to the middle class power groups in control of the community who delegated to him the office of teacher. On the other hand, to the lower social classes who had little to say in the selection of the teacher or delegation of his office, the teacher is often a figure of control. And to the pupil who finds himself confronted with a person in whose choice he had no part whatsoever, the issue is clear--he is confronted by a figure of control.

The three main types of social situations which involve justice, authority, control, and disobedience are (1) consensus, (2) democratic authority, and (3) authoritarian control. In American culture and society it appears that in the majority of cases disobedience to social controls will rise as the social situation varies from consensus to control.

It is evident that even in the situation of democratic authority,

the pattern of rebellion in American character coupled with self-determination of justice means that the minority will rebel against the social controls established by the majority. And if the minority is only slightly smaller than the majority, then the struggle for power will make the social situation a very unstable one. We may say also that as the size of the group increases, the more difficult consensus and effective democratic authority becomes. At the same time, however, effective social controls often become increasingly difficult. This has been demonstrated time and time again in the instance of Federal efforts at control being nullified by local action of one kind or another. Thus it was that the free, independent, and self-reliant action of the frontiersman included his own concepts of justice, lawlessness, and authority, concepts now manifest in American culture.

Economic Motives And That Of God In Every Man

The literature testifies again and again to the dominance of the economic motive in frontier society. The rich American continent has been the perfect environment for the full development of such a motive. It appeared to the ordinary citizen in the frontier community that his rise in socio-economic status was limited only by his ability and ambition.

People from Europe and the settled communities of the eastern United States left family and friends behind to seek the material blessings of the frontier. Free land and free gold lured many to seek their fortunes

amidst great hardships and danger.

The Protestant churches sanctioned the accumulation of wealth and accomodated their religious doctrines and organization to a materialistic, frontier society. John Wesley, the father of Methodism, advocated that his followers "gain all they can, save all they can, and give all they can," so they will grow in grace and lay up treasure in heaven.⁵⁶ Many itinerant preachers, especially the Baptists, had an interest in the acquisition of land which was hardly secondary to their religious work.⁵⁷ The Presbyterian church liberalized its Calvinistic creed of predestination and election to conform to frontier equalitarianism.

Economic motives were basic to the frontier desire for self-government. For only by governing himself could the frontiersman be sure of freedom to pursue his dominating purpose, the acquisition of wealth.⁵⁸

Yet side by side in the personalities of frontier people with the motive of selfish economic gain, were attitudes expressed as generosity, self-sacrifice, and brotherly love. Exemplary of the type of thing that happened over and over again, as well as the types of characters found in the drama of frontier society, is the portrayal found in Rolvaag's Giants In The Earth. Per Hansa, the main character in that moving account of life in a Norwegian settlement in North Dakota Territory, time and again gives help to his neighbors. On one occasion he gives a man and his wife enough potatoes to enable them to

survive the winter. As the final example of sacrifice and love, Per Hansa gives his life for a sick neighbor, freezing to death in his attempt to reach a doctor.

The same brotherly love and kindness was found side by side with the greedy, selfish search for wealth in the mining camps of the West. Shinn tells of miners giving penniless persons enough gold dust so they could start mining for themselves, of sick miners being cared for by friends, and of miners with broken health being given a home-stake of \$1,000 - \$2,000.⁵⁹ Amidst the rough, hazardous, brawling insecurity of selfish men striving for wealth, there was brotherly love and social security for the unfortunate.

Frontier society portrays more vividly than any other this basic contradiction in Calvinistic American culture and society, the contradiction of the love of God and the brotherhood of man as exemplified in good works, in conflict with the selfish greed of man. For it was in frontier society that the emotions and character of men, under hardships and dangers, were laid bare in their most violent form for all to see.

While the origin of this cultural conflict was Calvinistic, these cultural patterns took on a character under the influence of a frontier environment which is uniquely American. It was the frontier and a virgin continent which had much to do with the American concept of "success".

American Success And Leadership

In the Old World success was bounded by social class. The individual, generally speaking, could rise no further than the upper limits of the class into which he was born. And leadership was most often delegated to persons of high family status, education, and wealth. In America, the Revolution brought a new concept of success based upon the accomplishment, ability, and personal merits of the individual. Leadership at that time went to both the successful and the persons of high social status and wealth. As we have already pointed out, it was not until the election of Jackson in 1828 that the common man succeeded to leadership in the federal government. This marked the triumph of the distinctly American definition of success. It was a definition which was a product of revolt against English culture, a materialistic heritage of Calvinism, a rich virgin continent, and the leveling tendencies of a frontier society.

The frontier environment was a great leveler; social distinctions of family, education, and wealth didn't mean much in the uncharted wilderness. The man who could shoot the straightest, stalk game and Indians, swim rivers, and find his way in the mountains and endless forests or prairies, was the person to whom the authority of leadership was delegated. Survival depended upon this type of leadership in frontier days. Status, on the frontier, thus became based on success, and since survival was the first measure of success in American society, success on the frontier was first based upon personal ability.

As the older communities developed, and people began to accumulate wealth, it was only natural that the materialistic foundations of the Calvinistic culture should lead to the triumph of the aristocracy of wealth as leaders of the society. We have already pointed out that this victory occurred in less than a century after the Massachusetts Bay Colony was settled. As the frontier moved westward, personal prowess tended to be replaced by wealth as the major criterion of success. The resources of a rich continent meant that such a cultural concept of success was unusually compatible with the physical environment which faced Americans, and this was true until the start of the twentieth century.

This American concept of success was sanctioned in a negative way by the Constitution,^{*} which prohibits Federal and State governments from granting titles of nobility, and prohibits federal officials from accepting such distinctions from a foreign government without consent of Congress.

By the time the territory west of the Mississippi River began to be settled, status based upon wealth had become deep enough in American culture to provide the major motivation underlying the activities of most Americans.

The accumulation of wealth had always been a major motivation for Americans, but social status in colonial times had been partially based

^{*} See Article I, Sections 9 and 10.

on family and education. With the rise of the common man, who had no family status and little education, it was only natural that wealth, which was available to all who wished to work for it, should become more and more the major criterion for success, status, and the leadership to which authority was delegated.

Since the leaders acknowledged by the people have a great deal to do with guiding the development of cultural patterns, the leaders who have most influenced American culture have been the businessmen successful in accumulating great wealth. The ideals, manners, ways of life, and standards of success of these business leaders are those which the mass of Americans, consciously or not, strive to make their own. The business man's standard of values has become that of our general culture. Free and independent men thus developed a pattern of success unique to their American environment.

With success being individual, and based on wealth as the means for acquiring status and the approval of one's fellow men, Americans were always willing to cooperate if they thought such action would advance their self-interests.

American Cooperation - Selfish and Social

On the frontier the necessities of survival forced man to cooperate with his neighbors. More than this, man became lonely when living and laboring by himself, and being a social animal, the emotional satisfaction of cooperative action was a motivating factor in such behavior.

But underneath these environmental factors which influenced the character of American cooperation in the infant society of the frontier is the Calvinistic pattern and motivation of self-interest. It was the character of the frontier, in fact, that forced self-interest in the direction of cooperation.

In frontier society the self-interest and social spirit of man found expression in such cooperative community gatherings as house raisings, log rollings, bee hunts, country court days, quilting bees, political rallies, camp meetings, dances, horse races, election day parades, and public dinners of various kinds. There were also apple boilings, husking bees, bear hunts, deer drives, foot races, and target shooting. Not only were many of these activities social sports and amusements, but work activities of all kinds, through cooperative effort, became social in character.

But Americans were not long in organizing cooperative efforts which were based strictly upon individual economic self-interest. The citizen self-government on the frontier is a primary example of cooperative efforts to protect individual life and property. The Vigilantes, Law and Order Associations in the Fence Cutters War days, the Claim Associations of the land hungry squatters--all these and many more such organizations used cooperation to secure mutual self-interests.

Farmers societies of all kinds, labor unions, corporations, or the organizations which have assumed the name of "cooperatives"--all are simply organizations to secure for a collective group of

individuals benefits which each could never secure alone.

Some of the earliest schools on the frontier, before public funds became available, were cooperative enterprises. Settlers donated labor and materials to build and maintain the schoolhouse and its meager furnishings, and the teacher, also a person in the community, gave his services.⁶⁰

In the mining camps where individuals were digging for the gold dust which was legal tender in those days, the character of cooperation is most vividly reflected. When needed and not a moment sooner, larger associations were formed to work deep claims and turn river channels. Nowhere in the mines was there any planning ahead; men were too busy, and time too precious for that.⁶¹

One observer noticed a difference in the way Americans and Frenchmen worked their mining claims. The Americans worked alone except when self-interest demanded cooperative efforts. The French, on the other hand, always worked in groups, and appeared to be as much involved in social intercourse as in their work.⁶² The variable in this case, is the culture which motivates and directs the activities of the human animal. The French Catholic culture is corporate in organization. It places responsibility for economic subsistence on the group rather than the individual, and success is measured in the social terms of happiness. Cooperative effort in this culture is based on the social attributes of man.

The culture of Protestant Calvinism, on the other hand, places

all responsibility on the individual--for economic subsistence, for success which is based on material wealth, and for the operation of political and religious activities. Cooperative effort in Protestant American culture is based upon individual self-interest which makes mutual activity necessary. This does not deny the informal groups, and their importance, which are formed in any society by individuals who have a mutual like for each other, and whose ties with such a group are mainly social and psychological.

One of the best examples of a truly cooperative society is that of the Zuni Indians in the southwestern United States. In Zuni society the individual is completely submerged in the group. In contrast to the Protestant American whose life action is concentrated upon the self, the Zuni never thinks of himself as an individual. His thoughts and actions are focused upon his cooperative efforts as a member of a group.⁶³ The American, on the other hand, learns to cooperate, control his emotions, and associate easily with others because in a culture where egalitarianism is a major value, this is the behavior which brings individual success. Let us remember that cooperation in American culture rests on a foundation of individual self-interest.

Social Democracy And Equality

The frontier was the great leveler of American society. Not only did the frontiersman believe in equality as the foundation upon

which self-government and citizen authority must rest as the means for freedom and independence in the pursuit of self-interest, but the frontier made men equal in many respects. Many people shared common dangers, hardships, and the experience of carving a home out of the wilderness. Too, the frontier was largely peopled with individuals who were dissatisfied with the status structure in the Atlantic Colonies, and their lack of equality of privilege, or they were immigrants from the lower classes of a rigid status structure in Europe. Both groups of people found in the frontier an opportunity to throw off their inferior status, and it was this desire to rise above their old inferiority which often made them passionate defenders of equality. The belief that one man was just as good as another had its origin on the frontier. This belief was literally true, for the man of high status, whatever his origin, often proved to be the least qualified to survive under frontier conditions.

The abundance of wealth on the new continent, land, gold, and timber, had much to do with social leveling, and provided the economic independence which undergirded freedom and equality. While the men of wealth might buy or secure in a political grab thousands or millions of acres of land, most any man with ambition could save enough to buy a good quarter section, or after 1862 could homestead it. This meant some independence, if not economic equality.

In the mining camps all men were actually on a level insofar as getting an even start in the race for wealth. All began on the same

size claim. Of course some claims were much richer than others and this initial equality didn't last long. But certainly at the start, family, wealth, and social status meant nothing.⁶⁴

At the same time, persons who were seeking wealth, either in the mines or on the land, were rubbing shoulders together, were by virtue of circumstance, often forced into cooperative endeavors. Servant, aristocrat, farmer, lawyer, merchant, outlaw, miner--all associated together. If you were forced to depend upon a neighbor for help in things you could not do alone, you could not afford to act superior, even if there was a difference in social status originally. Success and the advancement of self-interest in the frontier states depended upon one acting in a manner of equality.

After they were organized, the public schools, attended by almost everyone, proved to be great levelers by providing all with a common body of experience and heritage.

Together, all of these environmental factors of a physical and social nature meant that "in the West equality was the supreme law and the foundation of the infant society." The major, and often only social test was that of good conduct.

Individual self-government and citizen authority thus were reinforced by the social democracy and equality experienced in frontier society. Freedom and independence were also buttressed by the belief in equality and these values were enhanced by the practice of social democracy in community life.

The social democracy which developed in frontier society also had a reciprocal effect upon the major social institutions. Both forces, frontier social institutions and social structure, while influenced by the existing culture, also played a great role in modifying that culture. They have had a large role in the development of new cultural patterns as the foundation for modern American culture and society. Let us describe briefly the effect which frontier society had on our major social institutions.

Social Institutions Become Democratic

In the eastern states, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, many of the schools were private or operated by the churches. As the frontier moved westward people began to establish their own schools, some of a cooperative nature. Frontiersmen often erected a log schoolhouse and supplied crude furniture. Some local person would act as teacher for a few weeks in mid-winter when the children were not needed at home.

With the rise of Jacksonian democracy, itself a frontier movement, came the demand for free public schools. Organized labor and farmers, bent on self-government and now possessed of the franchise, were led by the idealists to demand from the legislators free and equal common schools. Most rapid strides toward this goal were made in the frontier states where there were fewer vested sectarian interests to hamper the action of the government.

The first complete educational system in the United States, from primary school to university, was planned by the Michigan Legislature in 1817. This was twenty years before Michigan became a state, which gives some idea of the frontier influences on the desire for free education. Implementation of this educational system did not come all at once, naturally; the university was not created until 1837, and the agricultural college was not established until 1855. Fifteen years later women were admitted to the university, completing the democracy of the system.

The free men of the frontier were thus foremost in the establishment of free education which would help citizens maintain their freedom and independence and exercise their democratic authority effectively in the art of self-government.

Churches, too, were democratized under the influence of frontier society. Camp meetings, a frontier religious institution, brought together all the people of the community, rich and poor, old and young, alike, for these meetings were the major means of social intercourse in those days. Churches modified their doctrines and organization until they were acceptable to the frontier people. The attempt to exclude ministers from politics meant that political institutions were largely under the secular, democratic control of the people.

We have already documented the rise of democratic self-government. One of the patterns that came out of the New England Town which was strengthened on the frontier was the right of the people to instruct

their representatives how to vote. This cultural pattern was greatly strengthened by the rise of Jacksonian democracy.

Qualifications for public office were also democratized. Formerly wealth, family, and education had played a heavy role in public preferment. Under frontier influence these qualifications for public office were replaced by physical prowess, a practical sense of justice, understanding and favor of the common man, sincerity, and loyalty to the free and democratic frontier culture.

Political party organization was broadened and democratized during the Jacksonian era. Women and unnaturalized citizens were admitted to Jacksonian meetings. In Missouri, the Jacksonians formed a complete party organization with state and district committees, and a "Committee Of Vigilance" to function at the county level.⁶⁵ This was in great contrast to the caucus method of political organization and procedure common prior to the Jackson era.

One of the characteristics of the West was its tendency to form voluntary public associations. When any serious question arose, a public meeting was held...The meetings were sometimes called on county court days and muster days of the militia.⁶⁶ Such meetings gave all citizens a chance to participate in the affairs of the community, in the exercise of their authority as free and independent citizens.

The family, which had come out of Europe as a patriarchal institution, was also democratized under frontier living. Not only did the pioneer wife bear the children, but she became a true partner in the

family life and enterprise, taking her place alongside her husband in most family activities. She was indispensable for desirable family living under frontier conditions.⁶⁷

During the Civil War women took over men's duties, ran farms, kept the family and business together while the men were away. They also organized Soldier's Aid Societies and helped with the war effort where they could.⁶⁸ More women took jobs outside the home when labor became scarce during the war, and by 1900 some twenty percent of the wage-earners in industry were women.⁶⁹ Not only had women earned much social equality, but they were also earning independence and freedom as the industrial revolution progressed.

The most important cultural pattern to come out of the frontier moulding of social institutions, relative to democratic citizen authority, was local control. Frontier people were very jealous of their control and, of course, as they were able to maintain this, they also retained their freedom, independence and self-government.

SUMMARY

The opening of the nineteenth century saw the freedom of the common man again on the rise as Thomas Jefferson was elected to the Presidency. Prophetic of the future, the influence of the frontier had already begun to be felt in 1800 as the Western states and frontier people generally voted heavily for Jefferson. Prior to his election as President, Jefferson had already done much to lay the ideological foundations for the rise of the common man. In his election campaign and during his terms of office he did much to build the political organization which the ordinary citizen needed to rise to power.

But Jefferson was no advocate of popular rule. It was the leadership of Andrew Jackson which finally brought the ordinary citizen into the full exercise of his democratic authority as a free and independent individual. Jackson came to power as the inclusion of eight new frontier states into the Union, and the pressure of the factory workers in the original states, gave the majority of male citizens the franchise. The Jacksonian campaign in 1828 also marked the first time that "personalities" rather than "issues" held the center of the election stage. The common people, frontier farmers and urban factory workers, did not have enough education to understand some issues. They had faith in Jackson as a leader who understood them and their problems, and would "drive the money changers from the temple" in Washington.

Jackson had a simple but very effective creed for his times.

Briefly, it was faith in the common man, belief in political equality; belief in equal economic opportunity; hatred of monopoly, special privilege, and the intricacies of capitalistic finance.

This creed was implemented by appointing ordinary citizens to federal offices, and by the reorganization of the nominating and election processes to make candidates directly subject to the will of the people. The influence of frontier society promoted leveling tendencies in the social life of the nation. Free men were making over schools and churches to serve their desires and needs.

Under Jackson the common man took giant strides forward in the direction of freedom, independence, and self-government. Authority relationships had become more democratic, not only in ideology but in practice.

The greatest authority struggle in the history of the nation was the Civil War. As Lincoln stated in his Gettysburg Address, the war was fought to determine if liberty and equality could endure as the cultural foundation of the new nation.

While the issues of the Civil War were many and complex, one of the primary issues was whether social control would reside in the hands of the aristocratic few, as in the South, or whether authority should reside in the ordinary citizen as exercised by the majority.

Both the North and the South justified their positions ideologically, but the War did not start until the people in both areas

repudiated part of the authority they had delegated to the federal government under the Constitution. Both sides resisted and thwarted federal action in many ways, and took effective authority into their own hands at the state and local level. Lincoln recognized the power and authority of the local citizen by refusing to enforce federal law without the sanction of the local people. He called the people his "rightful masters".

The Civil War brought contradictory results in relation to the freedom, independence, and democratic authority of the common American citizen. The legal forms and ideological concepts of freedom, independence, and democratic authority had triumphed, and four million slaves had lost their physical chains. But the Northern industrialists had also triumphed, and using the Civil War background to maintain power over the federal government, were able during the next twenty years to consolidate the dominance of business leadership over American culture and society. This beginning of the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few families, and the resultant rise of an urban-industrial culture and society, marked also the beginning of the decline of freedom, independence, and authority for the common citizen.

This period thus marked the developing influence of two contradictory forces in American society relative to freedom and democratic authority. The negative influence is the concentration of wealth and the rising urban-industrial society; the positive influence is the developing frontier.

For some two and a half centuries the frontier environment played a direct and major influence on the developing culture and society of America as the succeeding waves of settlers rolled westward across the rich virgin continent. Interacting with the frontier environment was the European cultures embodied in the immigrants who settled the nation.

It was the Calvinistic Puritans of New England who have been the major influence on the developing culture and society of the nation. The restless, individualistic, hard-working Yankee was always in the vanguard of frontier settlement. Since they were also, by virtue of education and civic experience, usually the best qualified for leadership, these Yankees were able to exercise great influence in the developing frontier society.

Some of the major cultural patterns and social institutions which the New Englander took west with him were intense activity, hard work, devotion to the practical, the use of reason, the high value placed on education and self improvement, derision for idleness, the urge to make good use of time, recreation condoned only to support work, a government to serve secular society, the use of war if the cause is just and the opponent strikes the first blow, a devotion to the basic human rights of life, liberty, property, family, and happiness defined in material terms.

The importance of the New England Puritan culture relative to American freedom, independence, and citizen authority is that it

supplied, in materialistic self-interest, part of the motive power which caused people to strive for freedom, plus the supporting means of education, hard work, and self-government.

But it was the modifying influence of the frontier which was the major democratizing factor in the development of freedom, independence, and citizen authority.

When Roger Williams left the confines of the Bay Colony and traveled into the free frontier to settle on new land with others who also wanted freedom and independence, he was following a pattern of action that was followed until the frontier was settled. The frontier settlement process had three initial steps. First came the hunters and trappers, second the squatters and outlaws, and finally the permanent settlers who built the frontier communities. The freedom, non-conformity, and self-government in the frontier communities fostered a type of rugged individualism which would tolerate no other authority than was created directly by the people themselves. And some people wanted freedom from all authority and controls.

The self-reliance of the frontiersman extended into the realm of law and order. Often confronted with a complete lack of law, no jails, and helpless or corrupt officials, frontier citizens organized into vigilante groups to protect life and property. Sometimes vigilantes made their own laws on the spot, caught outlaws, tried them before a people's court, and executed judgment immediately. Besides exercising self-reliance in the interests of free life and property,

this type of citizen action fostered the cultural pattern of ordinary American citizens individually and collectively taking the administration of justice into their own hands, when they feel that justice and fair play are being denied.

In the Western third of the United States, democratic self-government in the early mining camps had wide influence on the rise of freedom, self-reliance, independence, and direct exercise of citizen authority. In its earliest form, the mining camp was governed by the whole body of miners in open assembly, very much like the New England town-meeting. Later, two other types of mining camp government were added: the Committee of Justice, and the Spanish Alcalde system, or Miner's justice of the peace, elected by the whole body of miners. Living in a state of natural freedom and independence with no one to rely on but themselves, these Western miners delegated just enough authority to ensure a government which would protect them in their peaceful pursuit of gold.

These frontier habits of self-reliance, equality in cooperative effort for individual gain, freedom relinquished only to protect property, life and freedom, and the direct exercise of citizen authority in the self-government of the local republic answerable to no higher authority than the citizens themselves--these were the foundations and patterns of authority to be socialized into the emotions of Americans for another half-century.

The American concept of justice is important in the way people

behave in authority relations. The frontier society did much to influence the cultural definition of justice. As the frontier moved westward, the people who were beyond the confines of established communities were forced to make and enforce their own laws. This fact is responsible for the American pattern of self-determination of justice, a pattern resting on two and a half centuries of frontier experience. Dueling was a form of social action which attempted informal justice under a well understood code, sanctioned and enforced by the local citizenry outside the legal forms of action. Lynching was another example of the people taking steps to determine justice. And frontier juries, in line with their concept of justice and fair play, adjusted indictments and jury action to suit the individual case.

In relation to property, including civil and criminal cases relating to property, the individual American defines justice relative to self-interest. Justice between person and person is based on an informal code which may be called "fair play."

Lawlessness, in democratic American culture, may be defined as violation of the customs and accepted codes of behavior of the groups of which the individual is a voluntary member. Frontier justice held that violation of social controls outside the local group was not a lawless act unless citizen authority had been delegated.

From several sources, among which was the freedom and lack of control experienced by frontier people, has come the American personality

pattern of quick rebellion when the individual is "told what to do." In authority relationships with "figures of control", the American motivation of self-interest, served by the self-determination of justice and rebellion in the personality, is likely to assert itself. A "figure of democratic authority", as opposed to "a figure of control", is defined as that leader who is chosen from the membership by a majority of any group.

With the rich resources of a virgin frontier available to all, the economic motives of Calvinism could not have found an environment more amenable to its development. This was the motive which underlay the desire for freedom, independence, and direct citizen authority.

In terrible conflict in the personality of the individual, and in his culture and society, was selfish greed vs. the brotherhood of man resting on the love of God. Under the hardships and dangers of the frontier these conflicts were laid bare in their most violent forms. Although most were never recorded, the frontier was filled with deeds of selfless heroism and brotherly love.

As the basis for the phrasing of authority relations, the American definition of success and leadership underwent great change in frontier society. Success on the frontier was based upon personal prowess, ability, and accomplishment. As the frontier moved westward, personal prowess tended to be replaced by wealth as the major criterion of success. This concept was compatible with a frontier environment where abundant resources made wealth available to all who would work

for it. Status went with success, and the authority of leadership came to be delegated to those considered successful.

Cooperation is often a factor in authority relationships. Cooperation, in American culture, as influenced by frontier society, is phrased in terms of self-interest. This is in contrast to Zuni culture, where the authority and interests of the individual are completely submerged in the group. This is the culture of true cooperation.

In frontier society there was a strong belief in equality which was enforced by social pressure. This social democracy was part of the foundation for citizen authority exercised as self-government. It was also paramount in the maintenance of freedom and independence.

The free men of the frontier, using the self-reliance of their own efforts in the exercise of their citizen authority, molded social institutions to their own liking. Schools, churches, the family, government, and political organization became more democratic and subject to the direct will of the people. One of the most important cultural patterns to come out of the frontier society was local control of social institutions. So long as the citizenry relied on themselves for action, and could maintain collective control of that action, they had the means to maintain freedom and democratic independence. Thus it was the Calvinistic Protestant heritage, in combination with a virgin continent abundant in resources, and the natural freedom of frontier living, which provide the basic foundation for

authority relationships in American culture and society.

The frontier experience completed and made manifest in social structure and institutions the uniqueness of American democratic authority, a cultural development which had begun during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Out of this same Protestant heritage and frontier experience came the major ideology of authority: the acceptance of no authority except that created by the people themselves. This meant that the individual was established as the primary source of authority in American culture. In frontier society the individual determined and was responsible for his own decisions and behavior. When the increasing complexity of society demanded that the individual choose leaders, he organized his authority structure so that leadership remained responsible to his control. To insure individual citizen control of authority, the American devised the multiple authority structure. This is manifest at all levels of social action: from a small committee to the intricate checks and balances, limitation and separation of powers found in the federal government. At the ideological level, while seldom recognized as such, the multiple authority structure is an attempt to cope with the essential contradiction of free individualism and equality as major universals of American culture.

The major motive behind self-government which manifests individualistic authority has always been materialistic gain. This was

phrased as the means to salvation under the New England theocracy, and as the means to "success" after the society became secular in character. While the psychological and social motivations of the individual who had experienced freedom, independence, and the satisfaction of creative self-action were important in frontier society, these motives have lessened with the actual decline of freedom and independence in urban society.

Not only were the patterns of authority the product of the Protestant heritage and the frontier environment, but the same may also be said for the major universals of American culture. This means that American culture was well established before the major migrations from the Catholic nations of Southern and Central Europe reached the United States after the start of the twentieth century. Thus, even the Catholic immigrant, if he wanted to be a success in American terms, was forced to conform to some American cultural patterns after he arrived here.

It is significant that most Catholic immigrants settled in the cities. While we may postulate the hypothesis that authority relations among Catholics are different from those among Protestants, the paucity of studies of American Catholic culture leaves us without evidence on this important segment of American society.

Let us now turn to the development of freedom, independence, and self-reliance in the twentieth century.

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CHAPTER VI - CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

The basic character of authority was fully established in American culture and society by the end of the nineteenth century. Consequently, our major emphasis has been on cultural developments prior to this time. We are concerned, however, with what has happened to these basic authority patterns during the first half of the twentieth century. It was during this period that American society and culture became predominantly urban in character.

Has the amount and character of freedom, independence, and self-reliance changed during the twentieth century? What has been the nature of this change, if any? Our only concern in this chapter is to answer these two questions relative to these requisites for the exercise of democratic authority.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AUTHORITY

Freedom And Independence Decline Under Business Dominance

When the twentieth century opened, the business and financial interests were in control of the nation. The Civil War had left a group of northern millionaires, and they lost little time in seeking new outlets for their accumulated capital. The period between the end of the Civil War and the opening of the new century was one of subduing the remainder of the American continent, covering it with a network of railroads, and organizing business enterprises to exploit the vast resources available to whomever had the skill, power,

and ambition to take them.

While the United States was still predominantly a rural nation in 1900, the trend toward urban growth had already begun with the rise to national dominance of the business, industrial and financial interests. Business itself had undergone vast reorganization during the period prior to the turn of the century. The great banking corporations had succeeded to the command of the business empire, and captains of industry were now chosen by them and kept under their watchful eyes.¹

The post-Civil War period had also seen the formation of great trusts as the means for the financial barons to exercise their control. Where the character and control of industry had been local prior to the Civil War, it had become national in character by the opening of the new century.² This was the period also of unlimited profits. In 1913, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey declared a 60% dividend. And this was after the United States Supreme Court has dissolved the Standard Oil Trust back to its constituent elements, indeed an example of the efficacy of such attempts to control business.³

In agriculture, farmers had seen the end of free and cheap land with the last of the frontier in 1890. The triumph over the Southern planter class in the Civil War, and the Homestead Act which set the size of homesteads at 160 acres, meant that the family type of farm had become the norm for American agriculture. Machinery, stimulated by the war-caused labor shortage, was beginning to play

its role in farming. Science and education were laying important groundwork for major advances as tools of the farmer in the new century. Farmers were continuously in the throes of financial difficulty, it seemed, and agricultural leaders were urging farmers to adopt the methods of business as the cure for their woes.

While the organization of labor was proceeding steadily at the opening of the twentieth century, it was still held under control by the business interests, to remain thus until 1937, so long as the Supreme Court remained also under business dominance.⁴

This was the scene as the curtain opened on the twentieth century: the business and financial interests through the concentration of power, wealth, and control, had almost completely eliminated economic freedom insofar as national enterprises and policies were concerned. Farmers found that what independence they had once possessed had vanished, that they were, in fact, in a state of dependence under the dominance of business community. Self-reliance was still very much a major pattern of culture, but freedom had declined with the loss of economic independence. A good share of the hard-won "citizen authority" had been replaced by "control" by a few business leaders. This was the struggle which greeted the new century, the farmers and urban laborers fighting for freedom and independence from business dominance.

"In 1912 a Congressional committee found that the banking houses dominated by (J.P.) Morgan, and the William Rockefeller interests,

held 341 directorships in railroads, shipping, utilities, banks, express companies, coal, copper, iron, steel, and insurance, with aggregate resources of twenty-two billion dollars."⁵ With such accumulation of power and wealth had naturally come the desire to preserve and increase holdings. Legislatures were bought and federal congressmen controlled. Political parties were also controlled and nominees picked in the party caucus, so that the rank and file citizen had a choice of voting for one of two candidates subservient to the money interests. Wage earners, herded together in the unbelievable conditions of big city slums, were paid subsistence or starvation wages, and when they attempted to strike or organize, every means was used to successfully defeat them. Farmers were the victims of high freight rates, low prices for farm products, high interest rates, and high prices of the goods they had to buy. Materialistic greed was in the saddle, and it was milking its victims for all they were worth.

The economic and social consequences of Calvinism, the unlimited freedom of the individual, had become rapidly apparent. The economic motive had come to dominate the whole of life of many Americans. The concentration of wealth, plus outmoded social and political organization, effectively nullified any equality in the delegation of authority which citizens had had under the simple rural life of the frontier community. And with the concentration of wealth the decline of the common man's freedom began. Great changes had

come to American society, but the ideology of authority remained basically the same.

Farmers Lead Reform To Gain Economic Independence

Goaded by social injustice, want and poverty, the farmers of the nation led a reform movement which attempted to return authority to the rank and file citizen. These reform movements started in the more democratic western states, with Wisconsin, under the leadership of "Fightin' Bob" LaFollette, the bell-wether of the group.

Reform of the political machinery to make the voice of the citizen effective was one of two major areas of the movement. The initiative and referendum, the Australian secret ballot, the direct primary, the direct election of senators, corrupt-practices acts, and provision for home rule of municipalities, were all designed to prevent the economically powerful from exercising control over affairs of state in place of the rank and file citizenry.

The other areas of reform were economic and social. Attempts were made to regulate railways and trusts, public utility commissions were established, tax reforms started, child labor prohibited, the regulation of labor conditions begun, and workmen's compensation developed. Natural resource conservation, health and education also came in for reforms. But progress toward reform was slow. Even where the reformers were able to gain control of the executive and legislative branches of government, a conservative judiciary, imbued

with laissez-faire ideas, often nullified their ef

Although the United States Supreme Court ha
regulations of railroads (Munn v. Illinois), they
decision ten years later in the Wabash case. "Hol
railroads were interstate enterprises beyond state
that state regulatory acts violated the 'due proces
14th Amendment, in case after case the judges decla
constitutionality of Granger legislation. By the 1
through severe limitations on the states' 'police'
court had effectually nullified two decades of agrar
secure economic democracy."⁶

Through first the Greenback, and later the Po
party, the farmers of the nation were able to exert
on the national Congress. But in general, the leade
parties were still in control of the money and indus
and were unsympathetic to agrarian needs and demands
of rising public opinion, the Congress did pass an In
Act, the Sherman Anti-trust Act, the Pendleton Civil
the Erdman Act to arbitrate railway labor disputes.

But these laws were ineffective; they did not
were not rigorously enforced, were often nullified by
Supreme Court, and did not contain the means to effect
the authority they delegated. For example, the Inter
Act of 1887 outlawed such railroad abuses as rebates,

rates, and pooling agreements that eliminated effort among the carriers. But the Congress, in setting up the regulatory agency, the Interstate Commerce Commission, failed to give it the essential power to fix rates.⁷ This is another example of implied authority without the effective use of it.

While Grover Cleveland and Theodore Roosevelt accomplished some reforms, both were essentially conservative. They did not desire to tamper with the basic economic structure of the country. Regulation of economic power was largely ineffective. Corporations found ways to circumvent regulation and the public. A community of interests; the trusts were stronger when they were in office than when he came in.⁸

Laissez-faire And Business Dominance Reach Their Peak

Largely nullified and forgotten by the tasks of the Reconstruction, the Spanish American and World War I periods, economic progress was temporarily submerged. The post-war era between 1920 and 1930 was the ultimate in the development of individualism, both before and after the great crash, which resulted in the first major change in the distribution of authority in American culture. And with the rise of big business industry which drew large populations together into metropolitan areas, the citizen's freedom and independence declined.

The two forces which dominated the decade were

laissez-faire, both ideologically linked to rugged individualism. Isolation was the essence of "freedom from foreign affairs;" laissez-faire the "freedom from government interference with the economic affairs" of business and industry. Under Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, laissez-faire came to mean not only freedom from government restraint, but use of the government to grant subsidies to business and industry in the form of tariffs, heavy reduction in corporation and income taxes, government stimulation of foreign markets and organization of trade associations, the sale of government war industries to private enterprise at give-away prices, and virtual suspension of the anti-trust laws.⁹

Historians give us a vivid picture of the "roaring twenties":

Wearied by idealism and disillusioned about the war and its aftermath, Americans dedicated themselves with unashamed enthusiasm to making and spending money. Never before, not even in the McKinley era, had American society been so materialistic, never before so completely dominated by the ideals of the market place or the techniques of machinery. It was an age of bigness and of efficiency, and popular admiration went out to these things: the engineer, the stockbroker, the salesman, the advertiser, and the moving-picture star were the popular heroes. The nation grew in population by seventeen million and grew in wealth even more spectacularly; if wealth was unevenly distributed, there seemed enough to go around and men talked glibly about the "new era" with a chicken in every pot and two cars in every garage. Cities were bigger, buildings taller, roads longer, fortunes greater, automobiles faster, colleges larger, night clubs gayer, crimes more numerous, corporations more powerful, than ever before in history....¹⁰

Calvin Coolidge said that "the business of America is business." Anyone who dared question the ethics of business and businessmen was subjected to much hostility, and in some places vigilante groups were

organized to intimidate such people and brand the Middle class Americans were reaping a golden harvest. They wanted no one to interfere with their "prosperity."

But it was in the social and moral segment of American life that significant changes were occurring. The war had produced a new spirit, the Puritan moral code that had always accompanied the spirit of Calvinism, and the roaring twenties carried the spirit of rebellion. The mass media began to deal openly and frankly with the new spirit. Against vulgarity were often disregarded, even in public. Women in all states of the Union had been granted the right to vote, which at one stroke, doubled the number of persons in the political structure at the national level. At the same time, the new spirit, their newly-found authority and political equality had been granted against the social and moral code which surrounded them. They wore their hair, used rouge and lipstick, and immodestly dressed themselves higher and higher.¹² The "Flapper" was, in psycho-social terms, the striving of American womanhood for social freedom with men.

The young, too, were defiant of the old social code. They claimed loudly that their new-found freedom was the one that would take seriously.¹³

The two major ideas of our Calvinistic frontier-heritage, freedom and materialism, had made great gains. The strenuous morality of the Puritan, incompatible with

rapidly being shoved into the background.

It is ironical, indeed, that Herbert Hoover, in his campaign of 1928, was railing against governmental interference and competition with, private business, on the ground that it destroyed self-government and the American way of life. He called for political equality, reduce efficiency, increase competition, stifle initiative and invention, undermine development of science, destroy equality and opportunity, dry up the spirit of liberty, and cramp the spiritual and mental energies of the people, he said. Whether he spoke the views of the majority of the people it is impossible to say. He was, however, elected President by a heavy majority. His utterances are the basis of the group in control clothing their behavior in moral terms. In the following year, October, 1929, came the stock market crash and the beginning of the end for rugged individualism and economic freedom.

Depression Leads To Government Regulation Of Economy

By 1932 the number of unemployed had risen to over 12 million, farm prices were the lowest in history, mobs of farmers were storming the courts in foreclosure actions, over five thousand businesses had closed their doors, commercial failures totaled thirty billion dollars, and the national income had been cut in half, from 100 billion dollars.¹⁵

The greatest depression in American history, which lasted a decade, happened in the midst of material abundance. Millions of people were hungry, while crops rotted in the fields because prices would not cover the cost of harvesting. The wealth and goods of the nation were plainly not equitably distributed among the people. The economic freedom which was the result of the unlimited individual authority of the few, which Hoover^{*} said was the foundation of the American way of life had, in its consequences, destroyed the very thing it was supposed to support. Economic opportunity and independence, and the equality of authority, had already been destroyed as unlimited economic freedom concentrated wealth and power in the hands of the few. The individualism and unlimited freedom of the frontier society was clearly no longer adequate as a cultural foundation for satisfactory living, in an urban and highly specialized society.

Being a highly pragmatic people, and noting that conditions demanded a change, the American electorate, in 1932, elected Franklin D. Roosevelt to the presidency by an overwhelming majority. To gain some sense of the cultural change that was taking place in American society, let us turn to Roosevelt's justification for unprecedented action, as he explained his position to the people on the day of his first inaugural, March 4, 1933.

* Hoover was right in the fact that freedom and materialism are the American heritage; but so also is the equality and social justice championed by Jefferson and Jackson.

After stating that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself," that the people have always supported frank and vigorous leadership "in every dark hour of our national life," and that our common difficulties "concern, thank God, only material things," Roosevelt proceeded to fix the blame for conditions, and at the same time justify the action he was about to take.

Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply.

Primarily, this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted that failure and abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

True, they have tried, but their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit, they have proposed only the lending of more money.

Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers.

They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths.

The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort.

The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits....

Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit...¹⁶

These high-sounding words, analogous to the prayer of a man to his God when he is in trouble were, at the time, in earnest.

With their world toppled about them, Americans were ready to accept many changes which would bring them economic rewards, and in effect, rebuilt their ego structure and confidence. Along with Roosevelt they had elected a Democratic Congress. With his "Brain Trust" supplying ideas, Roosevelt recommended legislation and the Congress passed it. With extensive executive powers, the President took steps to try to halt the downward trend of economic activity and then by "pump priming" restore the normal economic life of the nation.

The Bank Moratorium, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Farm Credit Administration, Farm Security Administration, and The Securities and Exchange Commission, were acts and agencies created to restore credit and sound banking.

The Works Progress Administration, Public Works Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, and the National Recovery Act were designed to put people to work and money in circulation. The Fair Labor Standards Act, and The Wagner Act, along with others, established the rights of workers to organize and bargain collectively, set minimum wages and standards for the work day.

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the Soil Conservation Service were designed to raise farm incomes and restore depleted soil.

A Social Security Act was designed to assist the aged, unemployed, and crippled, all great social problems in an urban society

where self-interest is one of the universals of the culture. The Tennessee Valley Authority, as well as other agencies, was constructed to conserve and develop the natural and human resources of the nation.

The significant thing about the Roosevelt Revolution in American society and culture was that it was primarily economic in character, and marked the end of individual authority as direct self-government in economic affairs. Where formerly government activity and responsibility in economic life had been largely confined to war crises, it now became, under Roosevelt, an accepted part of the culture for the social and economic well-being of all the people.¹⁷

What had been denied the masses under the old system of unlimited economic freedom, they now looked to their government to supply or guarantee. These things which the masses look to their government to guarantee are employment, fair income, and security in old age. The farmer and the wage-earner, with minimum prices and wages as a floor under his part of the economy, gained some in economic stability and independence. And the wage earner, through legalization of his union activities, gained more economic independence than he had ever known.

No man who is beholden to another for his job, or enough income to supply the needs of his family, is free to act, to exercise his individual authority, as he sees fit. In a capitalistic society economic independence is a condition for the free exercise of democratic

authority, and at least in some measure, the changes that occurred in American culture during the Franklin D. Roosevelt era restored a part of the common man's freedom and independence. Other factors in an urban culture prevented the citizen from having the freedom he had once experienced.

There are many who have said that the American citizen, now dependent on the national government to guarantee his economic livelihood, is in effect, subservient to it. There is a measure of truth in this, so long as economic motivations are paramount in American culture but at least there is this improvement: Under the old system of laissez-faire the citizen had no choice in who his economic masters would be; where his government controls the economy, he at least has the privilege of choosing in periodic elections those he would have control economic affairs.

OTHER HUMAN FREEDOMS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AUTHORITY

There are indications that the American citizen is very jealous of his other freedoms, and in all other segments of culture--except the economic, exercises his individual authority with much of the same spirit, if not the rigor and method, of frontier days.

Citizens Rise Against Roosevelt To Protect Supreme Court--Symbol Of Their Authority

One of the best examples that Americans are jealous of their authority was the reaction, in 1937, to President Roosevelt's attempt

to change the composition of the United States Supreme Court. In the 1936 election he had carried every state in the Union except Maine and Vermont. The Congress was overwhelmingly Democratic, with a five to one majority in the Senate, giving unprecedented power to the administration.

Roosevelt had had nine major defeats by the Supreme Court on New Deal legislation in the first four years of his administration. Six members of the Court were over seventy years of age, eligible for retirement. The President apparently thought that after such overwhelming approval by the people of the first four years of his administration, the time was ripe to do something about the Supreme Court.

In early February, even before he had been inaugurated for his second term, Roosevelt suddenly called in his Congressional leaders and handed them a plan for reorganization of the Federal Courts. Pointing to the huge backlog of work in the Federal Courts, the President justified his planned reorganization on the basis of progress. He first recommended some changes in Court procedure to expedite work. But the kernel of his proposal was to create fifty new judgeships in the lower Federal Courts, and to add a new Justice to the Supreme Court for every member who failed to retire at age seventy, up to a total of fifteen Justices on the Court.¹⁸

While the first reaction was one of surprise, public opinion against the plan began to mount rapidly. Within a week the Texas

and Maine legislatures and the House of Representatives in Connecticut, Kansas, and Minnesota, had gone on record against the plan, and some had instructed their congressmen to work and vote against it.¹⁹ Letters from citizens began to pour in to the congressmen. The majority of these letters opposed reorganization. Ministers preached sermons against tampering with the Court, and Norman Vincent Peale stated that the Supreme Court was the last barrier to dictatorship, and to approve Roosevelt's Court Plan was to open the door to fascism. Bishop Manning of the New York Diocese of the Episcopal Church, later called for a fight "on personal government and absolute executive power."²⁰

The Christian Science Monitor, in a poll of newspapers who had supported Roosevelt's re-election, found that out of seventy-four replies, twenty-nine papers openly opposed the Court plan, and twenty-two were critical. Only nineteen of these newspapers supported the President.²¹

Frederick H. Stinchfield, President of the American Bar Association, immediately opposed the reorganization plan on the basis that the appointment of six new justices by the President was the delegation of too much power to one man, and would upset the balance of powers between the three branches of government as provided in the Constitution. Besides, said Stinchfield, the Constitution provides a way for its amendment; if a change is desired, let the people approve it in the regular Constitutional amendment process. While Roosevelt

was not without supporters in the legal profession, the American Bar Association came out in official opposition to his plan.²²

The members of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, by means of a mail ballot, voted overwhelming opposition to the Court plan, while the Club's General Council voted 285 to 66 in opposition to it. The leaders of the three major farm organizations were also in opposition, including the leaders of the highly New Deal Farmers Union.²³

Adding satire to a very serious controversy, students at Yale and Princeton Universities formed "Roosevelt For King Clubs."²⁴

Roosevelt's major support came from the labor unions, who saw in the then pending Wagner Act, great gains for union activity. "Big Bill" Hutcheson, President of the Carpenter's Union, opposed the plan however.²⁵ Certain congressmen who saw "good politics" in loyalty to President Roosevelt, also supported him in the Court reorganization. As the opposition of the people became evident, however, various administration stalwarts, including Senator Bankhead of Alabama, came out in opposition to it. Representative Cox, of Georgia, one of the administration leaders in the House, stated that Roosevelt's Court plan was the most terrible threat to constitutional government in the history of the nation.²⁶

Finally, to keep the bitter issues from tearing administration forces apart, Vice-President Garner succeeded in bringing it to a vote in the Senate on July 23, less than six months from the date Roosevelt

had made his proposals. The vote was 70 to 20 to recommit the reorganization bill which automatically killed it. Fifty-four Democratic senators had voted against it, including the majority leader, Senator Barkley, of Kentucky. Some senators appraised the action as the worst defeat suffered by a President since the Senate rejected President Wilson's League of Nation's Covenant in 1920.²⁷

What is the significance of this great drama and defeat at the height of President Roosevelt's popularity? It is significant that in his 1936 campaign speeches Roosevelt said nothing about any plan to reorganize the Supreme Court. The mandate he received from the people did not include, it became evident, the authority to tamper with the Federal Courts, and most of all the Supreme Court. The speed with which the people and leadership in all segments of American society reacted against the plan showed that any proposal to alter the balance of powers between the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial branches, as provided by the Constitution, would be met by instant opposition.

The proposed concentration of so much power in the Chief Executive, even though the Executive be elected by the people, was construed as a threat to the freedom and democratic authority of the citizen. It was further evidence of the fear of government that is deep in American culture, which, in reality, is a fear that the authority which the citizen delegates to others will get beyond his control. Because the major motivation and foundation of the ego

structure of the American citizen is concerned with economic wealth, Americans were willing to delegate authority in the field of economic affairs. But when it came to tampering with the basic authority in American culture, the people immediately rose up in unmistakable opposition.

Further evidence of this change in authority relations, which accompanied the advent of the Roosevelt era, may be found in the history of the behavior of the Supreme Court itself. From 1890 to 1937 the United States Supreme Court was, in effect, the instrumentality of laissez-faire economy and corporate enterprise. Although the Tenth and Fifth Amendments provided a basis for some decisions, in general, it was the "due process clause" of the Fourteenth Amendment which the Supreme Court Justices used to invalidate legislation dealing with taxation, wage regulation, price fixing, child labor, agricultural and industrial regulation, and so on, in the pursuit of their theories of rugged individualism. It was usually successful corporation lawyers and unsuccessful politicians who were appointed to the Court in this era,²⁸ and it is not surprising that the culture which was so much a part of them should be read into their judicial decisions.

Constitutional Law Strengthens Legal Foundations For Basic Individual Freedoms

After the terrific political struggle accompanying Roosevelt's attempt to reorganize the Supreme Court, a change appeared in the

character of that august body's decisions. Indeed, in a complete reversal of previous ideology, the Court approved the Wagner Labor Relations Act and the Social Security Act while the reorganization fight was still in progress. Subsequently, some of the more conservative members of the Court retired, and a new type of justice was named in their place. Three of Franklin Roosevelt's appointments were men who came from the faculties of law schools, and the rest had been exposed to the social sciences in one way or another.²⁹

Since 1937 the Supreme Court has shown a rather consistent tendency to leave the policy motive and wisdom of legislation to the legislative or administrative agency. "With the exception, therefore, of state statutes regulating labor organization and union activities in such a way as to violate freedom of speech, of the press, or assembly, and of statutes conflicting with the commerce powers of Congress, judicial review has ceased to be the instrumentality of economic policy or theory, and has become almost exclusively a device for the protection of human rights and civil liberties."³⁰

In these latter areas there has been a tendency for expansion of judicial review, and particularly so in the field of industrial relations and labor law, which was greatly expanded under New Deal legislation. "In its solicitude for the preservation of basic liberties, the Court since 1937 has generally manifested a meticulous care for the rights of the underprivileged, the poor, the illiterate, and members of unpopular racial and religious minorities..."³¹ The recent decision

against segregation in the schools is evidence of the continuance of this trend. This change in emphasis of the Supreme Court from property rights to civil liberties means that in the field of authority relations, the authority which the individual delegates to legislative and executive bodies is, in the main, authority in the economic areas of culture. The growth of an urban-industrial society has brought with it the necessity for the individual to delegate to others a great part of the authority which he himself formerly exercised, in order that he may gain and maintain a maximum of economic independence.

In other areas of the culture, however, the citizen has constantly gained in the "legal sanction" for freedom to act as an individual, to exercise his own authority as a person, and to exercise that authority more directly upon those who serve him than ever before. A look at the amendments to the Constitution confirms this fact better than any other example.

In general, the amendments to the Constitution are designed (1) to protect the freedom of the person so he may exercise his authority as an individual without encumbrance (2) To enable the individual to exercise this authority more directly in the election of his public servants, and to exercise this authority equally in equity with other citizens (3) The widening of the authority structure by removing restrictions on the franchise based on race, sex, or property, and (4) The restriction of the power and control held by the nation's chief executive by restricting him to two terms of office. The only

amendment to the Constitution which has ever been repealed, the Eighteenth, is the only amendment which was designed to restrict the freedom of the individual.

Freedom of the individual, and the effective exercise of individual authority by an ever widening group of citizens, has been and continues to be, the primary motive behind the development of constitutional law in the United States. The only exception to this occurred during the half century between 1890 and 1937, when the forces of laissez-faire economic theory were in control of the Supreme Court. And while legal sanctions for individual freedom have improved, it would appear that other sociocultural patterns largely nullify these legal gains. Self-reliance and independence, while still strong in American ideology, have been largely replaced by de facto dependence as the highly specialized and bureaucratic urban - industrial society has come to dominate the nation.

However indispensable are the legal forms and freedoms in the exercise of individual authority, whether or not the citizen makes use of the authority at his command depends primarily on the major cultural motivations which direct his behavior.

SUMMARY

When the twentieth century opened, the business and financial interests were in control of the nation's affairs. By the concentration of wealth, power, and control, the business interests had almost completely eliminated economic freedom insofar as national enterprises and policies were concerned. The new century was greeted by the struggle of farmers and urban workers for independence and freedom from business dominance.

Goaded by social injustice, want and poverty, the farmers of the nation led a reform movement which attempted to return independence, freedom and authority to the rank and file citizen. These reforms attempted to make public servants directly responsible to the will of the people, and at the same time prevent the power of wealth from exercising control over public affairs. Attempts were also made toward tax reforms and regulation of railways, utilities, and trusts. But what reform laws were passed were often nullified by a hostile Supreme Court, or by corporation behavior beyond the power of legal regulation.

The "roaring twenties" saw the peak of laissez-faire economic freedom and business dominance of public affairs. Under Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, the United States in the post-World War I period pursued policies of isolation, freedom from government regulation of economic activities, and the use of government agencies and power to aid business in a multitude of ways. Never before had

American society been so materialistic. There was revolt against the old social and moral codes of society. Women were striving for social freedom and equality with men; youth also proclaimed their new-found freedom.

The Great Depression brought business interests and economic freedom down together in a great crash. Franklin D. Roosevelt used the federal government to regulate and stimulate the nation's economy. He also tried to provide for all people a stake in the capitalistic economy of the nation, and attempted to deal with some of the social problems of an urban society.

The federal government was now looked to by the masses to guarantee them a job, fair income, and security in old age. The ordinary citizen gained a measure of freedom and independence under the Roosevelt New Deal Administration, even though other cultural factors prevented gaining the kind of freedom experienced in rural society.

While American citizens were willing to delegate authority to the federal government to regulate economic affairs, they remained very jealous of their other freedoms. This was evidenced by the resounding defeat which the citizenry gave Roosevelt at the height of his popularity when he attempted to reorganize the Federal Courts. When the people felt that the President was trying to tamper with the basic authority structure of the nation and its balance of powers, they saw this action as a threat to their own freedom and

control of citizen authority, and rose in inst

After this great battle over the Federal Supreme Court Justices retired. New appointees seemed to take a more liberal view of social control. After 1937 the United States Supreme Court left largely to legislative and administrative bodies. It expanded its efforts in the area of basic human rights.

Constitutional law in the United States. Inception of the period between 1890 and 1937, the motive the freedom of the individual and the effect on individual citizen authority by an ever-widening scope of government. A look at the amendments to the Constitution confirms this better than any other example.

At mid-twentieth century "legal sanctions" for freedom, outside of economic affairs, were greatly reduced. It would appear, however, that other socio-cultural forces in urban society largely nullify these legal gains. Self-reliance and independence are still strong in America, but they have, in fact, been largely replaced by a dependence on the highly specialized and bureaucratic government. This society has come to dominate the nation.

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SECTION III

SELF-INTEREST, THE PROTESTANT ETHIC, MATERIALISM

Man's dominant motivation will affect not only the authority within his own competence, but also his behavior toward those to whom he delegates authority.

In the greater part of Section III we have seen the development of religious "Calvinistic man," and as he becomes secular, "economic man." We have also tried to show the consequence of this development, the rise to power of business leaders, and their control of American culture. The primary interest was the major motivation of "Calvinistic man," the major motivation of contemporary Protestant Americans, and it may be the major motivation of Catholic Americans; we will not discuss this point.

The development of this part of the American culture is the foundation for biological and cultural conflicts. It affects the behavior of Americans in authority and we must understand this development to understand the biological and cultural conflicts, and their effects.

Calvinistic man, and now, economic man, deny the bio-social nature of the human animal which dictates human affiliation and love. Evidence shows that the dominant cultural universal of economic man, the denial of the social nature of man finds ways of exerting itself.

denied. But the cultural universal of economic man always thwart man's realization of his essential nature in society.

Both Calvinistic man and economic man, in the pursuit of selfish interests, canonized as moral and are in direct contradiction, on this point, to Christ. Insofar as Christ's teachings affect Americans may be expected to produce behavior which deviates from the norm of self-interest.

On one hand we find business leaders enforcing the control of cultural institutions the cultural universal man; and on the other hand we find most citizens behaving as far as possible, true to their bio-social nature, and sometimes acting in accordance with the teachings of Christ.

This essential paradox produces two levels of behavior among Americans. One level conforms to the cultural universal man; the other level conforms to the bio-social nature of the teachings of Christ. Both levels of behavior may occur at different times in the same person, even though we observe degrees of variation from these two levels of behavior.

Insofar as authority relations are concerned, the moral principles are valid, Protestant Americans exercise their individuality on the basis of their perception of the direction of their self-interest, plus their ability to act on their perceived

bring them to realization.

The way the individual perceives his self-interest will depend upon his position in the socio-economic structure, his group culture, his total personality, and its concomitant life experience. The great complexity and diversity of American culture and society means that the individual's perception of self-interest may be determined only on the basis of the law of individual differences and the law of the social situation.

To be effective in urban society, the individual must exercise his authority as part of the collective efforts of a group.

CHAPTER VII - THE PROTESTANT ETHIC LEADS TO MATERIALISTIC SECULARISM

Since man's dominant motivation will affect not only how he exercises the authority within his own competency, but also his views of those to whom authority is delegated, it is well that we examine the cultural origin, development, and contemporary meaning of self-interest.

Let us begin with the Christian concept of man and society, for an understanding of the Protestant ethic as the basis of modern American culture must include its cultural origins.

SELF-INTEREST IN MEDIEVAL SOCIETY

Christ Teaches Unselfishness

The essence of the teachings of Christ is that man, to secure salvation, either as an earthly mortal or heavenly immortal, must surrender the self to God. Both in his verbal teachings and in the example of his life, Christ made his theme manifest in countless ways. The two great commandments of Christ were that man should first love God with all his mind and heart and soul, or better than love of self, and secondly, to love one's neighbor equally with oneself.

Christ made it plain that man cannot love self and God, nor others, at the same time. In Matthew 6:24 he said, "No man can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve

God and Mammon."

This he taught again and again, with his final teaching the giving of his own life for the sins of man and as a bridge to God for humanity, the absolute heights in unselfishness.

The application of Jesus' teachings to everyday life is exceedingly difficult. Jesus recognized this, that man is mortal, and try as he might for moral perfection, there will be periods when the selfish passions of the flesh will rule his behavior. For this reason Jesus advocated that whenever man broke God's laws, if he were truly repentent, he should be forgiven, not just once, but every time he was sinful and really repentent of his sin.

The Catholic Church Attempts Christ's Teachings

The Holy Catholic Church, as the director and motivating force of society in Medieval times, attempted also to apply the teachings of Christ to the life of man. There was a constant effort to seek a synthesis of the external order and the religion of the spirit. Religion was the ultimate standard of human activities and institutions. The purpose of society, medieval leaders said, is set by the divine plan of the universe, and the perfect happiness of man is the vision of the divine essence.

All activities fall into a single system, they explained, because all are related to a single end, and derive their significance from it. The Church in its wider sense is the Christian Commonwealth within

which that end is to be realized; in its narrow hierarchy divinely commissioned for its interpretation embraces the whole of life, and its authority is no division between the inner life of man's personal interests of society. Practical things exist merely the means to nourishment of the spirit and happiness in God.¹

It was a postulate of the Church in Medieval times that man shares with other animals the necessity of maintaining his species; in addition, as a natural creature peculiar to himself, an inclination to the life of society. While some of man's natural inclination is indifferent to the life of the spirit, it is the religion to prepare the intellect and discipline the heart so that divine grace may work in the heart of man to lead to happiness,² church leaders said.

Oppressive Feudal Society

If the Medieval concept of man was Christian, the concept of social organization was Jewish. Feudalism, with its emphasis on class privilege, class oppression, exploitation, and hierarchy, was rationalized in this way: "Society, as a whole, is an organization composed of different members, each with its own function to perform. The members are organized into a hierarchy, with the king at the top, followed by the nobles, the knights, and the peasants. The king is responsible for the defense of the realm, the nobles for the administration of justice, the knights for the protection of the peasants, and the peasants for the production of food. This organization is necessary for the survival and prosperity of the society."

has its own function, prayer, or defense, or mer-
ing the soil. Each must receive the means suite
and must claim no more. Within classes there mus
one takes into his hand the living of two, his ne
short. Between classes there must be inequality;
class cannot perform its function, or....enjoy it
must not encroach on those above them. Lords mus
peasants. Craftsmen and merchants must receive w
them in their calling and no more."³

As evidenced by the numerous peasant uprising,
history of serfdom, the everyday life of man in th
ceedingly bitter and oppressive. The Church as a
interested in profits and rents, recognized and ex
its Canon Law. While its ideology came from Chris
ment for freedom owed nothing to the Church."⁴

The Church's Double Standard In Economic Affairs

While involved to the hilt in economic affair
vested interest of the times, the Church did not h
the economic affairs of others. The economic theo
writers was based on two fundamental assumptions: (1)
interests are subordinate to the real business of l
salvation, and (2) that economic conduct is one asp
conduct, upon which, as on other parts of it, the r

are binding. Material riches are necessary, but economic motives are to be feared and regulated. Enterprise is legitimate so long as it is carried on for the benefit of the community. Profit is legitimate, medieval writers said, and man should receive more profits than wages for his labor. Private property is a necessary institution, at least in a fallen world; men are more greedy when goods are private than when they are common. Greed is less when goods are private than when they are common.

In line with these theories, Pride, the love of money, was as manifest in the exaltation of the self, was as much a sin as avarice and greed were in the same category.

Not only did the Church hold these views but it also tried to enforce them. There was definite ecclesiastical teaching against avarice and avarice, as well as dogma and discipline in economic matters. For example, manifest usurers were excluded from Communion or Christian burial; their laws were not accepted. In communities where usury was sanctioned, magistrates who knowingly maintained such laws were excommunicated, and any legislation in support of such laws was to be repealed. Those guilty of usury and avarice were to make restitution to the party wronged and to help cure them of sinning.⁶

Certainly, the Church tried to regulate economic life by asserting the superiority of the moral law. But the law of economic ethics was meant to regulate the de-

craftsmen, small merchants and money-lenders, the small commonplace transactions where the results of oppression wreaked greatest suffering. While their activities were not applauded and often censured, the fact that the Church itself had large economic interests meant that kings, feudal magnates, bishops and abbots, were usually ignored in their large scale economic transactions.⁷

Moreover, the layman was thoroughly familiar with the business transactions of the monks, who owned land in many communities and were no more moral in their business life than anyone else.⁸

But in combination with the oppression of the social system, the thing that gave the reformers their most powerful arguments was that in the Church everything had its price. Christopher Columbus enunciated the statement that "Gold constitutes treasure, and he who possesses it has all the needs in this world, as also the means of rescuing souls from Purgatory, and restoring them to the enjoyment of Paradise."⁹ Insofar as the Church was concerned this was true. It was the sale of indulgences, which could be used in the Church to gain remission of sins, we may recall, which brought Luther's revolt.

While the authoritarian oppression of feudal society in an age when freedom was rising, and the Church's double standard in economic affairs could not help but bring revolt against the Church, we must at the same time be cognizant of other aspects of such a culture.

Catholicism Condemns And Protestantism Sanctifies Self-Interest

First of all, while self-interest (selfishness) existed, as it

exists where men are present, it was morally condemned it, and efforts were made to keep it unis, indeed, in stark contrast to the moral sanction which Calvinism gave it, and which forms the basis today.

The other factor, which, in contrast to the of the present, appears most significant, was the of society were governed in their behavior by moral was integrated around a common ideology which placed above the selfishness of the individual.

Medieval writers explained it this way: "The in these three parts, preachers, and defenders, and she is our Mother, so she is our body, and health in this, that one part of her answer to another, a measure that Jesus Christ has ordained it..." Another this way, "The health of the whole commonwealth will vigorous, if the higher members consider the lower answer in like manner the higher, so that each is i every other."¹⁰ Thus, we see the whole of medieval around the Christian ethic.

In contrast to the medieval society where both his social institutions were integrated around one purpose, we see the Protestant revolt emphasize the egoistic "I", in the search for salvation. We have

out that this fundamental change in ideology, the individual, has served to atomize society into individuals, each alone striving for life's goals. In ideology, a premium was placed on self-interest, made responsible for its own salvation.

This is not to say that Protestants did not have the idea of a church-civilization in which all life would be ordered by the laws of God. It was above all the laxity of the Church against which Luther revolted, so far as using the civil sword to enforce God's law. He, like his predecessors, attempted to use church discipline backed by the power of the state, to organize a Christian Commonwealth.

The evidence indicates that it was the corruption of power, and the oppression and lack of freedom which provided the basis for the moral disintegration of Catholic society and culture, on the other hand, it would be a shocking and overwhelming contradiction in the Protestant ethic if the teachings of Christ has led to the contemporary state of interest in Western culture. But let us be more specific about this has occurred.

Self-Interest Triumphs In Protestant Culture

Several things have worked together to bring about the complete victory of self-interest. As we point out,

chapter, when Calvin separated the spiritual and temporal spheres of man's life and gave over temporal affairs to the state, the blow was struck which ultimately meant victory for self-interest manifest in economic activities. For temporal affairs included the economy, and the economy provided the means which the Church must have to propagate the laws of God. This one fact meant that control over means rested in the state, so that the power of the Church to act gradually vanished as the state and secular interests gained in strength.

This is in contrast to the ideal Catholic society where all affairs are spiritual, the temporal varying only in degree from the main religious activities of life, and the Church is the state, ruler of all life, in control of both means and ends.

Moreover, as the handwriting on the wall became plainer for all to see, after the merchants and Princes had gained considerable power, the Protestant leaders, with Calvin in the lead, decided to compromise with the "things of Caesar", in order, they thought, to retain some influence in society, but most of all to ensure that the Reformation would not be defeated by resurgent Catholicism. They did not heed the warnings of Christ that no man can serve two masters. As we have already quoted one writer, "the classes whose backing was needed to make the Reformation a political success had sold their support on terms which made it inevitable that it should be a social disaster."¹¹

Commerce and economic activities continued to develop regardless of what Protestant churches and religious leaders said, and they were in no position to take any action other than preaching and teaching.

Further, the ideology of Christianity in regard to economic affairs had been developed in the pre-commercial age when dealings were between individuals, and the application of such ideology to the developing impersonal, complex economic activities was difficult if not impossible.¹²

While the suspicion of economic motives remained, it was the sanctification which Calvinism gave to economic enterprise which turned the tide toward self-interest and rapid secularization of society.¹³ We have already documented how the attributes of a good Calvinist happened to be the same as those which led to success in economic affairs, and in turn attracted the middle classes, already of such characteristics, to Calvinism.

Cultural roots are slow in dying, and the old ideology regarding economic motives maintained Christ-like aspects for a century after it had lost its actual power to the state in the social structure.

SECULARISM COMES TO POWER

Calvinistic Puritanism Wins Secular Power In Britain

Even as early as the Tudor period in England we begin to see the rise of secularism. In that era of England's history, those who had the most property and power had already begun to define property

on the basis of self-interest. Later to be fully accepted in Western culture, this definition of property was that "the individual is absolute master of his own, and within the limits set by positive law may exploit it with a single eye to his pecuniary advantage, unrestrained by any obligation to postpone his own profit to the well-being of his neighbors, or to give account of his actions to a higher authority."¹⁴

With the growth of the Puritan movement under Queen Elizabeth, which had its leaders in the commercial classes, there was increasingly developed the idea that church and religion have no business in economic affairs. This movement triumphed politically with the winning of the English Revolution by that noted Calvinist, Oliver Cromwell, and his followers. From this triumph there gradually developed the tacit denial of spiritual significance in the relations of organized society, which included economic activities.¹⁵

Thus it was that while just on the threshold of the modern development of economic self-interest, the political triumph of the idea occurred in little over a century after the religious roots of the idea had been propounded by Luther.

Secular Self-Interest Reinforced In English Culture

Once self-interest had won the battle it was not long in consolidating its gains. According to John Locke, whose ideas have played an important ideological role in the formation of American

culture, the state now found its sanction, not in religion but in nature, and it exists to protect the absolute rights of individuals vested in them by nature, the chief one of which is property. Economic affairs which in the 16th century are discussed in terms of right and wrong, with morality and religion the basis for discussion, are, a century later, discussed in terms of science, self-interest, and expediency.¹⁶

Most enlightening as to the complete ideological change which took place, is the contrast between the medieval and Calvinistic concepts of the "laws of Nature". Medieval writers had invoked the law of nature as a moral restraint upon economic self-interest. By the 17th century "Nature" had come to mean human appetites, not divine will, "and natural rights were invoked by the individualism of the age as a reason why self-interest should be given free play."¹⁷

No less interesting were the theories of Adam Smith, a moral philosopher as well as an economist. He saw in economic self-interest, and in an economy regulated by unlimited competition, the invisible hand of God.¹⁸

Dean Tucker, prominent English churchman, said that "national commerce, good morals and good government are but part of one general scheme, in the designs of Providence."¹⁹

With such views, the existing order was the order established by God. Sound morality coincided with commercial wisdom. Pope, the English poet, expressed the philosophy of the leaders of the era in

these lines:

Thus God and Nature formed the general frame
And bade self-love and social be the same.²⁰

The Protestant church thus had not only surrendered to self-interest, but became its servant and apologist. Religion ceased to be the master-interest of man, and was shoved into a compartment of its own alongside politics, economics, and sciences. Reason took the place of revelation, and the criterion of man's institutions became expediency, not religious authority. The synthesis of an integrated society, which existed before the Reformation, had already begun to show disintegration. Society, by the seventeenth century, was divided into its various elements; each department of business, religion, and so on, assumed a separate and independent vitality and obeyed the laws of its own being.

The social functions matured within the Church and long identified with it were transferred to the State, which in turn began to be idolized as the dispenser of prosperity and the guardian of civilization.²¹ Secularization had come to power to exclude religion from effective interference with western man's major concern, economic self-interest, and he was soon to develop science as the hand maiden of his dominant purpose.

As the secular forces progressed in their consolidation of power, there was also the growth of a philosophy and culture to support their position. The discharge of the duties of business is among the loftiest of moral and religious values, secular leaders said. Competition

is sanctified as the process which will not only result in the most goods to feed man's material wants, but also that which is most likely to force unregenerate man into moral virtue. Profit becomes a duty imposed by God upon the steward of his property. Luxury, extravagance, pleasure, excessive devotion to friends and relations, have no place in the life of the Calvinist; utilitarianism becomes a moral attitude as well as a political doctrine. The needs of society and the self-interest of the individual are harmonized; after all it does appear that man can serve two masters, for--so happily is the world disposed--he may be paid by one, while he works for the other. The good Christian, it seems, had become analogous to economic man.²²

Teachings Of Christ Reversed--Self-Interest Becomes Moral Virtue In
Protestant Culture

What is significant in this cultural change is not the fact of self-interest itself, which has always been present in every age of history. The significance lies in the complete reversal of cultural values and man's major motivations. Self-interest manifest in economic motives, which was denounced by Christ and medieval Christianity, was now canonized as moral virtue. Where formerly man sought salvation through God and lived a life dominated by religion, he now won his own salvation by conquering the material world of business. Religion is transformed from the force controlling the appetites of man to the social institution which stimulates selfishness and private gain.

Such, in the opinions of R. H. Tawney and Max Weber, is the meaning of the Protestant ethic in Western culture.

The Minority Groups Of Protestantism

What we have been describing is that segment of Western culture which came to power, and in the process dominated cultural development of the English speaking peoples. But we would be remiss to leave the impression that these developments proceeded unimpeded, or that they constitute the whole of cultural development. Within Calvinism there existed a rugged individualism and a Christian commonwealth, an Old Testament law of discipline and a New Testament law of love, authoritarianism and liberty, aristocrats and common men, equality and a class society. So wonderfully is man constituted that these contradictions often exist together in the same personality. So is it also in man's culture and social institutions. The freedom and individualism so dominant in the Protestant ethic means that all men do not conform to the dominant cultural pattern, and are themselves often stimulators of cultural change. Calvinism contained not only the authoritarian New England Puritan, but the Quaker who could condone no human control over his behavior, and by example did much to bring the downfall of the New England theocracy. Calvinism held both an Increase Mather and a Roger Williams; it was also the parent of Sectarianism, has fostered many different religious denominations in the United States. While the dominant cultural pattern has been economic individualism and self-interest, these other ideological

forces have always been present; when the dominant forces of society become too oppressive or unsuccessful, the more ethical and Christ-like ideologies exert greater influence.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SELF*INTEREST IN AMERICA

Economic Self-Interest In Colonial America

We have already discussed, in a preceding chapter, the influence of the English heritage on the desire for freedom in Colonial America. The English heritage was no less important in the development of self-interest in the culture of the New World. For it was self-interest which made the desire for freedom so great. Actually, many of the same forces were operating in both England and America, and the triumphs of the secular society occurred on both continents at approximately the same time.

It is important to remember that the American colonies, in their inception, were largely business ventures of English capitalists, who had an excess of capital seeking investment. As such, British colonial policy was merely a part of commercial policy.²³

The motives of the English settlers themselves, however, varied with the person and shifted from time to time as conditions themselves changed. In the main, however, their motives varied between the religious, economic, and patriotic. The economic motive seems to be the one constant factor in colonial culture. It is interesting to note that some of the more wealthy Pilgrims advocated settlement in

Guiana where they might grow rich with little

Some idea of the nature of colonial people is shown by the fact that of the 65,000 Englishmen who came to the early settlement period, only 4,000 joined the Churches.²⁵ This is some evidence that the economic motive was a strong one.

Self-interest early came to the fore in Colonial America. Communal building was soon abandoned for every man for his own house. The common-stock idea did not work in other countries and society either, for Calvinists were of a culture that put self-interest as a dominant factor. Unmarried men objected to supporting other men's families, married men objected to their wives doing the cooking and washing for others, the hard-workers objected to supporting the idle, and the upper classes objected to working for the lower. In 1623 the communal idea was abandoned in the production of goods, the immediate result being increased production and the development of trading among the colonists.²⁶ Self-interest has been successful in the maximum production of material goods by the technology known to man. This has, indeed, been its major achievement.

History abounds in the examples of selfishness among colonial people. In matters of trade, and exploitation of natural resources, they strove for independence from the mother country. In matters of defense they claimed dependence, and defended from Indians on the frontier and against France.

West Indies trade. It would seem that the self-interest in defense would have overruled other forms of self-interest. At the same time after time, was not the case. The word disappeared from the political vocabulary of the colonies.

The unsavory and criminal character of much of the life in New England gives us an idea of the selfishness of the people. During the French and Indian War the New Englanders refused to trade with the French, which prolonged the war. The colonial privateering which developed during the war showed the people of the colonies thwarted England in her policy. Smuggling, bribery, and war profiteering came to the fore for profits. The engrossing of public lands was no exception. John Hathorn of New Hampshire an outstanding example. He had his own land worth engrossed almost 80 new townships as he said. And the New England candle manufacturers, in 1765, acted in a monopoly in their industry, fixing prices and controlling the market in general.²⁸

These examples do not prove that New Englanders were more selfish than their brethren in England, but they are no less so, as we have often been led to believe. The Puritans were Calvinistic in culture, and if, in some cases, they were more selfish, it was because the abundant resources of the colonies provided enough for all men and still gave unlimited scope for selfish enterprise.

Secular Interests Come To Power In America

The years 1730 to 1760 were a time of social and intellectual ferment. This period saw the secular interests gain dominant power in America. By the opening of the eighteenth century, the power of the clergy had begun to decline, and Jonathan Mayhew felt called upon to defend himself against the harsh Puritan God and the Calvinistic tradition. The Revolution came about as the settler succeeded in conquering the wilderness, accumulating property, and in the process began to gain personal power. The pessimistic Calvinism was for the first time challenged. Initiative, was non-ethical, and was detrimental to the community. It was abandoned in place of Deism, and God began to be seen as the happiness of man, rather than man being the servant of God. Secularism became the dominant power, economically, socially, and politically, and wealth replaced "godliness" in determining a man's status in the community.²⁹ Not only had the struggle for secular power, but its anti-religionists and anti-clericals, but more importantly, the development of the ethic of self-interest in America was a positive development of the ideology of Utilitarianism.

Utilitarianism Reinforces Economic Self-Interest

Max Weber, in his celebrated essay "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism," cites Benjamin Franklin and

Utilitarianism as the essence of the spirit of modern capitalism "in almost classical purity."³⁰ Franklin's "Necessary Hints To Those That Would Be Rich," and "Advice To A Young Tradesman," as well as "Poor Richard's Almanac," all the epitome of American tradition, are examples of the Utilitarian ideology. Since they first became popular in pre-Revolution days, the sayings of Poor Richard have been on the tongues and in the psychological systems of Americans.

The significance of this philosophy of avarice is that it appears to be the ideal of the honest man, the idea of a duty of the individual toward the increase of his capital, which is assumed as an end in itself. What Franklin preaches with widest success is not mere business astuteness or supplying the material needs of life, but a peculiar ethic, an ethos, a way of life.³¹

The essence of the ideology of Utilitarianism as propounded by Franklin is that the good in anything depends on its usefulness to man. One of his maxims is that "honesty is the best policy." This infers that man should be honest, not necessarily because that is the way good men behave in accordance with the golden rule, but because to be honest is in the self-interest of the individual. Punctuality, industry, and frugality are also virtues, according to Franklin, because they advance one's interest.³² This is in the same vein as the Puritan leader, quoted in a preceding chapter, who advocated religion because it is "useful and serviceable to man in society." Another implication that follows from such an ideology is the emphasis on "ends" rather than "means", a strong configuration in American culture.

today. In this light, one may note that the appearance of honesty, in an impersonal, urban society, may be just as useful in accomplishing immediate ends as sincere honesty itself. Utility, and its bosom companion, practicality, are deep in American culture, and vitally affect authority relationships.

Differences Between "Modern" and "Traditional" Capitalism

Weber differentiates between modern capitalism and the capitalism which has been a part of all history. Traditional capitalism, says Weber, is usually accompanied by a leisurely way of life. Modern capitalism, on the other hand, is itself a way of life devoted to the rational use of capital and labor for maximum profit. In the traditional type of capitalism, found in the culture of Catholic Latin nations, capitalistic enterprise is the means for a life of splendor. In the culture of modern capitalism, the best examples of which are found in the United States and Germany, it is capitalism itself which dominates and directs the life of man. To put it more clearly, as Weber defines traditional capitalism, it is the servant of man; in contrast, man is the servant of modern capitalism.

Weber summarizes the ethic of modern capitalism, devoid of its religious roots, and based on self-interest as a duty, as the domination of man "by the making of money, by acquisition as the ultimate purpose of his life. Economic acquisition is no longer subordinated to man as the means for satisfaction of his material needs." Franklin

justified the way of life he advocated, that of "making money out men" by quoting Proverbs XXII:29: "Seest thou a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before kings."³³

In this quotation we get a clue which evidently was not apparent to Weber, the fact that achievement, success, in American culture, is often measured in terms of wealth, and in this sense the life of acquisition is a means to satisfy psychological, as well as material needs.³⁴ This fact, if it is a fact, does not alter the outward appearance of the American's life, but merely alters the purpose of his striving. The American is expected to feel an obligation to his profession or calling, which is in line with what we have described as Weber's concept of modern capitalism. With the American, it is the job which comes first, and other matters of life are subordinate.

In line with these dominant motives, we find colonial leaders appealing to the self-interest of the people. The merchants and the radicals, ordinarily with little in common, were drawn together in opposition to England by the interlocking interests of employment and taxation, which propaganda leaders such as Samuel Adams exploited to build public opinion.³⁵

Thomas Paine Appeals To The Selfish Interests Of The Colonists

Thomas Paine appealed directly to the economic self-interest of the people as one of his major arguments for independence. He started his economic argument by saying that "to unite the sinews of commerce and defense is sound policy." Shortly before the Revolution, the

colonial merchants are said to have owed four to six million pounds sterling to English firms who had advanced them credit.³⁶ Paine suggested that the earlier independence was declared, the more land would be available to "discharge of the present debt, instead of being lavished by the King on his worthless dependents." He estimated the value of the back lands as twenty-five million pounds sterling, and the quit-rents at two million pounds yearly, all of which would be lost if "affairs be patched up with British."³⁷ We have already documented how the American Revolution was basically a clash of economic interests, clothed in moral terms, but Paine made open appeal to materialistic motives.

Economic Self-Interest--Basic Issue Between Debtor And Creditor Classes

After the Revolution had been won, "the royal tyrant" was replaced by "the government" as the butt of denunciation for standing between American citizens and their selfish interests.³⁸ A group of frontiersmen, demanding separate statehood in 1784, put the matter plainly: "Our blood was spilt in acquiring land for our settlement, our fortunes expended in making these settlements effectual; for ourselves we fought, for ourselves we conquered; and for ourselves we have a right to hold."³⁹ This was the voice of the small farmers, laborers, and frontiersmen, the Radicals who had fought and won the Revolution. For many years prior to the Revolution these debtor classes, which comprised the majority of the people, had used the colonial assemblies in their struggle to gain political control and

try to "destroy all privilege, political, economic, and social." Clothing their economic struggle against the wealthy American creditor class in terms of the "tyranny of royal authority", they used the power of the purse, placed in their hands by the selfish Crown, to thwart the Royal Governor and the Council, made up of men of wealth and position. They refused to vote salaries for the Governors and Judges; refused to vote supplies unless they also controlled the way the money was spent. In the majority of Colonial Assemblies they had legalized paper money, passed "stay laws", and in general, passed laws favorable to the debtor group which they represented. As the Revolution neared they took all power into their own hands by the use of mob rule and terroristic action.⁴⁰

It was this group of Radicals who fought and won the American Revolution. Not the least among their motives for fighting the war was the opportunity they envisioned to do away with the power and privilege of the American propertied classes against which they had always struggled. After the Revolution these Radical groups did gain considerable power in most of the states. But the interests of the common man was to be denied for several more years, while the propertied classes laid powerful sanctions upon economic self-interest in the basic authority structure of the nation, and propelled cultural change in the same direction.

SUMMARY

Man's dominant motivation will affect how he exercises the authority within his own competence, and also his views regarding those to whom he delegates authority. His major motivation in American Protestant culture is self-interest.

Our understanding of the American citizen's behavior relative to the cultural configuration of self-interest will be enhanced if we trace the rise of materialistic secularism under the influence of the Protestant Ethic.

Christ, in countless ways, but especially with the example of His life, taught absolute unselfishness. The Holy Catholic Church also attempted to apply the teachings of Christ to the life of man. In medieval Catholic society man's life was dominated by religion as he sought salvation which was at the apex of cultural values. Things external to religion were merely the means to the spiritual life, and the Church was the Christian Commonwealth through which man could realize life's single end.

Feudal society, at the same time, was built on class privilege, class oppression, exploitation and serfdom. The life of man under such circumstances was bitter, and peasant uprisings were numerous.

The Church maintained a double standard in economic affairs. While kings, feudal magnates, bishops and abbots carried on large scale economic transactions, the Church tried to regulate the small scale economic affairs affecting most of the population. Pride,

avarice and greed were condemned as deadly sins. Usury was outlawed and enforced by excommunication. All economic activities were subjected to the moral laws of religion.

But those moral laws, after decades of man's influence, were subject to the weakness of the flesh. In the Church everything had its price, including remission of sins. With the Church and its monasteries the largest single institution engaged in economic activity at that time, it is not unusual that these dealings were based on self-interest, and were no more moral than the dealings of those the Church was attempting to regulate. The corruption of absolute power, oppression at a time when freedom was rising, and the double economic standard practiced by the Church gave fuel to the fires of the reformers which ultimately led to the Protestant revolt.

Let us not forget the positive aspects of this medieval Catholic society: that while as always selfishness existed, it was condemned by the Church; and the human character of man was accepted in the corporate society integrated around the Christian Ethic.

In revolt against the existing Catholic culture, Luther emphasized the egoistic "I" in the search for salvation. With this fundamental change in ideology, a premium was placed on self-interest which served to atomize the existing corporate society into a mass of individuals, each one alone striving for life's goals.

Thus it was that the Protestant emphasis upon the "self" laid the cultural foundation which finally led to the triumph of self-interest

as the major motivation in Western culture. A combination of factors brought this triumph about. The separation of Church and state under Calvinism, with the taxing power maintained by the state, meant that the Church had lost control of the means to propagate the teachings of Christ. This was in direct contrast to the ideal Catholic society where all affairs are spiritual, the temporal varying only in degree from the main religious activities of life, and the Church is the state, ruler of all life, in control of both means and ends.

When Calvin, in the face of resurgent Catholicism, sought to gain political power for Protestantism by compromising with the "things of Caesar", his action led the way to the ultimate isolation of Protestant religion away from effective sanction over temporal affairs. This sanctification which Calvinism gave to economic activity turned the tide toward the rapid rise of self-interest and the secularization of society.

In England, secular self-interest came to political power as the Calvinistic, commercial middle classes under Cromwell won the English Civil Wars. This triumph was accompanied by the tacit denial of religious concern with economic and civic affairs.

Once secular leaders were in power they were not long in reinforcing with other cultural patterns, their major value of self-interest. The "laws of Nature", invoked by medieval writers as a moral restraint upon economic self-interest, was the foundation upon which the individualists of the seventeenth century based their reasons

for the free play of self-interest.

Adam Smith, moral philosopher and economist, saw in economic self-interest and unlimited competition the invisible hand of God. The duties of business are held up as the highest of moral and religious values. Profit becomes a duty imposed by God upon the steward of his property. Utilitarianism becomes a moral attitude as well as a political doctrine. The human and social qualities of luxury, extravagance, pleasure, and devotion to friends and relatives are to be denied in favor of activities which advance self-interest. Culturally speaking, the good Christian and economic man had become one and the same under Calvinistic Protestantism.

Thus in little over a century after Luther had propounded its cultural roots, self-interest manifest in economic motives is canonized as moral virtue. This is a complete reversal of the teachings of Christ and the dominant cultural values in Catholic society. Where formerly man sought salvation through God and lived a life dominated by religion, he now wins his own salvation by conquering the material world of business. Religion is transformed from the force attempting to control the appetites of man, to the social institution which stimulates selfishness and private gain.

This was the culture of the dominant segment of society which came to power in England and America. But Protestantism also had within it groups of people who held more to the teachings of Christ, and these groups gain influence when the dominant cultural groups are

unsuccessful in their leadership.

Economic self-interest came to America with the English colonists who fled the Mother country during the Civil War period. In a virgin continent, economic appetites were not subject to the competition for economic goods in the same manner as experienced in the old societies of Europe. The colonists set out to exploit the abundant resources of America and they strove to get away from all interference by the Mother country in their satisfaction of self-interest.

The years 1730-1760 saw secular interests come to dominant power in America. Money became the dominant power, economically, socially, and politically, and wealth replaced "godliness" in determining a man's status in the community. Benjamin Franklin became the major exponent of Utilitarianism, which supported economic self-interest. Modern capitalism became an end in itself, a way of life in which man becomes a servant of his job or his business. This is in contrast to "traditional capitalism" where economic activity is a means for a life directed by other more dominant motives.

In the American Revolutionary period, Samuel Adams and Thomas Paine exploited the major motivation of self-interest to build opinion which eventually led to the Declaration of Independence and freedom from the Mother country. Just prior to the Revolution, economic self-interest was the major issue in the struggle between the debtor and creditor classes in America.

This was the situation which faced the builders of that new nation,

the United States of America. Let us turn now to the development of self-interest in the United States and its consequences as the major motive underlying authority relations in American culture.

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CHAPTER VIII - SELF-INTEREST AND AUTHORITY IN THE UNITED STATES

THE CONSTITUTION SANCTIONS ECONOMIC SELF-INTEREST

We have already discussed, in chapter four, the struggle during the depression of 1785-86 between the debtor and creditor classes which led to Shay's Rebellion. These events engendered in the upper classes a fear bordering on panic that their property was in real danger. Such were the social, economic, and cultural events which impelled the upper class leaders to meet in Philadelphia in 1787 and write a Constitution which would establish a government beyond state control and capable of protecting property. As the basic authority structure of the new nation, the Constitution was, and is, a great influence on cultural development in the United States.

Charles A. Beard, eminent historian, has termed the Constitution "essentially an economic document based upon the concept that the fundamental private rights of property are anterior to government and morally beyond the reach of popular majorities." It is his view, backed by documentation, that the movement for the Constitution was originated and carried through principally by four groups of interests: money, public securities, manufacturers, and trade and shipping. The debtor classes, on the other hand, Beard says, had no representation in the constitutional convention, and fought its ratification. The fact that the Constitution (Article I, Section 10) prohibits anything but gold and silver as legal tender, and lays federal power as a prior sanction on contracts, would seem to give adequate reason for such action. Beard also cites "The Federalist" as an economic

interpretation of the Constitution, by the men best fitted to know it, and he further states that "every fundamental appeal in it is to some material and substantial interest."¹

While Beard does not argue that economic self-interest was the only motive behind the Federal Constitution, he presents powerful evidence that it was the major motivation, and if such be the case, as the basic authority structure of the nation, it had laid powerful sanctions on property and economic self-interest in American culture.

Further support for Beard's views is found in Alexander Hamilton, who, as the leader of the Federalist group, based his theory of government squarely on the selfishness of man. In a speech during the constitutional convention he said: "Take mankind as they are, and what are they governed by? Their passions...Our prevailing passions are ambition and interest; and it will ever be the duty of a wise government to avail itself of those passions in order to make them subservient to the public good."²

Subsequent American experience also lends weight to Beard's arguments. Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, leaders in the National Congress of the post-Revolutionary period, like Hamilton, could imagine no stronger binding force for the new nation than self-interest. They originated the economic idea of the federal government providing help for the major economic interest groups in the nation: a home market and better transportation for the farmers, and a protective tariff for the manufacturers. Based on protection and internal improvement, Clay named these ideas, perhaps most aptly, "the American

System."³ While the application of the theory has favored some interest groups over others, as political power has shifted, evidence that the theory is still the dominant theory of human behavior in American society may be proven by observation of any contemporary Presidential campaign.

SELF-INTEREST CULTURALLY REINFORCED BY ECONOMIC STRUGGLE

Not only has self-interest cultural roots in Calvinism and the early experience of the American people, but the continuing experience of the people, because of the social consequences of unlimited freedom in economic affairs, has served to lend great and overwhelming emphasis to economic self-interest in the life of the rank and file citizen. No one can look at the business cycles of the American economy without being impressed with its great fluctuation, instability, and accompanying large amount of below normal economic activity. In the 110 year period between 1831 and 1941 there were five panics and seven depressions or recessions in the American economy. Some 46 out of the 110 years saw below normal economic activity.⁴ It is known that there were frequent panics and depressions in colonial days, and that there were also panics and depressions in the post-Revolution and War of 1812 periods. The first American depression, in fact, came in 1640 in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, when immigration slowed and prices inflated by the demand of new settlers for necessities, suddenly crashed.⁵ In the economic history of America, periods of five to

seven years of depression are not unusual, while the Great Depression of the Thirties lasted over a decade, and was terminated only by the stimulation of war activity.

An economic historian gives us an idea of some of the manifest major causes and consequences of panics and depressions in American society. He makes the point that selfish employers who enforced subsistence wages limited the home market, which in turn led to domestic under-consumption. Rapid inflation, due to natural or manufactured causes, coupled with and fed by speculation, led to periods of frenzied economic activity culminating in panics when some event interrupted the process. Then the process would begin all over again, but the salvage of each downward swing of the business cycle remained in the same group of hands, while the laborer was left in a more disadvantageous position than before.⁶ Lack of capital and money, and over-extended credit, particularly at the frontier, were also factors in these periods of inflation and panic.

But these general statements do not give us an adequate picture of the meaning of serious economic instability in terms of the lives of citizens. Hibbard gives us an excellent picture of the frontier farmer during the period when Wisconsin was being settled, about 1835-1870.

The newcomers were almost uniformly without capital in any form beyond a team of oxen, a wagon, and a few household articles. Many a determined homeseeker, discouraged by business failure or low wages in

the east came to Wisconsin with barely enough money to pay his passage, and after selecting a farm and filing preemption papers, started for the pineries and hired out as a chopper, thus earning enough to pay for a small farm.⁷

The poverty of the settler was one of the most important factors in determining how he would operate his farm. Very little capital was required to begin wheat farming. A breaking plow, a team of oxen, a harrow and some seed wheat was enough for a start. On new land yields were as high as sixty or even eighty bushels per acre. But less than a decade later the soil was depleted, and wheat crops were a failure. Creditors who previously had been satisfied with interest, when crops were good, now demanded their principal when maturity was reached. Either the farm was taken in payment for debt, a forty at a time, or sometimes personal property was taken, such as the team, or family cow, if there was one.⁸

The rapid fluctuation of prices, both of farm products and the things farmers had to buy, could bankrupt farmers in a year's time. In 1837, in Milwaukee, before few farmers had settled in Wisconsin, corn was quoted at \$2.50 per bushel, eggs as high as \$1.50 per dozen, and butter at 45-50 cents per pound. A few years later, in the early 1840's, butter sold at the country stores for 3-5¢ per pound, pork and beef at 2-3¢ per pound, and wheat from 30-50¢ per bushel. In 1851 farmers were getting 75¢ to 87¢ per bushel for wheat, which was plentiful, yet flour was scarce and they had to pay \$7.00 to \$7.50 a

barrel for it⁹ to make the bread, which along with meat, were the two staples of the family diet.

In 1867 the crop of hops sold for 50-60¢ a pound; due to over production and poor quality, the price had fallen to as low as 2½¢ a pound a little over a year later. This meant bankruptcy for hop farmers.

There was no money in the country, and what little there was went for taxes and postage stamps. Barter was the only alternative to complete stoppage of trade. Farmers dressed their hogs and sometimes hauled a wagon load of pork forty to sixty miles to the pineries to trade it for a load of shingles. Butter, eggs, turnips and other farm produce were peddled in Madison by farmers who had brought them a distance of twenty miles only to find the discouraged storekeeper would take no more produce at any price.¹⁰

Lack of capital prevented farmers from turning to other enterprises when soil depletion made wheat a failure. Cows could be purchased for twelve or fifteen dollars a head, but this meant nothing to a man without money or credit, even though he were paying twenty-five dollars a year for butter and cheese and letting grass and hay go to waste. Thus the farmer couldn't raise wheat, but couldn't quit the attempt because he couldn't get the money to try something else. When crop failures jumped the price of wheat from 31¢ to \$1.70 per bushel between 1854 and 1855, farmers started to search for new wheat land, replaced oxen with a \$300-\$400 team of

horses, getting credit at 12 to 25% interest. This started the cycle over again and many were bankrupt again in a few years.¹¹

This human drama, enacted by frontier farmers, their wives, and children was a constant struggle against poverty, debt, crop failures, lack of money and capital, and the greed of money lenders. But it was made many times more difficult by a rapidly fluctuating economy.

The conditions facing the urban laborer, if anything, were worse than those of the farmer. Mathew Carey estimated in 1830 that 20,000 women in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore were employed for sixteen hours a day at wages of no more than \$1.25 a week. Nearly three-fifths of the cotton-mill operatives from New England to Virginia were women, and seven percent were children under twelve years of age. A philanthropic society estimated in 1829 that about 75,000 persons a year were imprisoned in the United States for debts which generally were of only a few dollars.¹²

Thus the majority of rank and file citizens throughout the experience and history of the American nation have had their lives profoundly influenced by the constant struggle and insecurity of trying to obtain for their families the ordinary necessities of life, adequate food, clothing, housing and medical care. Many have had the emotion searing experience of losing what they thought was a decent start on the road to economic security for their family, and many others have almost overnight lost the savings of a lifetime. It is the contention here that three centuries of this kind of experience by the American

people cannot help but influence profoundly their culture. At the outset American culture was directed by Protestant Calvinism into materialistic striving by the individual. But adding to this original motivation, the consequences of the other major tenet of Calvinism--freedom--in the field of economic activities, has served to drive economic self-interest deeper into the culture, and enlarge its sphere of motivation in the life of the individual citizen.

But let us see if we can gain some idea of the major consequences of self-interest and economic freedom in the main segments of American culture, to see what the evidence is in relation to the above conclusion. We shall touch but briefly on these various areas, merely to lend some emphasis and clarification to our foregoing major point.

THE SOCIOCULTURAL CONSEQUENCES OF SELF-INTEREST IN THE UNITED STATES

The Concentration Of Wealth And Power

One of the major consequences of the ideology of self-interest coupled with freedom has been the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a few people. One of the earlier examples of such concentration was the organization of the United States Steel Corporation. Prior to this time there had been some six hundred iron and steel firms, and competition had reached the point where a ruinous war loomed in the industry. To prevent such competition, a few of the industry leaders, dominated by Andrew Carnegie, J. P. Morgan, and

John D. Rockefeller, decided to merge their interests. In 1901 they formed the United States Steel Corporation, with a capitalization of \$1,400,000,000--a sum larger than the total national wealth a century earlier. Thus, one giant corporation absorbed and eliminated most of the 600 firms that previously existed, and was in control of two thirds of the steel manufacturing of the nation.¹³

In 1904 a survey showed that 319 industrial trusts, capitalized at over seven billion dollars, had swallowed up about 5300 previously independent concerns, and that 127 utilities (including railroads), capitalized at over 13 billion dollars, had absorbed some 2400 smaller enterprises.¹⁴ In 1929 Berle and Means stated that there were some 300,000 non-financial corporations in the U.S., and that 200 of these, under the policy direction of some 2000 individuals, controlled nearly fifty percent of the nation's corporate wealth.¹⁵

At mid-20th century, Professor M. A. Adelman of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, estimated that 135 corporations own 45% of the industrial assets of the United States and are responsible for about 25% of the manufacturing volume of the world.¹⁶ If Berle's ratio of directorships still holds, this would mean that some 1400 corporation directors have in their hands the power to control and direct the economic affairs in a nation of 165 million people.

The large corporations have grown continuously larger and small businesses have been steadily reduced in number. Moreover, the influence of many corporations goes far beyond the confines of actual

ownership; the oil companies direct policies of local filling stations, and so on down the list of many corporations. The trend toward concentration of power in fewer and fewer hands has progressed steadily and continues unabated although at a slower rate. What are the consequences of this concentration of power on the society, the individual, and the culture, and what is its basic nature?

Business Dominates Society

First, and most important of all, the combination of concentrated power and wealth in a capitalistic society means that with the possible exception of organized labor, the business segment of our society dominates the rest; education, government, religion, and politics are all dominated by the business community. This is true for a very simple reason: in a capitalistic society all activities require money for operation; money can only be acquired from those who have it; the concentration of wealth or its control in the hands of a few people who have mutual interests and a similar culture, means that they can and do organize to control its use in what they conceive as their best interests. This fact was enunciated by Adams in 1929, by Berle and Means in 1940, by Nevins and Commager in 1951, and confirmed by Hunter in his recent study of the Power Structure of Regional City. How this domination is accomplished will be documented in a little more detail for each major segment of the society.¹⁷

A second consequence of this concentration of power is that its

major means of accomplishment, the corporation, becomes more firmly established as the dominant social institution of our society, and through the control of the proxy machinery and the inheritance of family position in business, is a self-perpetuating oligarchy.¹⁸

Third, if religion, politics, government and education are dependent upon business for operating funds, the policies of these four segments of our culture are subservient to the major policies of the business community.¹⁹

Fourth, the use of industrial power as the consequence of self-interest, has brought with it a complete change in American culture from a rural to an urban character, with all its accompanying cultural changes. In the words of Lewis Mumford: "The factory became the nucleus of the new urban organism. Every other detail of life was subordinate to it."²⁰

Fifth, science, the invention of invention, applied technology, mass production, and narrow specialization became major means of accomplishing and maintaining wealth and power, and as directed by the business community, are the major directing forces in the lives of individuals, and of cultural change.²¹

Sixth, in a society where self-interest in materialistic forms is the dominating expression of motivation, and control of the society is in the hands of concentrated economic interests, religion and ethics have less and less influence over individual behavior, and the increasing secularization of society results.²²

Finally, if American society is dominated and controlled by a relatively few business leaders who have de facto absolute power and are responsible to no one but their own group, then the United States is no longer a democracy in practice, but only in ideology and political form. An oligarchy or oligocracy, that is to say, a democracy among the business leaders, would seem to be directing the lives of the majority of citizens.²³

If self-interest and the concentration of wealth and power in the business community has resulted in the foregoing changes in society, what has happened to American culture? We have already pointed out that the majority of persons strive to copy the ideals, manners, ways of life and standards of success of those who are generally recognized as successful leaders of the community. This is true because the majority of persons in Western cultures crave their own "place in the sun", and in American culture "approval" is a powerful configuration. Since the wealth and power in the United States is concentrated in the hands of the business leaders, it is their ideology, their culture, which directs the culture of the majority of Americans.²⁴

That this has happened in the United States is the testimony of many historians. The rise to power of the secular interests was accomplished by the middle of the 18th century,²⁵ and by the end of the 19th century conquest of the American people had been accomplished. The names of lumber kings like Weyerhaeuser, of railroad builders like

Vanderbilt, Stanford, and Hill, of meat packers like Armour and Swift, of industrialists like Andrew Carnegie, of oil princes like John D. Rockefeller, became household words, supplanting the names of statesmen or of men of letters in popular esteem.²⁶ If some Americans condemned the methods of the business barons, most embraced the ideological and ethical assumptions which underlay the new business civilization, and viewed with enthusiasm the triumphant emergence of its material standards of success, whose most appropriate symbol was the dollar.²⁷ One bit of evidence that the ordinary American did embrace the culture of business, was the fact that the Socialist movement never did convince the American working man that he was a proletarian. While working conditions in the 19th century were unsatisfactory in the majority of cases, mobility up the ladder of success was sufficiently frequent to give the laborer the hope that he himself would someday achieve wealth and higher status. This is the meaning of the New Deal Revolution, that the culture of business was again made meaningful to the majority of people; the more equitable distribution of the national income means that the majority again have a stake in the material rewards of the society, and as well a stake in maintaining the capitalistic culture of a business civilization.

Moreover, if the business community has control of the rest of the society, as the evidence seems to indicate, they have in their control the social institutions which perpetuate and direct the culture,

the family, schools, churches and mass media. And even though there be no conscious effort toward cultural control, the consequences of the domination and use of these social institutions for maintaining and promoting economic gain is such that the business culture is fostered, taught, and rewarded, while non-conformity to it is punished psychologically, socially, and materially.

What is this business culture that appears to have dominance in our society? While we shall make no attempt to delineate business culture in detail, a few of the major configurations may be of value.

Some Configurations Of The Dominant Business Culture

Major goals in the business culture are (1) individual success relative to one's peers (2) making society materially better, and (3) dedication to work as inseparable from life. Since success is individual, and is usually expressed in material terms, economic self-interest is the major manifestation of these goals. All the rest of the culture is built around and reinforces these major motivations.²⁸

Relevance to business success is the yardstick for all activity. Pragmatism, practicality, utility, and expediency are major values in the selection of means employed. The function to be performed and the end to be gained determines the means to be used. Hard work, sacrifice, wise use of time, no social activities unrelated to business, also fit in this same configuration.

"What is good for business is good for the country;" "Don't rock the boat," and "Keep the taxes down," are major expressions which form a working ideology. In line with these are "freedom from restraint," and "every man in his place." Informality of relations, action by committee, and isolation from the consequences of one's action, constitute the mode of behavior of business leaders much of the time. Business leaders also tend to isolate themselves from other people, with the exception of peers, family, and immediate subordinates. Good public relations and "old shoe" leveling constitute leadership behavior with the general public when leaders are forced to associate at that level.

Success in business is the criterion for leadership, power, and status. Politics outside the community are considered the province of the top leaders, and ordinary citizens, it is felt, should tend to their own business at home.

Behavior toward subordinates is to reward conformity to leadership action and culture, and punish deviance. Agitators and criticism are not tolerated; unanimity is required after policy is established. Certain things, such as free enterprise, are not open to discussion. Charity shall get no "hand-outs" or "coddling"; "do-gooders" are regarded as pests.

Social relations in business are epitomized in the expressions "business is business", "money talks", and "don't get caught". "What is legal" replaces "what is ethically right" as the criterion of human

behavior in the business community; expectations are formulated on such bases, and business generally is organized and operated in this manner.

One's personal behavior may be summarized as "adjust" to one's circumstances, and "get along with people". Since frequent moves are necessary for mobility and success, one should not get one's roots too deep, either in personal or community relations.

Finally, the Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences are fit subjects for women, college professors, retired persons, and people who don't work, but since they are outside the area of business and material success there just isn't time for them.

It is not maintained that all people in the business community adhere to these cultural patterns, or that any one person fits them perfectly. From the admittedly meager evidence, it is maintained that these appear to be some of the major cultural patterns, which, in general, motivate, guide, and direct the major behavior of the majority of people in the business world.

One of the further consequences of economic self-interest is the development of urban culture and society as the product of the world of business. Let us briefly summarize a few of the main points of urban culture as outlined by sociologists.²⁹

Urban Culture And Society--Product Of Business Dominance

It is significant in terms of the behavior of urban people that the city is primarily a convenience of commerce. This primary fact

means that commerce, business, comes first--human beings second. Mumford³⁰ documents this fact in his classic work, "The Culture of Cities". Urban culture is built around and reinforces the dominance of business, the money economy, over the social and human aspects of culture. All values, sentiment, and individuality are rationalized in terms of the common denominator, money, which in itself is impersonal.

Social and economic organization is based on occupation and vocational interests in place of family and community, on secondary impersonal relationships instead of the personal relations of the primary group. Thus common self-interests replace the common ties of humanity as the major binding force, and the moral sanctions and obligations which exist in personal relations are lost, and replaced by the formal control of positive law. In a culture where secondary relations predominate, it is to be expected that the impersonal, souless, institutions of the corporation, the municipality, the state, and the mass media have gained in influence over the life of the individual, while the influence of family, church, and school has declined.

Job specialization and the division of labor is at the base of human interdependence. It is also responsible for the rapid horizontal mobility which makes it imperative for the wage and salary worker to follow wherever the job happens to lead. According to the United States Census, in 1949 approximately one family out of five

had changed place of residence. Thus, specialization of labor, which leads to economic gain for business and material goods for society, is also the basis for the social disorganization of individuals and families.

In such a society, where rapid mobility from job to job is such a great factor, interests may change some with change in residence. Moreover, no single group has the allegiance of the individual, and self-interest, rather than moral and social obligations, often dictates his group behavior. Even the solidarity of the family is affected by its separate members often pursuing divergent interests. Many families and individuals become socially isolated, with resultant pathological implications for the personality and for society.

The complexity of urban culture, the social isolation of many people, the self-interest of the individual, and the control of the opinion forming agencies by the major economic interests, combine to make the discharge of citizenship duties exceedingly difficult in the urban area.

And what does urban culture do to the personality? The urban personality is one of reserve, indifference, blase outlook, sophistication, rationality in view. These characteristics are the psychological protection which the ego requires in a culture of many individual contacts which are based on materialistic self-interest. People who live close together with no sentimental or emotional ties more easily accept the spirit of competition and mutual exploitation;

acquaintances become utilitarian as a means to one's own ends, and predatory relations often exist. Congestion stimulates friction, irritation, and nervous tensions.

In a society where the accent is on vocational specialization, the many occupations produce many different character types. These divergent personalities and modes of living make necessary, if close living is to be possible, a relativistic perspective and toleration of great differences in individuals. Such facets of culture give further impetus to secularization of an already secularized society.

Finally, in such a society, the individual sinks into impotence; he must become a member of a group before he can acquire sufficient power to make his voice count among the mass of human beings. With his loss of self-sufficiency and independence, urban man has also lost self-government; self-government has been replaced by government by pressure groups.

Let us see if we can bring some synthesis to these divergent facts. Urban culture, which is the product of business culture, and is organized to reinforce it, at the same time serves the major interests and expectations of the middle classes, who dominate the business world. The consequences and nature of both cultures serves also to perpetuate the dominance and control of the middle-class, business group.

The wage-earners, on the other hand, who find their aspirations blocked by the virtual stoppage of vertical mobility, also find that

the impersonal, specialized, competitive, and exploitative character of urban culture, combined with the highly complex structure of urban society, also makes difficult the realization of life satisfactions in family and friendship groups. While both middle and working classes are in intense conflict with, and victims of, the culture and social system, we shall show later the conflict in the lives of the working classes is much, much greater.

While the majority of people are employed by the business community, and large corporations in particular, we are faced with the question of how closely the people in agriculture, labor, and education conform to the norms of business culture. Let us briefly summarize conditions in each one of these segments of society as a means toward attempting to answer this question.

Agriculture Dominated By The Patterns Of Business Culture

In the field of agriculture, where the people are commonly thought of as being highly independent and self-sufficient, we find industrialization and urbanization taking place. But let us turn to the testimony of Goldschmidt, who has studied the problem in California.

Industrialization has changed farming enterprise from a livelihood to a means of achieving wealth. Diversification, the drudgery of the farm yard, self-sufficiency are gone and in their stead is the single cash crop grown at high cost in the ever-present expectation of large profits. This means on the one hand the need for large groups of farm laborers and on the other the interest of large commercial enterprises in the farming community. These are the elements which make for the breakdown of the old community and for the development of urbanized social relationships...this type of agriculture is spreading all over the United States.³¹

Evidence found in the 1950 Federal Census supports Goldschmidt's statement. Between 1900 and 1950, the average size farm in the United States rose from 147 to 215 acres, an increase of 47%. During the same period the number of farms over 260 acres, too large for the average farm family to operate, rose 48%. In 1900 about a third of the population was urban; in 1950 over two-thirds was urban, and 72% of the people lived in 157 urbanized metropolitan areas. More significant still, in two of the leading states in terms of agricultural production, California and Illinois, only five percent and nine percent of the people, respectively, were "rural farm" people.

Prior to the last census there were 4,800,000 wage workers and share-croppers in agriculture, as compared to only 3,300,000 commercial farmers.³² These facts indicate that while there are still over two million subsistence and part time farmers, agriculture in the United States is dominated by commercial farmers who regard their farms as a business rather than a way of life, and who have adopted many of the patterns of business and urban culture.

Ever since 1865 the farm population of the United States has been a fertile field of agitation and political discontent, and its leaders have been foremost in many political reform movements such as the Greenback, Populist, The Farmer-Labor and Progressive parties. Farm organization progressed steadily, especially in the first two decades of the twentieth century, and the "Farm Bloc" was formed in the Federal Congress in the 1920's. Since that time the power of farming interests has been sufficient to win progressively greater

benefits from the federal government, culminating in fixed support prices for basic commodities during the last World War. This political power has also been sufficiently great to prevent the enactment of any major program of "direct income subsidy" to farmers, which would at the same time let farm products move into normal consumption channels, prevent huge surpluses, and relieve the taxpayer of the double burden of storage costs and high consumer prices. But this power of the farming interests is confined largely to the commercial farmers. Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson admitted in the spring of 1955 that the Federal Farm Program was of little benefit to subsistence farmers, and pledged the start of action to try to develop a program to aid them.³³ The fact that 7 million wage workers and subsistence farmers get practically no benefits from their government, while the 3 million commercial farmers get the benefits from a program whose capital outlay runs into the billions of dollars, is evidence enough that many of the same conditions which exist in the business community exist also in agriculture.

Labor Follows Business In Cultural Development

What has been the nature of cultural development in the field of labor? Here also we see a centralization of power, not only from increased membership in labor unions, but in the merger, at the top, of the two largest industrial unions in the nation, American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. This means that the power of American labor will be under the policy

direction of one group of officials instead of two. With this centralization of power in policy matters has come the reduced influence of the individual union member. We see one bargaining team making a wage agreement which establishes the basis for a whole industry. In the recent case of the guaranteed annual wage, one bargaining team set the precedent which affected wage agreements in all the basic manufacturing industries.

The basic ideology and demands of labor have been materialistic in character, for a number of reasons. First of all, labor existed on a subsistence wage for decades, and needed higher wages to gain the necessities of life. Secondly, while the labor movement in the United States never developed into an organized socialist movement, it was influenced by socialist ideology, and was thus materialistic at base. Third, the churches supported capital in its struggle with labor, and due to this ordering of experience, labor won their victories through secular agencies, such as the state. Finally, the workers became convinced by 1860 that their battle would have to be won on the economic front, and shed the leadership of the intellectuals who had directed the movement previously into humanitarian and social channels.³⁴

Samuel Gompers, long recognized as the leader of American labor, said that "the object of the trade union is to bring to workers more and ever more of the product of their toil."³⁵ In general, we may say that this has remained the objective of organized labor. While the labor movement, more than any other segment of our society, has always

been concerned with and has supported social and humanitarian progress, the leadership of labor has, on the whole, justified its existence and action to trade union membership on the basis of economic gains, either higher wages, job re-rating at a higher scale, pension plans, vacation with pay, a shorter work week without loss of income, and now, the guaranteed annual wage.

If one reads trade union literature, one is impressed by the fact that the major underlying assumption expressed in this literature is that adequate and secure income will automatically bring happiness to the working man. In this aspect of its public expression of ideology labor is no different from the rest of American society.

If the majority of wage earners have middle class aspirations in terms of income and status, what is their situation in regard to the realization of these aspirations? Certainly income-wise, the skilled workman now has a good chance of equaling the middle class levels; status is another matter. However, the majority of wage-earners are destined to be just that the rest of their lives. The virtual stoppage of vertical mobility, and the nature of most industrial work, has important implications for the behavior of the industrial worker.

Education The Servant Of Business Culture

"Education" is a term evoking in the mind of the average citizen the activities of formal educational institutions,³⁶ most often the public schools, since this is the educational institution with which

the majority of citizens are most familiar. The schools, and the teacher as the focal point of transmission, have long been considered by the citizenry as engaging in the heart of the process of cultural continuity.³⁷ Parents, who are mainly concerned with making a living, and are not equipped, generally, to give their children formal education, delegate what amounted originally to a family function, to the schools and teachers to accomplish. The minds of Americal children are to be developed by their teachers through the presentation of ideas "which those in power consider necessary and acceptable for the maintenance of society."³⁸

The people in the United States have a widespread faith in education in general; education in particular is the object of widespread criticism and low esteem. Faith in education is usually supported on the basis (1) that a democratic society requires an educated citizenry so that individuals may participate in the decisions of public policy and, (2) that education brings economic and social advancement to the individual and strength and security to the nation.³⁹

While much lip-service is paid to citizenship education, citizens and educators alike are vague and confused as to what it is and how it should be organized. As we would expect in a materialistic society, there is little confusion, at least in the minds of the citizenry, in regard to the economic rewards of education. Moreover, the argument most frequently used for decades "by educators and others in favor of more education, has been that the higher the individual's level of

education, the greater his earning power."⁴⁰

We can find innumerable examples of this economic evaluation of education. A newspaper editor, in 1930, is reported to have estimated that a college education was worth \$72,000, on the average. He figured that if it cost the individual \$6,000 to get his college degree, he would realize a profit of 1200% on his investment.⁴¹

A study by Everett W. Lord, made in the 1920's, cites the maximum annual earnings of highschool graduates as \$2800, and that of college graduates as over \$6000, on the average.⁴²

A chart in a Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Education is headed "Every Day Spent in Highschool Pays the Child Nine Dollars".⁴³

In 1910, a newspaper article justified the existence of the University of Wisconsin on the basis that the School of Agriculture alone returned the state each year ten to twenty times the entire amount spent on the whole university.⁴⁴

In a recent public opinion study of higher education, of those who wanted their children to attend college, 66% who had sons and 48% who had daughters, gave as their major reason for wanting their children to go to college, the greater earning power that college preparation for a job could give them.⁴⁵

In Whyte's study of the sub-culture of the junior executives in Park Forest, Illinois, people who in the main were college graduates, he found that their very expensive school system was organized around a "life adjustment" curriculum, and primarily based on vocational needs.

This was, in this particular case, the type of school which tomorrow's leaders of America's business civilization wanted for their children.⁴⁶

We find also that what people want out of their education varies according to the needs of the social class they represent.

Roper, for example, asked his respondents to list the most important things they wanted their children to get out of college.⁴⁷ The college graduates, who would represent the middle classes, wanted their children to get training for an occupation, a sharper, better trained mind, the wisdom needed to live a full life, broader knowledge of the world and its problems, and appreciate the Arts.

Those respondents with an eighth grade education, in general representing the blue collar classes, emphasized a better chance to get ahead in the world, and development of good moral character, as the major things their children should get out of college. There was no significant difference in the two groups in desire for citizenship training, job training for women, education for homemaking, and learning how to get along with people.

Another opinion study dealing with high school education, divulged the fact that a third more of the working classes desired vocational training than did the middle classes, and negroes mentioned vocational training almost twice as frequently as did whites.⁴⁸ Williams explains the basis for this difference in views by saying that liberal education has seemed a suitable mark of "culture" and prestige to those who are already economically secure, and to many who have aspired to join them, but it has seemed immensely impractical to most

farmers, self-made business men and workers.⁴⁹ There is also the likelihood that the greater education of the middle classes allows them to see the value of the liberal arts to a greater extent than the less well educated, but certainly Williams' point that the difference in economic status of the two classes is basic to their viewpoint, is well taken. This is also evidence of the middle class aspirations which are carried by many in the blue collar classes.

It is an accepted fact that the middle classes, dominated by the business interests, control American educational institutions. The public schools are governed by Boards of Education composed mainly of persons from business and the professions, and typically representative of relatively conservative attitudes toward education.⁵⁰ The majority of teachers are either from middle class homes or carry middle class aspirations and values. The private colleges must seek their support from the wealthy, while the state universities must secure their funds from the politically powerful,⁵¹ also dominated by business interests. As a result of these facts, the American educational system is highly responsive to the social forces of the community who exercise control over it.

A less direct source of business control of education is the type of worker it hires and rewards with pay increments, increased status, and power. Whyte points out that, basically, business has been responsible for the increase in vocational education. When corporation representatives go to the college campuses to look for

personnel they ask for the specialist, and not the liberal arts man.⁵² A recent study shows that five to fifteen percent more of the men in Engineering, Science, and Business Education were earning over \$5,000 annually, when compared to those with a Liberal Arts education.⁵³ Students and colleges have been quick to take these cues.

When college graduates under thirty years of age are compared with those fifty years old and over, there has been a decrease of seven percent among males and twenty-one percent among women graduates who have degrees in the Humanities. A comparison of identical age groups shows that there has been an increase of five percent among women and thirteen percent among male graduates who have degrees in the field of Business Administration.⁵⁴ And in 1953, more undergraduates majored in Business than in any other field.⁵⁵

With the business community in control of education, we would expect the dominant themes of education to support the business culture. The educational institutions emphasize, first of all, the practical and the useful; neither a frontier society nor a business civilization values contemplative thought, the Arts, or abstract theory above the utilitarian activities. Emphasis is placed on competitive success, conformity to middle class standards, the "ideology" of democracy, and patriotism. In our complex American culture no one theme stands alone as clearly dominant, all have counter themes and are somewhat redefined by a constellation of other values.⁵⁶ But these are the major cultural themes which support control by the

business community. Not only are the majority of educational institutions under secular control, but the emphasis of the curriculum is on the secular subject-matter fields.

The schools, colleges, and universities, generally, are fountains of individualism. While cooperative group endeavor is not ignored, individual competitive success is the common practice and emphasis. All pupils are admonished to succeed, and each must sink or swim on his own merits.⁵⁷ "Selling" education on its money value helps to indoctrinate pupils in the success symbols of the business community, even though such indoctrination adds little to the steady indoctrination by the rest of the cultural community, especially the efforts of the mass media, and the approbation given by the community to business leaders.

The teaching of individualism by the American educational system, the result of its control by the business culture, is another example of cultural conditioning which is in direct conflict with the urban environment in which the majority of Americans must live.

The evidence, it would appear, is overwhelming that the business culture controls and directs American education as one of the major institutions of cultural continuity and transmission. Much of this control is indirect, through control over the symbols of success, and other cultural institutions such as the mass media. Some of this control rests on the nature of urban society itself, where few people are economically independent, and most depend for a livelihood upon

a job which is vulnerable to social pressure.

Let us turn now to the forces of Protestant religion, to see if they have fared any differently than education.

Secular Protestantism Has Little Restraint On Self-Interest

We have tried to document the importance of business control over American culture and society in the maintenance of the cultural pattern of self-interest, most often manifest in economic or material things. A corollary hypothesis is that self-interest dominates the behavior of the individual, including his behavior in authority relationships. But there is one other factor in American culture we must yet consider. The question is this: Does the Protestant Christian religion in any way modify the individual's or the group's perception of self-interest, or perhaps mute its exercise?

While our emphasis in this study so far has been on the Calvinistic, Old Testament, Hamiltonian, individualistic, aspects of American culture, for the obvious reason that these aspects have won dominance, there is, and always has been, the New Testament, Jeffersonian, general welfare aspect in our own culture, as well. While it may appear that in our emphasis on the former we have already answered our question, human relationships do not occur "in general", but in the "particular and specific". Thus, it is important to understand something of the nature and extent of religious influence over the behavior of American citizens, and to try to differentiate that behavior as much as possible.

The first important fact is the secularization of American culture. As we have already pointed out, when Calvin separated the realm of spiritual and temporal affairs, which was directly opposite to, and a protest against, Catholic social organization, the stage was set for the secularization of Protestant western culture. This fact was obvious even in Calvin's day, when the capitalists who made up the Council of Geneva, rulers of temporal affairs in the city, defied the clergy when their own economic self-interest was at stake. While in the Protestant nations of Europe the state became the dominant institution and the church its servant, church and state remained as one--with the positions of the two institutions merely reversed from Catholic organization. In the New World the diversity of cultural and religious groups made religious freedom imperative, if each were to continue practice of their own beliefs. The separation of church and state in the Bill of Rights merely legalized what was already a fact of social practice.⁵⁸

The effect of the separation of church and state has meant that the church and religion has been rather effectively isolated from, and on the outside of, other institutions of the society. Influence of religion in politics, education and business has gradually declined, but at an accelerated rate as the nation has become urbanized, and the moral obligations inherent in primary social relations have vanished.

Religious ideas, symbols, beliefs, and values have become firmly solidified in definite social organizations having their own specialized personnel, symbols of separate identity, special channels of

communication, and segregated group affiliations. In other words, Protestant religion, in American culture and society has become specialized and compartmentalized, insofar as the influence of its religious norms are concerned. The public generally assigns organized religion a special, circumscribed place as the repository of values that are inherently of the highest good, but should be safely insulated and restricted to ceremonial occasions, ("Sunday religion") so they cannot interfere too much with the ordinary business of society.⁵⁹

Like teachers, preachers have often been told to "stay out of politics," or the affairs of business. But of course Christian ethical standards can hardly be exercised and promoted without reference to the on-going affairs of the society. Because it has also vigorously resisted any state interference in its affairs, organized religion has been forced into the role of a "posed neutrality" in regard to business and political affairs. This does not mean it has no influence; its outside, "bystander" position means its influence is one of admonition rather than of direct social power. The Catholic Church maintains a somewhat different position in those states and communities where its members are in the majority.

The "outside" position of Protestant religion has other consequences in the lives of the people. For example, a study reveals that the American citizenry's knowledge of religious fact and dogma remain at the Sunday School level, that there are no appreciable differences

between the religious knowledge of the college graduate and the person with an eighth grade education.⁶⁰ If this study is valid, it means that there is almost no teaching of religion, or of American religious heritage, by the family or other institutions outside the Sunday School. It goes without saying that the individual must have a knowledge of religious beliefs before they may be a major influence in his life, or else be a part of a society where religious values play an effective role in the total culture. Moreover, this simple fact of indifference cannot help but lessen the influence of religion and increase the secularization of the culture.

As Williams has summed it up, "America is not irreligious, but a whole configuration of forces has pressed in the direction of a slow but pervasive withdrawal of attention and affect from the organized traditional religions...Much of the personality identification and involvement once centered in the churches appears now to flow into various types of private, personal relations, or into nationalistic or other secular 'religions'."⁶¹

Lewis suggests that cultural change toward secularism has proceeded to the point where Western Man is now living in the "Post-Christian age".⁶² Because man lives in the "world of machines," says Lewis, "where the new most often really is better", his ideology of life, his culture, has been altered so that "the cardinal business of life" has become "the attainment of goods we have never yet had, rather than the defense and conservation of those we have already..." This

materialistic culture of continual change, of new models every year, Lewis further suggests, has less in common with the Christian Age than the latter had in common with the pagans of the pre-Christian period. This is because, says Lewis, "the gap between those who worship different Gods is not so wide as that between those who worship and those who do not."

Lewis' hypothesis not only has far reaching implications for the behavior of Western Man, if true, but it also poses a problem and gives us a cue to understanding the influence of religion on citizens in the United States. The problem which Lewis implies is the fact that society is composed of both Christians and post-Christians, between which is an ideological gulf that sets the lives of each in an entirely different frame of reference which makes understanding between the two difficult if not impossible. And between the two poles of this continuum one might expect to find all degrees of belief and resultant behavior.

The cue which is also implied in Lewis' statement is that since ideology is based on the differences in personal experience, we should look for the differences within the social structure itself to get at the influence of religion on the different groupings. Hunter tells us that church leaders "have relatively little influence with the larger economic interests". This is in direct contrast to his findings in the negro community, where the rank and file citizen felt that if anything was to be done through community leadership, the ministers of

the churches should be contacted first. This citizen image gave higher status to the ministers than members of the leadership group gave them.⁶³ These findings suggest that position in the social and economic structure, as well as the nature of organized religion itself in relation to the total culture, may be important in the influence of religion on the individual.

Hunter's study also supports a three part hypothesis promulgated by Williams that (1) religion is a variable in human societies (2) differences in religion make a difference in social conduct, and (3) where religious liberty prevails, the orientation of an organized religious body can be predicted by looking at the realistic social positions of its constituency.⁶⁴ For example, says Williams, secure groups who are well satisfied with their social rewards generally support religious organizations that approve of and reinforce the secular order; deprived and disaffected populations without effective political power tend toward sectarian withdrawal from an evil world; similar populations that see a realistic hope of social power tend to develop sects or movements aimed at attack upon or reform of the society.

In a society where religious freedom has allowed the development of many Protestant religious sects, where many people have no church affiliation, and where great social, economic and cultural diversity is the rule, we can do no other but let "the law of the social situation" be our guide in determining what the effect of religion may be on the

individual and group. But it may be helpful to determine what the nature of the influence may be of the numerically most important Protestant denominations. We may find, for example, that even if Protestant religious influence is important, its character will mean little in the outcome of individual behavior in American society.

Within the major Protestant churches of America, beliefs will range from the "orthodox" to the "liberal". Lay leadership plays a great role in these denominations, and local autonomy is the feeling of the people, and usually the rule. Individual churches may vary from the small rural church where services and activities are few and simple in a primary group, to the large, wealthy, secularized urban church with its youth groups, dances, movies, athletic activities, lectures, home services, and so forth. An overt commercialism has emerged to raise funds for churches who must depend on voluntary contributions for funds on which to operate. Worldly success is widely and overtly approved, though this pattern is an ambivalent one. Churches tend to remain aloof from political affairs not directly affecting their own interests, and usually take a conforming attitude toward the main features of the social order. There are some sectarian exceptions to this, but the major denominations are conformist. Much of religion has become a matter of private ethical convictions; religious observances have been losing their supernatural or other-worldly character. The many religious denominations, sects, and cults produce a confusing and corrosive effect on the beliefs of some individuals.

There is a marked tendency to regard religion as good because it is useful--as a means for social well-being, for peace and order, for morality, for worldly success. Individualism, pragmatic emphasis, ethical and humanitarian concerns are major cultural themes in the main Protestant denominations. In sum, in these major Protestant denominations there has been a far-reaching secularization, in beliefs, in motives and activities concerning religion.⁶⁵

Whyte's study of Park Forest, Illinois, and the culture of the young executive group living there, bears out these generalizations on the secularization of American Protestant religion. Both the minister and the people in Park Forest saw the spiritual and the practical as reasonably synonymous. Utility in terms of social satisfaction was the yardstick which most residents used to evaluate the church. Counseling, human relations, and social affairs comprised the main church activities, and religious doctrines useful to these ends were employed. Religious beliefs were lightly held. The height of utilitarian concern for religion was expressed by the chairman of the church board, a young banker, who said, "The church is a corporation with a \$50,000 budget, and we've had to think about a \$100,000 loan. How else could people our age get a chance to deal with that much capital."⁶⁶

Lynd, who made the important study of Middletown, concludes that "religion, in its traditional forms, is a dying reality in current living."⁶⁷

In the face of what evidence exists, one must conclude that insofar as the majority of Protestant Americans are concerned, religion has very little modifying influence or restraint on the cultural pattern of self-interest. While the organized churches labor hard and long, their compartmentalized place in the social structure, and in the lives of urban citizens, their dependence upon the people of wealth for operating funds, and the apparent secularization of religion itself, means that Protestantism is the servant and follower of the general culture, not its leader. Likewise, it means that religion is regarded as the servant of man, and insofar as God is a part of that religion, that God also exists to serve man; he must be useful in relation to man's happiness. This is, as we have stated earlier, a complete reversal of the Christian religion as taught by Christ, and as taught by Catholicism.

It must be emphasized, however, that this Protestant concept of God and religion reinforces the ideological heritage in our culture of individualism, of the free individual as sovereign in a democratic state, of emphasis on "the self", of the perfectability of man, of progress and worldly activity.

What then, is the situation in American society as the result of the lack of the religion of Christ, (not Christianity) in human relations? If, as Williams proposes, one of the main results of the modern secularization of organized religion may be the destruction of the belief in a transcendental being, then the supernatural

sanctions for ethical behavior in American society are gone, as well as a central value system for established beliefs.⁶⁸ Hutchins believes that "because men are animal, because the flesh is weak and life is hard, the moral virtues cannot be consistently practiced without divine aid."⁶⁹ If these two hypotheses be true, then the majority of the 165 million citizens in the United States perceive self-interest not from the basis of a common ethical value system into which they are culturally integrated, but as 165 million separate individuals. It is one of the functions of religion in any society to provide a common set of ideas, rituals, and symbols, which, if held by the majority of citizens are capable of supplying an overruling unity, cohesion, and social frame of reference which is capable of overriding many disruptive conflicts over selfish interests.⁷⁰ If American Protestant Christianity has been secularized to the point where self-interest and worldly success is not only sanctioned but practiced by its churches and some of their professional personnel, then religion, in effect, supports the cultural pattern of selfishness. This is not to diminish in any way the efforts and importance of those who do not hold and practice self-interest, but merely points out the obstacles they face.

With the emphasis in American culture on competition between individuals and institutions, the devaluation of cooperation for the general welfare, and the diversity and complexity of the total culture, we must conclude that self-interest in the exercise of individual

authority will not only be perceived in many different ways, but will be restrained, in the main, only to the extent that the individual perceives the general interest to be also his self-interest.

THE CULTURAL POWER OF ECONOMIC MAN VS CHRIST AND THE BIO-SOCIAL CHARACTER OF MAN

It would appear that what we have thus far said concerning self-interest is a compilation of evidence which supports the concept of economic man in American culture. What we are actually trying to do is show how the concept of economic man maintains its dominance as a cultural universal in spite of considerable evidence that the behavior of Americans does not conform, in many respects, to this concept. This is a situation which comes out of two contradictions. The first contradiction is the essential biological nature of man as a social animal vs. the concept of economic man. The second contradiction is cultural: the concept of selfish economic man vs. the teachings of Christ. It is necessary that we understand the manifestations of these contradictions before we can begin to understand the behavior of Americans in authority relationships.

We have attempted to show how Calvinism reversed the essential teachings of Christ in regard to selfishness. This reversal was followed by the secularization of American culture and society, and the ascendance of the business community to the position of power and societal control. We have attempted to show also how the business

community maintains dominance over the rest of society by control of the funds necessary for operation of all activities in a capitalistic culture. We have shown how business has developed its own culture, and because it is able to control society and its cultural institutions, its culture has become that of most segments of American society, in their essential character. We do not hold that the business community has planned and carried out efforts to control American culture and society. Rather this has happened as the consequence of business striving after its own symbols of success, and its efforts to maintain freedom for such striving.

In hundreds of ways the leaders of the business community are able to maintain the dominance of their position and culture. Because they are in control they define the symbols of success as wealth, power, and prestige, the things which they possess, and which are still accessible to members of their group. These things are held up to the individual American as the things he must strive for. They are impressed upon his psychological system from babyhood until death. These middle class symbols of success are rewarded in school, by the mass media, by the approbation paid people who possess such symbols, by advancement of individuals who strive for these things, and so on. Deviance is punished also in innumerable ways: by withholding promotion, by loss of one's job, by social pressure, and so on. Thus the major source of control of society by the business community is cultural control. Its ideology molds the psychological systems of

the young, and when such an ideology impregnates life from start to finish, people are unable to comprehend any other.⁷¹ Moreover, the individual is born into the culture shaped and directed by the culture of business. In the words of Ruth Benedict, the customs into which the individual is born shape his experience and behavior from the moment of his birth. "By the time he can talk, he is the little creature of his culture, and by the time he is grown and able to take part in activities, its habits are his habits, its beliefs his beliefs, its impossibilities his impossibilities."⁷² While the individual has some range of choice, his behavior and beliefs are already shaped to a large extent by the established culture which he was born into.

The nature of urban-industrial society and the economic vulnerability of its inhabitants merely means that control by the business community is that much easier.

The concept of economic man and its perpetuation in the general culture is due, therefore, to its adherence, practice, and realization in the culture of the business community. The accumulation of wealth, prestige, and power as American symbols of success are accessible to the leaders of the business community. The concept of economic man, based on materialistic self-interest, reinforces a culture which strives after material things. And through the bureaucratic organization of business institutions, business leaders are able to enforce their cultural values on their subordinates, if such enforcement is needed.

Berle and Means point out that persons who assume positions of leadership in a corporation are held responsible, under the law, for the exercise of ordinary business sense, a decent amount of attention to business, and fidelity to the interests of the corporation.⁷³ Executives are continuously immersed in a corporate culture which demands that they place the interests of the corporation above the welfare of the human beings who operate it. This culture filters down the line to the most junior executive, so that the power of this impersonal system is reinforced not only by the self-interest of the individual in his desire for success, but is sanctioned by a corporate culture buttressed on a formal body of law.

The executive appears to find almost all of his life satisfactions in his job. He works sixty to eighty hours per week, and has little time for family and purely social life. Mobility up the job ladder is not only possible, but expected of him, and he becomes anxious if his advancement is blocked.⁷⁴

So powerful are the "expectations of success" in American culture for the middle classes, that a return to the home community, after a person has left for a job at the management level, carries overtones of failure.⁷⁵ The same feelings of failure occur when a junior executive stays too long in one place--transfer being the cue of stepping up the ladder to a better job.⁷⁶

Whyte found that executives, whom one would expect in urban

society to have the maximum of freedom and independence, are very much aware of the conformity demanded of them, while the younger executives spend a good half of their time trying to find the right pattern to conform to.⁷⁷

Referring to the policy of transferring executives, one company president said, "We never make a man move. Of course he kills his career if he doesn't."⁷⁸ This statement makes quite plain the reason why executives conform to the suggestion of their superiors; success, advancement, a job itself, depends upon conformity.

This would not be so intolerable if the individual had any choice in his means of livelihood. But not only do some 135 huge corporations control most of the jobs in the business and industrial segment of American society, but the rest of the society has become so bureaucratic in character and organization that even in the professional fields of law, medicine, and research of all kinds, only one man out of five graduated in these fields in the last decade is working for himself.⁷⁹

So it is that the leaders of the business community, who have access to, and want freedom to continue to seek, the materialistic things on which their power is based, perpetuate the ideology of economic man in the general culture of American society. This ideology is first of all taught the young through the institutions which transmit the culture. It is further reinforced by the character of urban-industrial and business institutions which facilitates control

by those who hold the wealth and power in a capitalistic society.

In spite of this dominance, societal and cultural control by the business community, we find that most individuals are true to their bio-social character. We also find many who deviate from the general cultural norm of self-interest, and live more in conformance to the teachings of Christ. Senator John Kennedy of Massachusetts has recently written a book about national leaders who had the courage to be deviants from the expected norms of the culture. Such a book only serves to point out the great power which cultural norms have over the average individual.

But perhaps the greatest deviance from the cultural norm of economic man is among wageworkers who find that the middle class symbols of success are not accessible to them. In the famous Hawthorne Experiments it was found that economic self-interest had very little to do with the work behavior of factory workers. The desire to stand well with one's friends and associates easily outweighed economic self-interest.⁸⁰ And at Elwood City, Pennsylvania, it was found that steel workers often rejected a raise in pay that meant they would be transferred to a new job and be forced to leave their friends.⁸¹ Primary group relations were especially strong in this steel mill, and the friendships had been built out of the sweat of toil as the men had worked together for several years. The wage-earner who works forty hours a week, and values friendship more than increased income, after he has reached an income adequate for family

needs, is in contrast to the salaried executive of management.

What accounts for the difference in behavior of the wage-earner and the executive? For the wage-earner, mobility is confined largely to an upgrading of skills, which brings higher income, and to a change in jobs, referred to as horizontal mobility. Since this condition early in life blocks his aspirations and satisfactions relative to the job itself, he soon begins to regard his job as a source of income necessary to enjoying his life with family and friends, and for providing the material comforts of the "good life". Moreover, the expectations of the peers of the wage-earner are such that his success pattern does not require mobility up the job ladder.

The contrast between the behavior of wage-earner and executive, in sum, is not necessarily a difference in aspirations; it is the difference in sociocultural environment in which each lives his life, and the realities of that environment which control the realization of aspirations. That this is true is evidenced by the fact that more and more wage-workers are sending their children to college, now the major route of vertical mobility.

We are aware also that there are numerous individuals and groups whose behavior is influenced by religious and ethical norms. But the effectiveness of their behavior is circumscribed by a culture which rewards, expects, accepts, and reinforces the configuration of self-interest. An excellent example of this fact is the labeling of people who appear to work unselfishly for others as "do-gooders", a term which

implies derision, incompetence in worldly affairs, and censure. On the other hand, the appeal to the self-interest of people by the leaders of business, labor, education, and politics is the everyday commonplace of American life.

In sum, what we face in American culture and society is biological and sociocultural contradiction and conflict. On the one hand we have the upper and middle classes who have access to, and who are "culturally determined" to strive for wealth, power, and prestige as symbols of success. This is a culture which rests on the concept of economic man, based upon materialistic self-interest. This is the culture which is enforced upon the whole of society through business control of cultural institutions.

In spite of the power of the dominant middle class culture, it appears that there are many middle class people who do not privately adhere to or practice this humanity-denying culture. Not only do we believe that "there is that of God in every man," but the evidence of social studies⁸² in corporate industry seems to indicate that most people exert their human biological character by behaving as social beings, both at the executive and wage-worker level.

We must emphasize the power and influence which the sociocultural system has on the overt behavior of the individual. The majority of people, with the exception of the few who are on top of the heap, would like to behave differently, and above all, would like to be free and independent. But few people in urban society, because they are

dependent upon others for their job, are in a position or have the courage to overtly fight the system. In Regional City one professional worker in a public agency attempted to fight the power of those of superior status. He was investigated, the funds for his agency reduced, and he was finally fired after the press, controlled by the power groups, accused him of politics after he had allowed a political meeting to be held in one of the agency rooms. Even an appeal to his national agency was rejected, since these national leaders saw their selfish-interests as being on the side of the power structure who contributed funds for agency operation. It is evident that the forces in the socio-economic system which demand conformity are stronger than most individuals.⁸³

Hunter cites another case of a young professional worker in Regional City who is privately rebellious against the power structure, but likes his income, and so conforms outwardly even to the point of lying occasionally.⁸⁴

Not only are the majority of urban people dependent upon someone else for a job and livelihood, their advancement and success, but they were born into a sociocultural system which the individual is virtually powerless to change. As a result, we find, particularly in the middle classes, two levels of behavior: that based upon economic man, and that based upon the bio-social nature of man. The executive, for example, who is particularly vulnerable to the social pressures of his peers and superiors, is often forced to behave overtly in the interests

of advancement and success, in a manner he would not voluntarily do.

In contrast to the middle class culture dominated by business leadership, we have the working classes who may hold middle class aspirations, but who are denied access to the middle class symbols of success. These people behave more in keeping with the bio-social character of man not because they deny the dominant culture aspirations for success, but because the culture denies them the realization of such aspirations.

In addition to the working classes we have those individuals and groups who adhere more closely to the teachings of Christ, and in a sense are deviants from the dominant culture.

Out of these sociocultural conflicts and contradictions we find several results which vitally affect the behavior of individuals in authority relations. First of all, even though self-interest may be perceived by the individual in psychological or social terms, as we discovered in the Hawthorne Experiments, it is almost always manifest and expressed in economic and material terms. While the assumption is implicit that material goods bring happiness, and will thus affect the spiritual and social aspects of man's life, educators attempt to sell education on its income value, labor leaders justify their leadership on increasing the material rewards to laborers, and corporation executives attempt to establish incentive plans for workers based on economic self-interest. Thus the social and spiritual aspects of man's self-interest are often ignored by leadership, and because of the

dominance of materialistic expectations, individuals often hesitate to voice the psychosocial aspects of their self-interest, if perceived.

Leadership behavior based on materialistic patterns is culturally realistic when it is dealing with business leaders in an attempt to gain funds for an institution, or when it is taking general action relative to the dominant culture. But it is unrealistic when it considers that all human behavior is based upon the concept of economic man.

For various reasons, no way has yet been found to bridge the gulf between the character of American society, its dominant culture, and the bio-social character of man. This conflict is perpetuated by those business leaders who want complete freedom for their own actions, and who perpetuate, through control of cultural institutions, the frontier ideology of behavior and authority in the face of an urban social system where such behavior is no longer possible for the majority of people.

For example, individual, independent achievement is rewarded by schools, family, and all sociocultural institutions. Youth are socialized and educated this way by at least much of the society and culture. But the social system for both adults and youth demands they be team players.

Whyte characterizes most executives as individuals with "an ego as powerful as drove any 19th century buccaneer". But these same

executives, says Whyte, "must appear to enjoy listening sympathetically to subordinates and team-playing around the conference table."⁸⁵

An ideology of free and independent exercise of individual authority, and a sociocultural system which is partly authoritarian in character, produces a constant conflict in the lives of many American citizens. Out of this conflict come many types of behavior in authority relations, varying in degree from the expected cultural norm to the culturally deviant.

Some social scientists believe that character structure in urban society is changing to conform to urban environment. They characterize this new type of urban personality as "other-directed." It supposedly internalizes a "social radar system" which enables the individual to adjust immediately to cues from his superiors.⁸⁶

While this hypothesis rests on some assumptions which have not been verified, Whyte's study of the Park Forest community of young executives and their families tends to support it. The essence of the whole Park Forest culture was one directed toward conformity and adjustment to the existing social system.⁸⁷

If this be the developing character structure of Americans, its meaning is that the majority of Americans will become automatons, while only a few leaders will direct cultural change.

Let us now try to bring these ideas together in synthesis relative to authority relations.

SELF-INTEREST, THE INDIVIDUAL AND AUTHORITY

In this and the preceding chapter we have attempted to document the fact that "self-interest" is the major motivation of the individual in American society, and that many patterns of our culture are built around and reinforce this major motivation. If these statements are valid, then Americans exercise their individual authority on the basis of their perception of their self-interest, plus their personal ability to act on their perceived interests and bring them to realization. For example, a working class mother with a large family may perceive, through the advice of her doctor, that she should have an operation. But the expenditures of the family for food, rent, and clothing leave nothing for an operation; she is not able to act on her perceived self-interest. A corporation executive, on the other hand, may, because of his position, be aware of a new uranium mine discovered on corporation property. He perceives that the corporation's stock will immediately become more valuable, and with some of his idle cash or money raised on his property as collateral, rushes to buy stock which makes him a handsome profit. He not only perceives his self-interest but is in a position to realize its culmination.

The way the individual perceives his self-interest will depend upon his position in the economic and social structure, his group culture, his total personality and its concomitant life experience. The great complexity and diversity of American society means that

the individual's perception of self-interest can be determined only on the basis of the law of individual differences and the law of the social situation. There is no general rule which will apply in the same manner as in homogeneous societies. It may be possible to differentiate the behavior of certain broad groupings such as executives, wage earners, social classes, and ethnic groups. More than a very meager description of these group cultures must await further social studies. We can only say that the perceptions of self-interest will of necessity rest on the "possibilities for action" inherent in the social environment of each group and its individual members.

For example, possibilities and expectations of the executive, and of the middle class culture, which he represents, are such that his self-interest is channeled into the acquisition of power, prestige, and wealth, the middle class symbols of success.

The possibilities and expectations of the culture of the wage-earner, on the other hand, are such that his self-interest is channeled in the direction of home, family, and friendship relations, with his wage income merely providing the means to these satisfactions. "What is possible," that is to say, the social environment, governs in the long run, the "expectations" of a culture. The expectations of one's social peers, interacting with the physical, mental, and emotional qualities of the individual, are most powerful in determining the individual's behavior.

Groups are divided along social class ethnic and racial lines.

Most of the formal organizations in American society are in control of, and operated by, the middle classes. Komarovsky, in a study involving 2,233 adults in New York City, reports that 60% of the working class men, 88% of the working class women, 53% of the men and 63% of the women in white collar clerical jobs were without organized group affiliation with the possible exception of the church.⁶⁸ Moreover, with the exception of professional people, in all occupational classes of both sexes earning under \$3,000, the unaffiliated constituted a majority.

It would appear that the bulk of the population and the overwhelming majority of the working classes confine their activities to informal groups and their church. There are, of course, many who have no church affiliation. This leaves only the middle classes as exercising their individual authority through both formal and informal groups in regard to community affairs. It means further that the exercise of authority by the individual in the working classes is largely restricted to his competence in regard to his own person, family, and job function.

Thus, the nature of the wage-earner's life in urban culture is such that informal family and friendship groups play the dominant role in the formation of his attitudes toward authority relationships.

What we see evolving here is a theory of authority relationships based not only on a national culture, but also on the group cultures within the different social classes in the greater society.

We may say also that, in general, the exercise of perceived self-interest is restrained only to the extent that the general interest and self-interest are identified as one and the same. We are speaking here of the dominant cultural norm; at the same time we should be prepared to experience many forms of deviation from that norm.

As compared to a half century ago, independence and freedom in the exercise of individual authority has vanished from the American scene. The one major exception to this is the political election, where the secret ballot protects individual freedom. But individual initiative is now largely confined to the few men who are in control of the bureaucratic structures of society, whether such institutions be a corporation, labor union, governmental agency, or university. The only freedom and independence which the individual retains is in the narrow range of function in his job or role,⁸⁹ and in his own home and family. The individual, in urban-industrial culture, has dropped into relative insignificance.

In order to make his voice heard and to be able to exercise his authority with any effectiveness, the urban citizen must join a group and exercise his authority as part of a greater collective effort. In the urban society then, we have the authority of the group substituted for the authority of the individual at the point of community action; self-government is replaced by government by pressure groups. If Hunter's study of Regional City is valid, the most influential groups

are controlled and manipulated by the power leaders of the business world.

But let us not forget, as seems to be the tendency, that groups are composed of individuals. This brings us to two problems, (1) the way individuals behave within the group and (2) the way groups behave within the society. These two problems are in themselves broad enough to require a great deal of study and it is not our purpose here to elaborate upon them.

In regard to formal organizations it is well to remember, however, that the middle class person is usually a member of several special self-interest groups. Thus his allegiance, time, financial support, and his authority, is divided, and whenever he perceives that the group is not serving his material, social or psychological self-interest, he is most likely to transfer his allegiance to a new group or leave this segment of his authority unused. Since most formal groups have activities which are, like most urban social relationships, secondary in character, there are few social and moral obligations involved, which leaves self-interest as the major motivation and cohesive force in such an organization.

It would appear that not only has self-interest and the desire for material success led the American citizen to the point where he has lost a great amount of individual authority, but the social structure of urban society is such that the majority of people exercise little individual authority in regard to community affairs. The complexity

and character of urban society makes it exceedingly difficult for any citizen, with the exception of a few leaders, to exercise any great amount of individual authority.

SUMMARY

The Constitution, written by the upper classes primarily to protect property, lays powerful sanctions upon economic self-interest in American culture.

Alexander Hamilton, one of the main leaders of the propertied interests who wrote the Constitution, felt that mankind is governed by ambition and interest. Consequently, he felt it to "be the duty of a wise government to avail itself of those passions in order to make them subservient to the public good."

Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, as leaders of the Congress after the Revolution, could imagine no stronger binding force for the new nation than self-interest. They originated what Clay named "the American System": the federal government providing help for the major economic interest groups of the nation. As pressure groups have become highly organized, this pattern of political action has become even more prevalent in American culture.

The Calvinistic direction of human activity into channels of economic self-interest has been culturally reinforced by the experience of the majority of Americans in their struggle to obtain the material necessities of life. Since the first depression in 1640 in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, frontier families were engaged in a constant struggle against poverty, debt, crop failures, lack of money and capital, and the greed of money lenders. Urban laborers faced even worse conditions in the form of below subsistence wages and living and working conditions unfit for human beings. These

unhappy economic conditions were made even worse by a fluctuating economy which has seen forty-six years of below normal economic activity in the 110 year period between 1831 and 1941. During these panics and depressions farmers went bankrupt almost overnight, urban workers lost their jobs, and many people lost the savings of a lifetime.

It is the contention of this study that three centuries of this kind of soul-searing experience has served to drive economic self-interest deeper into the culture, and enlarge its sphere of motivation in the life of the individual citizen.

One of the most far-reaching consequences of the combination of economic self-interest and freedom as universals of American culture has been the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a few people. Professor M. A. Adelman of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology estimates at mid-twentieth century that 135 corporations own 45% of the industrial assets of the United States, and are responsible for about 25% of the manufacturing volume of the world. If there are nine to eleven persons on most corporation boards of directors this would mean that some 1400 corporation directors have in their hands the power to control and direct the economic affairs and culture of the nation's 165 million people.

Consequences which flow from the concentration of wealth and power in a capitalistic society where all activities require money for operation are: (1) business dominates the rest of the society:

education, government, religion, and politics, with the only possible exception being organized labor (2) the corporation has become the dominant social institution in American society (3) the policies of religion, politics, government, and education are subservient to the policies of business which supplies their operating funds (4) the change from rural to a predominantly urban culture and society in the United States is the result of business activity (5) such things as science, technology, and narrow specialization are major directing forces in the lives of individuals and of cultural change (6) religion and ethics have less and less influence over individual behavior, and (7) if American society is dominated and controlled by a few business leaders the United States is no longer a democracy in practice, but only in ideology and political form.

It is the ideology of the business community which, perhaps not consciously as such, but nevertheless in effect, directs the culture of the mass of American citizens. This happens because most people try to copy the way of life of those who are recognized as most successful in the community. The testimony of historians gives powerful weight to the contention that the business community dominates, controls, and directs change in American culture and society.

The culture of the business community is built to reinforce individual success expressed in material terms, and is manifest in economic self-interest. Other patterns of business culture are designed to maintain its dominance and control over society. Urban

culture and society also, as the product of the business community, is designed to be the tool of business and to maintain its dominance. Because of this, business comes first in the urban community - human beings second. And because the business community establishes the cultural norms of urban society, economic self-interest is predominant as the manifest major motivation of most citizens.

In the field of agriculture we find a pattern of concentration of wealth and power similar to that in the business community. Some three million commercial farmers who operate the largest farms exert the power of control in agriculture. This is evidenced by the fact that the federal government provides these commercial farmers with a farm program which has a capital outlay running into the billion dollar figure, while the seven million wage workers and subsistence farmers get practically no federal benefits. These commercial farmers regard their farms as a business rather than as a way of life, and under such conditions economic self-interest is a primary motive.

Organized labor also exhibits a concentration of power, most noticeable by the recent merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. This brings the policy direction of labor under one group of officials. Often one bargaining team will establish the pattern for wage agreement in a whole industry or several similar industries. The individual union member exerts little influence in such a highly centralized organization. During the contemporary era the main objective of labor has been placed

primarily as one of economic self-interest of the worker.

The evidence is overwhelming that the business community controls and directs American education as one of the major institutions of cultural continuity and transmission. This control is both direct and indirect. The public schools are governed by boards of education composed mainly of persons from business and the professions. Most teachers have middle class aspirations and values, and both private and state controlled colleges and universities must seek their funds from the business interests. Control over the cultural symbols of success, the mass media, and the type of worker it hires and rewards, enables business to invoke indirect control over education. As a result, we find heavy increases in the number of college students in the specialized, vocational types of education, and a similar decrease in interest in the humanities. The dominant themes of economic self-interest, practicality, utilitarianism, and individual competitive success, found in the business culture, are also the dominant themes in education. The evidence supports the contention that education in American culture and society is primarily the servant of the business community.

One major theme which runs through labor, education, and agriculture is the manner in which leadership justifies and phrases its position and actions. Leadership predominantly phrases its actions in terms of the economic self-interest of its followers. For decades educators have sold education on the basis that the greater the

education, the greater is the earning power of the individual. Labor leadership has justified its existence also on the basis of economic gains to workers. Even in agriculture, where more actual independence exists than in any other segment of society, leadership justifies its action on the basis of one of two positions: high price supports for farm products, or minimum price floors under markets for farm products. It is highly significant that the latter position is advocated by those farmers who have the greatest amount of economic independence and actual freedom.

We have tried to make the case that self-interest, manifest and phrased in economic, materialistic terms, is the dominant motivation expressed in American culture and society as dominated and controlled by the business community. Some may contend that the influence of the Protestant Christian religion, as a major source of ethical behavior in American culture and society, modifies the individual or group perception and exercise of self-interest. The evidence would seem to indicate that Protestant Christianity is the follower, not the leader, of the general culture, and has very little restraint on the cultural pattern of self-interest. This is because Protestant Christianity has become specialized, compartmentalized, secularized, and effectively isolated from the on-going daily life of most individuals. Their dependence upon the business community for funds keeps the Protestant churches subservient to the business interests. With Christianity becoming a servant of man rather than God, it appears that the belief in

a transcendental being is on the wane, and with it the supernatural sanctions for ethical behavior in American society. If man cannot constantly practice moral virtues without divine aid, it would appear that the lack of a common ethical value system for all Americans means that self-interest is perceived mainly in individual terms.

While the concept of economic man is a universal in American culture, the behavior of a majority of Americans, in some respects, does not conform to this concept. These different levels of behavior stem from two conflicts: (1) the essential biological nature of man as a social animal vs. the concept of economic man, and (2) the concept of selfish economic man vs. the teachings of Christ.

The concept of economic man is maintained as a universal of American culture because it fits the type of culture and symbols of success adhered to and practiced by the business leaders who are able to enforce this ideology upon society through their control of cultural institutions. At the same time there are many individuals among the middle classes who are "culturally determined" to conform to the concept of economic man at the overt level, but who do not accept the idea psychologically. Studies in corporate industry show that while management personnel overtly hold to the ideology of economic man, their behavior is often contradictory to this ideology and is in line with the bio-social character of man.

At the same time, we find that the working classes behave more in keeping with the bio-social character of man, not because they deny

the dominant cultural aspirations for success, but because the society and culture denies them the realization of such aspirations.

In addition to these middle and working class groups, we have persons at all levels of the social structure who strive to adhere more closely to the teachings of Christ, and in a sense are deviants from the dominant cultural universal of economic man.

Because of the dominant cultural universal of economic man, self-interest is most often expressed in material terms. Leaders especially who must seek funds for their activities in a capitalistic society, are often forced to ignore the social and psychological character of self-interest. And individuals who are subjected to a constant cultural outpouring of economic man from babyhood until death often do not perceive in themselves other manifestations of self-interest. Or if they did perceive them they would hesitate to voice such aspirations because of the dominance of materialistic expectations in the culture.

Since many business leaders want unlimited freedom for themselves, this frontier-type of ideology of authority is taught and enforced in the major cultural transmitting institutions of the society. At the same time, the character of a highly organized urban society demands that the overwhelming majority of people be team players in cooperative-type behavior. This conflict between ideology and social environment produces great conflict in the lives of individuals, and results in behavior which varies from conformity to extreme deviance from the cultural norm.

Some social scientists believe that this conflict within individuals is leading to a new type of character structure in urban man. They call this type of character "other-directed", and say that such persons develop an internal "social radar system" which enables the individual to conform instantly to cues from his superior.

The conflict between the cultural universal of economic man, the bio-social character of man, and the teachings of Christ, has, as we have indicated, led to many types of social behavior in regard to self-interest. If our hypotheses are valid, then Americans exercise their individual authority on the basis of their perception of their self-interest, plus their personal ability to act on their perceived interests and bring them to realization.

The way the individual perceives his self-interest will depend upon his position in the economic and social structure, his group culture, his total personality, and its concomitant life experience. The great complexity and diversity of American society means that the individual's perception of self-interest may be determined only on the basis of the law of individual differences and the law of the social situation. Perceptions of self-interest will of necessity rest upon the "possibilities for action" inherent in the social environment of each group and its individual members.

Studies show that working class people have few affiliations with formal organizations which are controlled and used by the middle classes to advance their own self-interests. This means that with the majority

of the population, informal family and friendship groups play the dominant role in the formation of the individual's attitude toward authority relationships. Since groups are divided along social class lines, our theory of authority relationships is based not only on the national culture, but also on the group cultures found within social classes.

In general, the exercise of perceived self-interest is restrained only to the extent that the general interest and self-interest are identified as one and the same.

With individual initiative, freedom, and independence now largely confined to the few men who are in control of the bureaucratic structures of society, the ordinary urban citizen finds his authority, freedom, and independence restricted to the narrow range of function and role in his job, home, and family.

Since the individual has dropped into insignificance in urban society, if he is to be effective in social action he must join a group and exercise his authority as part of a greater collective effort. Since authority in urban culture is exercised through groups, the way groups behave within the society, are pertinent problems relative to the exercise of authority. These problems, however, are outside the scope of this study.

Middle class people are usually members of several special self-interest groups. With self-interest as the major motivation and cohesive force in such organizations, we would expect members to leave

those groups which they perceive as no longer serving their selfish interests.

It would appear that selfish interests and the desire for material success have led the American citizen to develop the kind of culture and society where the ordinary citizen has little individual authority in community affairs.

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SECTION IV

PHRASING AND EXPRESSION OF AUTHORITY RELATIONS IN AMERICAN CULTURE AND SOCIETY

The cultural configurations of "success" and "equality" are important in the phrasing and expression of behavior in authority relationships.

Self-interest is phrased in the terms of individual success. The rewards for success in American society--love, approval, power, prestige, privilege, and recognition--are so great that Americans will work, and strive and deny themselves in order to achieve it.

The individual, in his human relationships, is constantly phrasing his behavior in relation to the rewards which symbolize success. He is not always conscious of this behavior, because this part of our culture is deep in his subconscious, the result of his socialization from infancy onward through life.

Whether the relationship be between husband and wife, child and parent, student and teacher, worker and foreman, and so on, each is phrasing his behavior in terms of his achievement of love, approval, advancement, and other symbols of success.

Even though success is individual and personal, the winning of success and authority involves egalitarian behavior in social relationships. Americans often get highly emotional when people or institutions use their position or status to "push other people around". This ideology of equality is the foundation for great social pressure on people

to behave as equals. Superiors often feel compelled to behave as equals with subordinates, and many executives who really feel like buccaneers are forced to be team players as a means of advancing their own interests.

While subordinates hold the authority which superiors need for maximum success, superiors are, at the same time, often in control of the subordinate's advancement and success. In bureaucratic organizations especially, people who are culturally conditioned to be independent and equal in behavior often perceive their self-interest as demanding some deference to superiors.

The result of these cultural contradictions is great conflict in the society, in social institutions, and within individual personalities. Freedom is in conflict with equality, individualistic success is in conflict with the need for egalitarian behavior, authority is often in conflict with control.

The leadership of experts may be one means of overcoming this sociocultural dilemma. But experts must have authority, approval of their leadership and the means to exercise it, to be effective in society.

A study of doctor-patient relations as an example of expert-lay authority relationships shows that authority must be won by the expert in his dealings with lay people. Winning and keeping authority is a constant social process which depends mainly on the competence of the expert in his psycho-social relations with the layman, as well as the

general leadership and educational aspects of his roles in his profession and community.

When expert and layman come from different group cultures, they operate from different cultural frames of reference. Under these conditions, communication, understanding, and mutual satisfaction are often lacking, and authority difficult for the expert to win.

If experts are to win maximum authority as a means to effective action in society, it appears that greater emphasis must be given to personality and sociocultural factors in their selection, as well as to their education in the arts of their profession.

CHAPTER IX - LOVE, APPROVAL, SUCCESS, AND AUTHORITY

Self-interest, in American culture and society, is phrased in the terms of individual success. The individual, in his human relationships, is constantly phrasing his behavior in relation to the psycho-social and material rewards which symbolize success. If we are to understand the behavior of Americans in authority relationships, therefore, we must first understand how success is phrased in our culture.

PATTERNS OF SUCCESS IN THE GENERAL CULTURE

The primary object of most Americans is to be a success, to "make good", to "get ahead". While the desire for success is a human characteristic, the worship of success has gone farther in the United States than in any known culture, save possibly prewar Japan.¹ Indeed, one may say that in diverse American culture, the only two likenesses of American families is that (1) each is different, and (2) their focus is on the future in their desire for their children's success.² In fact, the emphasis on success in American culture and society is so great that it has become a duty to succeed, to be happy, be fulfilled, be the ideal.³

Why is success such an imperative for Americans? There are several reasons. Perhaps the most compelling reason is that success is related to the need of the individual for approval from his peers, relatives, and friends.⁴

Approval appears to be equated with love in the psychological system of most Americans.⁵

The initial condition of the mother's kiss that "I will love you only if you achieve as much as other peoples babies; I can't love you if you don't," survives into every competitive situation in life.⁶ Thus, by adolescence, to most Americans love and success are the same: to be successful is to be loved, to be loved is to be successful. To secure mother's love it is not necessary to love her in return; one is loved for one's accomplishments relative to one's age mates or peers.⁷

Because the middle class child, at least, is usually pushed to the limit of its capacity, because there is no blueprint for success in such a diverse and dynamic culture, and because the conditions for success are often outside the child's control, he becomes insatiable for signs of love which indicates he is a success. It appears that any sign of approval, therefore, is an indication of love and success to most Americans.⁸

The attention and admiration of other people is an indication of approval; to be alone is intolerable to the well-adjusted American because it brings doubts that one is not lovable, not a success. Hence, the many social features in American society which are designed to bring people together and provide at least the signs of friendship and love: the open door, railroad club cars, fraternities, the professional greeter, welcome wagon, the municipal hostess, airline and train

hostesses, and so on.⁹ Advertisements very often imply the high value placed on love and approval: "She's lovely, she's engaged, she uses Ponds." Or, the fear of disapproval as in the Listerine advertisement stating "Even his best friends won't tell him" he has halitosis. These two examples could be multiplied hundreds of times.

The signs of friendship, of love, are very valuable in the game of success. The politician who remembers first names is usually more successful than the man of great wisdom. So effective are these human and social tools in achieving success that many people take courses in how to develop a winning personality. Dale Carnegie's book, "How to Win Friends and Influence People" has been a best seller for years. Almost all social relationships in American culture must begin with the signs of friendship and love; to do otherwise produces discomfort, hostility, and sometimes fear.¹⁰

From the time of childhood on, the American has built into his psychological system a tremendous impetus and drive to achieve success.¹¹ As a child, much of his love and approval for success will come from his mother, especially if he is an urban child. Later, as a husband, his major rewards of love and approval will come from his wife, when he accomplishes certain things, such as bringing home a good pay check, taking his wife out to dinner, and so on.¹² The fact that the mother in urban society is not only the main source of love and rewards, but of punishments also, produces ambivalent feelings of love, hate, reliance, and fear in the psychological system of the child. Since hate and fear

cannot be openly manifest without great disapproval, the positive feelings of love and approval are overemphasized in human relations to hide from oneself and others the negative feelings no one is supposed to have.¹³

Historically, the American drive for success originated from two sources. We have already pointed out that one of the major meanings of American experience is the break with European tradition, the formation of a radically different culture, based on a complete reversal of the ideology of authority common to European cultures. This break with English culture brought with it a rejection of the English manner of recognizing accomplishment, the granting of titles and honors by the royal sovereign. The Constitution prohibits the granting of titles of nobility. Moreover, the aristocracy was rejected during the American Revolution, and with it the family as a means of recognition. This does not mean that family position does not actually play a great role in American culture and society, especially in the deep South and in New England. Even though people inherit position in the economic and social structure, they still feel they have to prove to themselves and others that they are successful. Therefore, many begin at the bottom of the ladder in the family business and go through the ritual of working their way to the top.¹⁴ Their rise may be exceedingly rapid, but the important thing is that they feel compelled to go through with the ritual which makes possible the myth that they have earned their position through their own achievements, rather than through family position.

While Americans rejected the English ways of recognizing people, the human need for recognition remained. The American people were thus faced with the problem of devising a different means of meeting this need. Their answer to this cultural problem evolved out of two areas of experience. Ideological rejection of this segment of English culture meant that recognition would have to be earned; it could not be inherited as the English aristocracy inherited the prestige of family position. Secondly, as we have already pointed out, frontier life not only eliminated most of the distinctions inherited from European culture, but provided part of the answer as to who should be recognized, and what the qualifications for rewards should be.

In the early American experience, the prior need was that of survival, and it was imperative that recognition be given those who had demonstrated that they best knew how to survive under frontier conditions. This recognition was given by according them positions of leadership.

At the same time, the Calvinistic heritage had directed American efforts into materialistic pursuits. A virgin continent made such pursuits realizable, and materialistic success weakened religious roots and controls. People who had attained wealth gained power and control over community affairs, and accorded themselves, as it were, positions of leadership. Of course they could not have won power initially without the support of others of like ideology. It was not long, approximately another century, before their ideological conquest

was complete. Thus, prestige and recognition, in the evolvment of American experience, came to be based on the acquisition of wealth and leadership, and the two were often found together in the possession of the same person.

Success, therefore, also came to be associated with the symbols of wealth, prestige, and the power that went with these two. The leaders who possessed these desired things gradually developed a cultural ideology to support their control. And because of their control of cultural institutions, and an environment amenable to such an ideology, they have been able to direct cultural development in such a way as to consolidate and maintain their control.

Laswell points out that any group in a position of power "perpetuates itself by shaping the consciences of those who are born within its sphere of control."¹⁵ The ideology of the group in control shapes the psychological systems of the young from birth onward. Therefore, any revolt against the established order is in defiance of emotions which have been directed by parents, teachers, and other people in the love relationship. Impersonal institutions, such as the mass media, reinforce the dominant ideology along the channels desired and established by the group in control. Thus, revolt against the established order is not merely an intellectual change; it is a rupture of the basic emotions and psychological structure of the individual.¹⁶

It would appear that this is one of the reasons success is such an imperative in American culture, why people of past generations have

been willing to give up freedom and independence for success. This is the reason also that motivation toward success appears to be the strongest motivation in American culture, and the reason that self-interest is usually phrased in terms of success. It also explains, in part, why persons who are ideologically trained toward freedom and independence are willing to work and live in a social system where these two values are very much limited; the drives toward success are greater than the drives toward freedom and independence.

Success increases the individuals' respect for "self", and the approval and approbation, signs of love, which accompanies success, produces a spiraling inflationary effect on the ego. The saying that "nothing succeeds like success" is virtually true. The self-made man in American society appears to hold a high opinion of himself. This is at the bottom of the belief which became prevalent in the Jacksonian era that anyone successful in private business could do as well as anyone else in the operation of the federal government. This belief persists today, as witness the great array of business leaders in responsible government positions. A man successful in business can do anything is a popular American belief, while those successful in other fields must prove themselves in other areas before their capability is accepted outside their area of specialization.

Because the rewards for success are so great, psychologically and socially speaking, Americans will go to great lengths to achieve it. In striving for success they will relinquish family life and

participation in community activities, work unheard of hours, practice self-denial wherever necessary, and even risk failure and the loss of friends.¹⁷

The social consequences of success as a goal in itself are many, and some are manifest in undesirable ways. One of the most significant consequences of this is the fact that persons strive to master a skill or subject only to the point where success is secured. For example, a student will study just hard enough to make a passing grade; a workman becomes just skilled enough to hold his job.

Conditions in Europe provide a contrast to this pattern of behavior. There a high degree of perfection and mastery in philosophy, art, and handicrafts is often found. This is because the rigid class structure allows recognition through family and the granting of honors and titles to only a few persons, while the majority of people must gain satisfaction and achievement through mastery of their profession or skill.

In a society made up of so many different and diverse cultures, it became a cultural problem in America as to how success should be measured. People in different cultural groups held different value systems; the same cultural complexity made communication difficult. Sociocultural evolution made the dollar the unit of measurement in the ranking of success, a common denominator by which all individual progress can be measured.

Use of the dollar as the common denominator for measuring success

has important consequences in contemporary American culture. Three major consequences are apparent: (1) the tendency to evaluate all things in quantitative terms (2) the basing of social rank primarily on income and wealth, or on the prestige and power that goes with wealth, and (3) devaluing or ignoring all things which do not fit in this materialistic success pattern.¹⁸

Americans talk about a "five-thousand-dollar job", a "\$100-suit", or a "twenty-thousand-dollar home". Two strangers often attempt to achieve mutual understanding by asking such questions as "how much did her coat cost?"; "what is the tuition at that school?"; or "how expensive are the dinners at the Elite Cafe?". The emphasis is not usually on the qualities of the article under discussion; it is on the dollar value, a quantifiable and commonly understood term.

A commonly held belief and often stated maxim in American culture is "you get what you pay for." Some business men have taken advantage of this belief in their use of "snob prices" in dealing with certain kinds of people. The phrasing of success in quantifiable terms appears early in American childhood. Parents seem to give their love conditionally; if their child is heavier, bigger, stronger, and more intelligent than other children the same age he will get more love than a sibling whose achievement is not so great.¹⁹ The child who gets good grades in school this week will get most of the praise and approval that is a sign of love; next week perhaps another child will take over the favored position. The child soon learns these quantitative cues

from adults, especially his parents and teachers, and makes these his own in the game of success. As he grows up he will boast of his grades in school, the number of offices he has in school clubs, how many touchdowns he made, and how many dates a week he has. Moreover, in a dynamic and complex culture, the only way that parents can judge their child's progress is by the grades he gets, the salary he makes, the car he drives, the house he lives in, and other such visible and commonly understood things.²⁰

"Appearances", and "keeping up with the Joneses", are very important in the game of success. Parents are reluctant to give up quantifiable success terms relative to their children, as in the case of school grades, for "their" success as a parent depends upon the success of their children, and without marks for their children's work, how are they to judge their own success? It should be emphasized that the measurement of success is relative--to one's peers, age mates, classmates, or people of the same general social status. One of the difficulties, in American schools, for example, is that the latter distinction, that of social class, is not considered in the evaluation of a pupil's achievement and success.

However, the greater the obstacles overcome, the greater the merit attached to success.²¹ The person with the "silver spoon in his mouth" for example, has greater difficulty in "earning" his success. Since he already has wealth, he must often win his success in government or community service.

Advancement, progress from starting point, is the most pertinent cultural measurement of success. How far a man has come, how many he has passed, what he has in the way of power and possessions, determines his measure of success. What he is as a person is irrelevant, for to be a success is to have done something, rather than to have been a kind of person.²²

The emphasis on action, the doing of useful and worthwhile things, places a premium on aggressive behavior in the game of success. The statement "he is aggressive in his work", or "he is a great competitor", are statements of high praise in American culture. One often hears the saying "you have to be aggressive to be a success". The negative aspects of selfish aggression are explained away by identifying them with the public good, or by success itself.²³ We have pointed out earlier how the religious roots in the early history of our culture demanded that the promotion of selfish interests be clothed in moral terms, how economic interests at the time of the American Revolution became clothed in terms of the fight for liberty and freedom against tyranny. The values of equality, freedom and independence have influenced behavior in the same direction, and the influence of this heritage is still ideologically strong enough so that exceptionally aggressive self-interest in the game of success must still be morally justified.²⁴

Because the major emphasis in our culture is on succeeding, it is regarded as a goal, an end in itself. Thus, the end justifies the means, and success exonerates ruthless and sharp practices.²⁵ Men like

Carnegie and Rockefeller were ruthless in their business methods, but even though their practices were condemned, their success has been greatly admired. Their criticized behavior was also offset a great deal in the eyes of the public by contributions to charity, the establishment of foundations, and other good works.²⁶ With the emphasis on success, means are greatly devalued in American culture.

While achievement of success is the major goal, striving, even though success is not completely gained, is rewarded by social acceptance and help from others who are more successful.²⁷

Most important is the fact that success in American culture is individual and personal. This is a part of, and reinforces the ideology of individualism, which is so basic a part of Protestant culture. Laswell gives us an excellent description of personal responsibility for success:

In the United States...the life of personal achievement and personal responsibility is extolled in song and story from the very beginning of consciousness...Individual marks at school set the person at rivalrous odds with his fellows. Success and failure depend on you! The rich and successful uncle, the rich and successful deacon, the rich and successful alumnus, the rich and successful banker are there at the focus of adulation. Their portraits ornament the walls; their busts adorn the halls; their presences dignify occasions...Gossip, fiction, motion pictures sustain the thesis of personal responsibility for failure or success; He failed because he lacked tact or had halitosis, or didn't go to the right college or forgot to slick down his hair.²⁸

When the responsibility for success is on the individual, the society generally feels no collective responsibility for the welfare of other individuals.²⁹ The New Deal brought government responsibility

into certain areas affecting the welfare of the citizen, but this did not alter the basic ideology which makes the individual responsible for his own success. It merely recognized that in urban society certain factors in success were beyond the individual's control, and brought government to the aid of the citizen until he could again acquire the individual means to success.

While the dollar, and material goods are the major outward symbols of achievement and success in a society where understanding necessitates external and visible symbols of accomplishment, the deeper values and competition is for power and prestige.³⁰ Thus, the major function of income and wealth is to fix one's position in the social structure, and once it has done that there is no deep emotional reason for retaining it. The "acquisition" of wealth is therefore very important to Americans; its retention, except in the expansion of success, relatively unimportant. At least a part of the American generosity with money is related to this factor.³¹

Since success is measured in terms of advancement, achievement and action, it is never finally won, but is always in the future.³² Once a certain position is achieved, the individual steps up the ladder to a new group of peers, starts playing and working in a new league, as it were. Thus the game of success is related to the possibilities for vertical mobility. Approval is conditioned on continuous achievement, and the norms of progress are established by the most capable leaders. The consequences of this pattern of success for the least

capable, the individuals in poor health, and the persons of retirement age, are often disastrous in psycho-social terms.

In the individual struggle for success, such things as education, sexual characteristics, and personality are regarded mainly as means toward the universal goal. Consequently, they are cultivated and used with this end in view.³³

Now that we have discussed some of the general manifestations of success, let us turn to its more specific aspects in terms of age, sex, role, and social class.

CHILDREN, ADOLESCENTS, AND SUCCESS

We have already pointed out how the parent's love appears to be conditioned to the achievements of their children, so that love, approval and success may be equated in the psychological system of the individual American. Since these cultural attitudes are already a part of the mother's psychological system, her unconscious response to her baby's behavior from its birth onward is conditioned upon its achievement, the way it grows, whether it is good or not, and so on. By the time of toilet training the child is already aware that he will be loved when he says a new word, or pulls himself erect, or eats his baby food. Toilet training, because it is often a period of intense emotions on the part of both parents and child, is the first life situation where achievement and its importance is so strongly impressed on the psychological system of the child. Failure to remember to tell mother in

time may be punished not only by a withdrawal of maternal love, but by physical punishment as well. "Mother loves her little boy when he remembers" is not only verbally expressed, but love is given when he does remember.³⁴

Unlike, for example, the highly formalized and absolute terms of behavior found in a caste or rigid class society such as in India, American parents have no fixed standards on which to judge their child's behavior and growth. The standard which most parents use is this year's crop of babies. The child's contemporaries form the standard against which his achievements are measured, and this general pattern, with some qualifications, is maintained throughout life. The anxious mother, when her child enters kindergarten, wants to know from the teacher how "her Frank" compares with the other children, not whether he has the qualities of a leader, an artist, or a scientist. They usually ask: "what are his marks?" Parents who are confronted with education entirely different from their own can most easily understand the ranking of their child in relation to his age mates.³⁵

It would appear that the children of the new urban middle class, those especially in families connected with bureaucratic organizations, have their standards of success set by the peer group.

Since achievement in a bureaucratic organization depends upon one's ability to adjust to others, especially to one's superiors, this ability is apparently being built into the character structure of these middle class children. As we have already stated, Whyte found that the young

corporation executives in Park Forest, Illinois, favored a "life adjustment" curriculum for their children in the local schools, and felt that one of the major objectives of the school was to teach children how to get along with other people.

Some social scientists believe that parents of "other-directed" children make their children feel guilty, not so much about inner standards, but about failure to be popular or otherwise manage their relations with their peers. In addition to the peer group, the school and the mass media form the images of contemporaries which set the standards for behavior of children who are other-directed, these social scientists believe.³⁶

Parents themselves, often in doubt about how to bring up their children, turn to their peers for advice. This dependence on others, and the highly diffuse anxiety of parents relative to their children's and their own success, is in turn apparently passed on to their children. Prior to the urban-industrial-bureaucratic age, the standards of success were reasonably clear. But other-directed children face the problem not only of being a success, but of defining what success means.

An other-directed child finds that both the definition of success and evaluation of himself depends first on his peers and teachers, later on superiors and peers. Approval itself, irrespective of content, becomes, in this social situation, the measure of success. If this theory is true, all power, not merely some power, is in the hands of the actual or imaginary approving group, and the child learns from his

parent's reactions to him that nothing in his character, no possession he owns, no inheritance of name or talent, no work he has done, is valued for itself, but only for its effect on others.³⁷

These specialized patterns of character, if they do exist, do not make other generalized success patterns any less important, but merely affect how these general patterns are phrased in the individual's behavior. One of the general expectations in regard to success is that the children will leave the parents behind, will advance to "new and better" things. The son gives up the patterns of life of his parents, and adopts the standards of his peers. Because he leaves his parents behind, he has an even greater psychological need for success.³⁸ The impersonal relations of urban society reinforces this need, so that not only is success reinforced psychologically, but socially also. Families of the young corporation executives of Park Forest, Illinois, showed this psycho-social need in their great "hunger for roots", and in their emphasis on an exceptional amount of social activity and mutual help.³⁹

The cultural configuration of the children's leaving their parents behind by advancing up the ladder of success is also supported by the success pattern of the parents. The American has been successful as a parent if he equips his children to make good, to amount to something, to advance beyond his own status in the social structure.⁴⁰

For this reason, parents are primarily concerned with their children as little potential bundles of high achievement who must be given the very best chance, the best education, the best habit-training

for success in life. "Life is a race that both boys and girls must run clear-eyed, sweet-breathed, well-bathed, with their multiplication tables in their heads, and feet that come down accurately on the mark. It is a race they must enter as soon as possible, telephoning at four, handling money, exercising and exhibiting competence in adult patterns."⁴¹

It's not unusual that children, at an early age, also adopt the adult symbols of success, money, prestige, and power. Good grades in school win praise and love from parents, especially the mother. Election to offices in school organizations, winning a position on the athletic team or the school band are also highly rewarded, not only by parents, but by the general community, for it is the visible, extra-curricular activities with which the community is most familiar. The only evidence of what goes on in the classroom are the grades which pupils bring home; otherwise, with few exceptions, only teachers and pupils are aware of activities there, at least from first hand experience.

These symbols of success are gradually traded, in the male role, for adult symbols of wealth. The newspaper route often comes early in a boy's life, and this may be followed by responsible summer jobs as a teenager, until the adult patterns and symbols of success are adopted. A boy's new bicycle symbolizes for him the same expectations of reward from his peers, approval which means success, as a new automobile symbolizes for his father. The age and life roles are different; the

meaning practically the same.

Patterns of achievement and success begin to be phrased in terms of male and female roles early in adolescence. Prior to this time there has probably been no difference in the mother's overt treatment of both boys and girls in relation to the game of success, although children themselves treat the opposite sex differently at quite an early age. The father, on the other hand, rough-houses with his little boy, imparting the idea that one succeeds, wins approval, when he is aggressive and acts up to his full strength. With his little girl the father plays mild courtship, teasing and playing much more gently than with his son. The little girl soon learns that father's approval is gained when she acts feminine, gives him a cute smile, or looks so cute in her new dress. The patterns of success in relation to sex are phrased by the father from the very beginning, but are not accentuated until early adolescence.

Children are drawn into the dating game at an early age in urban society, not by the urge of their bodies, but by their desire to achieve popularity and success.⁴² Dating should enhance the popularity and self-esteem of both boy and girl. This occurs when one dates a member of the opposite sex of the right degree of social background and popularity, a little higher than your own, if possible. Both should exert their sex; the boy his maleness and the girl her femaleness. The boy mouths the popular cliches, and tells just the right color of stories for the girl he is with; she laughs and smiles at the

appropriate times.

It is this type of situational social relationship, in itself a game and quite contentless, which prepares the American for the same type of shallow socializing found in the urban work place, and which enables him to respond with stylized warmth to a new set of associates every time he changes jobs.⁴³

American adolescents have a deep fear of deviance from prescribed cultural patterns, including the patterns of success. Not only is there constant fear that their personal achievement may not make them worthy of parent's and peer's love and approval⁴⁴, but their increasing awareness of the need for social acceptance, a "good" marriage, and a career, makes them amenable to social punishments. These fears are further reinforced, in the middle class adolescent, because his parents, from the time of his babyhood, have often demanded achievement up to and perhaps beyond his capacity. Various punishments throughout childhood conditions his emotions to fear of punishments if the expectation of the class culture is not achieved.⁴⁵

Striving for success is an exceptionally strong drive, therefore, in the adolescent, because not only is it equated with striving for love and approval, or rewards, but achievement also reduces the guilt and fear associated with failure. This anxiety motivation toward success is powerful in all social classes, but success itself is phrased differently according to the culture of each class.

Sibling rivalry, in American culture, is cast in terms of

achievement and success; these success patterns are constantly changing as related to age and sex, but often become acute at the adolescent level. It is at this level that athletic ability in boys and beauty in girls, the sexual characteristics so important in the game of success, become so meaningful in the life of the individual. The fact that both female beauty and male strength are considered to be achievable with effort and intelligence, places a burden of great striving and bitterness on those whose inheritance or health has left them with a puny body or unlovely features.⁴⁶ Let us turn now to the patterns of success as related to adult male and female roles in American culture.

SUCCESS AND THE AMERICAN MALE

We have already pointed out how the father, at a very early age, helps to phrase the sex roles of his sons and daughters. In American culture the predominant division of role function within the home is for the wife to design the way of life, while the husband makes the living.⁴⁷ In urban society, where the husband is away from home much of the time, this division of roles is intensified, and the husband is usually consulted only in regard to major issues in the home and family. Where the wife also works there is some difference in the phrasing of these general patterns of behavior.

Adult success patterns are also designed around these two major

role-functions. Success in their roles, rather than the specific qualities of the roles, is what is emphasized.⁴⁸

The minimum of success for American males is a job, a car, and a wife and children. The father's success as a parent depends upon the success of his son, how far he has left his father behind.⁴⁹

Since the male's success depends on how well he provides for his family, his occupation is most likely to be related to business, industry, agriculture, and trade, and similar occupations. Such occupations are considered most appropriate for the American male, and are most likely to produce the income necessary for success. This, coupled with the necessity of American men to constantly prove their maleness, makes an intellectual occupation, and those connected with the Arts, greatly undervalued and perhaps suspect as being feminine.⁵⁰

While many executives and successful men of many occupations have cultural activities and hobbies, they are often chosen in relation to business, or have strong therapeutic overtones, and are a means of re-creation between rounds.⁵¹

It is the mother in the American urban family, because she is in the home and the father is away, who teaches both sons and daughters a major part of their roles. The mother often tells, but cannot and does not show her son how to be a success as a man, while the modeling of the male role is most often done by the boy's peers, or by older boys.

The ideal pattern of success for the American male "is the poor

boy who learned his prayers at his mother's knee, worked his way up against fearful odds, used without womanish softness and without enjoyment the methods appropriate to such a battle, and in the end, a millionaire, leaves his money not to his children to ruin their characters by denying them a gradient on which at least some sort of success is possible, but to good works, giving to the town or to the nation's schools, libraries, art galleries, and orphan asylums. These are the things his mother told him that he ought to respect while he himself put his whole effort into being a success".⁵² So it is that the American male's major success patterns involves his achievement of wealth, prestige, power and progress in a man's occupation, his continuous proving of his maleness to both sexes, and his being the father of one or more successful sons.

Female success patterns are in some respects more simple, in others more complex.

SUCCESS AND THE ADULT AMERICAN FEMALE

The success pattern of the woman is usually built around her role of designing the family's way of life. This naturally implies that a major part of a woman's success is in finding and keeping a husband. After she accomplishes this major component of her success, it is maintained by her creative and efficient management of the home and family affairs, producing the kind of home life that will make her

husband and children happy and strong. In addition, she should be intelligent, attractive, know how to enhance her best qualities by dress and manner, and take an active part in community activities such as the church, school, club activities, and so on.⁵³

The mother's success as a parent, while emphasizing the success of her daughters, is also related to the success of her sons.

The success patterns of the woman in her normal roles of wife and mother are relatively simple and clear cut in direction, if not in accomplishment.

Women who choose a career, on the other hand, are confronted with a much more complex and often confusing pattern of success. While American society appears to throw its doors wide open to women who want careers, it translates her every step toward success in her chosen occupation as damaging to her own chances of marriage and to the men whom she passes on the road.⁵⁴ It is the women themselves who are basically responsible for this contradictory cultural configuration. American women tend to despise a man who is outdistanced by a woman. Throughout her childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood, the female is faced with the problem of displaying enough of her abilities to be successful, but not too successful; enough ability to get and keep a job, but without so much commitment to it that she is either too successful or is unwilling to give up her job for marriage and motherhood.⁵⁵

The female need for success, while a very compelling one, is not

as desperate as that of the male, for the American male is unsexed by failure; women are not.⁵⁶

Women's success in occupations which are regarded as feminine, such as teaching, the arts, and so on, does not carry such a damaging threat to men as compared to success in other occupations which are considered a man's field. But the woman who chooses a career, in American culture and society, is not assured of success (love and approval); she can only be assured of success if she uses her sex to attract, win and hold a husband and to rear a successful family. While these success patterns are quite general, they are often phrased differently in the various social classes and ethnic groups.

SOCIAL CLASS DIFFERENCES AND SUCCESS

We have already touched briefly on some of the differences in social class patterns of success.

It is important at the outset to realize that when man is born into his family it automatically places him in the social structure. His family is a member of a broad group of people who associate freely together, carrying on the activities of life, economic, social, sexual, and so on. His habits and life development are largely determined by the social groups such as the social class, ethnic group, color caste, or peer groups, of which he and his family are a part.⁵⁷

In American society, by and large, social pressures from within

his own group and from the group above, operate to confine the social activities of the individual and his family to his own social group. This restriction of social activity to one's own social group means that group cultures are formed which define and limit the developmental environment of the person. Group cultures are radically different in their values and behavior concerning family members, sexual and aggressive acts, work, education, career, and patterns of success. For example, a child of middle-class status acquires different social goals, different needs, different experiences relative to psychosocial rewards and punishments, when compared to a child of upper or lower class status. These and other patterns of culture vary also between ethnic groups, as for example between Italians and Norwegians, and also between negroes, whites, and orientals, the color castes in our society.⁵⁸

As we have already pointed out in our discussion of wage earners and executives, the social realities of the environment of each group determines in large part the goals and patterns of success in which an individual has been culturally conditioned. The son of a wage-earner, for example, is far less likely than the son of a corporation executive to include in his success patterns the aspiration to be a medical doctor. The simple reason for this is the fact that few wage-earners' sons can get into medical school or have the money to get a medical education. These are the realities of the environmental differences between the middle and lower social classes. The choice, likewise, of

a negro youth not to attend college, may be conditioned on his knowledge that many negroes who have college training find they must still accept low status jobs, and perhaps work as a porter or a waitress.

While group culture and environment are perhaps most influential in determining the individual's choice of goals his organic character, that is to say, his body physique, energy, strength, emotional experience and adjustment are also determining factors in his patterns of success.

In American society middle class individuals maintain, organize, and direct the lives of the people.⁵⁹ This is true because the middle classes, as we have pointed out, are in control of the business community, the business community is in control of the nation's wealth which is necessary for the operation of social institutions in a capitalistic culture, and thus have the power to control the society and the direction of its culture.

The general aspirations, goals, and patterns of success are thus defined and controlled by the middle classes. Such things as the acquisition of property, individual accomplishment, personal responsibility, self-denial, and so on, which lead to wealth, prestige, and power, are middle class cultural patterns and middle class symbols of success. These cultural patterns and symbols are reinforced by the many cultural institutions as for example, the mass media, schools, songs, stories, literature, and so on.

Because of the American ideology of equality, most Americans deny the existence of social classes, even though in everyday social practice social rank is well recognized and deferent behavior a part of superior-subordinate relations. Because social classes are not recognized in our society, patterns of success are usually stated in "general" terms rather than in terms of the social class, ethnic group, or color caste. While this practice places a great deal of social pressure on every individual to succeed in middle class terms, the interpretations of these general middle-class patterns of success is always in the terms of the group culture of which the individual is a part. This is automatically true by definition. The individual must and can use only those cultural values which he has when he interprets the general symbols and patterns of success which constantly impinge upon him.

It may be rightly noted that many lower class individuals have middle class aspirations, and many negroes the aspirations of whites. These aspirations are acquired because these persons are exposed to middle class and white culture, either through the schools or mass media. Unfortunately, many individuals are not capable of evaluating the realities of their social position, or the consequences of aspiring to success beyond the group culture into which they are born. Margaret Mead puts these things most vividly: "The factory girl, society girl, and the daughter of a sharecropper," she says, "who can borrow the copy of Life she cannot afford to buy, all react to the

dress that is described as 'date bait'...the image sinks deep into their minds, to play a different role there, of course, from the role it plays in the life of the girl who lives completely the part that is described in the picture."⁶⁰

Thus it is that the same general cultural images of success become a part of the daily lives of the majority of Americans. But whether or not these images are acted upon, and how they are acted upon, is largely determined by the realities of one's social position. Because so many middle class symbols of success are not attainable by the lower classes, they are often not highly motivated to try to achieve goals normally attained outside their own group culture.

The middle classes, on the other hand, as compared to both lower and higher status levels, are highly motivated toward the achievements which lead to success. Middle class culture, and the social institutions in American society which are directed by middle class people, are organized around, and directed toward the individual achievement of success. The middle class emphasis on success is partially motivated by social insecurity. Unlike upper class persons, the upper-middle class individual is not born into a secure social position, but must achieve and maintain his status. And the lower-middle classes in a society where socio-economic insecurity has been the norm, are fearful that some life situation will plunge the family downward into lower class status.⁶¹

The middle class attitude seems to be that the only way to be

safe and secure in one's social status is to keep striving toward greater and greater success. The middle class emphasis on materialistic external symbols of attainment, the self-denial and postponement of gratifications in order to achieve success at some future time, the long, difficult education, constant self-improvement, and long hours of hard work in community organizations, become meaningful as the foundation for security in social status.

It is evident, therefore, that group culture and social mobility are very much a part of American patterns of success. Social rank is determined, at least ideologically speaking, by the extent of the individual's success. Most Americans hope to achieve higher status than the one into which they are born. Prior to the twentieth century this aspiration of social mobility was a realistic one, attainable by many who were willing to work hard and maintain the strenuous way of life. Today, the social position into which one is born is much more a determinant of the extent of one's success, and mobility up the social ladder is much more difficult. Moreover, since the lower classes now secure more of an equitable share of the nation's economic goods, the economic pressure toward upward mobility has been greatly reduced.

It is not the purpose of this study to delineate the success patterns of the different group cultures in American society. It has been our purpose to present the evidence to support the contention that group cultures and the value of social mobility influence the

individual's aspirations, ideology, motivations, and realistic interpretation of the patterns of success.

Let us turn now to the meaning of success to the individual in his exercise of authority.

SUCCESS AND THE EXERCISE OF INDIVIDUAL AUTHORITY

In a previous chapter we concluded that individuals exercised their authority as they perceive their self-interest. Self-interest, it would appear, is perceived by the individual as it is phrased by the dominant cultural motivation, the achievement of success. How individuals interpret their own possibilities for success is determined by their intelligence, education, age, sex, organic character, role, social class, family, peer group, ethnic group, and color. How the individual exercises whatever authority he has, whether as an individual or as a member of a group, will depend on all of these factors as the individual is related by them to the general and specific cultural patterns of success, as he perceives his social position and possibilities of success, and finds himself capable or incapable of acting upon his perceptions.

Persons who win authority, as for example a public office holder, are those persons who are able to play, or appear to play, the greatest role in the maximization of success for the greatest number of people, or for those people who hold the power to control an election.

Authority is most often delegated to those persons who are a success. This was true in frontier days when the authority of leadership was given to those demonstrating ability to survive in a frontier environment; it is true today as evidenced by the delegation of leadership to men of wealth, power, and accomplishment.

In a national study concerning the decision-making necessary to secure a community hospital, Miller found that the resource of personal success was a major factor in the delegation of authority to both formal and informal leaders.⁶² In the five regional hospital projects which Miller studied, ten of the twenty highest ranking leaders were in the high income bracket in their community, and the remaining ten ranged from the middle to high income levels. All high ranking leaders were successful in terms of wealth and income, although some wealth was inherited rather than achieved. While the achievement of wealth makes one successful, how wealth is used, what one does with one's success, appears to be more important in winning authority than achievement of success alone. It would appear from Miller's findings that in most community endeavors which require money, the person who has wealth and is willing to use that wealth, along with the prestige and power it carries, to promote the community effort, will be delegated with the authority of leadership.⁶³

Of the twenty leaders ranked highest in the five hospital projects, only two failed to receive an image of success, either in business or in relation to previous civic projects. Miller concludes

"that the resource of personal success, if related to relevant financial, organizational, and technical skills, may accord a favored position to participants without a previous successful achievement in civic enterprise."⁶⁴

SUMMARY

Self-interest in American culture appears to be phrased in terms of individual success. The cultural configuration of success, therefore, is important in the phrasing of behavior in authority relationships.

In American society it has become a duty to be a success; the primary object of most Americans is to make good, to get ahead.

From babyhood throughout life, the majority of Americans receive approval and love for the achievement of success. It appears that love and approval are equated in the psychological systems of most Americans, and are the foundation for part of the tremendous drive for success.

In English culture recognition has come from family position and the granting of national honors and titles of nobility. These means of human recognition were rejected during the American Revolution. Compatible with a virgin continent rich in resources but still to be conquered, recognition in America soon came to be based on individual accomplishment, prowess, and the accumulation of wealth. When the business leaders of wealth won control of American society, their symbols of success, power, wealth, and prestige, began to be socialized into the psychological systems of American children and youth. Emotions are built in the love relationships of the primary group; for this reason most Americans are unable to comprehend symbols of success other than those of the dominant business culture. Because the rewards for success are so great, some Americans will deny themselves and their

families many things in order to achieve it.

The emphasis on success in American society means that people often strive only to the point where success, rather than complete mastery of a skill or occupation, is achieved.

The diversity of American culture has apparently had some influence on the dollar becoming the common denominator of success. As further consequence of this, there is a tendency to evaluate all things in quantitative terms. Social rank is primarily based upon wealth, and all things which do not fit in with this materialistic success pattern are devalued or ignored.

Quantifiable success symbols are further reinforced by the fact that such symbols are the only way parents can tell, in a dynamic and complex culture, whether or not their children are successful. Since the parent's success is partially dependent upon the success of their children, there is some compulsion for them to know how their children are faring in the game of success.

The advancement of a man from starting point determines his measure of success. The greater the obstacles overcome, the greater is the merit attached to the achievement of success. To be a success is to have done something, rather than to have been a kind of person.

Since success is phrased as having done something, there is great reward and approbation for aggressive behavior in Americans if it is phrased in terms of success. In fact, success itself explains away most selfish aggression; such behavior is also explained away by

identifying it with the public good.

With succeeding so greatly emphasized, success becomes an end in itself, and the means to success, even though ruthless and unethical, receive little attention, relatively speaking.

The psychological systems of most Americans hold the belief that success is individual and personal. This reinforces the individualism of Calvinistic, Protestant American culture. The dollar and material goods are the major outward symbols of success. Americans appear to place higher value on power and prestige, however, and the deeper competition is phrased in these terms. The major function of income and wealth is therefore as a means to acquire these higher values, to fix one's position in the social structure. Acquiring wealth is therefore very important to Americans; its retention relatively unimportant.

Since success is measured in terms of advancement, achievement, and action, it is never finally won, but is always in the future. Education, sexual characteristics, and personality are used and cultivated as means in the game of success.

The success of children from babyhood onward is judged in relation to their age mates, playmates, and classmates. Mothers seldom show concern for the inner qualities of their children; rather their concern is most often with growth, grades, and popularity, outward symbols in relation to their children's peers. Some social scientists believe that many urban middle class children have their standards for success

set by the leaders of their peer group. These children, called "other-directed", find their success in approval itself, if this theory is correct.

In the past, the American success pattern has called for children to leave their parents behind, to achieve a "new and better life". Working class parents today deny themselves to give their children a college education so their children can "have it easier than they did". Because often middle class children leave their affectional ties behind, they have even a greater psychological need for success as a basis for security.

Children adopt adult symbols of success early in life. They win love and approval from parents, and prestige and approval from peers, when they get high grades, become a member of an athletic team, get elected to office in the school club, or are outstanding in other activities. Boys earn money at an early age by doing tasks at home, by selling newspapers, and later, as teenagers, at a summer job.

Patterns of success are phrased in terms of sex roles from early childhood, but this phrasing receives its first major accent in early adolescence. Dating and sex characteristics are merely a part of the adolescent game of success, used to enhance individual popularity and self-esteem. Adolescence is a period of change and insecurity for the individual, which helps to accentuate a fear of deviance from dominant cultural patterns. Added to this generalized fear is the middle class fear of failure. This means that American adolescents have an

exceptionally strong drive toward success as a means for securing love, approval, and a reduction of fear and guilt.

American success patterns based on achievement are a terrible burden, and the cause of much bitterness among youth whose physical, social and intellectual inheritance and environment place them at a great disadvantage in achieving success.

Adult success patterns are built around sex roles. In American culture, the dominant division of role function is for the wife to design the way of life, while the husband makes the living.

The minimum of success for American males is a job, a car, and a wife and children. Achievement of wealth, power, and prestige in a man's occupation, continuous proving of his maleness to both sexes, and being the father of one or more successful sons, constitutes the major success patterns for the American male.

Success for the American woman consists of winning and holding a successful husband, and doing a good job of rearing a successful family. While American society appears to offer success to women who choose careers, outstanding success in a career is usually damaging to the culturally accepted female success pattern of marriage and family.

The general aspirations and patterns of success are defined and perpetuated by the dominant middle class culture. While all people are under sociocultural pressure to succeed in middle class terms, the interpretation of middle class patterns of success is usually determined by the group culture of which the individual is a part. While some

lower class people have middle class aspirations, most lower class people are not highly motivated to strive for goals that appear beyond their achievement. With upward social mobility greatly reduced, the social position which the individual acquires at birth appears now to be a great determinant of his patterns of success.

How individuals interpret their own possibilities for success is determined by their intelligence, education, sex, age, organic character, role, social class, family, peer group, ethnic group, and color. These factors influence how the individual perceives his social position in relation to possibilities for success, how he views the general success patterns, and determines his capability of acting successfully upon his perceptions. In this way, success influences the exercise of that authority within the competence of the individual.

Persons who win authority as leaders are most often those who are successful in middle class terms. People who win the authority which goes with election to public office are most often persons who appear able to maximize success for the greatest number of voters.

Let us now turn to the cultural configuration of equality, as a major influence on the expression of authority in human relationships.

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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are given in full. The list is as follows:

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CHAPTER X - EQUALITY AND AUTHORITY

Most important in the expression of authority relationships in American culture and society is the configuration of equality. Before we try to delineate the contemporary cultural meaning of equality, it will be useful to recapitulate the evolution of this culture complex. Many of the factors which have been causal in the rise and decline of individual freedom in American society have also been influential in the rise and decline of equality.

THE SOCIOCULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF EQUALITY

The Protestant Origin of Equality

Besides its relation to freedom, the Protestant revolt, in its emphasis on individual responsibility for salvation and the direct relation between God and man, meant also that every soul was equal before God. As we have already pointed out, this consequence was manifest early in the Reformation in the form of the Peasants' War, whose leaders said that since "Christ died for all", all men should have equitable treatment. Luther, of course, was a believer in unequal status, and he was instrumental in the ruthless suppression of the peasant uprising. However, the ideological implication of equality in Protestantism remained, to rise again at the first opportunity. Calvin, like Luther, was certainly no advocate of equality, although the Calvinistic emphasis upon education, inquiry, self-searching, and

the use of reason, helped pave the way for the rise of the idea.

Equality In The English And American Revolutionary Periods

So rapidly did the idea of equality grow, in fact, that in little over a century after Luther's revolt, the leaders of the English Revolution asserted that "Kings are of the same dough as others...". If man deemed himself capable of interpreting the scriptures, he inevitably came to the logical conclusion that he was also equal to others in his judgement of political affairs. This belief was expressed by some of the leaders of Cromwell's New Model Army when they said that every man born in England had a right to elect his rulers (and) share in the framing of the laws. Universal suffrage and equality of individual authority were the implications of this idea.

In addition to the idea of citizen sovereignty, we find that the English Civil War also produced the concept of equality of opportunity. Out of the cauldron of protest it came, like so many new ideas of the era. "King and Lords must go," said the New Model Army Leaders. "Individual merit should be the sole road to greatness." Man's honors should depend upon his earned achievement, in other words, and not on social position. It is not unusual that the advocates of these ideas of equal sovereignty were called "Levellers". At the same time we find people such as John Lilburne and the Quaker leaders overtly asserting their feelings of equality, by refusing to acknowledge the authority of any mortal over them.

In America, Roger Williams was establishing his Providence Plantation along, at least for those times, exceptionally egalitarian lines. Not only was the franchise given to every family head in the colony, but it was here that the rights of man were first established on American soil. Moreover, an attempt was made to grant to each family head an equal amount of land, which had the purpose of implementing the ideology of equality in economic affairs, or equality of opportunity.

While the underlying motives of the American Revolution were economic in character, the overt expression of those motives lay in the issue of "equal citizen authority" versus the "authority of a king and his supporting aristocracy."

Thomas Paine, in his synthesis of Revolutionary ideology states in his pamphlet "Common Sense" that men were originally equals in the order of creation, and that there was no natural or religious reason why men should be divided into kings and subjects. Paine went on to say that the authority of the citizen, with its implication of equality was a natural right. He also advocated the very minimum of government to protect the equal authority of each citizen, and denounced the aristocracy in no uncertain terms as the image of unequal privilege in the colonial mind.

The expression of equality that has been on the lips of every American since the phrase was written in the Declaration of Independence is that "all men are created equal." The Declaration of Independence

also states that governments derive their power from all the people equally, and that the ends of government are to maintain such equality. If these conditions are not maintained, it says, then it is the duty of the people to revolt and re-establish them.

Throughout the American heritage there have always been powerful groups of people who were fighting for inequality. This group wrote the American Constitution, and was in control of the Federal Government until Jefferson was inaugurated in 1801.

As a concession to the liberal group in order to gain ratification of the Constitution, the propertied classes who favored inequality allowed the Bill of Rights to become its first ten amendments. The Bill of Rights has been a major bulwark upholding the maintenance of equality of authority.

Jackson And The Frontier Bring Equality In American Social Relations

It was the advent of Jackson, however, which led to a great rise in both the ideology and practice of equality in American culture and society. It was the "common man" who elected Jackson to office. He was the first "common man" to be President. Jackson's equalitarian concept of public office was a natural development, therefore. This concept held that all men were essentially of equal talents, and that any successful American of normal intelligence was capable of holding any position in the government. Moreover, Jackson advocated a rotation in office to preserve equality of authority rather than the development

of an untouchable and undemocratic political bureaucracy. Most important, too, was Jackson's hatred of monopoly and special privilege, and he took steps to increase equality of economic opportunity. The suffrage was also broadened considerably in Jackson's day, and people were actually becoming more equal in the exercise of their authority. Direct nominating conventions replaced the party caucus in choosing Presidential nominees, and the direct election of judges in some states brought almost all public servants directly under the influence of the ordinary voter.

People also began to "feel" equal, and leveling tendencies were noticeable in the social life of the nation. The power of these egalitarian feelings was evidenced by the development of the "log cabin image" by Presidential nominees, first attempted by the Whigs with William Henry Harrison, an educated and wealthy man living the life of the country gentleman.

It was the conditions of frontier life which were the greatest levelers of all. The severity of the life struggle on the frontier soon washed away all the Old World distinctions which people brought with them to America. The frontier was a great melting pot, taking Old World citizens of all ranks and distinctions, and by subjecting all to a set of common experiences, made Americans of them, people who were equal in the commonality of their struggle and survival. The inequalities of family prestige and education were replaced by more equal opportunities for individual achievement. This equality

of opportunity was based on individual abilities, and placed a premium on the inequalities of men's strength, ambition, and intelligence. It was also contingent on the sufficient abundance of resources so that all might have a chance to succeed.

Another great impetus toward egalitarian feelings was the fact that only a few of the immigrants from Europe were aristocrats; the majority were middle and lower class people who had experienced the oppression of a rigid social system and were willing to cast off such social ideology.

Thus it was that the ideological evolution in the New World was very much in the direction of equality, and so long as the abundant resources of a frontier nation lasted, equality and freedom developed side by side, both making rapid gains in form and practice. The basic contradiction between freedom and equality soon led to conflict, however, as De Tocqueville so clearly saw even in the nineteenth century. For men are not equal in abilities and social position, and in a culture where materialistic success was the primary motivation, freedom soon led to the destruction of equal power, independence, and individual authority.

Lincoln, The Civil War, And Equality

The great struggle of the Civil War was not only a struggle over the various aspects of freedom, but was also deeply concerned with the principles of equality, in relation to human rights and equality

of authority. The issues of the War were so defined by Lincoln in his Gettysburg Address. It was also Lincoln who did so much to define the concept of equality in American culture. In a speech at Springfield, Illinois, July 17, 1858, on the issue of slavery, Lincoln quoted the assertion of equality in the Declaration of Independence. Then he defined its meaning: "I do not understand the Declaration to mean that all men were created equal in all respects," he said. "They are not equal in color; but I suppose that it does mean to declare that all men are equal in some respects; they are equal in their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness...in the right to put into his own mouth, the bread that his own hands have earned..."¹

Here we see the concept of equality of human rights, traceable to the Protestant idea that all men are equal under God, that human rights are God given, and thus unalienable by man. Also implicit in Lincoln's interpretation is the idea that equality is not equality of social and economic position; rather, equality extends only to the sustenance of life, and beyond that man's rights extend only to what is earned or achieved. Lincoln's concept of equality is quite compatible with the Calvinistic concept of success, even though he would curb freedom in the interests of equality of opportunity and human rights.

The winning of the Civil War by the North was both progress for and against equality. In the area of human rights it was a great

stride toward equality. In the area of equality of opportunity, it was the beginning of actual decline, as northern industrialists began a rapid concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the few. Since equality of democratic authority rests on economic independence, the growing inequality of wealth also meant that democratic authority was gradually replaced by power and control. While this concentration of wealth, power, and inequality grew apace in the economic and political structure of the nation, the family, schools, and Protestant churches became more egalitarian in ideology and structure.

The Varied Development Of Equality In The Twentieth Century

The movement for women's rights grew rapidly, with women gaining the national franchise in 1920, making them equal to men in terms of the voting aspects of political authority. Although the advent of the New Deal served to distribute the nation's goods more equitably, the concentration of wealth and power continues to grow in the economic and political spheres of our society. Equality of opportunity has an entirely different meaning than it had at the beginning of the 20th century, in practice, if not in ideology. In fact of practice in an urban-industrial society, equality of opportunity has come to mean basically a job for all, or equality in the right to earn a livelihood. These facts imply a much lower level of aspiration in relation to equality of opportunity than existed a

half-century ago. Education for all is also undoubtedly a part of the concept of equality of opportunity. But lack of cultural studies makes it impossible at this time to define just what the configuration of equality of opportunity does mean in American culture.

It is apparent that the configuration of equality has many sides and shades of meaning in our culture. Let us shed as much light as we can on these contemporary meanings before we discuss their relation to authority.

EQUALITY IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN CULTURE

Equality As A Value In The Intrinsic And Extrinsic Sense

Let us first try to define equality as a value. Equality may be a value in both the extrinsic and intrinsic sense. Extrinsic valuations are those judgments of value that depend upon generalized social categories and external symbols of status such as sex, age, income, occupations, wealth, race, authority, and so on. Extrinsic valuations focus upon what a person has; intrinsic valuations concern what a person is qua individual. Intrinsic valuation is demonstrated when one person feels the obligation to treat another person as an end in himself rather than purely as a means. Whenever intrinsic valuation is present it constitutes a guarantee of minimal equality, a floor below which the person cannot be devalued or degraded.²

The real test, therefore, of the extent to which equality is present in American society, is how individuals actually relate to each other in day to day social relations. This basic criterion will also help us to differentiate between ideology and practice.

How, then, do the American people express themselves in concrete social situations? In the area of intrinsic equality, especially in the area of basic human rights, or the non-materialistic aspects of equality, American feelings are strongest. As Lincoln defined equality, even the lowest slave is equal in his right to life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and whatever bread he has earned. This is the equality which attaches to the fact that a person is a human being, the God given, unalienable aspects of the person.

Officers And Enlisted Men--How Americans Feel And Behave Relative To Equality

American feelings on basic individual equality are very deep, are perhaps the basis for what Gorer terms the "emotional egalitarianism" which characterizes most Americans. Americans feel that control over people is morally detestable, a sin, repugnant to decent human relations. Consequently, they often get highly emotional when people or institutions use their position or status or advantage to "push other people around".³

The best example of this was the deep resentment by American enlisted men when their officers used their status to obtain privileges not accessible to the enlisted men.⁴ This resentment was

least among the combat troops because in the front lines both officers and men were equal in their sharing of danger, death and deprivations. In the United States, on the other hand, especially at basic training centers, the difference in privileges, rank, and enforced deference was great enough to incur deep resentment among enlisted men.

The extent and character of these feelings of animus was revealed in psychiatric interviews with soldiers and veterans. A common fantasy was that the soldier, again a civilian, was an employer and refused a job to the officer, also now a civilian, humble and suppliant.⁵ Thus, the innermost feeling of the enlisted man was not only to cut the officer down to a position of equality, but because the officer had used his unequal status in an unequal way, it was fair to retaliate against him.

Officer-enlisted men relations received so much attention that the Secretary of Defense established a Board in 1946, headed by General Doolittle, which made some very significant recommendations. This Board concluded that "Americans look with disfavor upon any system which grants unearned privilege to a particular class of individuals". It recommended that in the United States, the hand salute, a mark of deference, be abandoned off Army installations and off duty, that all military personnel be treated equally in the administration of military justice, and that the terms and concepts "enlisted men" and "officers" be eliminated.⁶ In the most authoritarian

and unequal social institution in American society, these recommendations are indeed a revolutionary step toward equality. But more important to us, they show the importance of the overt expression of equality in social relations, and the strong feelings which Americans have over non-egalitarian behavior.

So complex is the American character, however, that this emotional egalitarianism is directly violated in the case of minorities such as Negroes, Jews, and certain other ethnic groups. We must, therefore, qualify our concept of equality feelings to apply only to those second generation, white Americans, who do not live in ethnic communities, and who have adopted and practice the dominant patterns of American culture.

The Expression Of Equality In Superior-Subordinate Relations

Civilian superior-subordinate relations is another area where feelings of equality are most noticeable, if perhaps more difficult to define. The real feelings of the superior who is not equal, and the subordinate whose self-interest greatly affects his behavior, are difficult to ascertain. Although the superior may secretly resent the feeling of being treated as an equal by a subordinate, and the subordinate resent the feeling of the need for a certain amount of deference to promote his self-interest, both may behave the way they feel they "ought" to behave, rather than the way they feel. What the behavior is depends upon how each perceives the social situation.

Many superior-subordinate relations take on the external appearance of equality. There is more feeling of compulsion by the superior to act equal than by the subordinate. The subordinate may feel equal as a person, even though in a subordinate social position; whether the subordinate acts equal towards a superior depends not only upon how he feels but on the behavior cues which the superior gives. In a bureaucratic organization a superior can exact some deference because he is in a controlling position, but with the exception of people with authoritarian personalities, will get more response from his subordinates if he levels with them.

The leaders in Regional City took elaborate steps to isolate themselves from all except immediate subordinates, peers, and family, but when they did meet the public they took on the "common man's" appearance and speech. Some were spoken of as "common as an old shoe", or as "acting like they have patches on their pants".⁷

Outside of their immediate economic organizations, or any organizations which are closely bound to their success, it would appear that most normal Americans act and feel equal in human worth and privilege. In no other nation do the people refer to their chief executives by their first names, or their nicknames. When President Truman was campaigning he was noted for his blunt speaking. Time after time someone in the audience would yell out "Give 'em Hell, Harry!", and President Truman would yell back "I will", or "I'm goin' to". Candidates are noted for their "hobnobbing" and "shirtsleeves"

type of campaigning. One of the interesting incidents during the last Presidential campaign was Adlai Stevenson's wearing shoes with holes in the soles. A news photographer, perhaps on the Stevenson staff, photographed Stevenson wearing these worn out shoes, and the picture was circulated in every major newspaper in the nation. This was an attempt to make Stevenson appear as just an ordinary citizen, financially and socially. There appears to be a great deal of leveling down by superiors.

Besides their own cultural conditioning, superiors who do not behave as equals are subject to a great deal of social pressure, and when we remember that the need for approval is built into the American's psychological system, it is obvious that most cannot stand much social pressure. In other-directed families, the child's peer group treats vanity as one of the worst offenses, and take effective steps to cut him down to size.⁸ These peer groups refer to members whose vanity is inflated by saying "he thinks he's big", or "he thinks he's something". Likewise, an adult who acts superior is often brought back to earth with the statement "who do you think you are?"⁹ People seem to tolerate uncommon behavior in inferiors much more than in superiors. Neighbors often speak kindly of someone who "has not had all the advantages", but the phrase "they are more...fortunate than the rest of us" is likely to be spoken with a real bite.¹⁰

Margaret Mead cogently puts the egalitarian feelings of social inferiors into proper perspective. "In no other country," she says,

"does the business man who has finally decided to write directly to the President lean back in his chair to watch the respect which should dawn on his stenographer's face as he nonchalantly dictates the Presidential address, only to have her answer: 'Yeah, I wrote him last week.'"¹¹

Equalitarian Behavior And "Respect"

Americans attach varied amounts of respect to certain offices, such as the office of president in various organizations. This respect naturally varies in content and amount with the kind of office, but the person who fills the office wins respect by using his power wisely in relation to others, by making others feel equal, by treating his subordinates not only as equals but equally, ever being the example of fair play, and being careful not to let his power show. This means, too, that each person wins respect by his own behavior and ability, even though family position may influence his evaluation by others.

The importance of equality in winning respect was brought out in Miller's study of the decision making process. He found, for example, that in Southeast County, Alabama, two of the top leaders in the hospital project had completely different images of respect in the minds of the local people. The image of the leader who had little respect was: "Oh! He made a lot of money up North, but he turned out to act like a big shot." "He was a big businessman and you might say that he likes to be boss and tell people what to do."

Of the leader who had a great deal of respect, the people said, "He is the richest man in the county but to see him you would never know it." "His influence is personality and he is just as nice to one with a dime as a millionaire." "He would enjoy himself with a poor man as well as with anyone else."¹² The major difference in these two images of respect is that one man, although a high status person, treated everyone equally and as an equal. The person with little respect "acted like a big shot", like he was unequal, as no doubt he was.

Respect, of course, has other aspects besides equality. Intellectual ability, ability to handle people, organizing skill, anything that leads to success is respected for what it is, and if the ability is needed in a community project, it is accorded some leadership.

Feelings Of Equality Lead To Conformity, Mediocrity, And Standardization

American feelings of equality also lead to conformity, standardization, and mediocrity in social and intellectual life. With the exception of economic affairs, thinking and artistic expression is tolerated only along conventional lines. Original and new contributions are either ignored, flouted or ridiculed. Idiosyncratic thinking and feeling in America are suspect, and theoreticians, philosophers, writers, and painters who are unconventional are often labeled as crackpots, or smeared as subversive.¹³ A case in point is the fact that the majority of the scientific theorists who were responsible

for the original work which preceded modern atomic science were Europeans, while the engineering necessary to use atomic science in the solution of practical problems has been, during its early development, largely done by Americans.

The pressure toward conformity in the seeking of approval and success means that Americans are not free to develop their individual differences along original and new paths. The one exception to this is related to the dominant middle class patterns and symbols of success. Innovation, invention, and new ideas are highly rewarded in business and industry, because they lead to wealth, power, and prestige. In this area, new ideas also support the culture of the group in power; subversive ideas, by definition, are those ideas which threaten the position of the group in power. One psychiatrist also ventures the view that the reason Americans fear the original and unconventional, the unequal, is the fact that individualists, original thinkers and doers, often cannot be controlled by group pressures.¹⁴ It is not the new ideas that Americans are afraid of, this psychiatrist thinks; it is the unpredictability that stems from human differences and new ideas.

Americans not only feel and behave as equals in the majority of social relations, but to the stranger they look alike. Dress is similar for all social classes, even if the clothing may be different in quality and cost. One way to secure attention in American society is to dress differently than the majority, unconventionally. In

Europe, on the other hand, difference in clothing is the accepted mark of status in the social structure. A common behavior pattern of women in America is to try to find out what others are wearing to the party before they choose their own apparel. To be conspicuous in dress at a social function creates great anxiety in all Americans except the most rugged of individuals, the opinion leaders, and the upper classes.

The fact that most Americans do not recognize the concept of social classes is further evidence that equality exists at the ideological level. A public opinion poll by Fortune Magazine in 1940 asked people to assign themselves to a social class. Four-fifths of the respondents placed themselves in the middle class. After these people had been assigned to social classes on the basis of socio-economic criteria, it was found that 76% of the upper class people, and 70% of the lower class people, had designated themselves as being in the middle class.¹⁵ Leveling was about equal from both ends of the status structure.

It would appear that about seven-eighths of the people of the United States hold the basic belief that all one-hundred percent Americans are fundamentally equal, and that the differences between them are due to the differences in individual ability, industry, and luck.¹⁶ No one is any "better" than anyone else, Americans often say, some just have more, are more fortunate than others, or work harder. It is quite evident that Americans do not give deference

to social position, wealth, and power except as a matter of perceived self-interest, or unless the personalities involved have earned respect through their own behavior in acting as all good Americans should act, as equals. It is only the upper-classes who overtly recognize social class and strive for social position; and that is within their own group, and largely confined to women. Most persons in this social group still feel the compulsion to behave in an egalitarian manner when they are involved in the activities of the general public.

Equality Of Opportunity Conforms To Materialistic Symbols Of Success

In the area of extrinsic valuations, what a person has, we find the concept of equality overwhelmed by the motivation-values of self-interest, success, and freedom. The dominant concept in regard to equality and economic affairs is equality of opportunity rather than equality of condition.¹⁷ In line with Laswell's thesis that the group in power will insist on the cultural symbols which support their position of control, the upper and middle classes have insisted on their moral right to differentials in wealth. In this way the concept of equality does not conflict with the major motivation toward success, while the emphasis on equality in social relations also takes away many of the adverse feelings which, in other cultures, surround the very wealthy.

Americans do not resent privileges which are earned through

achievement, as long as access to the same privileges is open to others who have the will and ability to succeed. What is resented, as proven by studies of the American soldier, are inequalities or rewards not earned by achievement, but which attach mainly to status, and at the same time limit equal access of others to scarce values.

Equality of opportunity, then, is the second major prong of the configuration of equality in American culture. As we have previously implied, the concept of equality of opportunity has undergone considerable change during the last half century, and likely means entirely different things to the president of a corporation and an hourly-wage worker in a factory. The emphasis on equality of basic human rights, and on equality of opportunity, is the core of meaning as regards equality in American culture. While the meanings which Americans attach to equality will be as diverse in shadings as the people themselves, these two value patterns stand out and influence behavior in general. We must always be cognizant, however, of the conflicts and contradictions in American culture and society relative to equality, especially in regard to minority groups, in regard to bureaucratic social organizations, and in social situations where self-interest is perceived as demanding a behavior which is contrary to the actual feelings of the individual.

In spite of these exceptions, and the need to judge each social situation separately, it is evident that cultural meanings of equality vitally affects the ideology and expression of authority and authority

relationships.

AUTHORITY AND EQUALITY

Equality The Foundation For Democratic Authority

The contemporary meaning of equality in American culture was born out of the struggle of the American people to be free from the authoritarian control of a king and his supporting aristocracy. Equality is based on a condition of democratic authority where every individual is in theory equal to every other in sovereignty. Democratic authority cannot be justified on any other basis except on the concept of equality. It is no accident that the revolutionists, both in England and America, should base their claim to self-government on the equality of individuals, and that they should attempt to ridicule and bring to their own level the royal family and the aristocracy. It is no accident either that Americans react emotionally toward anyone who calls them authoritarian, or toward anyone who does not behave as an individual equal. For these egalitarian feelings have been culturally conditioned into the psychological systems of Americans ever since the unequalness of a king, aristocracy, and State Church was something to be hated and patriotically fought against with every bit of one's strength and intelligence. The historical experience and the environment which conditioned that original experience leading to equality as a major cultural value are in the

past; the cultural conditioning and egalitarian feelings remain. For Protestant Americans are taught as children, with the exception of those in other-directed families, to be independent, to be equal, that they are "just as good as anyone else" as human beings, and that they are equally entitled with others to certain rights. These family teachings are reinforced, at least at the ideological level, by the schools and churches. In fact, the teaching by the schools of the concept of basic equality, in its dominant cultural meanings of equality of opportunity and equality of human rights, is felt to be the source of great psychological conflict to negroes, when they find that they are not in practice, equal, and are not treated equally even in the schools.

As we have already pointed out, equality in human rights has steadily grown, legally speaking, and this de facto legal situation has been supported by scientific evidence from the biological and social sciences. That basic part of our authority structure, the Constitution, has continuously been interpreted as favoring more and more equality of human rights, which reinforces the basic egalitarian feelings of Americans.

The same has not been true as regards equality of opportunity, which has been left by the Supreme Court to the political arena, where the struggle is between the powerful in a few power groups, and the rank and file "say little" about policies in waging the struggle, except indirectly. Because this appears to be the case does not mean

that equality of opportunity is not involved in authority relationships. Every time an election is held which involves the allocation of things which affect people's success, equality of opportunity is at least an implicit factor in the winning of authority or control, whether it is overtly recognized and discussed or not.

Equalitarian Behavior In Authority Relations

Egalitarian behavior, or its lack, is a factor in every human relationship. Every human relationship is also an authority relationship. Whether the relationship is between parent and child, husband and wife, sister and brother, peer and peer, teacher and pupil, foreman and worker, and so on, the factor of approval or disapproval, acceptance or rejection of the human behavior involved in the relationship is present in some degree. Since feelings of equality are emotionally based, it naturally follows that the absence or presence of equalitarian behavior in a human relationship will affect its authority content.

Since individuals are not equal, biologically, and in social position and experience, and since American culture and society contains much authoritarianism in certain social institutions, it follows that individual feelings relative to equality will vary from the most emotionally egalitarian to the most emotionally authoritarian. Expected behavior can only be evaluated in terms of each sociocultural situation.

This conflict in values is the basis for conflict within the

individual, his society and culture, and it is very confusing in the winning and maintenance of authority. We find within corporations at the management level, for example, that executives who feel like buccaneers are forced by their self-interest to behave in an egalitarian manner; this produces personality conflict.¹⁸ They are caught, as it were, in the sociocultural vise of self-interest, equality, and a feeling of free individualism.

The Committee--Primary Social Structure In Functioning Authority

A combination of compulsive egalitarianism, fear of individual power, conflict between freedom and equality, and historical sociocultural experience, has resulted in the committee being the major social organization to which authority is delegated in American society. It is the committee which exercises authority, organizes and directs the activities of most of American life at the formal level, and even at the informal level is a major influence. This is in contrast to the authoritarian cultures and societies of Europe where authority is most often delegated to an individual.

It is important to effective committee functioning to be aware of the basic cultural conditioning of each committee member, and of the cultural meaning of the committee itself as an institution in American society. The need for help in house building and defense against the Indians led the earliest American settlers to join together in these common endeavors. Although leadership was sometimes

appointed, the pattern which gradually evolved was the election of the most capable and successful men to the leadership posts. As society became better organized and leaders more numerous, the desire for freedom to pursue selfish interests meant that means must be devised not only to curb the power of a single leader, but also to represent as many interests as possible. As the struggle with George III burned the negative feelings toward individual power over people deep into American psychological systems, the "multiple authority structure", of which the committee of several members is an example, became the dominant form of authority structure in American society. Gradually, through pragmatic experience, it has been found that teamwork, in committee form and ideology, if not in formal organization, secures the best results in any social enterprise in American society. Even such authoritarian institutions as the Armed Services, corporations and other bureaucracies, have, in the last two decades especially, greatly increased the emphasis on "teams" and teamwork.

Insofar as committees are concerned, the most effective way to curb the power of a single individual is to divide authority between several individuals. The power of the committee, and of single individual committee members, is often further limited by a written Constitution and by-laws which define not only committee powers and duties, but sometimes committee procedure and rules.

We will be cognizant of the situation in most committees if we

CHAPTER XI - THE EXPERT AND HIS AUTHORITY

Our ultimate purpose in this study is to develop a sociocultural frame of reference which may be useful in examining authority relationships in education. The fact that much of education is compulsory presents a problem in examining its authority relations. We have said that in any endeavor which requires the cooperation of the subordinate for successful accomplishment, the authority on which success hinges lies with the subordinate. We have said further that the subordinate grants authority to the superior's expert leadership. We have also found evidence that subordinates will "conform" in those compulsory situations where they perceive their self-interest and success demands such behavior. In compulsory education it is difficult to tell when a student, for example, is conforming to, or psychologically accepting, the leadership of the teacher. The outward behavior of the student at the time the authority relationship takes place, at least, appears much the same in both circumstances.

Because of this problem we have felt that the best way to gain useful insight into behavior in both "authority" and "control" relationships is to focus our attention on an expert-lay relationship where both parties to the relationship are free to behave in a manner which their sociocultural, psychological, and physical character directs.

We have chosen the physician and his relations with patients

remember that each committee member is motivated by selfish interests of his own, and probably represents the selfish interests of his special group. If we have five, seven or eleven members, normal size for most committees, we may have an equal number of people whose selfish interests propel them in different ways. Yet the cultural compulsion is to act in an egalitarian manner, and the committee member who is inexperienced, or rash enough to overtly advance his own interests, often finds his proposals squelched before the echoes of his words have died. This basic conflict between self-interest and egalitarianism is the reason why committees take so long to function, why often accomplishment is so little, and compromise more characteristic of American culture than any other.

Persons working in the field of group dynamics talk of "hidden agendas". Hidden agendas are rooted in this basic conflict between selfish-interests and equality. Success, in American society, not only depends upon the promotion of individual, self-interests, but on the ability of the individual to behave in an egalitarian manner at the same time. The person who is capable of phrasing his interests as the interests of the group and feels and acts as an equal at the same time, will most often win approval, authority, and success.

Bureaucracy Brings Sociocultural Conflict

While egalitarian behavior usually wins authority in any organization, we must expect considerable modification in behavior and

response in any bureaucratic organization where the status structure is a hierarchy rather than a wide range of peers. Members of a bureaucracy are very much aware of the inequality of status, and the power and control that goes with that status. Some superiors, through experience, have become aware that restraint in the exercise of their power, and egalitarian behavior which overtly denies their status, secures the best cooperation from those subordinates on which their own success depends. We must emphasize, however, that there are not enough studies of bureaucratic culture to determine what the patterns of behavior may be in authority relationships. The cultural situation is, to say the least, unique. Individuals who are culturally conditioned to be independent, to behave as equals, and to believe in the democratic authority of equal sovereigns, are functioning in a culture of unequals, in a bureaucratic organization, where dependence and authoritarianism appears to be the dominant condition.

SUMMARY

Most important in the expression of authority relationships is the configuration of equality in American culture. Many of the factors which have been causal in the rise and decline of individual freedom in American society have also been influential in the rise and decline of equality.

The Protestant revolt, in its emphasis on individual responsibility for salvation and the direct relation between God and man, meant also that every soul was equal before God. While Luther and Calvin were no advocates of equality, the consequences of their ideologies, in little over a century after Luther's revolt, found the leaders of the English Revolution asserting that "Kings are of the same dough as others..."

Out of the English Civil Wars came the ideas of universal suffrage, equality of citizen sovereignty, and equality of opportunity based on individual merit.

In America, Roger Williams was the first leader with equalitarian ideas. In his Providence Plantation all family heads had the franchise and were granted equal amounts of land. Here for the first time on American soil, also, man was made equal in human rights.

While the underlying motives of the American Revolution were economic in character, the overt issues of the conflict were manifest as a contest for equal citizen authority vs. a king of unequal status and control. Citizen sovereignty can rest on no other concept except

the equality of man, and American Revolutionary leaders, especially Thomas Paine, Samuel Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, made much of this concept. At the same time they denounced the inequality of aristocracy and king in every way possible.

The Declaration of Independence drove deep into American culture the idea that "all men are created equal". It asserted also that governments derive their power from all the people equally, that the ends of government are to maintain such equality, and if the government does not so serve, it is the duty of the people to revolt and re-establish these equalitarian conditions.

Throughout American history powerful groups have fought for inequality. These groups wrote the Constitution, were in control of the federal government until Jefferson came to power, and have had control of national affairs at various times.

The Federal Bill of Rights has been a bulwark in the maintenance of equality and authority. But it was the advent of Jackson which saw the great rise of equalitarianism in American culture. The first common man to be President, Jackson put into practice the equalitarian concept of public office which held that all men are essentially equal in talents and capable of holding public office. He took steps also to increase equality of economic opportunity, and led the way in making the exercise of citizen sovereignty more direct through the direct nomination and election of public officials.

But it was the conditions of frontier life which were the greatest

leveler of all. The frontier subjected people of all ranks and distinctions to a common set of experiences, and replaced status based on family and education with one based on ability and achievement.

So long as the abundant resources of a frontier nation lasted, equality and freedom developed side by side, but the basic contradiction between the two became evident shortly after the Civil War. We find in that great conflict a struggle over both freedom and equality in relation to human rights and equality of authority. Lincoln, in a speech on the issue of slavery in 1858, helped to define the concept of equality in American culture as equality of human rights, and equality in the basic opportunities for achievement.

While the winning of the Civil War by the North was a great stride toward equality in human rights, it was also the beginning of the decline in equality of opportunity, as Northern industrialists began a rapid concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the few. With this concentration of wealth, power and inequality have grown apace in the economic and political structure of the nation, with the result that equal citizen sovereignty has been partially replaced by control of the economically powerful.

Equality between the sexes has continued to grow socially, economically, and politically. This trend received great impetus when women received the national franchise in 1920. Family relationships have also become more egalitarian. Educational and religious

institutions have continued to develop in egalitarian ideology, but growing bureaucracy in these segments of American culture and society means that in practice equalitarian behavior is on the decline.

The configuration of equality has many sides and shades of meaning in contemporary American culture. How individuals actually relate to each other in day to day social relations determines the extent to which equality is present in American culture and society. This basic test will also help to differentiate between more ideology and practice.

It is in the area of equality of basic human rights that American feelings and practices are strongest. Americans feel that control over people is morally detestable, a sin, repugnant to decent human relations. They often get highly emotional when people or institutions use their position or status or advantage to "push other people around".

The best example of this was the deep resentment by American enlisted men when officers used their status to obtain privileges not accessible to enlisted men. Officer-enlisted men relations became such an important problem that the Secretary of Defense established a board in 1946, headed by General Doolittle, to study it. This board recommended that in the United States the hand salute be abandoned off Army posts and off duty, that all military personnel be treated equally in the administration of military justice, and that

the terms and concepts "enlisted men" and "officers" be eliminated. These recommendations are a revolutionary step toward equality in the most authoritarian social institution in American society. But they also show the importance of the overt expression of equality in social relations, and the strong feelings which Americans have over non-egalitarian behavior.

So complex is the American character, however, that this emotional egalitarianism is directly violated in the case of minorities such as Negroes, Jews, and certain other ethnic groups. We must, therefore, qualify our concept of equality feelings to apply only to those second generation, white Americans, who do not live in ethnic communities, and who have adopted and practice the dominant patterns of American culture.

Civilian superior-subordinate relations is another area where feelings of equality are most noticeable, if perhaps more difficult to define. The superior who is not equal may resent equal treatment by subordinates, but at the same time will probably practice egalitarian behavior because he has found his self-interest lies in such behavior, or perhaps has experienced social punishment for acting as a superior. The subordinate may feel equal as a person even though he is inferior in socio-economic status. In an organization where his socio-economic success and status is at stake the subordinate may give deference where he feels such action will promote his self-interest. In such social situations his actions will depend upon how

he perceives the cues given by his superiors. Outside of such organizations the American is likely to feel and act as an equal.

In a study of the decision making process, it was found that respect for leaders is partially based upon egalitarian behavior. One leader, who "acted like a big-shot", had a low image of respect in the eyes of the people. The leader with a high image of respect, though of high status in regard to family and wealth, behaved in an egalitarian manner toward all people.

American feelings of equality also lead to conformity, standardization, and mediocrity in social and intellectual life. The pressure toward conformity in the seeking of approval and success means that Americans are not free to develop their individual differences along new and original paths. The one exception to this is the dominant business culture where innovation, invention, and new ideas that lead to the advancement of wealth, power, and prestige of the business leaders are highly rewarded. Theoreticians, philosophers, writers, painters, or educators who are unconventional are either ignored, flouted or ridiculed. A case in point is the fact that the fundamental research which preceded modern atomic science was done by Europeans, while the engineering, the applied science necessary to develop the practical use of atomic energy has been largely developed by Americans.

The lack of absolute class standards in the United States is evidenced by the similarity in dress and public behavior of the majority of people, and the fact that most Americans do not recognize the

concept of social class. It would appear that about seven-eighths of the people of the United States hold the basic belief that all one-hundred-percent Americans are fundamentally equal, and that the differences between them are due to differences in individual ability, industry, and luck. No one is any better than anyone else, Americans often say; some just have more, are more fortunate than others, or work harder.

In the area of materialistic wealth, we find the concept of equality overwhelmed by the cultural values of success and freedom. The dominant concept in regard to equality and economic affairs is equality of opportunity rather than equality of condition. In this way the concept of equality does not conflict with the accumulation of the symbols of success, as success is defined by the dominant groups in control of the culture. Americans do not resent privileges which are earned through achievement, as long as access to the same privileges is open to others.

The cultural meaning of equality of opportunity has undergone considerable change during the past half century, and cultural studies are needed to define it. The concept likely means entirely different things to a corporation president and a semi-skilled factory worker.

American behavior in authority relationships will be expressed in terms of the two major concepts of equality: (1) equality of basic human rights, and (2) equality of opportunity. We must always be cognizant, however, of the conflicts and contradictions in American

culture and society relative to equality, especially in regard to minority groups, in regard to bureaucratic social organizations, and in social situations where self-interest is perceived as demanding a behavior which is contrary to the actual feelings of the individual.

Egalitarian feelings have been culturally conditioned into the psychological systems of Americans ever since the unequalness of a king, aristocracy, and state church was something to be hated and patriotically fought against with every bit of one's strength and intelligence. Protestant Americans are taught as children, with the exception of those in other-directed families, to be independent, to be equal, that they are "just as good as anyone else" as human beings, and that they are equally entitled with others to certain rights. These family teachings are reinforced, at least at the ideological level, by the schools and churches. The Constitution has continuously been interpreted as favoring more and more equality of human rights, which reinforces the basic egalitarian feelings of Americans. Equality of opportunity has steadily decreased as the social structure has become more bureaucratic and wealth has been concentrated in the hands of the few.

Since feelings of equality are emotionally based, it follows that the absence or presence of egalitarian behavior in a human relationship will affect its authority content.

Since individuals are not equal, biologically or in social position

and experience, and since American culture and society contains much authoritarianism in certain social institutions and their culture, it follows that individual feelings relative to equality will vary from the emotionally egalitarian to the most emotionally authoritarian. Expected behavior can only be evaluated in terms of each socio-cultural situation. The egalitarian behavior necessary to one's advancement is in constant conflict with freedom and individualism, also culturally conditioned into Americans. Executives who really feel like buccaneers are forced to be team players to advance their self-interest. These contradictions bring great conflict within the individual and his society.

The multiple authority structure of the committee organizes and directs most American life. The committee is an effort to curb individual power and to maintain some equality of authority among individuals. Committees' members are motivated by their own selfish interests and may represent the selfish interests of a special group. The basic conflict between individual or special group interests and egalitarian behavior is the reason why committees often work slowly, accomplish little, and compromise often. The person who is capable of phrasing his interests as the interests of the group, and feels and acts equal at the same time, will most often win approval, authority, and success.

Especially in bureaucratic organizations is the cultural situation unique. There we find individuals who are culturally conditioned to

be independent and equal in behavior, who are functioning in a culture of unequals, where dependence and authoritarianism appears to be the dominant condition.

It is evident that functioning authority in American society is beset and hampered by basic cultural contradictions. The leadership of experts is a possible means for overcoming these cultural contradictions, and increasing the effectiveness of functioning authority in our society. Let us now turn our attention to the expert-lay authority relationship, in an attempt to gain insights which may help to improve the effectiveness of the expert.

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CHAPTER XI - THE EXPERT AND HIS AUTHORITY

Our ultimate purpose in this study is to develop a socio-cultural frame of reference which may be useful in examining authority relationships in education. The fact that much of education is compulsory presents a problem in examining its authority relations. We have said that in any endeavor which requires the cooperation of the subordinate for successful accomplishment, the authority on which success hinges lies with the subordinate. We have said further that the subordinate grants authority to the superior's expert leadership when he approves and gives psychological acceptance to that leadership. We have also found evidence that subordinates will "conform" in those compulsory situations where they perceive their self-interest and success demands such behavior. In compulsory education it is difficult to tell when a student, for example, is conforming to, or psychologically accepting, the leadership of the teacher. The outward behavior of the student at the time the authority relationship takes place, at least, appears much the same in both circumstances.

Because of this problem we have felt that the best way to gain useful insight into behavior in both "authority" and "control" relationships is to focus our attention on an expert-lay relationship where both parties to the relationship are free to behave in a manner which their sociocultural, psychological, and physical character directs.

We have chosen the physician and his relations with patients

as the relationship which most nearly fits this qualification.

Physicians who are general practitioners are equally as free as educators in their social relationships. Laymen are free in their relationships with their physicians, and may, except in emergencies, accept or reject his services at will. Because of this we should be able to gain a valid view of the feelings and behavior of laymen toward experts, and how experts behave in their relations with lay people. Recent social studies also give us more information on the physician and his social relationships than is true in any other profession.

It is with the sociocultural aspects of the expert and his authority with which we propose to deal in this study. All professions are practiced in a network of institutions, formal organizations, and informal relationships.¹ While the content of professions will differ, and with it the professional competence of experts in different fields, the sociocultural aspects of winning authority is much alike in the case of every expert. This is true because the individual who seeks expert help carries with him his group culture, his current socioeconomic situation, his general motivations, biases, and prejudices, which are the same regardless of whether he seeks the expertness of a minister, physician, lawyer, or educator. The difference will come in the way these general sociocultural attributes of the individual are phrased relative to the specific content of each profession.

The majority of persons in these professions are middle class in

culture. This means that the general sociocultural attributes which most experts bring to the authority relationship will be similar.

While we do not contend that authority relationships in medicine are identical to those found in education, we do contend that analysis of the doctor-patient authority relationship will give us valuable insights into how Americans behave in authority relations when they are free. From analysis of this behavior we may then be able to draw some conclusions relative to the kinds of behavior which indicate conformance or authority in Education. Perhaps more important, we should be able to gain some insight as to how educators should phrase their role to win and keep authority. At least that is our purpose in this chapter.

THE PHYSICIAN AS AN EXPERT IN THE FIELD OF MEDICINE

American society is characterized by a high degree of scientific specialization. The rapid changes in most scientific fields of endeavor have been due largely to the knowledge and skill of the expert harnessed to the cultural universal of self-interest. This is soon evident when one notes that with the exception of government funds for research in science, most of the funds for research, even at colleges and universities, comes from business and industry, who use the results in their competitive enterprises. This is the reason also that research in the Social Sciences and Humanities is so

neglected, with about the only source of funds for research in these fields coming from a few Foundations. The one exception to this general pattern is the field of Health and Medicine. Of recent years the great fund raising drives geared to the general public have raised millions of dollars which are used for general health education and specialized medical research. The recent victory over polio is a product of this research financed by public monies.

Certainly there is no people in the world more concerned about health than Americans. And scientifically speaking, no nation has made greater progress in the field of health and medicine than has the United States. But even with the great public concern over health, and the competence of the general and specialized experts in medicine, the majority of people of the United States, which comprise the lower income groups, not only lack an adequate amount of medical care, but the medical care they do get is of very poor quality.² While the reasons behind this situation are many and complex, and the economic factor is certainly a major one, recent studies have discovered that social factors, especially in the doctor-patient relationship, are perhaps of even greater importance.

Contrary to the public image, shared by many highly educated people, the fact that a person has been appointed to the office of physician, with a status of an expert in our society, does not give that person any authority insofar as the actual practice of his expertness is concerned. The physician who is properly licensed has

the authority of society to practice medicine, but before his expertness in medicine has any authority whatsoever, it must be approved, and accepted both physically and psychologically, by a patient.

The actual authority of all experts who deal with the general public lies in the area of social relationships. Real authority must be won by the action of the expert himself. Whether the expert holds the office of physician, lawyer, educator, government employee or whatever occupation which deals with people, this is true. Before they can practice their expertness effectively, all experts, after they have proven themselves competent enough to be appointed to the office of expert, must still demonstrate qualifications which will win and maintain the authority of the people.³

Moreover, winning and keeping authority is a continuous process which is contingent upon the expert's relations with laymen and other experts. Therefore, if the general expectation that experts will lead the way toward progress is to be realized, one of the skills which all experts must learn is how to win and keep authority.

Let us start our investigation by trying to define the cultural images of the "office" of the physician, since these images influence the expectations which people bring to the doctor-patient authority relationship, and are basic in the winning and keeping of authority.

THE "OFFICE" OF PHYSICIAN AND ITS CULTURAL IMAGES

As we would expect in a complex culture, we are confronted with several images of "the doctor". The first image is that which the medical profession, in its "educational" literature and other means of contact with the public, would like the public to believe. An example of this idealized view is found in Robinson's work:

The relationship of doctor and patient is unique. The natural authority of the doctor, the confidence the patient feels in his professional knowledge, his unselfish disinterested respect for intimate communications, the tradition, so long accepted, that the relationship between doctor and patient is confidential, and the sentiment of the patient that the more the doctor knows about him, the more helpful he can be, all these attitudes and assumptions establish a basis for free and unbiased communication that is possible in few other human situations.⁴

As the facts will show, the actual truth about the doctor does not fit the above image. Relative to social relations of experts in other professions, there is some truth in the statement.

There is evidence that some physicians even believe these ideal images of themselves and their profession. As a case in point, Hall provides us with the testimony of Dr. E, an "Old Yankee" in the cultural groupings of New England, who is near the top of his profession. Said Dr. E:

The ethics of the medical profession are probably higher than those of any other group. No other group in the community, not even the ministers, renders such valuable services gratis. That is part of the code, of course, and at times becomes arduous. There are a lot of patients who never pay their bills and make suckers out of every new doctor who comes. Besides that, there are a lot of low income people who like to live like the upper

group and who contract for better medical services than they can afford. However, doctors have become better at collecting and better at bookkeeping; they had to do it in self-defense, but it was a good thing. Most doctors go into medicine because of their humanitarian impulses, and for the love of the game.⁵

The contradictions and ambivalence in this doctor's statement are most important in terms of human behavior. For this is the way some doctors view themselves in their relations with patients.

There is some evidence that in the past, in the days of the "country-doctor" many people held such a general idealized image of "the doctor". In the rural areas and small towns today, "the doctor" is revered, while at the same time a particular doctor may be held in low esteem. In addition to the esteem which surrounds a person who heals the sick and saves lives, the status of the doctor in the small towns is also partially due to the fact that he is one of the small number of individuals who possesses an exceptional education, better-than-average wealth, and a great deal of power in the community.⁶

We must realize, too, that in the small community, doctors are well known as persons, and because of the social pressures involved in these primary social relations, are more apt to render unselfish service than is the urban doctor, who may, if he wishes, get by with selfish behavior simply because he lives in the human jungle of a large city where most relations are impersonal.

It is quite evident that the advance of medical science, the social reorganization of the medical profession, and the onset of

urban culture as dominant in the nation, have all combined to bring radical changes in the behavior of the physician. It would appear that the people's "expectations" of the doctor, based on the old cultural image of him, have not changed, but the environment in which medicine is now practiced, as well as the behavior of the physician, has changed materially. Lee believes that the public views the medical man in three roles, roles which have been popularized by the mass media and the experiences of servicemen during World War II.

In one role the physician is regarded as a scientist, as microbe-hunter, as warrior on the frontiers of mankind in endless battles against disease, despair, death, and insanity. These men and women are popularized as heroes, as unselfish servants of humanity, sometimes as martyrs. An example of this was the recent unprecedented giving of a Presidential citation, the first ever given to a civilian in the United States, to Dr. Jonas Salk, who developed the vaccine for polio.

In another role, the physician is viewed as a technician who heals the sick, brings babies into the world, and eases the pain of death.

In his last role, says Lee, the physician is regarded as the retailer of medical knowledge.⁷

It appears that physicians are not only idealized as self-sacrificing, as persons "who have a feeling for humanity", and who

"care about people", but they are "expected to value humanity and to place the service of people above and beyond the less humanitarian motives so common to mere men." Since medical science was created by these self-sacrificing heroes for the benefit of mankind, most people expect that it should not be used to enrich medical specialists or be withheld or given grudgingly as a charity to the needy.⁸

The conflict between the people's generalized image and expectations of "the doctor", and the behavior of "particular doctors", becomes immediately apparent when we start to analyze that behavior. First of all, the individual, personalized care of the family doctor, has been replaced, in the urban area, with what is termed as organized medical service on a group basis. Medicine is now practiced by a team of nurses, hospital technicians, and medical specialists, who do their work, not in the home, but in a hospital, where the patient is one of a group of fellow sufferers, and the services of the medical team is diffused over many patients.⁹

This is marked contrast to the portrait of the country doctor who lived his whole life in one community, knew his families through three generations, and knew all the social, economic, and emotional histories of each family, so important to their health.¹⁰ This difference is basic in the change from a rural to an urban culture, from personal to relatively impersonal relationships, from the doctor in the role of an unselfish servant of mankind, to one as a retailer

of medical service.

Moreover, as one would expect of a person of middle class culture, physicians have usually identified themselves socially and in the minds of the public, with merchants, bankers, lawyers, realtors, and so on, by joining Chambers of Commerce, Rotary Clubs, Taxpayers Leagues, and other conservative organizations. On the other hand, they have carefully avoided identification with trade unions, and any liberal social or economic movement. The National Physicians Committee has affiliated itself with the National Association of Manufacturers in doing what it calls "preserving for the United States the free enterprise system".¹¹ The American Medical Association has spent several million dollars on propaganda to fight any government sponsored health insurance which would benefit the lower income groups.

At the same time the lower income groups feel that the doctors do not want them as patients. In Koos' monumental study, one class III respondent seems to sum up the feelings of others of his class:

He (the chiropractor) is awful nice even if you can't pay right away...The other doctors (MD's) are different. They always seem in a hurry if they think you can't pay, and some of them won't even come to see you at home if they think you can't pay. It isn't just money, neither. You just feel that he (the physician) don't want you if you aren't so well dressed as his other patients.¹²

The testimony of the doctors themselves and of their behavior supports the feelings of these lower income groups. It is a common pattern in the medical profession for established practitioners to refer their night calls and poor paying patients to newcomers. Hall

found that the largest concentration of doctor's offices in the city he studied were located in the high rent residential area.¹³ This means that the sixty percent of the population who comprise the lower income groups have only a few doctors catering to their needs.

The recent magazine articles on fee-splitting are backed up by the testimony of the doctors themselves.¹⁴ Miller points to the self-interest of the general practitioner who performs operations himself rather than refer them to a more competent specialist, in order to maintain his role as a surgeon, and his socio-professional standing with his colleagues.¹⁵

It appears that the actual situation in the medical profession is as Dr. B. explained it: that there are two kinds of physicians, those who are in the profession primarily to make money, and those who work hard, advance gradually, and contribute something to the world of medicine.¹⁶ At least in urban society, it would appear that physicians are no more or no less in pursuit of their self-interests than are the members of other similar professions. The difficulty in the authority relationship comes when people expect physicians to be above the average human in unselfish behavior, and finds he is no different from any other person.

This conflict between the idealized image of "the doctor", fostered by the medical profession and the mass media, and the quite normal cultural behavior of most physicians, results in ambivalent feelings toward physicians by many Americans. Feelings of high expectation

and gratitude are mixed with those of distrust and rejection.¹⁷ Because the medical profession appears to reject the lower classes as patients, while at the same time fighting measures which would make better medical care available to these underprivileged groups, the image of the physician among such people is on a lower scale than one finds in middle class families.

Although Koos' study was carried on in a small town community, he found that most patients and families "see the physician as a purveyor of services related to a given symptom. Their view is not much different from the one they hold of the garage mechanic, who is asked to repair the lights, the horn, or the carburetor of the car when these cease to function properly."¹⁸ If this is true, then people are beginning to take a more realistic view of the physician, and regard him as any customer regards a merchant who is trying to get people to accept and pay for his goods and services. As one patient remarked, "I paid him to cure me--why didn't he?"

Such an image of the physician also means that in order to practice his expertness, so that he will be effective in society, and successful as a professional person in a middle class culture, the physician must constantly win and maintain his authority from the people who are necessary to his effectiveness and success.

THE LAYMAN'S PERCEPTION OF NEED FOR THE EXPERT

In a society where people are free to decide whether or not they

need medical treatment, the individual must perceive that he or she has such a need before they seek expert help. Thus, before the expert can win authority, that is to say, acceptance of his treatment, advice, or leadership, the culture surrounding the individual must be such that perception of need occurs simultaneously with the need itself, or shortly thereafter. This is true in the situation with any professional expert. Before the lawyer, for example, can practice his expertness, there must be one or more individuals who perceive a need for legal aid, and who voluntarily follow their perception by actual seeking of such aid. While it is compulsory in most states to seek education until the age of sixteen, voluntary choice is present in the seeking of education at the college level. The same is true in seeking the services of a minister, an engineer, and so on through the list of experts.

In the perception of health and illness, Koos found that there is a complex of sociocultural, psychological, and economic factors which determine a wide range of perceptions as to what constitutes illness and a need for expert medical treatment.¹⁹ Such things as fear of going under the knife, uncertainty as to cost of treatment, consequences relative to one's job, whether the ill person was a family breadwinner, and the level of individual or family education, are all important factors in the perception of illness and the need for expert treatment.

But perhaps group culture and expectations, resulting in a

feeling of psychosocial compulsion on the part of the individual, was the most influential factor in seeking or not seeking treatment.

A Class III housewife expresses this compulsion beautifully:

I'd look silly, wouldn't I, going to see a doctor for a backache. My mother always had a backache, as long as I can remember, and didn't do anything about it...If I went to a doctor for that, my friends would hoot me out of town.²⁰

A Class I housewife expresses the same type of compulsion for treatment:

When I was little...we never had the doctor for the mumps, chickenpox and the like. Now we do...it's just something you are expected to do. If I go to the bridge club and say that Jimmy's in bed with the chickenpox but that I haven't called the doctor in to see him, I know the girls will all think I'm neglecting him.²¹

Thus, if the group culture dictated that a certain symptom should have the treatment of an expert, there was great likelihood such treatment would be sought. Love and approval, therefore, are powerful psycho-social factors which determine the behavior of Americans even in such life and death matters as the seeking of treatment for illness.

Only 67% of the perceived illnesses experienced by the 500 families in the first year of the Regionville study were treated by a physician.²² This is evidence that there are many reasons why people do not always act upon their perceptions.

Sociocultural, psychological and economic factors determine how much authority it is possible for the expert physician to win, even before he has an opportunity to enter an authority relationship with

a patient. This means that the winning of authority by the expert must include his interaction, as a member of a profession, with the total culture and society in which he lives and works. In the particular case of the physician, for example, his support of health education, and economic means for low income families to finance medical care, would greatly extend the amount of authority it would be possible for physicians to win.

Let us look now at the doctor-patient authority relationship.

THE DOCTOR-PATIENT AUTHORITY RELATIONSHIP

Attracting A Clientele--Primary Step In Winning Expert Authority

The fact that individuals are free, in urban society, to choose among several doctors, as their medical servants, means that before the physician may practice his expertness, he must attract a clientele. If he continues to practice his expertness, he must not only win the authority of a clientele, but he must maintain its loyalty. The practice of medicine today is a competitive business, and the physician who does not know how or does not take the time to win and keep the authority of a clientele will find the use of his expertness much curtailed.²³

Let us look at the evidence which supports this point. In the Regionville study, seventy households changed family doctors during the four year period of the study. Approximately ten percent of the patients who started treatment with a medical doctor later changed

to a chiropractor. Fifteen percent of the patients who started medical treatment discontinued it for various reasons. These reasons included no relief from treatment, dislike of the way the physician handled the case, cost too great, and refusal of hospitalization and/or an operation.²⁴

The physicians themselves testify to the competitive character of their profession, how consultants are chosen with care lest they steal their patients, how patients retire the doctor in favor of younger men, and how it is just as difficult to hold patients as to attract them.²⁵

The cultural universal of self-interest is working here, as we would expect, in both sides of the doctor-patient authority relationship. The doctor is trying to attract and hold a clientele; the patient is trying to choose a doctor whom he feels will work toward his, the patient's, best interests, in restoring him to health as inexpensively as possible, or in ministering to his psychological needs, however the case may be. As one author puts it, the patient and his family "sit like a jury in trial", passing judgments on the physician's qualities, defects, failures and achievements.²⁶

Psychological Acceptance Of Expertness--Requisite Of Authority

Even though the expert physician is capable of attracting and holding a clientele, that is to say, winning the authority of persons to administer his treatment, his expertness to them, his authority is

not complete unless the treatment is psychologically accepted in a positive manner by the patient.

Not only is this psychological acceptance of treatment necessary in many cases, for the doctor's expertness to be effective in restoring the patient to health, but it is an absolute necessity if the doctor is to maintain his authority to continue treatment, to continue practicing his expertness. Patients who do not like and psychologically accept the treatment of their physicians, may withdraw from any expert treatment, may shift from one expert to another, or may resort to another form of treatment.²⁷

Again, there are many sociocultural, psychological and economic reasons why patients do not psychologically accept and approve the doctor's treatment even though they allow him to administer it. Some of these reasons for refusal come from within the doctor-patient relationship; some come from without it. Robinson found that many patients had inadequate food, clothing, housing or personal care which did not allow them to fully accept medical treatment. Some patients had faulty personal habits which made treatment ineffective. And some had personality traits which made them unable to endure illness and disability.²⁸ Some people in the hospital clinic, it was found, wanted medical treatment but felt the treatment they got was given just to get rid of them, so rejected treatment psychologically in advance. Medical treatment, indeed every statement, action, or gesture of the physician tends to be interpreted by the patient in terms of

his emotional needs. The significance of this fact becomes evident when we remember that over half of the patients who come to the physician for expert treatment have ailments which are primarily emotional in character.²⁹

In the Regionville study Koos found that of 1,151 illnesses treated, seventeen percent of the patients were somewhat dissatisfied with treatment, and seven percent were very dissatisfied. Moreover, dissatisfaction with treatment was twice as great among the Class III patients, when their reactions were compared to those of Class I patients. In fact, 58% of the Class III patients were either dissatisfied or were unable to give an opinion concerning their medical treatment.³⁰

Our evidence tells us that people do become dissatisfied with expert medical treatment, do change experts or reject them altogether, and even after treatment is administered, it may be rejected psychologically.

The expert, it would appear, must be a capable person in his professional culture and his community. He must win from his professional superiors the authority to practice his expertness; he must win and maintain authority from people to allow him to administer his expertness to them. Finally, he must win the psychological acceptance of his expertness after he has administered it. If the expert is successful in these steps, he will have won authority for his expertness.

Now comes the inevitable question: how can the expert go about winning and keeping the authority which he needs to make his expertness effective, and himself a success in American society? What are the things that cause individuals to reject the expert, to withhold their authority from him, and what can the expert do in these situations? What kind of behavior on the part of the expert is most likely to win and keep authority for him?

Educational Aspects Of The Expert's Role In Winning Authority

One of the most significant findings in regard to the physician's winning, keeping or losing authority, is the importance of the teaching and educational aspects of his role in relation to health and illness. The educational aspects of the physician's role are both general and specific. In the general sense, the physician may or may not participate in, or support in other ways, the efforts of his profession and society in general to educate the general populace regarding health and disease. In the specific sense, the physician may or may not view his relations with patients as partly educational.

The level of education of a particular person is highly influential in that person's perception of health and illness, and also determines, in great measure, the expectations which the person has of the physician's expert treatment.⁵¹ For example, it was found in the Regionville study that many households did not discriminate between the medical doctor and the chiropractor, that both were regarded as

members of the community health team, and both were used interchangeably to treat illness. This non-discriminating behavior was significantly associated with lack of education. The least well educated were either unable to tell the difference between the competence of the medical doctor and the chiropractor, or at least made no distinction in many cases.³²

The expert, if he is to win and keep authority, must be aware of the educational level of the person with whom he is dealing, and the educational aspects of his role must be greatly expanded as the educational level of his client declines.

There is considerable evidence that the way the doctor educates his patients relative to their illness determines, in many cases, whether he retains the authority delegated to him by his patient. For example, a mother who thought her adolescent daughter had appendicitis, took her to the doctor for examination. The physician made the examination and told the mother he saw no immediate danger but to return her daughter for periodic examinations. No further explanation was made, and no further visit to the doctor's office was made by mother and daughter. Two months later the girl had an emergency operation for the removal of a cyst. The mother emphasized the doctor's lack of explanation as being responsible for her failure to return her daughter for examinations. She said:

If the doctor had only told me why he wanted us to come back, of course we'd of gone. But he just said there wasn't anything

wrong now, but that he wanted to see her again,--to watch her belly--so how was I to know? If doctors would be frank with you, and not shilly-shally around, maybe you'd be better off.³³

In this case the expert physician lost the authority of his patient because he failed to educate his patient relative to her health.

While most patients are eager for information and advice regarding their health, the physician seems to be neglecting his teaching role. In the conclusion of Koos, "the patient-physician relationship can grow no better so long as the physician neglects his teaching function."³⁴

Group Culture And The Expert's Winning Of Authority

Equally important to the physician winning and keeping authority is the influence of the patient's group culture relative to illness and health in general, and in relation to the group culture of the physician as the other half of the doctor-patient authority relationship. The power of the group culture over the behavior of the individual is due to the fact that it is in the primary group, that the individual achieves or is denied status, approval, love and recognition. Since Americans have a great need for love and approval these things, and the group which controls them, are powerful influences on human behavior in American society. Family relationships and friendships tend to occur within a social class rather than to

cross class lines. Therefore, not only is the culture of the family or peer group important in guiding the behavior of the individual, but the culture of the larger social group, or social class, is also a major determinant of individual behavior.³⁵

In relation to the expert physician, group culture expresses itself in a variety of ways. The culture of the family in which the individual was reared, as well as the family he is, if married, building, is always of primary importance in health and illness. Since health and disease is an integral part of the continuous process of living, and the family, at least in the most important stage of character formation, childhood, is the unit of living, it follows that the family--not the individual--is also the major unit of health and illness.³⁶

Especially does care of the teeth seem to "run in families". Members of some families never visit the dentist unless they are forced to by pain and illness; others deny themselves of other things in order to maintain good teeth.³⁷

In regard to other aspects of health, a Class III mother in the Regionville study indicated how her family and peer group culture influenced her response to the treatment of the physician. She said:

I would of had my kid at home, but the doctor wouldn't let me. I was born at home--all my kin was too...But I went to the hospital, and then he wanted me to come back--just to get the money for another visit, I guess...Nuts to him, I said... I'm not going to do something like that when my mother didn't and my girl friends don't neither.³⁸

Here is a case where a combination of group culture and lack of money resulted in loss of authority for the expert physician. A better job of education on the part of the physician as to why the return for post-natal examination is so important in the health of the mother, may or may not have resulted in his retaining authority in this case.

We find also that group culture often determines the hierarchy of values which the individual holds, health being only one of a number of these. For example, in the lower income groups, where there are many places for the income dollar, the things which the group defines as important, and which a family or individual must have to win desirable status, will always win top priority for income use. If the group defines possession of a television set, or a decent automobile, as important for recognition, then these things will usually be purchased prior to health care, which is lower in the hierarchy of values in the group's culture.³⁹

Perhaps the most outstanding example of the power of group culture in influencing behavior of individuals is found in relation to the use of medical doctors and chiropractors. The behavior of Class I and Class III people in this regard is so clear cut and so different that the influence of group culture is unmistakable. In the Regionville study, sixty-one percent of the Class I households "would not use the chiropractor for any illness". Fifty-eight percent of the Class III households, on the other hand, would use the

chiropractor for any illness.⁴⁰ The rejection of the chiropractor by Class I people, and his acceptance by Class III people, was in both cases due in large measure to cultural attitudes identifiable with the particular group.

One respondent stated the case very nicely for the Class I group. She said:

I don't think people like us, people with any standards or know how, use the chiropractor...After all, he's not to be rated with the doctors or other professional men. If he is respected at all, it's by people who don't know about such things, or who just don't care--people who haven't any standards...Anyone who has to advertise as a healer in order to get people to come to him can't amount to much, I'm sure of that...I'd certainly think twice before I'd go to anyone as unimportant in the community as he is.⁴¹

The factor of status, in relation to how "people like us", "with standards", choose our expert servants, is very important in this respondent's judgment of the expert. Her group chose the expert who is respected, who is important in the community. They rejected the expert who "has to advertise" his services, whose services can't be worth much because they cost less than the medical doctor charges, which places the chiropractor in a status group lower than the medical doctor. In Koos' words, "such factors would not operate powerfully among individuals who were not status conscious."⁴² Certainly the better education of the Class I person also makes him more competent to evaluate chiropractic treatment, and his economic position is high enough so he can afford the services of a physician. But it would appear that his feared loss of

group status is the primary factor which causes him to reject the chiropractor.

It is evident, on the other hand, that identification of group status with that of the chiropractor is a basic reason for his wide acceptance by Class III people. In this regard, a Class III respondent said:

I guess we got Dr. _____ mostly because he seems to be the doctor for people like us...He's kinda like a poor people's doctor for some of us--You ain't always sure the regular doctors like to see you come in with their uppity patients. It ain't--isn't--our fault we're poor, and the chiropractor seems to know this better...I think more people like us think of him as our doctor just because we're all poor and alike.⁴³

Again we see the consciousness of group status and culture operating, this time in a positive manner, relative to the chiropractor. The fact that Class III people identify with and feel close to the chiropractor also means that he identifies with and accepts them as patients, else his behavior in the doctor-patient relationship would probably cause his rejection. We must recognize again, however, that the poorer education of the Class III person places him in an unfavorable position to evaluate the competence of the chiropractor, and the fact that the chiropractor charges less is a directly recognized advantage for someone with limited income.

Cultural Differences In The Expert-Lay Authority Relationship

The difference in the cultural frame of reference of the expert professional and that of the lay person is a factor in expert-lay

authority relationships in all social classes. This difference in frame of reference is magnified many times, however, when the expert is in a different social class and group culture from that of the lay person with whom he deals.

Koos found, for example, that many of the "gripes" about the physician stemmed from the differences between the lay and professional definitions of the illness situation.⁴⁴ The expert physician most often defines illness as a medical scientist. The lay person, on the other hand, defines illness in the terms of his own particular life situation, in the terms of his own emotions, his own social relations, his own economic position, his own educational level, his own group culture.

Where both the expert physician and his patient are from the middle class, for example, the social relations, economic position, educational "level", and group culture of both will have many things in common. There will be understanding between the two in these areas, and value judgments coming from similar frames of reference. The emotional content of a middle class doctor-patient relationship is still a crucial area where two different frames of reference are inevitable. The emotions of both doctor and patient up to the point of their authority relationship will be the product of their own particular genetic makeup and sociocultural experience. Insofar as the general attitudes and beliefs of their middle class culture is

concerned, their experience will have been similar. But insofar as specific experience is concerned it will have been different for each. The family and peer group context of each life experience will have been different, and is different at the time the doctor-patient relationship takes place. Moreover, the phrasing and perception of self-interest and success will be different, though the general direction will be the same. The expert physician will see his self-interest and success in terms of his medical fee and his professional success of restoring his patient to health. The patient will view his self-interest in terms of family and friendship relationships as influenced by medical treatment, and also how treatment will affect his job, the avenue of his own success.

It is evident that the expert physician, if he is to win and keep the authority even of patients of his own social class, must have not only enough psychiatric training and experience to perceive the emotions of his patients, but also enough sociological and anthropological training and experience to understand their sociocultural context, and its overwhelmingly important relationship to his expert treatment. Even if the lay person knew as much about medicine as the expert physician, and communication between the two at the scientific level were perfect, the specific sociocultural context in which the lay person finds himself might mean that he could not accept psychologically the complete treatment which medical science deemed necessary

to restore him to health. While it may, in some few cases, be possible to change the patient's environment, the practical impossibilities of such change preclude it in the majority of instances. The expert must, in most cases, tailor his treatment to the socio-cultural and psychological context of his patient, if he is to win complete authority and maximum success for his medical treatment.

We find an exceptionally difficult situation when the expert-middle-class physician deals with the lay-lower-class patient. In this case, the doctor and patient each represent, not one but two, different subcultures. While both use some of the same words, they are speaking different languages in the cultural sense. The social relations, economic position, content and level of education, emotions, and group culture of each will be entirely different. Each will be speaking from an entirely different frame of reference, and communication at the level of meaning is exceedingly difficult in such a situation. This fact came out again and again in the Regionville study when the middle-class-expert-physician dealt with the lower-class-lay-patient. Much of the dissatisfaction with the physician, the majority of which was found in the Class III families, was due simply to lack of communication between doctor and patient.⁴⁵ For communication at the level of meaning is based upon culture; the mechanics of communication are merely a means whose effectiveness depends upon cultural understanding.

This problem of cultural difference in the expert-lay authority relationship is an exceedingly difficult one. It may be overcome by education at the level of "intellectual understanding"; at the "emotional level of feeling" the bridge between two different cultures is very difficult if not impossible to construct. This is a salient fact which comes out of the majority of studies concerning the European who came to America as an immigrant. The basic personality structure which is formed as a child in one culture may only be modified by experience in another culture, but it is impossible to ascertain what the extent of such modifications may be. For the basic personality structure, as it interacts with its environment, appears to determine the strength and direction of personal motivations. For example, the physician who has a greater than normal need for love and approval, which he can secure and is receiving through conformity to his own group culture, may not be able, because of his feelings, to deal effectively with individuals of a different group culture, he may have a fear, existing at either the conscious or sub-conscious level, that his dealings with persons from another group will affect his relations, love and approval.

There also is the possibility that the middle class expert has no desire to deal with anyone but middle class people, no desire to bridge the gap between his own group culture and that of another group. This would appear to be the case with many physicians who have a good

practice with middle-class patients, do not want to deal with lower class people and actively discourage them in many subtle and not so subtle ways.

But even with those physicians who desire to bridge the gap and work with lower class patients, the feelings of the middle class culture which is so much a part of them cannot help but be expressed at the level of sensory communication between doctor and patient.

For example, the middle class valuation of cleanliness is reinforced for scientific reasons in medical treatment, to keep down danger from infection. Let us visualize a lower class patient from the slums of a large city, living in a slum dwelling where facilities for bathing are limited, and who has a job in a fertilizer factory where he may change his outward clothing after work, but cannot take a shower. He needs to see a doctor, but since he goes to work at seven in the morning when doctor's offices are not open, he must see the doctor after work. Let us assume he is fortunate and attempts to see a doctor who really wants to help lower class people. So he may make the required examination, the physician asks his patient to remove his clothing. Not only is it visually evident that the patient has not bathed recently, but the doctor's olfactory sense powerfully reinforces what his eyes tell him. Let us assume further that the doctor understands, at the intellectual level, the environment in which his patient is forced to live and work. But the physician's

value of cleanliness, enforced by his middle-class mother whose love in his childhood was conditional on his "not getting dirty", and whose long scientific training has further reinforced this value, may not be able to completely control his feelings in the presence of the unwashed. His intellect, because he understands the patient's environment, may accept lack of cleanliness; his emotions may experience revulsion, and in the various subtle ways which the unconscious has of expressing itself, communicate to the patient his real feelings. An inflection of the voice, an over emphasis on a word, a moment's hesitance to touch the patient in the physical examination, these and many other nuances of human behavior may communicate to the patient the physician's real feelings. The other factor which serves to sharpen the sensory perception of the patient in this particular case is that fact that everything in the doctor's office exhibits cleanliness, the crisp white uniforms of secretaries, doctors and nurses; the gleaming equipment, the use of sterile materials, and so on. Moreover, if the physician's clientele are largely middle-class, the lower-class patient cannot help but be aware of the well scrubbed faces and clean clothing which characterize other patients in the waiting room, making him ever more conscious of his own condition and status.

Many times in the Regionville study, Class III respondents indicated their perception of the physician's feelings which were in opposition to their group culture, and their behavior dictated by

their environment. Many Class III families transferred their authority to the chiropractor because the physician "seemed too much in a hurry" with them, made them "feel unwanted", and was hard to see, was condescending, unsympathetic, and so on.⁴⁶ Whether these feelings were consciously and deliberately communicated by the physician, were unconsciously communicated by him, were from the patient's own awareness of his differences from the middle-class norms socially approved in American culture and society, or were a combination of these things, these feelings did exist. And where feelings exist they will influence, motivate, and direct behavior. These are the conclusions of Koos on the influence of group culture on the behavior of the individual:

In the last analysis, the health of the community is based upon the ideas, ideals, attitudes, and behavior patterns of the individual and his family, for these determine what he will or will not, can or cannot, expect or accept from those who make his health their professional concern. Perception in all aspects of illness and health must be seen as varying from one stratum in the social hierarchy to another...these class related differences have an importance which cannot be denied. For these are differences in perception, and from perception stems acceptance or rejection of what is professionally known to be necessary for health.⁴⁷

In the expert-lay authority relationship, the expert who understands at the intellectual level the group culture of his clientele, and who is able, at the emotional level of feeling, to bridge the gap at least in part between his own group culture and that of his clientele, will win and retain the most authority.

Competence In The Arts Of The Profession Paramount To Winning And
Keeping Authority

Before we discuss the specifics of the physician's behavior leading to authority in the doctor-patient relationship, it may be useful to know what influences people in their choice of an expert physician. In the Regionville study it was found that individuals chose a physician because he had served the family in a previous generation, the doctor and patient were acquainted socially, because the doctor was recommended by a relative or friend, because he had a reputation in the community of being a good doctor, because the doctor would make home calls, didn't press for payment, was moderate in his charges, was the most available in an emergency, was "our kind of doctor", or would prescribe as the patient requested.⁴⁸

These are highly subjective reasons of a social, economic, and psychological character. It is apparent that by and large the layman's choice of an expert physician is not made on a rational basis. In order to make a competent choice of a physician the lay person would need to know the relative competence of the physician available to him. He does not have this information and there is no way for him to get it, especially in the urban areas. This means that for the most part the factors which influence the choice of a physician are irrelevant to his competence in the field of medical science. In a given community certain doctors are chosen most frequently because they are popular or fashionable or associated with a successful doctor.⁴⁹

It is the competence of the physician in the psycho-social aspects of professional and community life, the art rather than the science of his profession, which determines, in the main, his ability to win and keep authority, and which brings him success in professional and community life. All physicians who come out of medical school these days are competent in the science of their field of medicine. Some are naturally more competent in medical science than others, but it is necessary to be exceptionally outstanding before scientific competence will alone begin to contribute to the expert's success. Naturally, the expert who is outstanding in both the science and art of his profession is the most successful. The majority of experts are not, however, sufficiently outstanding so they can rely heavily on scientific competence to win authority; in this regard they must rely mainly on their skill in psycho-social relations.

The social and psychological satisfactions which individuals gain from the doctor-patient relationship appears to be highly influential in the amount and kind of authority the patient delegates to the physician. "Every individual has conscious expectations from his treatment, but he has also certain conscious expectations which may be even more important. If his contacts with the doctor, the nurse, or the chiropractor give him a sense of security, of being important, of having something done to (or for) him, and if he has the chance to unburden himself fully of his concerns regarding his health, his perception of the worth of his treatment is great."⁵⁰

If the patient does not gain social and psychological satisfaction in authority relations with the medical expert, his value of his treatment will be low, and his reaction is likely to range from partial acceptance to complete rejection of treatment at the psycho-social level.

There are some powerful psychological, social, and cultural reasons why this is true. First and foremost is the need built into the psychological systems of most Americans for love and approval. The person, expert or lay, in American society who gives at least the outward signs of approval--the smile, hearty handshake, the "how are you and how is your wife and children?", the use of the first name, and so on, if sincere, will win some authority in most any social relationship in American society. So this need for psycho-social satisfaction is a general need, not confined to the expert's authority relationships.

The closeness, both physically and socially, of many expert-lay authority relationships means that the layman not only knows whether the symbols of approval are being extended or not, but also usually senses if they are artificial or really meant. The expert physician who treats a patient will find it difficult to cover up unacceptable feelings. He must give approval and mean it--if he wants to keep his patient's authority.

We have said that over half of the medical clientele today are suffering from emotional ailments. In these cases psychological

satisfaction is more important than the use of scientific medicine. And the fact that physicians get so many patients whose troubles are psychological means that the general population has a great number of these people in it. All types of experts will deal with many people who have abnormal psychological needs. Certainly the educator, since all people are required to attend school, will, at one time, deal with many needs and types of personalities. So it is that the general and personal psycho-social needs of the layman, and his expectation that these needs will be satisfied in the expert relationship, means that the expert needs to be competent in psycho-social relationships with lay people.

Behavior Which Wins Authority For The Expert

We must now ask and answer the question: What kind of behavior on the part of the expert physician in the authority relationship is most likely to give the patient or lay person social and psychological satisfaction? Let us first examine the testimony of successful physicians, and then check this testimony against the attitudes of lay persons. Successful physicians list these types of behavior as being necessary to success, and success means they have won sufficient authority to make them successful: (1) an outgoing, genuinely friendly type of personality, (2) a genuine interest in other people, (3) dependability, (4) democratic, egalitarian behavior in human relationships, (5) sincerity, (6) maintaining a professional

bearing, (7) knowledge and use of group culture in dealing with patients, (8) remaining on one's toes psychologically so the patient is not aware the physician is tired or not feeling well, and (9) conformity to cultural norms, giving the patient confidence.⁵¹ An expert who can and does behave in this manner will extend psychosocial satisfaction in most of his authority relationships.

The lay half of the expert physician-patient authority relationship supports the testimony of the successful physicians as to the kind of expert behavior which wins and keep authority. The behavior which wins the chiropractor his authority is a case in point. The attitudes of the families in Regionville who chose the chiropractor over the medical doctor brought out these aspects of the chiropractor's relationship with the lay-patient which was vital to their satisfaction, and the base of the expert's authority. These respondents said of the chiropractor: "He don't hurry you none"; "He lets you talk if you want to"; "He don't act as if there were a million more people more important to him waiting outside"; "He don't act as though there was nothing wrong with you"; "He don't try to hide what's the matter with you from you--he tells you right out what's wrong, and what he can do about it"; "You don't feel as if this was a dollars-and-cents business proposition"; "He's more 'professional' in treating you"; "He isn't hard to see"; "I like him better as a man"; "His services are less expensive".⁵² These comments by people regarding the chiropractor are actually also in relation to their experience with the physician, and refer in one sense, to the

type of behavior which had lost authority for the physician, and which, in the opposite phrasing of conduct, had won authority for the chiropractor.

While scientific and professional competence is a prior requirement before the professional expert today is given authority to practice his expertness, his effectiveness in society and his success in his profession depends most often on his psycho-social ability in his relationships with lay members of society, whose authority he must win and keep if he acquires sufficient clientele to make him effective and successful. If this be the case, then we may assume that the education of the expert will have a great influence on how he plays his role, and the nature and extent of the authority he wins.

THE EXPERT'S EDUCATION AND HIS AUTHORITY

In medicine, as in many professions, education is focused on the scientific and professional phases of the physician's work. This is true for a number of reasons. The informal organization of the medical profession and the nature of medical schools is such that the faculty in the universities and teaching hospitals may achieve success without much attention to the arts of their profession. Their success comes from preparing students to be doctors, and from being a part of the specialist referral system. This is

not to say that there is no concern with patients. Certainly they are an important part of medical education, and certainly the staff of a medical faculty are usually successful physicians. But the fact that most of the general practitioner's success comes from his psycho-social ability with patients and colleagues, while the faculty member of a medical school has his success patterns phrased in teaching and research as well as in practice, is an important influence on the curriculum of the medical school. The average practicing physician must concentrate on the art of his profession to be most successful; the faculty member, because he draws a salary and part of his status from being a member of a university staff, is free to concentrate most of his attention on the science of medicine if he so desires. While this fact is fortunate in terms of scientific progress in medicine, we must recognize that it may also result in the science of medicine being over emphasized at the expense of the arts of the profession, so much needed by the practicing physician. The influence of hospital and university staff members is exceedingly far reaching, simply because the medical profession is a tightly controlled, closed monopoly. Leaders in medical colleges and those who occupy top posts in hospitals, have it within their power to determine who shall or shall not practice medicine. This is power which is able to demand and get conformity, and which stifles much criticism within the profession itself. In any profession which is thus organized, change must come from the top of the hierarchy.

If the top members of the hierarchy do not need constructive change to be successful, the education of the profession may not reflect the needs of the average practitioner, whose needs, in terms of success, actually are very similar to the needs of his lay clientele.

That this "is" the case, that the "Arts of expertness" are neglected, appears to be true in the medical profession. In their devotion to science, many leaders of medicine have had little time or energy for the consideration of the patient as a person, as a unit in a complex society and as an organism subjected to many strains and stresses from the environment.⁵³

Yet, the goal of medicine is to keep individuals in such health that they are useful, functioning members of society. This is a social goal. The major functions of medicine: the promotion of health, prevention of illness, restoration of the sick, and rehabilitation of the disabled, are activities which require the cooperation of many people and groups. Medicine is a social science, and if physicians are to be effective in winning and keeping authority they must be trained in the social sciences, the art, as well as the science, of the profession.⁵⁴ This is true of any expert whose effectiveness involves winning and keeping the authority of people. In the case of the expert physician, his skill should not only include his role as medical scientist, but his role as purveyor of psycho-social satisfactions in the doctor-patient relationship, as teacher-

educator in relation to his patients and the general public in matters of health, as an effective citizen in his community, organizing and promoting the kind of environment that is conducive to health, and as the medical expert in the community who sets standards and defines health norms for the lay public. If the expert physician is to be effective in translating medical science into the effective service of human beings, he must have the psychosocial skills which the social character of his many-sided role demands. His effectiveness in winning and keeping authority is directly related to his education in the social skills necessary to be effective in his socio-medical role.

But physicians, as are all experts, are themselves human beings, with the same psychological and social needs as lay members of society. They are also products of the same national culture as lay members of society. Experts are striving for success and approval, for status in their profession and community, the same as laymen strive for these things. The materialistic symbols of success, it would appear, while not always overtly emphasized, are basic in the motivations of the middle class culture of most experts. Above and beyond these sociocultural needs are the psychological needs which attach to the individual personalities of experts, personalities which vary in character just the same as the personalities in any group of lay people.

The needs of the expert are powerful in directing his behavior,

and in his ability to win and keep authority. Experts, physicians especially, are supposed to be above the normal behavior of the ordinary citizen, to be, as it were, an individual without social, cultural, and psychological needs. The lay image of the expert so often denies his essential humanity, but his behavior, nevertheless, continues in human ways. It would appear that the cultural, social, and personality factors of the individual, now largely ignored in the selection of persons to be educated as experts, are exceedingly important to their effectiveness in society.

No discussion of the expert and his authority would be complete without some reference to the culture of the profession of which he is a part. Let us turn now to the culture of the medical profession.

THE PHYSICIAN'S PROFESSIONAL CULTURE AND HIS AUTHORITY

We have already discussed the influence of the expert's education on his ability to win and keep authority. The sociocultural aspects of incorporating a new member into the profession, and the culture of the profession itself, are major factors in the expert physician's behavior in the expert-lay authority relationship. "Who" is recruited to the profession, insofar as social class, ethnic group, and personality is concerned, is also important in determining the effectiveness of the expert in authority relationships. To understand the implications of these factors, let us first outline the

organization of the medical profession, along with its social and cultural ramifications.

Organization And Control Of The Medical Profession

The medical profession today, generally speaking, consists of four groups of expert practitioners. There is an "inner fraternity" of specialists who have access to, and dominate the main hospital posts. Below this dominant inner group are a number of specialists who are striving to work upward in the professional status structure, some of whom will inherit the dominant positions of those above them. Around the inner fraternity of specialists are the general practitioners who are bound to the inner fraternity in the sense that they refer cases to the specialists which they themselves do not want to handle. Still beyond the general practitioners are those doctors who have no hospital or specialist connections, who are striving to succeed by their own individual efforts, perhaps striving also to establish ties with the inner fraternity. This outer group may be termed the marginal men of medicine.⁵⁵ The inner fraternity, who dominate the top posts of the medical hierarchy, are able to exercise informal control over the recruitment of new members, the allocation of position and status in the various medical institutions, and the acquiring of specialized clienteles. Their "position" in the closely integrated status structure of the medical profession enables them to control it.

Three important features of this inner fraternity of specialists aids their informal organization and control of the profession. First of all, this inner fraternity represents a technical division of labor in a profession whose fund of knowledge has grown beyond the ability of one person to master. Specialization divides medicine into areas which may be mastered, and the integration of specializations by the inner fraternity provides complete medical service to the lay public.

Further, the inner fraternity provides a social organization for organizing the market. Its informal social organization channels patients from general practitioner to specialist, and from one specialist to another. It also provides its members access to hospital facilities which are necessary for a specialized practice.

Finally, this inner fraternity of specialists comprise a social group whose members have close sociocultural bonds. Their socioeconomic and educational backgrounds are similar. They participate together in the same professional and social groups. They associate together in their daily work, occupy offices in the same building or locality, and are technically interdependent. These close sociocultural ties enable them to develop a high degree of consensus, which, added to bureaucratic position, supports the informal controls exercised by the inner fraternity.

The mechanism of inner fraternity control is centered in the

process of sponsorship by which members of the profession rise in its status structure on the road to success. This control is further facilitated by the linkage of pre-medical and medical schools to hospitals, and the fact that medical schools are dependent upon hospitals for internships.

The members of the inner fraternity exercise an indirect control over the selection policies of medical schools by their recommendations of students. Because they hold the top posts in the hospitals, the inner fraternity controls the allocation of the most desirable internships. A doctor's internship represents a crucial point in his career, a status badge which serves to categorize him for most of his professional life.

The next step in the medical status structure is that of externship. This position obligates the doctor to work in the charity clinics and involves the use of much of his time and energy. It is a period of probation before the doctor is allowed the next step up the ladder to an active staff position in the hospital. The inner fraternity not only allocates externships but decides which externs will be appointed to the hospital staff.

The inner fraternity also holds a monopoly over two other favors necessary for maximum socio-economic success in the medical profession. The first of these is incorporation into an established office practice. Younger men may be invited to share the practice

of an established physician, and will inherit the practice when the older physician retires.

The second favor is incorporation into the system of referrals. In specialized practice the chief method of acquiring a clientele is the referral of another doctor. A specialist who is a newcomer to the community is absolutely dependent on the other doctors to become established.

In such a system one maintains position or advances by remaining personally acceptable to the membership of the inner group. Some of the devices which members of the inner fraternity use to control competition and stabilize medical services in a community are (1) institutional investigation of the newcomer (2) informal discussion and advice on appointments by top members of the hierarchy (3) casual neglect in granting promotions in the hospital system (4) specific acts of encouragement and reward by the established practitioners, and (5) direct sponsorship of a new recruit by one of the inner fraternity. It should be emphasized again that promotions and "appointments are not made on the basis of technical superiority".⁵⁶ The physician must be technically proficient, but after that level of scientific competence is reached social acceptability to the inner fraternity of the medical institution is the determining factor in selection. At every step in his career the physician must win approval of the members of the inner fraternity. And in some cases this means

active intervention in, and encouragement of, the career of his protege by the sponsoring physician.

Medical Experts And The Problem Of "Authority" And "Control"

Two other factors need be mentioned for their influence on expert authority relationships. The first has to do with the informal selection process of those individuals who are allowed to become specialists. The first factor is the economic one. Specialists are required to take longer training of a rigorous nature. The specialist may have to wait longer for satisfactory income because of his long probation period in the hospital, or while waiting for room for his specialty in the community's medical monopoly. This means the specialist must have an adequate source of income or subsidy while he goes through his long period of training and apprenticeship. Moreover, since specialists will eventually man the top posts in the inner fraternity controlling the profession, it is important that they be "sound in behavior and ideology". Family and community connections are powerful forces in making a person conform to the culture of the group in power. Both of these reasons, economic and sociocultural, work together to influence the selection of specialists from the old established families, most often medical families in the upper or upper-middle social class.

Specialists whose offices are located in a medical grouping of several adjacent offices are usually restricted to one ethnic group.

These highly organized, though largely informal, and in some communities monopolistic conditions in the medical profession, are very significant in relation to the expert physician's behavior in winning and keeping authority.

In the first place, the expert physician who is a specialist, and who conforms to the culture of the controlling group so that he remains in the referral system, may be a success, in middle and upper class terms, without much concern over winning the authority of his patients. As long as he maintains his socio-professional position he will have sufficient clientele referred to him so that he may be successful in securing a high income. This would not be possible if control over the profession were not exercised so that demand for specialist services far exceeded the supply of physicians with specialized training.

The ability to win success by conforming to the culture of the control group, may or may not have anything at all to do with the physician's effectiveness with his patients. It is not necessary for such a physician to be concerned with the health of the community or with the medical leadership of society. Let us elaborate. Any medical specialist of average scientific competence will cure enough illnesses to maintain his position in the closed system of referrals. Where much of the competition for patients is eliminated by the referral system, the expert in this type of a social situation is more concerned with the psycho-social satisfactions of his colleagues

and superiors than of his patients. How much more effective he would be in promoting the health of his clientele were his first concern their psychological and social satisfactions, it is impossible to say. The important fact in this situation is that the expert's behavior and culture is dictated, not by the patients he is supposed to serve, but by the demands of his colleagues and superiors who control his road to success. The expert's personal success, in this case, does not depend on his doing a first rate job in his "authority" relations with patients, but on his doing a good job in his "control" relationships with colleagues and superiors.

The general practitioner, on the other hand, who is in the main outside the bureaucracy of the hospital system and the specialist system of referrals, is in a much more competitive situation. While the control of the number of practitioners in the profession means that the demand for medical services far outweighs the supply of service, the size and quality of the general practitioner's clientele depends on his psycho-social skill with patients. His personal success will be dependent upon his skill with patients to a much greater degree than is the case with the specialist. To be effective and successful with patients, both specialist and general practitioner must be competent in their authority relationships.

We have already said that it is the specialists, because they occupy the top posts in medical institutions, who are in control of

the profession and the education which doctors receive. It is the specialists whose culture is most influential with medical students and interns, because they are in control of the avenues of success. Regardless of whether the young intern is to become a specialist or a general practitioner, the same lack of concern with the social and psychological aspects of the expert-lay authority relationship by the specialists who educate him, become also embedded in his professional culture. The nature and culture of those educators who induct the expert into the profession, and who, as representatives of those in control of society, grant the authority to practice expertness, are a major influence on the behavior of that expert in his authority relationships with laymen.

Since those in control of the medical profession do not need to be responsive to the needs of lay society to be successful there is an ever-widening gulf between the profession and the majority of lay people, who are of a different socio-economic status and group culture from that of the physician. This upper status medical group is often in conflict with those lower status groups in society. As a further result, the profession as a group is losing some of its authority in the society. "Control" may mean socio-economic success for experts as long as monopolistic conditions may be maintained. But "authority", which implies positive acceptance of leadership by the majority of people, can, "in the long run", be the only sure base

for the effectiveness and success of the expert.

When we look at the needs of society for medical service, however, we find that sixty percent of the nation's people are in the lower classes. The cultural gap between an upper class physician and a lower class patient is so great that there will not be much understanding, much less expert authority, in such an expert-lay relationship. At least this is true if the results of the Regionville study have any validity.

If cultural understanding and a similar frame of reference is important to the expert in winning and keeping authority, then it would appear that experts ought to be recruited from the social groups they are to serve, and in proportionate numbers to the size of that group in the general population.

While it is true that some of the physicians who come from ethnic groups and the lower classes return to serve them, even the majority of these experts have upper-middle class aspirations and strive for the higher income clientele. It is evident, therefore, that the problem of effective expert authority relations is a complex one and proper recruitment is only one phase of it.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have attempted to delineate the sociocultural expression of authority relations as they appear to occur in the expert-lay relationship. We have chosen the physician as an example of the expert because people have a great deal of freedom in the doctor-patient relationship, and recent social studies give us considerable information on the sociocultural relations between doctor and patient.

Contrary to general belief, the fact that a person has been appointed to the office of an expert does not give that person any authority insofar as the actual practice of his expertness is concerned. The physician, for example, who is properly licensed, has the authority of society to practice medicine, but before his expert-ness in medicine has any authority whatsoever, it must be approved, and accepted both physically and psychologically by a patient.

Real authority must be won by the action of the expert himself as he deals with lay people. Moreover, winning and keeping authority is a constant social process which is contingent upon the competence of the expert in psychological and sociocultural relationships with lay people. Consequently, if the expert is to be effective in society, the primary skill he must learn is how to win and keep authority.

The cultural images of the "office" of the physician influence the expectations which people bring to the doctor-patient authority

relationship, and are therefore basic in the winning and keeping of authority.

One image of the physician is the idealized picture fostered by the medical profession in its "educational" efforts with the lay public. This image portrays the physician as completely unselfish in his saving of lives and healing of the sick. This image leaves the impression that he is a person who "cares about people", and who places the service of mankind above all other motives. His behavior also is ethically unquestionable, and he gives his service free to those who cannot pay for them.

Many physicians in the small town rural areas fit this cultural image, at least in large part. Their image and status in the public view is also influenced by the fact that they possess more education, wealth, and power than the majority of people in the community.

The facts tell us that the behavior of "particular doctors" is considerably different from the idealized image of which the profession would have the public believe. Physicians identify themselves with middle class and upper class groups in the society, the bankers, lawyers, realtors, businessmen, and so on. They join and support Chambers of Commerce, Rotary Clubs, Taxpayers Leagues, and the activities of the National Association of Manufacturers. The American Medical Association has spent several million dollars to fight government sponsored health insurance. At the same time many doctors will have little to do with the lower class patients who may be poor

financial risks.

Doctors themselves testify to the occurrence of fee-splitting. Some doctors perform operations and other services which, for the good of the patient, ought to be referred to a more competent specialist. As one doctor puts it, there are two kinds of physicians, those who are in the profession primarily to make money, and those who work hard and contribute something to the world of medicine.

The quite normal cultural behavior of most expert physicians is in conflict with the idealized image and expectations carried by many people. At least in urban society, it would appear that the expert who holds the office of physician is no more or no less in pursuit of selfish interests than are members of other similar professions.

Much of the change in the behavior of the expert physician has come with the change from a rural to an urban culture. The country doctor often knows the social, economic, and emotional histories of his patients and their families through two or three generations. The practice of medicine under such conditions is very personal; the doctor is more likely to give unselfish service where the social pressure of primary relationships impinge upon him. Medical care in the urban area, on the other hand, is relatively impersonal. Medicine there is practiced by a team of nurses, hospital technicians, and medical specialists, who do their work, not in the home, but in a hospital, where the patient is one of a group of

fellow sufferers, and the services of the medical team is diffused over many patients.

There is some evidence that urban people are developing a more realistic image of the physician as expert. Some view him in the roles of microbe hunter, as a technician who heals the sick, and as a retailer of medical knowledge. Some see him as not much different from the garage mechanic who is asked to repair the car when it ceases to function properly.

These widely varied images which lay people bring to the expert-lay authority relationship will be highly influential in their behavior. Their feelings toward the expert physician seem to vary from high expectation and gratitude to distrust and rejection. It would appear that the majority of the lower class people do not have a favorable image of the middle class expert physician because their cultural difference brings frequent rejection.

If the expert is to be effective in winning and keeping authority he must be aware of these various images and feelings relative to him as an expert, be able to recognize them in his lay clientele, and be prepared to deal with them effectively.

Before the expert may practice his expertness with a lay person the layman must perceive a need for expert assistance and be willing and able to act on his perceived need. There is a complex of socio-cultural, psychological, and economic factors which influence a wide range of perceptions as to what constitutes a need for expert

assistance. The group culture appears to be a major influence in the individual seeking or not seeking the help of an expert. These many general factors, therefore, determine the amount of authority it is possible for the expert to win before he has an opportunity to enter an authority relationship with a layman. In the case of the physician as expert, his support of health education and means for low income families to finance medical care, would greatly extend the amount of authority it would be possible for physicians to win. The general role of the expert, as a member of his profession in the total society, is therefore highly important in determining the number of lay people he is able to deal with in an authority relationship.

Since most people are free to choose among several experts, the expert must attract and hold a clientele before he can practice his expertness. The expert educator who works in the elementary and secondary fields appears to be an exception to this rule, because he has a captive clientele in the physical sense. Moreover, even though the expert wins authority to administer his expertness to a lay person, his authority is not complete unless his expertness is accepted psychologically in a positive manner. There are many reasons why lay persons are unable to accept psychologically the treatment of an expert, even though they allow it to be administered. In sum, if the expert is to be effective in society, he must be capable in the general aspects of his role in his profession and

community, he must win from his superiors the authority to practice his expertness, he must win from lay people the authority to administer his expertness to them, and to make his authority complete he must finally win its psychological acceptance.

The teaching and educational aspects of the expert's role are very important in his winning and keeping authority. The educational part of the expert physician's role is general in regard to health, and specific in regard to the health of particular lay people. The layman's level of education influences his perception of the need for expert assistance, and his expectations of the expert in the authority relationship. To win and keep authority, the expert needs to be aware of the educational level of the person with which he is dealing, and expand the educational aspects of his role as the educational level of his client declines.

Because the individual acquires or is denied love, recognition, approval and status in his primary groups, it is his group culture which is most influential on his behavior in an authority relationship. The group culture appears to be the major influence on the perception of the need for expert help, the phrasing of the action to secure expert assistance, the expectations of the expert, the hierarchy of values which the individual holds, and the status of the expert from which assistance is sought. It appears that low status experts often serve low status lay people.

Cultural differences become especially acute in the expert-lay

authority relationship. Where the expert and his lay client are from the same social class their general cultural frame of reference will be similar. But even where this is true there will be differences between expert and layman in emotions, genetic character, family, self-interest, success patterns, and group culture.

Where the expert is from the middle class, and the lay person from the lower class, there is little in common between the two except a few general patterns of culture common to most Americans. In such an authority relationship expert and layman will be operating from two different cultural frames of reference. Their communication, understanding, and mutual satisfaction from such a relationship is likely to be low.

The expert, therefore, if he is to win and keep authority, needs enough psychiatric training and experience to perceive the emotions of his lay clientele, and enough training and experience in sociology and anthropology to understand their sociocultural context. Because it is impossible, in the majority of cases, to change the environment of the lay person, the expert needs to tailor his assistance to the sociocultural, psychological, and economic conditions of his lay client, if he is to secure maximum authority and effectiveness.

Education is able to bridge the cultural gap between the expert and his clients at the level of intellectual understanding, but at the emotional level of feeling, the bridge between two cultures is almost impossible to construct. The middle class physician, for

example, can scarcely hide his negative feelings toward a patient's lack of cleanliness. To the patient, such feelings constitute rejection, and he is very likely to respond in the same way. If this happens, the expert will have lost whatever authority the patient has already granted him.

The competence of the expert in the psycho-social aspects of his role in his profession and community determines for the most part his ability to win and keep authority. Most medical experts are sufficiently competent in the science of their profession, and laymen know so little about the relative competence of various physicians that scientific competence plays a minor role in the lay choice of a physician. It is the expert's mastery of the arts, rather than the science of his profession, which will win and keep the most authority for him.

We have pointed out that love and approval are highly important to Americans. The expert must give approval and mean it if he wants to keep the authority of the layman. The fact that many people in American society suffer from emotional disturbances means that it is even more important for the expert to be competent in psycho-social relationships with lay people.

The expert who is genuinely friendly, has a real interest in other people, is dependable, democratic in behavior, is sincere, maintains a professional bearing, has a knowledge of the group culture of his clients, and conforms to the general cultural norms, is

most likely to win the authority necessary to his success with lay people.

In the medical profession the expert receives excellent education in the scientific aspects of medicine, but it appears that his education in the arts of his expert role is neglected. Some medical men believe that he does not receive enough education in the social sciences, which would enable him to win and keep maximum authority. It would appear also that more consideration ought to be given to cultural, social, and personality factors in the selection of persons to be educated as experts effective in society.

The highly organized nature of the medical profession permits a few people to control the avenues of advancement and success. In order to get ahead, the expert specialist in medicine must be proficient in his "control" relationships with colleagues and superiors. In other words, the success of the expert medical specialist does not depend on his doing a first rate job in "authority" relations with patients. The same situation would appear to be true of any expert who is a part of a highly controlled bureaucracy.

Experts who are not in a bureaucratic organization must depend upon their competence in psycho-social relations with lay people to win and keep authority as the means to effective action and success. Moreover, if cultural understanding and a similar frame of reference is important to the expert in winning and keeping authority, then it would appear that experts ought to be recruited from the social groups

they are to serve, and in proportionate numbers to the size of that group in the general population.

We have attempted to delineate, discuss, and clarify some of the major elements in a theory of authority specifically related to American culture and society. Let us now discuss some of the implications of this theory for American education.

NOTES

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SECTION V

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

Since all human relationships are authority relationships, the whole field of education and all educators are involved in the problem of authority. The problem of authority is especially crucial in all learning activities, in faculty relationships, and in the relations of lay citizens and professional educators.

The sociocultural foundation of authority relations in public education rests upon an ideology of Calvinistic, Protestant individualism which is in conflict with an urban environment. His ideology holds forth to urban man the glories of individualism; his environment, characterized by dependence and control, denies them. Individualistic ideology and urban environment are both in conflict with the fundamental biological nature of man as a social animal. Consequently, the best approach to the examination of authority relations in education is to develop a general understanding and frame of reference which educators can use to evaluate their own specific authority relationships.

The majority of educators seem to believe that authority rests with the superior and is delegated to subordinates below him. Because this concept of authority is dominant in the general culture, educators should not openly profess any other. Actually, however, in the majority of educational activities, authority resides in subordinates. This is true because educational activities are cooperative in nature, and the contributions of subordinates are necessary to

make such activities a success. The authority of the educator ends with those things which lie within his own personal competence, or which are granted to him by others.

Educators who wish to be successful in educational activities must phrase their behavior to win the psychological acceptance of their communications and leadership from subordinates and peers which constitutes a grant of authority. Individualistic ideology, which results in the feeling that individuals ought to participate in decisions that affect their self-interest, lends powerful reinforcement to subordinate authority.

The educator must have the requisite means to make his authority effective. He must win authority from the overwhelming majority of his subordinates and peers in order to be effective and efficient in his role as educator. Winning authority requires that the educator's communications be understood, that they be related to the self-interest and success of subordinates, peers, and superiors.

Educators need to be aware of the authority which attaches to their office. They need to be competent in informal authority relations, and able to evaluate the social power of leaders in school and community.

Because he is in the position of stimulus, initiative, and leadership, the manner in which the expert educator phrases and carries out his various roles will determine, in large part, the nature and extent of authority which subordinates grant him.

Population characteristics vary from community to community. The educator needs to know something about the social class, ethnic group, race, family and peer group environment of the students and lay adults with whom he works.

In his authority relations the educator should expect behavior to conform to the dominant cultural patterns of individualism. He should expect resistance to his control efforts, and behavior phrased in terms of self-interest and success relative to the individual's primary groups, his family and social clique.

Educators must expect students and other laymen to emphasize success, not mastery of subject matter or skill, to emphasize ends rather than means. Respect for the educator, an important resource in authority relations, may be increased when he treats all laymen equally, and as equals to himself.

Where success is at stake educators should realize that laymen will give deference where they perceive self-interest demands it. Age, sex, physique, and health will also affect the behavior of people in authority relationships. Where the culture demands overt conformity, many people will behave covertly in accordance with their basic human nature.

The individual's primary groups will be the major influence on his perception of the need for education, on his expectations of the educator, and the place of education in his hierarchy of values.

Educational institutions are controlled by middle class business society, and are operated by middle class administrators and teachers.

In their authority relations with educators, middle class students have a similar cultural frame of reference, have high motivation to succeed, are willing to work hard, conform and give deference where their success demands it.

The values and behavior patterns of lower class students, who comprise some sixty percent of the school population, are realistically different from those of middle class culture. Most lower class students do not have access to middle class symbols of success, and because of this reason often do not conform to middle class controls. Middle class educators find it difficult, in the face of this culture conflict, to win authority from lower class students and adults.

Educators need to be competent in the general aspects of their role in community and profession. This includes educating lay people about education, improving the competence and status of educators, and providing leadership toward the solution of educational problems. If he is working in the public schools, the educator is faced with an annual task of winning authority to practice his educational expertness. Adult educators must win a clientele; educators in a compulsory educational situation must win the clientele assigned to them. For his authority to be complete, the educator must win psychological acceptance of his communications and leadership.

Patterns of behavior which will win authority for educators are: warm friendliness, a genuine interest in people, egalitarian behavior, dependability, sincerity, phrasing behavior with reference to group culture, maintaining a professional bearing, and conforming to

cultural norms.

The educator may achieve personal success by being competent in control relations with superiors, but if he wishes to be successful in educational activities, he must be competent in authority relationships with subordinates and peers.

CHAPTER XII - THE SOCIOCULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF AUTHORITY IN EDUCATION

Our major focus in this study has been on the development, phrasing, and expression of authority in ideology and human behavior in American culture and society. There would seem to be considerable merit in stopping our general study at this point. The material which we have thus far developed might serve as a general frame of reference for more complete authority studies in narrow segments of our society and culture.

But perhaps there is some responsibility, in this generally unfamiliar area, to apply these general concepts to a specific segment of the culture. Since the field of Education is our major interest, we propose to focus this section on a rather general discussion of authority and education. In this way we shall discharge the final purposes of our study.

THE IMPORTANCE OF AUTHORITY TO EDUCATORS

It appears that the majority of educators are unfamiliar with the sociocultural concepts of authority. If confronted with this strange subject their first question might well be, "What does it have to do with my work?" We have pointed out that every human relationship is an authority relationship. Whether the relationship is between teacher and pupil, specialist and teacher, superintendent and taxpayer, and so on through the list of all the human relationships

in which educators are involved, the factor of approval or disapproval, acceptance or rejection of the human behavior involved in the relationship, is present in some degree. This being the case, the whole field of education is completely involved in, and affected by, authority and authority relationships.

Authority is especially important as a part of the learning process. Teachers will find that their effectiveness and efficiency is directly affected by their ability to win authority from pupils and parents. Whether their leadership in learning activities is accepted or rejected by pupils and parents determines whether or not they have won sufficient authority to be effective in the learning process.

School superintendents always find their authority relationships most crucial with the school board and other citizens in the community. This is true because it is the citizenry who control the authority for the funds and policies which are needed to make educational activities effective.

During the past few years the struggle for the authority of leadership in education has widened perceptibly. This struggle for authority and control is usually going on in some degree between groups within the community, and between some communities and administrators. The authority and control struggle within the greater society has served to heighten this struggle in regard to education. The conservatives want to control education to keep their educational policies in force. There may be some educators, believing they

"know what is best for the people" in the field of education, who would exercise control over educational policies, and then through a program of publicity advise the people of their educational activities. These struggles have been magnified by the nationwide fear of communism, investigations of teachers, and the enforcement of loyalty oaths in some areas.

Perhaps the greatest importance of authority and authority relationships in education is in relation to the burgeoning problems of education. Some of these problems are: (1) a growing number of emergency teachers (2) lack of adequate funds for classroom space and equipment (3) the growing problem of delinquency, and (4) the lack of attention to the quality of education as related to the solution of human problems. Educational leaders have not been able to win sufficient authority from the citizenry to keep these problems from growing, much less arrive at their effective solution.

Like the general society, the dominant environment for education today is urban in character. Instead of the one room school in a primary group society, the dominant situation is several schools and hundreds or thousands of teachers in a city school system resting on a secondary group society. Both the one room school and the bureaucratic city school system are under the control of one board of directors. The environment, both within and outside the school, has changed materially during the past fifty years. The sociocultural concepts of organization and implementation which are in use in education do not seem to be effective in an urban environment.

In light of these conditions, an understanding of authority and authority relationships, plus the ability of educators to win and keep authority, is the foundation for educational progress.

Our first step toward building a general frame of reference concerning authority is to try to gain some understanding of the major cultural characteristics which affect the ideology and behavior of people in authority relationships. Let us, therefore, try to bring together into a workable synthesis the major threads of our sociocultural study which are important as a foundation for understanding American authority.

A SOCIOCULTURAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

The Dominance Of Calvinistic Protestantism In American Culture

We have confined the scope of our study to the Protestant culture of white, democratically oriented, third generation Americans, who reside outside of ethnic communities, in urban sociocultural areas outside New England and the South, but including all metropolitan cities in the United States. The majority of Protestant Americans are third generation because the early immigration to America was mainly Protestant. The majority of Protestants also reside outside ethnic communities. Most Protestant Americans originated from English or northern European stock which was readily assimilated into English speaking communities. We have pointed out that it

was these Protestant peoples who settled the United States and established the basic character of the culture. Therefore, the democratic influence of the frontier has had its greatest effect on Protestant culture.

We do not know how many Catholics have adopted the patterns of the dominant Protestant culture. We do find the majority of Catholics in urban areas, and some urban areas and cities are predominantly Catholic, especially in the northeastern United States. What we have to say, therefore, concerns only those educators who are working in an urban area that is predominantly Protestant. While our frame of reference may be of some value as a point of departure for educator's to study their authority relations with Catholic people, we expect such relationships to be different from those with Protestants.

Within Protestant culture we have documented the dominance of Calvinism. As we have pointed out, this has been due to the militant character of Calvinism which kept its adherents in the vanguard of leadership as the new nation was settled. We need only to enumerate the major Protestant denominations to confirm this fact. Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Quaker, and many other denominations are directly Calvinistic in origin. While educators need to be aware of the minority patterns in the culture, and be able to recognize them in citizens and students, the working frame of reference should rest on the dominant culture. For this reason our discussion

concerns Calvinistic, Protestant American culture and society.

The Individual--Center And Apex Of American Protestant Culture

The most significant characteristic about American Protestant culture is its focus and emphasis on the individual as the center and apex of the culture. This is the overwhelming meaning of Protestantism--the change of emphasis from corporate society to the individual. When Martin Luther made the individual alone responsible for his own salvation, the step was taken for this far-reaching cultural change. In his search for salvation, the individual began to focus his mind and behavior on the "self", the "egoistic I", as one author phrased it. Thus, a great premium was placed on selfish behavior, called "self-interest" in American culture.

So he could pursue the interests of the "self", the individual needed freedom, and this began to take a high place in his value system. Political, economic, and religious freedom all rest on the basic motive of individual self-interest. In order to gain and maintain freedom, the Protestant devised the concept of equality as the foundation for individual sovereignty and self-government.

It was John Calvin who said that no mortal being had the right to stand between man and God. This meant for Calvinists there was no earthly master; anyone who interfered with the decisions of a Calvinist was likely to be branded as interfering with the affairs of God.

While the Protestant's major motivation has changed from spiritual salvation to material success, the emphasis on individual responsibility has never changed. Self-salvation was followed by self-subsistence, self-government, and self-success. The achievement of these things became a duty for each individual, and there has been little if any way to avoid these responsibilities.

In his search for his goals, the individual Protestant developed various means to aid himself. We have already mentioned religious, political, and economic freedom as serving the individual in this relationship. Equality, universal suffrage, education, reason, and sexual characteristics, also serve the motive of self-interest. While the emphasis on the individual is a characteristic of all Protestantism, the fullest development of individualistic culture has occurred in the United States. In Europe where Protestantism was born, it was faced with an established society which was corporate in character, and cultural change has been slow. In the New World, however, there was nothing but nature to stop the full realization of Calvinistic individualism; the rich resources of the undeveloped continent set the perfect environment for the complete development of a culture focused on the individual.

We have documented how the New England towns in the early history of Americans developed self-reliance, self-government, a rude equality of service and privilege, and independence--all foundations of individualism of the strongest character. The motive behind this

individualism was self-interest manifest in material or economic terms.

When the United States came into being in 1789, its people devised social institutions to implement its culture of individualism. The Constitution and the Bill of Rights lay powerful sanctions, legal, cultural, and moral, on freedom from restraint relative to the activities of the individual. This negative character of freedom is inherent in the Protestant emphasis on the self, and still characterizes freedom in American culture today. Until the depression of the 1950's man's freedom was restricted, in theory, only when his use of freedom endangered the freedom of others. History shows, however, that "self"-interest has been stronger than freedom as a cultural value and dynamic.

In the early history of the United States authority was defined, limited, checked, balanced, separated, and divided--the object--to retain as much control in the hands of the individual as possible.

Twenty-five decades of frontier living merely served to drive Calvinistic individualism deeper into the culture. At the frontier, man lived in a state of natural freedom, outside the jurisdiction of established society, law, and social controls. He formed the habit of acting alone; there was no one to rely upon but himself. This self-reliance extended into the realm of law, order, and justice, when the occasion demanded it for the protection of life and property. While Americans have always been quick to cooperate when self-interest

demanded cooperation, the individual retained his independence and freedom in such efforts. He has usually been quick to withdraw to himself if he felt his self-interest was not being served or his individual rights were being infringed upon.

It was the frontier society which has had so much to do with the development of local authority and control as a means of retaining authority and control in the hands of the individual. Frontier people would tolerate no authority except that created by themselves. They did not consider it lawless to violate social controls which had been devised without effective participation from their own group. It was the rugged individualists from the New England towns and the frontier communities who insisted on the right to instruct their representatives in Congress, another means of maintaining individual control.

Egalitarian behavior was enforced in frontier communities, for anyone who acted superior was a threat to the freedom of other individuals.

Individualism has been expressed in the personality of Americans since its earliest history. The Puritan fathers have often been dubbed the "self-confident saints". Aggressive, rugged, egoistic, egotistic, self-confident, practical, selfish - these are terms which describe American behavior. The Protestant American has always been quick to rebel when someone "tries to tell him what to do". He has always had the idea that it was a natural, God-given right to make his own

decisions, even if those decisions were wrong.

We have pointed out that in early Protestantism self-interest was directed toward salvation as the major motivation of the individual. When Calvin made worldly success a sign of election to God's Kingdom, self-interest became material in manifestation with salvation still the underlying motive. Secular leaders came to power in American society early in the eighteenth century, and the religious roots of the culture have grown weaker steadily. As a result, self-interest is not only materialistic in manifest character, it has little religious or ethical restraint. Materialistic self-interest is the underlying foundation for the cultural configuration called "success", which is also phrased in individual and personal terms.

This was the basic character of the dominant culture established in the United States prior to 1900 when the nation was still predominantly rural. The individual was the central focus of Calvinistic, Protestant culture, and all cultural patterns were built to reinforce it. To paraphrase Lincoln, American culture prior to 1900 was by the individual, of the individual, and for the individual.

Even before the turn of the century the conflicts and contradictions in the dominant Calvinistic culture had begun to show themselves. Self-interest and unlimited freedom for the individual in economic affairs had already resulted in a few individuals gaining control of the economic affairs of the nation. When the individual lost his economic independence he also lost the foundation for his

political freedom. While farmers and urban workers struggled to regain the freedom which was the foundation for individualism, the control of the wealthy few gradually tightened. It was not until the debacle of the great depression of the nineteen-thirties that Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal administration gave the individual a new stake in the capitalistic culture of individualism. The depression gravely threatened the culture of individualism, and some of the Protestant people of Europe discarded it in favor of collectivism. In some European nations a Socialist government was elected.

We must emphasize that the New Deal Administration, contrary to some views, did not change the basic culture of individualism; it saved and revived it by giving a majority of individuals a new stake in the material goods which the national economy produced. The individual was still a considerable distance removed from the control of his own interests, however. The control of the society, which formerly had been completely in the hands of the business and financial interests, was divided by the New Deal Administration between government, labor unions, and business. During the rise of the labor unions to power, the individual played an important role in union affairs, but his role has declined materially as unionism has become highly centralized. In urban society, while the individual is not without influence, his role, authority and control are confined largely to the exercise of the franchise in union affairs and in the

election of his public servants, plus his narrow functions in job, home, and family.

We must again emphasize that the growth of labor union and government influence in the society serves to strengthen the culture of individualism. The tripartite division of control merely serves the purpose of dividing the economic goods of the nation in a more equitable manner. And while the direct control of the affairs of the nation has been divided with government and labor unions, indirect control still remains in the hands of the business community. This is true because all activities in a capitalistic society require money, government included, and the business community is in control of the capital. We have pointed out that business leaders and the heads of various bureaucratic social organizations want freedom and the same kind of individualism for themselves as existed in frontier society. Through their control of cultural institutions, the business community is instrumental in perpetuating the culture of individualism. American youth are taught in the home, school, and church to be independent, to think for themselves, to achieve as an individual. Rewards are based on individual achievement, and the individual is taught that he alone is responsible for his own success. Constitutional law has continuously widened the legal sanctions for the basic rights of the individual. He feels that it is his "God-given right" to make his own decisions, to be captain of his own soul.

This is the ideology of individualism, the superorganic part of American culture that is socialized into the psychological systems of the majority of Protestant Americans. Catholic Americans are also exposed to this ideology through the mass media, and those who attend the public schools and universities are exposed to it still more.

We have pointed out that the environment which faces the individual in urban society is diametrically opposed to a culture of individualism. The meaning of this conflict we shall elaborate later. For the moment let us first discuss a few of the cultural configurations which support individualism.

Antipathy To Control

The Protestant, if he was to be responsible for his own salvation could have nothing, no controls of any kind, stand between him and his search for God. The fact that every soul was equal before God also implied that no individual had the right to exercise control over another. Calvin was explicit in saying that in matters of conscience man had no other master but God. Freedom, therefore, came to mean freedom from control. Individualism implies self-government or control over self-interests by the self.

This antipathy to control, as we have pointed out, is a continuous thread throughout the development of American culture. Most immigrants who came to America came because they were chafing under the religious, social, and/or economic controls of European society.

Again and again one finds that one of the brightest lures which induced Europeans to come to America was the fact that the only limitation on the individual in the New World was his own ambition and ability. The fathers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony smuggled their charter aboard ship so as to have this legal instrument of control in their own hands. During the struggle with George III in the Revolutionary era it became a patriotic act to resist British control. The frontiersmen resisted controls of any kind, especially any efforts at taxation. Local resistance to state and federal controls is a deep pattern in our culture. Shay's Rebellion, The Whiskey Rebellion, Range Wars, and many similar conflicts are examples of local resistance to outside controls. The Civil War era was especially notable for its local resistance to Federal control. The racial issue of desegregation is a current example of such resistance.

People who were living in a state of natural freedom on the frontier naturally found it hard to tolerate controls when organized society caught up with them.

We must hasten to point out that Americans have not and do not oppose "authority", that is to say, laws and leaders of their own free choice. It is those laws and leaders which have been chosen without their full participation which they regard as "outside controls", and thus feel free to disregard.

The wide use of the multiple authority structure, and the careful circumscribing and limitation of authority is an attempt to keep

control and authority in the hands of the individual. The American's fear of government is a fear that it will control his life, and he will be able to do nothing about it. "Government control" is one major controversial issue in Federal farm programs. During World War II, government regulation of prices represented control over the individual; this was the factor which resulted in the lifting of price regulations so soon after the war was ended. Control over others is felt by most Protestant Americans to be morally wrong, repugnant to human decency. Not only is the individual responsible for his success, but no one has the right to thwart or try to control his actions in that direction. Many Americans feel that anyone who defies or resists controls deserves the approbation of his peers. This is a most powerful reinforcement of individualism in contemporary American culture.

To strive alone for life's goals is directly opposed to the social nature of man. Cultural patterns which deny the basic biological and social nature of man are needed to reinforce the central configuration of individualism.

Cultural Patterns Which Deny Man's Bio-Social Nature

At the outset we must point out that the fundamental life needs of man can be obtained only through social interaction. Reproduction of the human race itself is dependent upon the social act of mating. In highly organized societies a host of cultural patterns surround

and direct the fundamental activities of mating, sexual relations, and child rearing. From birth onward man in urban society is dependent upon his fellow human beings for food, companionship, love, sexual activities, and so on. Biologists have proven that man cannot live an effective life in any society without these things.

If the fundamental needs for human life are to be found in social interaction, then the Protestant focus on the individual, the self, rather than on the social group, is itself a denial of basic human nature. We have documented this concentration on the self which has been the dominant feature of Protestant culture, and continues to be so today. The corporate society of medieval times was soon atomized, in those areas which became Protestant, into a mass of individuals, each one alone in his search for salvation. This aloneness of the individual has been transformed into the search for success in contemporary American culture. The pattern today is for Americans to give up family ties, love, and affection, to follow wherever the job leads, in his search for success.

We think it will be profitable, in trying to understand the behavior of Americans, to enumerate the major humanity-denying patterns in Calvinistic culture.

First of all, selfishness itself is not a fundamental human trait. Selfishness is a cultural pattern which is learned. The Zuni culture, where the individual is completely submerged in the group, and always thinks of his group rather than himself, is proof of this

point. The emphasis in Calvinistic culture is on individual aggressive behavior and concern with selfish interests. This type of behavior denies the love and mutual satisfaction which the individual needs to secure from his social relationships.

Catholic society has always recognized, as did Christ, that man is weak, and is not capable of virtuous behavior at all times. The Catholic church, therefore, accepted the fact that man would sin. It placed in operation the means of confession, forgiveness, and penance to relieve man of guilt. Calvinism introduced the ordering of man's whole life on the basis of strenuous morality. All his activities and culture, and this meant the dominant culture in America, took on moral and religious significance.

In the early history of America, this pattern took the form of religious bigotry, and the attachment of religious sanction to the activities of business. While religious intolerance has slackened, the moral sanctions on materialistic success remain. An example of this is the passing of laws, in some states, to publish the names of all persons on relief rolls.

The imperative to find salvation, now phrased as an imperative to be a success, has led Protestant people to deny the physical characteristics of the human body. The medical profession tells us that health comes from the daily harmony of work, recreation, social activities, and rest. Protestants have become so much the servant of their strivings that they often work too much, and deny their bodies

the recreation, social activities and rest which they need for good health. Many observers say that this is a contributing factor in the high incidence of heart disease and mental illness in American society today.

The consequences of Calvinism have also led to humanity-denying patterns. Social isolation is the end consequence of physical freedom. This kind of freedom is not freedom at all in the psychological and social sense. It is only in the atmosphere of satisfying human relationships that man can be free.

The emphasis, in Protestant culture, on materialistic goals is itself inhuman. Polanyi points out that while all societies are concerned with the economic and material basis for life, never before, until the advent of the industrial revolution in the English speaking societies, had materialistic, selfish gain been raised to a level justifying action and behavior in everyday life.¹

We have pointed out also that business society has been responsible for perpetuating in the culture the concept of economic man. This concept holds that the fundamental nature of man dictates that his major motive is economic, and consequently his behavior will conform to economic rationality. Social scientists tell us that the behavior of man throughout the course of history, in both primitive and so-called civilized societies, is just the opposite of economic man.² Man's natural and first concern is his social relationships, how he stands with his fellows, and the love, approval, and recognition he

must have for effective living.

In modern urban society business and material things come first--human beings second. A good example of this is the fact that most urban hospitals must be assured of payment before they will admit a patient. The concentration on material things has also created materialistic expectations which are so strong in the culture that the sociocultural and psychological aspects of man's life are often ignored. In the field of Education, the decline of the Humanities is largely due to the increasing importance of materialism in the culture.

In Calvinistic, Protestant culture, man is responsible for his own success, and nothing must stand in the way of that success, not even human nature itself.

We have mentioned that materialism is a universal of Protestant culture. It is so important that it bears further assessment.

Materialism

Martin Luther, when he made faith alone the basis for salvation, absolved man from external good works, and set him free to spend his time on worldly activities. But it was Calvin who set Protestantism on its materialistic course. When he separated church and state he gave away the power to effectively apply the religious sanctions to economic activity. When he accepted the status quo of economic activity he made Calvinism acceptable to the middle classes, who used

it as the moral and religious lever with which to win political power. In his doctrine of election and predestination he fashioned, unwittingly perhaps, the motive power which made Protestants insatiable in their quest for the material wealth which was the sign of salvation.

With such great motive power driving them on, and with such an effective religious tool to aid them, the secular leaders of wealth had gained control of the English speaking societies by the middle of the eighteenth century.

John Wesley, the father of Methodism, gives an example of religious leadership after Protestantism lost control to secular leaders. He exhorted Christians to "gain all they can, and save all they can", to grow rich and give all they can so they "will grow in grace and lay up a treasure in heaven."

We have documented the development of materialism in America--its high motivation among New England Colonists, and its development to the point where American culture and society became dominated by the business community. We have pointed out that the consequences of self-interest, expressed in the terms of materialistic success, have been responsible for the growth of our dominant urban-industrial society, a society in which the individual has lost much of the freedom which is one of the highest values in our culture. We have documented the subservience of other segments of the society to the business interests, and how leadership throughout the culture phrases

and justifies its actions in terms of materialistic self-interest. The dominant pattern of success is the achievement of material symbols, and things outside this general pattern are ignored. Education is the servant of the business society; major themes in business are the major themes in education, and it grows steadily more materialistic and vocational. The materialistic corporation has become the dominant social institution in our society, and some 135 huge corporations and their boards of directors are in a position to, and do indirectly, dominate the culture and society. Because the business community controls the instruments of cultural transmission, these materialistic themes are constantly being socialized into the psychological systems of the people. In American culture materialistic behavior is expected and rewarded, and apparently continues to grow as the major manifest motivation of the people. This rapid growth of materialism could not have occurred without a decline in religious and moral sanctions on materialistic activity.

The Isolation And Decline Of Religious And Ethical Sanctions

We have pointed out that Christ taught unselfishness, that spiritual affairs are those things for which man should have prior and major concern. All other affairs, therefore, including material things, were merely to serve the spiritual man.

When Protestantism made the individual responsible for his own salvation, spiritual affairs were isolated from those temporal, and

a premium was placed upon the interests of the self rather than the interests of God. We have documented the gradual isolation of religion from other affairs of the society, and how also, religion is subservient to the business society to which it must turn for funds.

While at its inception freedom of religion may have denoted freedom from the control of the Catholic or a Protestant State Church, its developing cultural meaning has been one of freedom from religious and moral sanctions. When a Protestant finds religion incompatible with him, he is free to start a new sect, join another denomination, or remain free from any organized religious influence. The growth and nature of urban society, with its secondary relationships, facilitates escape from moral obligations and religious sanctions.

Social scientists state that ethical behavior rests upon the sanctions of a supernatural being. This is true in most societies. Social studies indicate that belief in God is on the wane in American society. If this be true, then many people no longer have a religious foundation for ethical behavior. "Means" have always been de-emphasized in American culture; if ethical behavior is declining, "ends" will gain even more emphasis.

It is not enough for the individual to be free to do what he wishes. He needs moral sanction for what he is doing, needs to feel it is right. Moreover, the group who dominates a society needs

moral sanctions for their actions and behavior if they are to keep in power. We must emphasize, too, that failure to believe in a God does not solve the problems of life which are beyond the control of man, such problems as death. Man needs a God, whether he believes in one or not. Secular leaders in Protestant culture have been very successful in developing religious and moral sanctions for their materialistic activities.

Religious And Moral Sanctions For Secular Activities

When Calvin accepted economic activity, and made material wealth the sign of salvation, it was but a short step to religious sanction of that way of life which led to economic gain. We have documented how idleness, extravagance, too much concern with human associations, anything that led one away from materialistic accumulation, was morally sanctioned as against God's law. Adam Smith, we pointed out, saw in economic self-interest and unlimited competition the "invisible hand of God." Profit, work, utility, practicality, the duties of business, were canonized as moral virtue.

In American society, particularly since the economic struggle with George III, economic self-interest has been phrased in moral terms. Whether it be a corporation or a labor union, economic self-interest is phrased as the "rights of the individual", a term which connotes God-given, unalienable rights. While enterprise is not free, the term "free enterprise" is a moral attitude held by most Americans.

It connotes the highest values in American culture: the individual as central in focus, freedom for the individual to pursue success unhampered, and successful work toward that goal.

To understand the behavior of Americans, we must emphasize that Protestants have made the Christian God over in their own image. When they invoke God's sanctions on their selfish economic interest, they have completely reversed the teachings of Christ. Instead of making the service of God their major life goal, as Christ taught, they have remade their religion so God serves their goals. Yet, the freedom which is among the highest of values in our individualistic culture means that people are free to study the direct teachings of Christ, and considerable number do so. We shall discuss the consequences of this presently.

It is important, in understanding American behavior, to call to the reader's attention what to some may seem the obvious; the meaning of money and wealth in our culture and society.

The Meaning Of Material Wealth In American Capitalistic Culture And Society

In American capitalistic culture and society money is required for life itself. Food, shelter, clothing, medical care, all of the necessities of life require money. This means that persons and families with low incomes are underprivileged in terms of nourishment, health, recognition, and success--the scarce values of the culture.

We have already pointed out that all activities require funds,

and consequently are subservient to the source of funds. Freedom, in a capitalistic culture, rests on a foundation of economic independence, therefore.

Power, status, and prestige are accorded those people who have wealth. Success, consequently, is phrased in materialistic terms, in the ability to achieve profits and make money. People who have the ability and devote their time to making money are given high positions in business society, by virtue of which they are also in a position to and do control the rest of the society.

Because materialistic values are high in the controlling business culture, they are enforced on the total culture, and greatly over-emphasized. Other human values suffer as a result. While the culture is individualistic, the emphasis is not on the value of the individual personality. The emphasis is on the achievement of material wealth, and the power, prestige, and privilege that wealth and the control of wealth will buy. Evidence to support this is the example of the two business men in Regional City who failed in their business endeavors, and as a result were excluded from their former position among the top circle of power leaders.³

At the same time, it appears that wealth itself does not necessarily bring happiness to Americans. An American seems to gain his happiness from the process of achievement, from wielding power, and from the approval which prestige often brings. This is why the American who achieves or inherits wealth must find new worlds to

conquer. He is happy when he is actively engaged in doing something worthwhile, when he is in the process of what he feels is important achievement.

Since the majority of Americans live in an urban environment, let's try to ascertain its meaning in the life of the individual. We have already described urban society but we have not discussed what it means to the people who live there.

Urban Environment And The Individual

We have documented that urban culture and society has been built by business, is designed to be its tool and to maintain its position of dominance. The concentration of wealth in the city in the hands of a few major corporate and financial enterprises, places control of urban society in the hands of a relatively few individuals. Through their control of employment, the press, the political machinery, and taxation, they exercise functional control over social institutions and cultural development. Science, technology, material goods, and narrow specialization of vocation are the backbone of urban socio-cultural development.

Urban society is highly organized in a series of bureaucratic structures. The orbit of action of urban man is in the work place, the family circle, the neighborhood grocery and movie, and for some, his church. Most of his relationships are secondary. This gives self-interest free play as the dominant foundation of behavior. Since

the moral and social obligations of primary relationships are largely absent, positive law, the police and the courts are the agents of social control. The average man has had very little to say about the laws and agencies of urban-social control; he feels they are "outside controls". Consequently, he often does not hesitate to break the law when he does not fear being caught.

While the superorganic culture in urban society is one of Calvinistic individualism, the organic or environmental part of urban culture is characterized by bureaucracy and control.

The individual is taught that he should be independent, self-reliant, think for himself. He is taught that he and he alone is responsible for providing for his life necessities, and for achievement of success. He is taught that freedom, equality, life, and property, are God-given, unalienable rights which no one has the right to deny. He is taught that controls over him are to be resisted whenever possible. These values are reinforced by moral and religious sanctions. They were compatible with a frontier society; men of ambition could achieve them.

In urban society the conditions are different. The individual is highly dependent on others for his job and for the essential services which sustain life itself. He is not capable of relying upon himself, does not have the skills for self-sufficiency if the environment permitted it. In rural culture prior to 1900, man was largely self-sufficient as far as the absolute necessities of life

were concerned. He was in a position to exercise responsibility for his own subsistence. In urban society man does not have control of his job; he can only offer his services, his labor, for sale. There is no obligation for any employer to buy his services. Even though he and his family may starve, urban man has no right to employment. He has lost his economic independence, and with it his highly valued freedom. He finds that the rights which he has been taught are unalienable and God-given are outside his control, that while the law upholds these rights, his economic vulnerability places him in a position where he cannot demand their enforcement without risking the loss of his job, and costly legal procedures. Men with a family usually feel they cannot afford to place themselves in such a position. They conform.

While urban man values equality, he usually works in a bureaucratic structure where inequality of status is functional to effective operation. Although he is held responsible for his own success, his boss is astride the avenue of his advancement. A highly stratified society often confines his success to the attainment of material goods. Power, prestige, and privilege are beyond his reach. He hates controls and hungers for the freedom he holds dear, but finds that conformity is the price of a job which means life and success. Labor unions alleviate this condition somewhat, but the basic need for conformity remains. His ideology holds forth to the urban man the glories of individualism; his environment denies them. The situation, the

evidence shows, is one of conflict, conflict in the society, and conflict in the individual personality. Because of this basic conflict we cannot predict what the behavior of the individual will be. This basic conflict is reinforced by other conflicts which also influence behavior. While we have already mentioned most of these conflicts, it may be helpful to bring them together before we proceed to apply our concept of authority to education.

Some Cultural Conflicts Which Influence American Behavior

The bio-social nature of man, as we have already mentioned, is in conflict with the humanity-denying cultural patterns of Calvinistic individualism. The teachings of Christ, insofar as they are also a part of contemporary American culture, are in conflict with Calvinistic self-interest and materialism. The negative freedom to pursue self-interest is in conflict with the need for social responsibility in an urban culture where dependence is the dominant condition. Freedom, if unlimited, is in direct conflict with equality, a condition most noticeable in urban society. In a democratic society authority and control ought to reside in the individual. Control, in urban society, appears to reside in a few business leaders. While authority may be necessary for the success of some bureaucratic enterprises, especially the learning enterprises of educational systems, the success of bureaucratic personnel, in terms of advancement, may often occur without much concern with winning authority. Their main

concern for personal advancement may hinge on their control relations with superiors rather than in authority relations with subordinates. In this sense, authority and control are often in conflict. For maximum social progress, effective authority and control ought to reside in the citizenry.

The symbols of success of the dominant control group, especially power and prestige, are in conflict with a stratified urban society which denies their access to the majority of people. Unlimited freedom, self-interest, and materialism, history shows, are in conflict with democracy in an urban society. Emphasis on material things is in conflict with the social, spiritual, and intellectual aspects of man. Means are in conflict with ends. Success which is based on individual achievement is a source of conflict for people who lack the personal resources for individual achievement. The dominant American success patterns are also in conflict with an urban society where the individual's advancement is often outside his control.

We have brought into focus the dominant ideology of individualism, some of the cultural configurations which reinforce this ideology, and its manifest motivation of materialistic self-interest. We have shown how this ideology, forged in frontier days, is in direct conflict with the now dominant urban environment. We have pointed out other cultural conflicts which influence human behavior, the major one being individualism and urban society vs. the bio-social nature of man. These are the sociocultural foundations which

the educator needs to keep in mind when he examines his own authority relationships. Let us now attempt to develop a concept of authority which is specifically concerned with education.

NOTES

1. Polanyi, Karl, The Great Transformation, New York: Rinehart and Co., Inc. 1944, p. 30
2. Ibid., p. 250
3. Hunter, Floyd, Community Power Structure, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953, pp. 200-203

CHAPTER XIII - A CONCEPT OF AUTHORITY IN EDUCATION

The Dominant Concept of "Superior Authority"

In spite of John Dewey's influence toward greater democracy in American education, it appears that the dominant concept of authority which the majority of educators hold at the intellectual level is the same as the dominant concept found in the general culture. The majority of educators seem to believe that "authority" rests with the superior, and is delegated to subordinates below him. In educational systems those persons of superior status are aware of the "control" which resides in the office they hold. Teachers, for example, are most aware that their office has the responsibility of giving grades to students, a function which places them in a position of control relative to the student's success. It is quite easy, therefore, for educators to confuse "authority" and "control", and the function of each in the educational process.

Successful administrators and teachers, however, in their actual authority relationships, indicate by their practice that they are aware that authority resides in their subordinates. We must emphasize that educators can not and should not, formally admit or openly profess any other except the theory of superior authority which is dominant in the general culture. To do so is to go against the general culture of the community which is, in effect, in ultimate control of educational policy and the funds necessary for the educational enterprise.

The myth of superior authority also serves some practical functions in the educational process. This myth, for example, allows a student to accept some communications from the teacher simply because the teacher is the teacher. In this way the student and teacher may regard such a communication impersonally, and the student not feel subservient or inferior as a result. In any organization, functional responsibility and effective action depends upon a system of function, status, and responsibility. The community for example, which employs specialized people to educate its children, if its communal will is to be followed, must know that certain educational tasks will be performed. The community may establish certain offices in its educational system or systems, such as the offices of superintendent, principal, teacher, reading specialist, and so on. It constitutes into each office definite functions, status, and responsibility, so that it may have its children educated as it desires in an efficient and effective manner.

The myth of superior authority also makes it possible for superiors to invoke the good of all persons in the organization as the determinant of the organization's activities. Were the teacher to openly profess, for example, that authority lies with his students, it would be possible for student leaders to direct the activities of the class into channels which might benefit no one or only a minority of the class. Where the teacher professes the myth of superior authority, he also assumes that he is in fact better qualified than

his subordinates to lead and direct the educational activities of the class. Due to the teacher's superior education and experience, this should ordinarily be true.

Sociocultural Differences In The Foundations Of European And American
Authority

The concept of "superior authority" is European in its origin and is based on authoritarian sociocultural foundations. The European youth, for example, obeys his superior because the superior is, in his view, actually superior, and he is inferior. European cultures emphasize status, and concentrate attention on superiority and inferiority, on the basic differentials between statuses. Most decisions are made by superiors, and it is psychologically accepted by most people in authoritarian cultures that superiors ought to make the decisions.

American culture, at the ideological level, emphasizes equality, not inferiority. It emphasizes independence, freedom of the individual, and self-reliance. Americans are taught to make their own decisions, to think for themselves, to dislike controls of any kind. They are taught that they are "just as good as anybody else," that they have and are entitled to the same rights as anyone else. Other people may be superior in knowledge, wealth, or certain skills. Others may be entitled to superior privileges if they have earned them. Most Americans, however, do not psychologically accept the practice of superiors making the decisions, at least not in the same sense in which acceptance is given to European superiors to make

decisions. Most Americans do not obey, they conform. Outward appearance of both types of behavior is the same; their accompanying psychological feelings and covert behavior is widely different. The American conforms because he feels it to his self-interest to do so. The student conforms to the teacher's leadership because he wants a high mark; the teacher conforms to the suggestions of the principal because he wants a raise in pay; the superintendent conforms to the wishes of the school board because he wants to keep his job. This conformity does not necessarily mean that the student, the teacher, and the superintendent psychologically accept the leadership and direction of those who control their avenue of advancement and success. Their reaction to this leadership may vary between complete psychological rejection and acceptance. They may give outward conformance, and take covert action to undercut the person in the control position.

If, because of the character of American culture and society and the nature of most educational activities, authority does not lie with the superior or expert educator, where does it reside? And what is the relation of "authority" and "control" in educational activities?

Authority And Control In Education

Order and control are both necessary for any society or organization to function effectively. Without control the organization soon disintegrates and ceases to serve its members effectively. The

community, to ensure that its educational tasks will be performed in the manner in which it desires, constitutes control and responsibility into the office of the educator. The office of the educator is therefore an office of both authority and control. The school superintendent, for example, has the authority to control the school system under him, and he is made responsible for the exercise of this control. The authority necessarily implies the authority to take the necessary action to exercise control. Some of the means which educators use to facilitate social control are threats and fear, rules and regulations, examinations, grades, diplomas, punishment, banishment, the honor roll, awards, praise, special privileges, patriotism, beliefs, and so on. The role of superintendent also includes leadership in educational policy and work in community activities. Up to the point of action which is required of the superintendent to exercise his role, authority resides in his office as modified by community character and experience, and his social power. But in those educational activities which require the effective cooperation of others for successful accomplishment, authority ceases to reside in the superintendent, and is to be found in those persons whose contributions are necessary to make the activity a success.

Let us use the example of graduation to illustrate our point. The superintendent has the authority to organize graduation exercises in the highschool. He has the authority to control who is allowed to graduate. He is also in a position of control in that he can veto

the actions of others relative to graduation exercises. When it comes to the positive action necessary to organize and hold successful graduation exercises, however, the superintendent requires the wholehearted cooperation and contributions of faculty, students, school board, and some members of the community. To secure their contributions and full cooperation, the superintendent must phrase his action and leadership so that it gains the approval and psychological acceptance of all persons whose contributions are needed to make the graduation exercises a success. The authority of the individual educator, therefore, ends with those things which lie within his own personal competence, or which are delegated or granted to him by others. The superintendent has the authority to initiate action in regard to graduation, but holding graduation exercises is beyond his own personal competence to accomplish. Even though they should disapprove of the superintendent's leadership, faculty and students can not refuse to act, because the superintendent is in a position to control their advancement and success. They may behave, however, in a socially acceptable manner, but still fail to give the quality of service which is needed to make the graduation exercises a success.

In a similar manner, the teacher has the authority to teach. This authority involves the authority to initiate, lead, direct, and control learning activities and students. Learning, by students, however, lies beyond the teacher, and is within the competence and

authority of the individual student. In learning activities, therefore, the teacher's authority ceases at the point of his action and leadership. At this point authority passes to the student who must give psychological acceptance to the teacher's leadership for maximum learning to take place. Control and authority are, therefore, both necessary functions in educational activities, and are involved in the majority of authority relationships in education.

Teachers may be either "figures of control", or leaders with "authority" for leadership. The school, school administrators, and school boards are in the same category as the teacher in this respect. As we interpret the dominant American Protestant culture, it has defined authority as the acceptance or approval of leadership, plus the means for its effective exercise. Leaders with authority in American culture are those persons who are voluntarily chosen as leaders from within the group by a majority of its members. We have documented the relation of authority and control to the self-determination of justice; that groups in American society who feel that they have no participation in the making of laws and regulations, or the selection of leaders, do not feel any obligation to conform to them. And further, that authority and control are both motivated and phrased in terms of self-interest and success.

If these hypotheses are valid, then we may say that the teacher, the public schools, and school boards are "figures of control" to most lower class families who have had little participation in the

choice of school board members or teachers, or in determining school policies. School boards and teachers are "leaders with authority" to those middle class families who accept and approve of their leadership. Factions among middle class people relative to schools, based on philosophical differences, school taxes, a controversial administrator or teacher, and so on, are commonplace in local communities. Since they have not been chosen by pupils, teachers and administrators are, at the outset of their relations with pupils, figures of control. They may win authority from pupils by a certain mode of behavior, behavior which will gain student approval and acceptance of their leadership. Indeed, the winning of authority is the first task of a new teacher or administrator before they may be effective in their roles, and is thereafter a continuous social process. Some teachers and administrators win control instead of authority, that is to say, conformity to their rules of behavior. It is our hypothesis that democratic authority is that condition where the action of leadership is approved by the majority of people involved in a specific social situation. Let us say, for example, that a teacher is in charge of a class of thirty pupils. If that teacher wins psychological acceptance for his leadership from sixteen of those pupils, then he will have authority from the majority of the class. The teacher's effectiveness and efficiency will vary directly with the number of pupils who grant approval and authority to his leadership.

It is obvious, however, that winning the authority from the majority of a class may be inadequate for learning activities to be effective. If a minority of the pupils in his class refuse to grant authority to the teacher's leadership, they may become discipline problems to such an extent that they hinder the activities of the teacher and those pupils who accept his leadership. This, in fact, is often the case in a class which is divided among middle and lower class students. In such cases the concept of "authority in the aggregate" becomes of value. Authority in the aggregate, we have said, arises from all the contributors to a cooperative system. The evaluation of aggregate authority requires that individuals be weighted differently according to their status and attitude. Maximum progress in any organization requires the authority of all essential contributors. The teacher, in learning activities, requires the authority of all the pupils in her classroom, if she is to secure maximum learning. But the leaders in her classroom, by virtue of their position of leadership, hold more authority than do others in the class. She must weigh the social power which leaders have, and the influence they wield; it is important that her first concern be to win the authority of the class leaders. We are cognizant of one case where a single high status leader in an eighth grade class completely alienated the rest of the class from the teacher's leadership.

The superintendent must win for his leadership the approval

and acceptance of the effective school community. This means that his leadership must have the approval of students, teachers, parents, and other citizens in the community who have an effective influence on the school. To be effective in winning authority, the superintendent must know the extent of the "effective" school community, and how to weigh the social power and influence of the community leaders. Many school superintendents who have failed in this task have found themselves out of a job, or have found that the bond issue on which they have worked so hard failed to carry in the election. It is evident that each educator in the school system has a different aggregate organization from which he must win the approval which constitutes authority for his leadership and action. Therefore, one of the first tasks of the educator is to find out the extent of the total organization from which he must win authority, evaluate the social power and authority of its leaders, and devise his processes of winning their authority.

There is one further condition which is important to the winning and exercise of authority in education. The teacher, for example, has the authority to teach when he is appointed to the office of teacher. But he is in no position to win the authority of his students in learning activities unless he has the proper facilities with which to exercise his authority to teach. He needs textbooks, references material, a blackboard, visual aids, a room with furnishings conducive to group work and so on. Before he can exercise his

authority to teach, and before he can win the authority of the students in learning activities, the teacher must have the requisite means with which to exercise and win maximum authority. This is, indeed, one of the major problems in education today, especially at the secondary level, where inadequate facilities make the situation difficult.

While the acceptance or rejection of the superior's leadership and the grant of authority which attaches to this acceptance, rests with the student in the teacher-student relationship, the determination of authority is a joint responsibility between teacher and student. This is true for every superior-subordinate relationship in education. The responsibility for determining authority is a joint one because the teacher is in the position of stimulus-leader, and the way in which he phrases his role will have great influence on the response of his students. For example, the teacher who is warm, friendly, and democratic in his behavior is more likely to win the acceptance of his leadership from students than is the teacher who is cold and authoritarian.

If authority resides in the student in the teacher-student relation, what are the sociocultural conditions which will induce the student to grant authority to the teacher?

Conditions Under Which Subordinates Grant Authority

We have quoted Barnard as saying that the individual grants

authority (1) when he understands a communication (2) it is compatible with his perception of self-interest and purpose of the organization, and (3) he is able to accept the communication and act upon it. Where teacher and pupil live in a different socio-cultural environment, communication and understanding, especially at the level of meaning, will be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible. The lower class child, for example, may find the language of the teacher and his learning activities so far from his own cultural experience as to be unintelligible. To the teacher the pupil appears uninterested. But actually the pupil may not understand the teacher, so the cultural gap appears to be unsurmountable and the chances of failure too great. In many cases he simply ignores the academic activities in which he is asked to cooperate. This is naturally very frustrating to a teacher, and serves to widen still more the social gap between him and his pupil.

In the area of purpose and self-interest the winning of authority by the teacher is not only a matter of sociocultural difference, but the configuration of "success" compounds the problem still further. From the standpoint of his self-interest and realistic success patterns, the lower class pupil may view the purpose of school as concerned with learning a skill, such as tool and die making, which will bring him high income as a skilled worker. He is confronted in school, however, with teachers who want him to learn English Literature, World History, and how to write themes. These intellectual

activities appear to him, and are, totally irrelevant to his success as a skilled worker. He can hardly be expected to accept the leadership or grant authority to such teachers.

We pointed out in our chapter on the expert that many people in the life and death matter of health, were, nevertheless, even where they perceived a need for assistance in health matters, unable to accept the assistance of the physician. The physician could not win the authority of a patient because the treatment he recommended was emotionally unacceptable, involved a loss of approval from peers, was contrary to group culture, cost more than the patient could afford, and so on. Teachers face a similar situation in their dealings with students from all segments of the social structure. Many students who perceive the need for the kind of education the teacher fosters, and who would otherwise accept the teacher's leadership, may, because of emotional, economic, or sociocultural reasons be entirely unable to grant the teacher such authority. A simple example of this is a health teacher who advocates orange juice for breakfast as a source for vitamins. The slum child may like orange juice, and believe the teacher's statement that it is a good source of needed vitamins. He cannot accept the teacher's leadership in this matter, however, because orange juice is beyond the income which his family has to spend for food.

We may expect the same conditions which affect the student's granting of authority to operate, for example, in the authority

relationships of the superintendent and citizens of the community. Lack of communication and understanding, a conflict in self-interest, purpose, and success patterns, as well as various reasons why the individual is unable to grant authority, may occur in any authority relationship in the educational system.

Informal Authority Relations In Education

We have pointed out that the majority of authority relationships in American society occur on the informal level, and are legitimized, where necessary, by formal means in a formal organization. Educators should make full use of this pattern of informality in their authority relationships. Administrators especially will find that their progress will be much easier if they take steps to use informal means to arrive at decisions, and use the formal structure to legitimize them. This would mean that a school superintendent should discuss major policy decisions with school board members prior to a board meeting, and stimulate them to discuss these matters informally among themselves and community leaders. The superintendent should know, when a formal board meeting is held, that informal agreement has already been reached on major decisions. Where agreement has not been reached informally, a matter should be kept out of a formal meeting. School board members, who are representatives of the community, will not usually take a stand in a formal meeting which is a matter of record and open to public scrutiny, without knowing

where other board members and community leaders stand on important issues. Americans who are experienced in leadership ordinarily will not commit themselves on important decisions without consulting others in the community and having time to think about a decision. Since the informal processes will not usually be denied anyway, the educator should be aware of them and use them in the fullest extent. It should be emphasized that it takes time for the informal social processes to work. If the educator is to use them effectively he must be far-seeing and plan his work a long time ahead of actual need.

Teachers usually have such a heavy work-load it is impossible to do a great deal of work with students outside the formal classroom situation. Informal conferences, however, will be highly rewarding in getting to know students better, especially class leaders and problem students. In classroom activities, where their status is at stake, students are usually reluctant to talk openly and frankly about themselves.

If the teacher is to be effective in phrasing his role to win authority from students, he must understand them. It is in this relationship that informal relations with students are so important, and should be used to the fullest extent.

The Authority Of The Office Of Educator

Educators need to be aware of the authority which attaches to the office they hold. This is the authority which the community has

constituted into the office of school superintendent, principal, teacher, and so on. This is the authority to lead, to direct, to initiate educational activities. The superintendent, in most communities, subject to the approval of the school board, has the authority to hire teachers, to prepare the budget, to pay the bills incurred by school activities, and so on. Teachers ordinarily have the authority to teach certain subjects, to give examinations, to make out student grades, plus many other activities.

We must emphasize that the authority which the community constitutes into the educator's office is informal in character. Its power as the basis for social action is none the less effective, however. But the informal character of the authority which attaches to the office of educator makes it amenable to change relative to the specific person which occupies the office. This means that the authority which goes with the educator's office also varies from community to community. Further, it means that the social power held by the incumbent is a great influence on the nature and extent of authority which the community grants.

Since the authority which attaches to the office of superintendent fluctuates considerably, let us use it as an example to explain our theory. A community, let us say, has just had experience with a superintendent who has been slipshod in handling financial matters. The school board has discharged the superintendent precisely for this reason. The new superintendent who comes into such a situation will

likely find that his authority in financial matters is drastically curtailed from that which a superintendent ordinarily exercises.

In contrast, let us say that a second community has a superintendent who is astute in financial matters. He is meticulous in his accounts, and the school board is aware that his foresight has saved considerable money. As a consequence, the school board, let us say, agrees that the superintendent may make all purchases and pay all bills under one hundred dollars without prior approval by the board. In this way, we can see, the authority of the educator's office varies from community to community. The authority which the community constitutes into the educator's office will vary with the sociocultural character of the people, their experience with educators, and the social power of the incumbent. Educators, if they are to avoid rejection of their leadership and action, as well as possible loss of their job, need to be constantly aware of the nature and extent of the authority which attaches to their office. When educators go into a new community they need to find out immediately what authority attaches to their office, and since authority changes, they need to be ever aware of their current position relative to their authority.

Influence Of Social Power In The Educator's Authority Relationships

While formal office, or the position which an individual holds, is basic to his authority, the educator needs to be aware also of

the influence which social power carries in authority relationships. We have pointed out that the social power which individuals may bring to an authority relationship is based on such personal social assets as wealth, family position, respect, morality, success, position in the business structure, mutual obligations, subject matter competence, skill with symbols, organizational skill, and so on. In regard to authority in the aggregate, social power resides in numbers of people, social organization, and the collective social assets of individual members of an organization.

In his authority relationships the educator needs to evaluate his own social power, and be aware of the social power of others within the school and community. In authority relations the use of social power is relative and different in almost every relationship. In some of his relationships the educator will have more social power than the other party in the relationship; in others he will have less. In the first instance he will be in an advantageous position to win authority; in the second instance he will be at a disadvantage.

The superintendent, for example, who has been highly successful in the eyes of the community, is socially accepted as a member of Rotary, does personal favors for the community leaders whenever possible, and is a good speaker and organizer, will find that his authority as incumbent in the office of superintendent is much greater than that of an incumbent who does not have these personal assets. Moreover, he will find that he is in a good position to win authority

for his action and policies if he uses his social power correctly to organize his roles and phrase his behavior.

In the school and greater community there are authority relations between groups, or between an educator and one or more groups. In such a situation there is need for the educator to assess the social power of group leaders. If a school superintendent, for example, is to exercise the leadership necessary to carry a school bond election to a successful conclusion, he must be able to evaluate the social power of the leaders for and against the bonds. If the social power against the bonds carries the greatest weight, then the superintendent must be able to neutralize or win enough of this social power to his position, or face defeat in the election.

With an ideology of authority based on individualism, and the urban environment in which most Americans live demanding conformity and cooperation, many conflicts occur in the personalities of individuals which result in a wide range of behavior. When the diversity of sociocultural groups in American society are added to these conflicts the behavior of individuals becomes even more difficult to evaluate.

Educators, therefore, when examining their own authority relationships, must rely on the "law of the social situation." This means simply that each authority relationship needs to be evaluated on its own merits. The nature and amount of social power which each participant brings to the authority relationship varies in each social situation. The social power, motivations, predispositions,

and inclinations of the individual are dynamic in character, and vary from one social situation to the next.

Educator's Personal Success Not Contingent On Authority Relations
With Subordinates

We should make it clear that some sociocultural factors make it possible for teachers, administrators and specialists, as well as others in education, to largely ignore their "authority" relations with subordinates. Other sociocultural factors make it probable that many superiors are more concerned with their "control relationships" than with winning authority. Let us explain. While it is necessary for the teacher to win the authority of his pupils for maximum learning to take place, it is often not necessary for learning to take place in the classroom for the teacher to advance in salary and status. In fact, a teacher may win "control" of his students through the use of fear, and to a principal who is traditional in his concept of discipline, the teacher may appear to be doing good teaching. At the same time, the students may hate such a teacher, be afraid to ask questions, and psychologically reject much of what the teacher says and does. The students conform because the teacher is in control of their grades, and academic success is imperative for them, if they are middle class. Because they have psychologically rejected the teacher, however, their useful learning experience is likely to be at a minimum. What they learn is

the negative feelings regarding teacher and learning experience which grow deep in their emotions because they can not escape from their unpleasant social situation.

The phrasing of success in American culture also works against some educators being overly concerned with their authority relationships with subordinates. We have pointed out that success emphasizes material accomplishment, the quantifiable. The emphasis in education is on number of students graduated, games won, contest ratings, grades, cleanliness of school buildings, up-to-date-ness of buildings and equipment. The success pattern of the administrator is also in direct conflict with the needs of teachers who must win from students the authority needed for maximum learning. The administrator is successful when he keeps expenditures to a minimum. For maximum learning, teachers may need movies, the latest books, classroom facilities designed for group work, a library subscription to the best magazines and newspapers. To the school board the school superintendent appears to be doing a good job when he cuts the budget for visual aids, makes last year's books do another year, lets students provide their own newspapers and magazines.

Lack of concern with authority relations is facilitated by the fact that learning and quality of experience is difficult to evaluate and demonstrate. The community which controls the educational system can be shown material accomplishments; it is hard for educators to show them learning accomplishment. Moreover, quality of experience

does not fit in with the materialistic success pattern of the dominant culture.

As educational systems become larger and more bureaucratic, it becomes difficult, if not impossible, for the administrator to evaluate the effectiveness and efficiency of teachers and others in learning activities. Granting the original difficulty of evaluating the quality of a student's learning experience, administrators with a hundred or more teachers to supervise cannot find the time to see what teachers are doing, much less evaluate them. As a basis for promotion he is forced to depend upon his contacts with teachers in committee work, the lack of disciplinary cases which come to his attention, the election of teachers to important community and professional offices, services which draw favorable attention.

It is significant that in many colleges and universities faculty promotions are based quite heavily on publications, committee work, community service, and so on, while teaching ability and work with student's plays a minor role in advancement. With the imperative for success, educators, as well as other Americans, will use those means which are effective in achieving advancement, and ignore the others. The evidence at hand forces us to the conclusion that the majority of educators need have little concern with their authority relations with subordinates. Their personal advancement comes from competence in control relations with superiors, and authority relations with peers.

If the young people of the community, however, are to secure maximum learning, and the community thus receive maximum benefit from its educational system, it must do three things: (1) choose educators who are capable of winning and keeping authority (2) provide its educators with the requisite means with which to exercise and win authority, and (3) organize its school system so that the educator's advancement rests upon his competence in authority relations with subordinates.

We have discussed authority and education in general terms; now let us discuss the role of the educator as expert in winning authority.

CHAPTER XIV - THE EDUCATOR AS EXPERT IN WINNING AUTHORITY

We have developed the hypothesis that in those activities which require the cooperation of several individuals for successful accomplishment, authority resides in the subordinate members of the organization, and is granted when subordinates psychologically accept and approve the leadership of superiors. There are few activities in education which are completely within the competence of the individual educator to bring to successful accomplishment. All learning activities, for example, are cooperative between teacher and student. Not only must the student accept and approve the leadership of the teacher for maximum learning to take place, but especially at the elementary level, the approval of the teacher's leadership by the parents is also an important part of the learning process.

The superintendent, to be successful, must gain approval of his leadership from a large share of the people in the community. Not only must he gain approval of faculty and students for his leadership in administering the school system, but he must win approval of his leadership in educational policy from the adult citizens of the community. We assume that individuals who have been appointed to the office of educator are superior to lay persons in their expertness in their field of education. This will not always be true, and it does not preclude many lay adults of the community from feeling that they know more about education than

the professional educator. Indeed, this is part of the problem which the educator has in winning authority. But in teacher-student relations it is generally accepted that the teacher is more competent in the field of endeavor than is the student.

It is our hypothesis also that the expert educator, in the role of superior relative to his experience, is highly influential in determining whether or not his lay subordinates in the educational enterprise grant the approval for his leadership which is needed to make the activity successful. Because he is in the position of stimulus, initiative, and leadership, the manner in which the expert educator phrases and carries out his various roles, will determine the nature and extent of authority which subordinates grant him. The educator, whether he is aware of it or not, is constantly involved in winning and keeping authority. His success depends upon his effectiveness and efficiency in the social process by which authority is won. In this chapter, therefore, we propose to discuss the expert educator and those sociocultural factors which are the foundation for his winning and keeping authority. We will focus our discussion on the authority relationship of the expert educator and the layman. By lay persons we mean both students and other citizens in the community. Our particular focus will be on the teacher-student relationship.

If the educator is to understand how to phrase his role to win the authority of lay subordinates, he must first develop a general

understanding of them. He needs a general frame of reference as a starting point from which to evaluate the lay people with whom he deals. Our first task therefore, is to develop a general frame of reference of expected behavior of lay people in authority relationships with educators.

THE LAY PERSON IN AUTHORITY RELATIONSHIPS

It is desirable, first of all, for the educator to try to get some idea of the characteristics of the lay people with whom he is dealing. The teacher, for example, needs to know something of the social class, ethnic group, race, family and peer group environment of his students. Population characteristics vary from community to community. In one school educators may be dealing almost entirely with slum children and parents from several ethnic and racial groups in the lower classes of the social structure. In another school educators may be working almost altogether with middle class children. The usual situation is for the population of most schools to represent several segments of the social structure. The important point for the educator to remember is that the foundation of his understanding rests primarily upon securing the basic characteristics of the population with whom he works.

After this initial step, our frame of reference may be divided into two parts: (a) those sociocultural characteristics of a general

nature which influence the majority of Americans, and (b) those sociocultural characteristics which attach to social class.

General Patterns Of Expected Behavior

From the evidence at hand, we have concluded that the educator may assume that the majority of Protestant Americans hold deep in their emotions the ideology of individualism. They believe that the individual is responsible for his own success, should be free and independent in his decisions. These same Protestant Americans hold an antipathy to any control over them, and while they may or may not openly resist control, their behavior will be affected in other ways by these feelings. Whenever a teacher tells a student or group of students what they have to do there is likely to be some inward rebellion at least, and various degrees of rejection and resistance to the teacher's leadership. At the elementary, secondary, and college levels, educators should realize that they are "figures of control." This is due to their responsibility for giving grades, the symbols of success to young people. Consequently, educators are constantly faced with the task of winning authority from all persons whose contributions are needed to make the educational enterprise a success.

The educator should start with the assumption that Protestant laymen will hold self-interest as their dominant motivation, that self-interest will be phrased in the terms of individual success,

which is most often manifest in materialistic symbols. We have offered some evidence that "there is that of God in every man." We have also pointed out that some Americans are influenced by the teachings of Christ. The social demands of the individual's primary group may, in some cases, serve to mute self-interest, or redirect it into a non-materialistic channel. Educators should be aware of and look for these minority patterns of behavior. But the basic assumption must rest on the dominant culture.

While materialistic expectations are strong in the general culture, educators need to be aware that social and psychological aspects of self-interest are also strong in individual behavior. Individuals may even express themselves in materialistic terms and behave in conformance to social or psychological motivations which are actually dominant. A lower class student, for example, whose parents have middle class aspirations, may tell his teacher that he wants to work for high marks, and as an individual, he may actually, at the intellectual level, believe he should work for high marks. But the other members of this student's clique care nothing about high marks, and boast about thwarting the teacher. In order to keep his social standing in his peer group, our student cannot openly work for high marks. Since approval and recognition from one's peers is a stronger need than getting high marks, the social aspects of self-interest, in this case, win over the dominant materialistic culture.

Self-interest and success is usually phrased in relation to the individual's primary group, his family and social clique. If the individual's primary group has materialistic standards, his standards for behavior are also likely to be materialistic, and vice versa.

Educators must expect students and other lay people to emphasize success, not mastery of subject matter or skill, to emphasize ends rather than means. In educational activities the emphasis will be on grades, not learning; on subjects which lead to materialistic success rather than on the Humanities. The questions which students ask teachers, therefore, are often phrased in the context, if not the language, of "how can I be a success; how can I get good marks?" The student often asks a question because he thinks it may be asked on an examination, not because he is interested in the information itself. Educators have long experienced increasing difficulty with students cheating on examinations and lesson assignments. This behavior fits in a culture where the emphasis is on success rather than on the means to success.

In trying to identify both student and adult leaders, educators need to look for the wealthy, those in a strategic position in the social and economic structure, those with special talents and skills of particular relevance to the activity at hand. In short, in those authority relations which involve the school and community and their groups, educators should look for the successful who are related in

a specific way to the authority relations in question.

Because of the emotional egalitarianism in American culture, the majority of laymen will have negative feelings toward any educator who acts superior. Respect, we have pointed out, may be won by the educator when he treats all laymen equally, and as equals to himself. Respect is an important resource in winning authority. The educator who merits such phrases as: "He treats everybody the same regardless of who they are;" "He's so friendly and democratic! I like him very much!"; "Why he's as common as an old shoe!", is well along the road to successful authority relations. Being egalitarian in behavior does not lessen the need for the educator to maintain a "professional bearing" at all times. Confidence of the layman in the educator's expertness depends a great deal on the maintenance of professional bearing. In other words, it is important for the educator to be business-like and egalitarian in behavior at the same time.

Where success is at stake educators should realize that laymen will give deference where they perceive self-interest demands it. Teachers may confirm this fact by comparing the behavior of students in the classroom situation where grades are at stake and their behavior in extra-curricular activities. Student behavior relative to the teacher also depends a great deal on the cues which the teacher gives. The teacher who is in the control position, may or may not exact deference. These are two important points for the

teacher to remember in this instance: (1) that even though the teacher chooses to exact deference by saying "any other answer to a question but mine is wrong," and even though the student gives the teacher's answer on a test, whether or not the student accepts the answer rests with the student in the final analysis, and (2) being egalitarian in the manner of presenting the facts and being willing for the student to make his own decision is most likely to win the student's acceptance which constitutes learning on his part and a grant of authority to the teacher.

Egalitarian feelings do not pertain to minority groups in American society. There are not sufficient studies to predict behavior in authority relations between an educator of the dominant culture and a member of a minority group. Where the educator is a middle class white and the student a negro, we would expect two dominant patterns of behavior on the part of the student: (1) considerable deference, and (2) complete lack of deference or even overt aggression.

Since there are individuals with authoritarian personalities in our society, educators should watch for both extremes of feeling and behavior relative to equalitarianism.

Age, sex, and physique will also affect the behavior of lay people in authority relationships. All behavior, of course, is phrased by the individual in terms of sex-roles. The female is thinking in terms of dresses, cooking, child-rearing, marriage, and

so on. Among other things, the male is thinking primarily in terms of a job, marriage, family, financial security and advancement.

While education has become so specialized that few educators have a view of the total educational system from cradle to coffin, one of the most important factors in the educational process is the change in interests and behavior which comes with advance in age. The most noticeable life stages which influence behavior and interests are infancy, early elementary school, Junior Highschool, late Senior Highschool, early family, mature family, retirement, and old age. College is a life stage for about a third of the population. One of the most noticeable difficulties in the educator's authority relationships relative to age is the difficulty which highschool and college teachers often have in voluntary adult education activities involving ordinary lay people. It appears that these highschool and college teachers often project their experience in authority relationships with young people into their relationships with older adults. Interests and behavior basic to stage in life is highly influential in these difficulties.

While we have no documentation for our hypothesis, health and physique would seem to be major factors in the educator's authority relationships. The teacher who deals with some 150 students will find that their health, physical ability and characteristics vary widely. Out of this group some will have more femininity or masculinity than others. These are characteristics which are very

influential in the game of success. They affect dating and popularity in adolescence, making a successful marriage, and/or getting a good job. Other things being equal, the healthy student with a favorable physique may ordinarily be expected to exhibit more confidence and better social adjustment than those not so favored. Again, educators should watch for exceptions to the dominant pattern.

We have documented the fact that in spite of the cultural ideology of individualism the bio-social nature of man will not be denied. Most of our research in social psychology has been done in industry. Drucker states that "no one finding in the whole field of industrial relations is as well documented as the one that men spontaneously, and by their nature, work in groups, and that any policy or organization that disturbs or tears apart the team is bound to cause severe trouble."¹ These findings have been true in business offices, schools, and factories. We have pointed out that the individual secures love, approval, status and recognition in his primary groups. These needs, which are rooted in the basic nature of man, are more powerful than the cultural ideology which conflicts with them. Where the culture demands overt conformity, many people will behave covertly according to their basic human nature. The primary group, therefore, is the major influence on the behavior of both the layman and expert educator. The individual's primary groups will be the major influence on his perception of the need for education, on his expectations of the educator, and the place of education in

his hierarchy of values. It is the group culture, therefore, particularly that of family and social clique, which has the major influence on the individual's behavior in authority relations. The social class, ethnic, and racial subcultures also serve to define and limit the people with whom an individual may have intimate social relationships. It is only from his intimate social relationships that the individual learns his mores, patterns of behavior, attitudes, goals, values--his basic culture.

Educators who desire to examine their authority relations with a particular layman should first identify the layman as to race, ethnic group, social class, family, and social clique. Each of these cultural rings will have its particular influence on the behavior of the individual. We shall not concern ourselves here with racial and ethnic minority groups. Family and social clique require specific evaluation.

Social Class Patterns Of Expected Behavior

A broad division of social classes seems to be the most useful frame of reference on which to delineate expected behavior in authority relationships in the field of education. This is based on the fact that a natural cultural division occurs in the school population between the middle and lower classes. Approximately 60 - 70% of the elementary public school population comes from the lower classes. In all regions of the United States ninety-five percent

of the teachers are middle class in culture, and in New England seventy-five percent are upper-middle class.² School administrators are also middle class, as are school boards, who are composed predominantly of business and professional men. As we would expect, these people who control and operate the public schools, hold middle class values and attitudes. These cultural patterns are a part of their emotions, and have been acquired from their own families and social cliques. Middle class cultural values and attitudes include cleanliness, morality, taboos against overt bodily aggression and sexual relations outside of marriage, punctuality, hard work, responsibility, and ambition to get ahead in the world. In school this group emphasizes academic activity based largely on books; rewards are given for ability to read, write, and speak well. The student who is cooperative, gives no trouble, works hard, is neat and clean, friendly, and excels in the academic skills, conforms to the middle class image of the "good student". Education is viewed as necessary to maintaining the family status and a good income; lip service is paid to education for citizenship, appreciation of the Arts, a knowledge of world affairs, and as contributing to the good life. College is taken for granted as the normal course for middle class youth. This is the middle class culture on which the schools base their rewards and punishments, and by so doing attempt its enforcement on the total school population.

The middle class student comes from a home where a high value

is placed on education, and he is subjected to considerable social pressure from family and friends to succeed in school as a means to success in materialistic, middle class terms. While his ultimate goals are no less materialistic than those of the lower class student, the middle class student, because material concerns do not press so hard on his daily life, can afford to have more concern with general education.

Middle class students have a great advantage because they come from an intellectually stimulating home. They usually fit the middle class teacher's image of the good students, and consequently get the lion's share of the rewards which the school has to offer. They are favored by the academic culture of the schools, especially by intelligence tests and the curricula which are, in the main, stereotyped selections of middle class culture.³

While middle class students may not hold a favorable image of the educator, there is not the cultural conflict with the teacher which faces the lower class student. Middle class students know that if they conform to the mores of their culture they will have access to the symbols of success held up as what every good American should strive for. They are aware also that education through college is a part of the process of acquiring success. In authority relations with educators, therefore, middle class students have high motivation to succeed, are willing to work hard, conform and give deference where their success demands it. Because middle class students

conform where necessary, educators may be confused into believing that these same students give psychological acceptance to their communications. This may or may not be the case. In many required courses which do not fit the materialistic patterns of success, it appears that conformance rather than acceptance is the reaction of middle class students to the educator's leadership.

Both students and adult laymen in the lower classes live in a sociocultural and physical environment which is different from that experienced by middle class laymen. While about half of the lower classes, or thirty percent of the school population, have fairly adequate incomes which place material goods within their reach, the deeper values of success--power and prestige--are beyond the reach of all but a very few lower class people. About a third of the population in the elementary schools come from the slums of our cities. With employment sporadic, uncertain, and wage scales on the lowest level, the culture of slum families is based on an uncertain food supply, often a lack of warm clothing for winter, and lack of adequate shelter, sleep and light. The learned fear of deprivation drives lower class people to "get all they can while the getting is good." Income may be spent extravagantly to gratify basic needs because tomorrow there may be no money. Slum culture has its cultural standards of respectability and decency. But these are in realistic conformity to the conditions which slum people face. What they regard as adequate a middle class person would regard as

humiliating.⁴

Early sexual relations and overt physical aggression are not taboo in lower class culture; in fact, they are often rewarded by the peer groups of lower class youth. Stealing, except from one's own family, is often not punished by parents, and is a way to recognition in the peer group.

The gang teaches the lower class boy to fear being taken in by the teacher, of being a "softie". If he gets any good grades in school he never lets the gang know about it. To be caught doing homework would be a disgrace. The lower class boy fears not to curse, to fight, to have early sexual relations. Otherwise he would be regarded as soft, a sissy, and not accepted by his gang. These cultural patterns are environmentally correct; in a hard environment one must be hard to survive. Yet, these cultural patterns are the exact opposite of those of the middle class boy who learns to fear the teacher, fighting, cursing, getting poor grades, having early sex relations, and so on. Lower class cultural patterns are often incomprehensible, repulsive, and disgusting to middle class teachers.

Both the middle and lower class cultures, however, are realistic in the sense that both rest on the physical, social, economic, and cultural environment which confronts each group; both have evolved solutions to the basic problems of life in the environment in which each must live; both cultures rest on the primary relationships of family and social cliques, who are the source of love, approval,

recognition, disapproval, ridicule, and rejection for the individual; both cultures are deep within the emotions of the individual, emotions which have attachments to specific people. The behavior which middle class teachers and parents regard as "shiftless", "immoral", "delinquent", "aggressive", and so on, in lower class pupils, is usually a realistic and respectable response to lower class culture.

While middle class teachers generally regard college as the highest type of aspiration which pupils can hold, the educational aspiration of most lower class students goes no farther than finishing highschool. The Horatio Alger myth is a middle class myth, and only those lower class families who have middle class aspirations for their children have any regard for it at all. Many lower class people feel that one can get a good job in a factory without a highschool education. They believe the main purpose of a highschool education should be to help one earn a better living, the dominant concern of lower class persons.

The individual perceives his patterns of success in the terms of the group culture in which he lives. He cannot do otherwise. This means that lower class students are not likely to perceive the need for a great deal of education. They are also likely to be quite realistic in the assessment of their access to the middle class symbols of success. Since most of the drop-outs and discipline problems in the schools are lower class students, and this has apparently been true for many years, most lower class pupils and students are likely

to carry unfavorable images of the educator. They often violate the mores of cleanliness and morality held by the middle class teacher. In behavior and appearance they may also violate the teacher's image of the good student.

Well aware of their low status in the eyes of middle class teachers and students, lower class pupils often rebel at their lack of acceptance and become discipline problems. Confronted by goals unrealistic and alien to their culture, and having learned to expect and fear failure, lower class pupils may refuse to pay attention, may have low motivation, and do little work. They usually get more punishment than rewards in their school experience. Their experience in school often serves to confirm the images and attitudes of the educator which their group culture has already taught them.

Because of culture conflict, middle class educators find it difficult to win authority from lower class students and adults.

Since middle class symbols of success are not accessible to lower class students, many do not see the need for education, and others find school socially intolerable. They do not respond to the controls of low grades, threat of punishment, or expulsion from school, which work so well with middle class students. Many lower class perceptions do not see their realistic self-interest as demanding conformance or deference to the educator's leadership. This is particularly true in those non-vocational courses which are

completely outside lower class success patterns and are often incomprehensible and culturally unrealistic to lower class students.

Our public schools are middle class institutions run by middle class personnel. This means that for lower class students, learning in the schools is a process of learning the middle class culture while rejecting the culture of family and social clique. Most lower class people are painfully aware of their lack of social acceptance by middle class groups. If they reject their own groups to learn middle class culture, and are not accepted socially by middle class people, then they become socially isolated from the love, approval, status, and recognition which all human beings need for satisfactory health. In this sense, it is socially and psychologically impossible for lower class students to grant authority to the kind of educational leadership which educators offer them. It is apparent that most educators fail to win the authority of the lower classes. Lower class rejection of the educator is no accident; it appears to be socially and psychologically sound. If this be true, educators are trying to accomplish the impossible. If they wish to be effective, educators need to rephrase their roles in authority relations with lower class people.

THE ROLE OF THE EXPERT IN WINNING AUTHORITY

Our general frame of reference concerning expected behavior of laymen in authority relations should give the educator a starting

point to evaluate the lay people with whom he works. But he also needs to have some idea of how to phrase his own behavior as expert to win maximum authority. Our analysis of the doctor-patient relationship ought to give us some insight on this problem.

Evidence concerning the doctor's authority relationship shows us that the expert must be competent in four major aspects of winning and keeping authority: (1) his general role in profession and community (2) winning authority to practice his expertness (3) winning a clientele to which he may administer his expertness, and (4) winning psychological acceptance of the expertness which he administers or communicates.

The Educator's General Role In Profession And Community

We found that the general leadership and educational aspects of the expert physician's roles in his profession and community had a great deal to do with the authority he was able to win, even before he had a chance to enter a relationship with a patient. The lay person, for example, who did not know when his state of health demanded medical treatment, was not likely to seek expert assistance. Or the low income families, because they could not afford it, did not seek the help of the doctor until absolutely necessary. In other words, the authority of the physician depended upon his effectiveness in the general community as a health educator, and on his leadership in devising ways and means for low income families to pay for medical care.

It would appear that the expert educator is in much the same general position as the physician. Any leadership he can exert in the general community which serves to improve the home and the community environment of his pupils, and reduce culture conflict in society, will make his winning of authority in the schools that much easier. His general role includes the important task of educating the lay citizen about the sociocultural problems of his community and nation, and how he may use education to alleviate them. Within our educational institutions and community activities educators may educate citizens in effective group work, social organization, and other social skills needed to operate effectively in urban society. Far too little has been done to accomplish these important tasks. In urban society many lay people have very little contact with their educational system. American education changes rapidly and has become highly specialized. To provide a favorable community environment in which educators can win authority, it is necessary for educators to educate lay people about education.

It was significant that the lower the educational level of the patient, the more educating the doctor had to do in regard to the patient's illness and his own treatment if he was to be effective in winning the patient's authority. The same situation would appear to be true in education. We have pointed out that working class laymen do not usually value education as highly as middle class people. Many of these lower class people come from homes which are

poor in intellectual environment such as good magazines, newspapers, books, and so on. Moreover, many of these people have an unfavorable image of the educator. Consequently, an important aspect of winning educational authority from working class people is to educate them in the value of education, and provide them with a full explanation of the reasons behind all educational activities. The lower the educational level of the layman, the more the educator must expand his educational activities about education, if he is to win maximum authority. The economic problem is an influential factor in education as it is in medical care. Low income families often need the income of their children. Many young people drop out of highschool when they reach the age of sixteen in order to take a job which will augment the family income. Adult education is largely financed by the individual. This means that it is confined largely to those middle class people who can afford it. Yet the kind of adult education which could win the most authority for educators would be among working class adults. In Scandinavian countries adult education is considered equally as important as elementary and secondary education, and is financed by the state. This makes it available to all people regardless of income. The general role of American educators includes work and leadership toward the goal of bringing all phases of education within reach of the individual regardless of income.

The general role of the educator includes the important area of work within his profession. The task of winning authority for

education in the general society will become easier as the educational profession as a whole is able to provide ways and leadership toward solution of the society's general and educational problems. This implies research of all kinds which will provide educators and laymen with knowledge useful in the solution of local, state, national and international problems. It implies work toward raising the competence of members of the educational profession, and with it their status in the general community.

Winning Authority To Practice Educational Expertness

Once the physician has satisfactorily completed his course of study and has been duly licensed by the society to practice medicine he has no further worries about winning authority to practice his expertness. Providing he behaves within the norms of the general society and the code of his profession his authority to practice is good for his lifetime. This is not the case with the expert educator.

Like the physician the educator must complete a required course of study before he is certified as having the qualifications of an expert. But the educator is still faced with the task of winning authority to practice from the community in which he desires to work. Moreover, each year he must win authority to practice, if he is working at the elementary and secondary levels. The difference in the educational and medical profession is fundamental to this second aspect of winning expert authority. In the medical profession,

control rests quite largely with the profession itself, with a small amount of regulation from the general society. In the educational profession, control rests primarily with the local community, with some regulation from the state. The only exceptions to this are the private educational institutions.

Medical knowledge is highly technical, and largely beyond the experience of the ordinary layman. Physicians receive some acceptance of their treatment, leadership, and communications, simply because of the ignorance of the layman concerning medical affairs. He is in no position to challenge the physician in his own field. This is not true in regard to education. A high percentage of laymen have experienced twelve years of education. An increasing number have experienced some college. While they may not be well qualified to render good judgment on educational matters, laymen are in a position to, and do, challenge the leadership of the professional educator in his own field.

Although medicine involves the saving of lives, it works within the established culture and society. The technical character of medicine never poses a threat to the established society and culture. Education, on the other hand, has the task of transmitting the culture to youth. The society is ever watchful to see that this task is faithfully performed so that the dominant group in power is not threatened.

Because of these facts the educator must maintain and practice

his competence in both the authority and control relations fundamental to his annual problem of winning authority to practice. This means psychosocial competence in relations with superiors, colleagues, and citizens in the community. Failure to win authority from subordinates may also be the contributing cause of failure to win from superiors the authority to practice. For example, a teacher may fail to plan his work so that it fits in with the interests and success patterns of his students. Consequently, they do not grant the authority which would make him a successful teacher. His failure to win student authority is manifest in a discipline problem which involves control relationships. These control relationships soon come to the attention of his superiors, as the extreme discipline cases are sent to the principal for punishment. If these discipline problems are excessive, the teacher's contract may not be renewed, and he will have lost authority to practice in that school. Thus, failure to win authority from students may eventually result in failure to win authority to practice expertness.

Winning A Clientele

Because people are free to reject or accept the services of the physician, he is faced with winning and maintaining the loyalty of a clientele. At the outset it appears that the situation in the field of education is somewhat different. Educators in the public schools at the elementary and secondary level have a captive clientele. At

the college level teachers who teach required courses have a captive clientele. Only in the field of adult education is the layman free to behave as he desires. Adult educators are faced with much the same problem as physicians in winning and keeping a clientele. A look at the literature in the field of adult education gives one the impression that winning and keeping a clientele is one of the major problems in the field. It is our contention that if pupils and students in the elementary, secondary, and college levels were free in their relations with educators, their behavior would be similar to the behavior of the laymen in their relations with physicians and adult educators.

We found in the Regionville study that some ten percent of the patients changed from a medical doctor to a chiropractor. Some fifteen percent of the patients stopped their medical treatment altogether. Various reasons of an economic, psychological, and socio-cultural character were responsible for persons stopping medical treatment. About fourteen percent of the five hundred families in the Regionville study changed family doctors during the four years the study was in progress. The evidence is clear that when people are free in their relations with the expert as they are with the physician, some become dissatisfied and change to another expert, some drop their relations with all experts in the field, and of course, some never perceive their need for expert assistance. We have quoted Koos as saying that in the Regionville study twenty-four

percent of the people who had illnesses treated were dissatisfied with treatment. But among lower class patients fifty-eight percent were either dissatisfied or unable to give an opinion concerning their medical treatment. In other words, we may say that in the Regionville study there was almost a straight line correlation between social class and dissatisfaction with medical treatment. Based on the Regionville evidence, the lower the individual is in the social structure the greater is the chance he will be dissatisfied with medical treatment.

There is no way to evaluate the way the individual values medical treatment as compared to the value he places on education. Medical treatment involves health and life itself; education involves success and the prestige, power, wealth, and privilege which goes with it.

There is abundant evidence, however, that many people are compelled to attend schools who are highly dissatisfied with their educational experience. If they were free to do so many would stop their educational experience altogether. Others would, perhaps, shop around until they found educators with whom they were satisfied. We do find this happening to a certain extent on the college level where the competent and popular teachers in elective courses find their classes filled to overflowing, while others deal with only a few students.

Moreover, there is a great deal of evidence that there is also in education a straight line correlation between standing in the

social structure and dissatisfaction with educational experience. The majority of dropouts are from the lower classes. It appears that if it were not for the compulsory age limit the number of dropouts would be considerably higher.

But students at the elementary, secondary, and college level are not free, they cannot choose their educators, they usually cannot choose their school during the first two levels of education, and their own choice of subject matter is considerably limited by required courses. What, then, is their reaction and behavior?

We have presented evidence to show that success is an imperative in American culture, that individuals interpret the dominant success patterns in the terms of their own group culture, that individuals in a social situation where they are not free usually conform to expected behavior where they perceive their self-interest and success is at stake. While we have no empirical proof to support it, the evidence at hand leads us to the hypothesis that where self-interest makes it desirable, students merely conform to the existing school culture long enough to gain the diploma which is a symbol in the game of success. The dominant mode of evaluation on which rewards are based in academic culture, namely, examinations, facilitates this type of conformance.

One of the reasons why "conformity" appears to be the dominant situation in so many educational activities today is because of its conflict with success patterns. Many school activities are entirely

outside of the dominant materialistic patterns of success. Why should a highschool student be interested in History, English, Art, Music, and similar subjects? What do these things have to do with holding down a job as a wage worker in a factory; what do they have to do with making money? Any highschool student can give the obvious answer to this question. He has in the behavior of status leaders in his community a living example of the answer to his question. There are exceptions, but the majority of leaders in the average American community concern themselves with materialistic pursuits. After one has become a success, then one is free to support and give one's time to the Arts, to community betterment, to the duties of citizenship.

So long as History, Literature, Art, Music, Citizenship, Government, and other non-vocational subjects remain outside of the dominant success patterns, most middle class pupils will conform enough to classroom activities to gain passing grades in those subjects which are required, and will largely ignore those which are elective. Students who are planning to go on to college will phrase their conformity at a higher level, because their pattern of success includes entrance into a college of their choice, and college entrance depends partially upon grades.

But middle class success, as we have pointed out, is not accessible to the majority of lower class students. Most of these students are acutely aware of this, that even if they conform to the

middle class culture in the schools they will still have to work at blue collar jobs after they graduate from highschool. As a result, many lower class students do not conform; they do not perceive their realistic patterns of success as demanding conformity as the middle class students do. Consequently, many of these lower class students become discipline and control problems; especially is this true in the non-vocational required courses such as History and English. Our evidence leads us to the conclusion that the educator does not actually escape the task of winning a clientele simply because his students are compelled to attend school and certain of them are assigned to his classroom. The educator, say, who is attempting to teach World History to a class of thirty eleventh grade students from a slum district is first faced with the task of winning their interest and attention to the educational activity itself. He must first win their approval of the educational activity before he can administer it satisfactorily, and before the students are in a position to reject or accept the material which is presented. One may ascertain the truth of this by observing the difficulty which teachers under similar circumstances have of winning the attention of their students as the prior requirement before learning may occur. The mode of behavior which slum students often give to World History is either complete passivity and lack of interest, or aggressive behavior which requires the teacher be constantly concerned with discipline. Not only must the educator win a clientele, but he must win the

clientele which is assigned to him. In the practice of medicine both doctor and patient have a choice of those people with whom they have authority relations. In much of education neither educator or student has a choice of the persons they are compelled to deal with in authority relationships. The fact that both parties are faced with a compulsory relationship means that both, who have been taught an ideology of independence, freedom, and equality, are likely to experience rebellion at times. Thus, the educator in the compulsory situation, it would appear, is faced with an added handicap in winning the clientele which has been assigned to him. If he is to be successful in winning his clientele, he must be ingenious and hard working in his attempts to gain student interest. Not only must he be aware of the success patterns of his students, but he must be able to demonstrate to his students that the educational activities which he leads fit into their success patterns.

Winning Psychological Acceptance Of Communications And Leadership

After the expert educator has won a clientele which is willing to allow him to administer his expertness to them, he is faced with the problem of gaining their psychological acceptance of the expertness which he administers. It is psychological acceptance and approval of his communications and leadership which constitutes a grant of authority to the educator. In our study of the doctor-patient relationship we found that many sociocultural factors in the

patient's environment sometimes prevented his psychological acceptance of the doctor's treatment. We found also that the behavior of some physicians prevented their winning acceptance of their treatment. Let us use some examples in education which will serve to illustrate our point.

Let us say that a history teacher assigns the Federal Bill of Rights for his class to study. He may remark that this is the most important thing they will study in his class, that it is the foundation for their personal liberty, and therefore they ought to study hard. If there are thirty students in his class which represent the total social structure, we may expect their acceptance to vary from complete psychological acceptance to complete rejection. One student may be from a Jewish family which is active in organizations to secure their equal rights as citizens; he can see the relation of the Bill of Rights to his own life. He responds to the teacher's communications with positive and complete psychological acceptance. He not only studies hard on his assignment, but he goes to the library and does extra reading on the subject.

A second student may regard the teacher's communication as just another assignment. He would rather be playing baseball and is planning to be a professional baseball player. His friends, however, are all going to graduate next June. This social pressure induces him to study hard enough to graduate. He does not give complete psychological acceptance to the teacher's communication, and he studies only hard enough to pass the examination which he knows will come.

A third student from a lower class home has been ridiculed by the teacher because he gave an inappropriate answer to a question. The class laughed at him, and he hates the teacher as the source of his humiliation. He rejects the teacher's communication, as he rejects all others from this particular teacher. His major motivation is to get away from this intolerable social situation, get a job, and make some money. He refuses to study; grades have no meaning for him since he would be happy for any reason to leave school.

In the first two examples, the foundation for acceptance came largely from the sociocultural environment of the student. In the example of the lower class boy, his rejection of the teacher was due to the teacher's behavior. In a class of thirty students we may say that the degree of their acceptance or rejection of the teacher's educational leadership will vary widely from one extreme to the other, if they represent the total social structure. If the class represents a narrow range of social status, say upper-middle class, for example, we would expect their response to the teacher's leadership to cover a more narrow range of behavior.

We have pointed out the importance of the educator's role in his profession and the general community. This is the manner in which he may influence the sociocultural, psychological, and physical environment of his students. While the influence of a few educators may scarcely be felt, if all educators played the general aspects of their role well, the educational profession would find winning and keeping

authority a much easier task.

Teacher-Student Authority Relationships

But it is their own behavior in the role of the superior in educational expertness that educators can do something about. Let us use the teacher-student authority relationship on which to focus our explanation. It is well to realize at the outset that both parties in any superior-subordinate authority relationship defines their relationships and phrase their behavior in the terms of their own particular life situation. Both the student and the teacher in this case, phrase their behavior in the terms of their own emotions, their own social relationships, their own economic position, their own educational level, their own group culture. This phrasing is usually also in relation to their primary groups, of course.

If student and teacher are from the same social class, race, and ethnic group, their general cultural frame of reference will be similar. Their immediate group culture will seldom be the same, however. Their family and peer groups will be different. The peer groups of which the teacher is a member will be older, and based on sex-age-occupation will have different interests from that of the student. Their genetic makeup, sociocultural experience and environment, age, physical development, and health, will be reflected in their personality and emotions. These will be different for student and teacher. Economic position, which is reflected in social standing

in the status structure of the general community, may be similar for student and teacher, or widely different. Perhaps a better criterion for evaluation of the economic factor in an authority relationship is the concern of each party relative to economic matters. In this relationship, the teacher, in the majority of cases, will feel less concern over economic matters than do most students. Economic affairs are of prior concern to all lower class students. While students who are from middle class homes may have no immediate concern over economic insecurity, the materialistic group culture from which they come dictates that the underlying purpose of much of their life activity, at least as adults, will be to accumulate economic wealth. Teachers, on the other hand, would not be teachers if they had much concern for the economic affairs of life.

The self-interests and success patterns of teacher and student, based upon age, sex, social class, and group culture, will be different. The success of the teacher comes from the satisfaction he gets in watching his students learn and develop, from advancement in his profession which brings prestige and power, from the recognition accorded him by colleagues when he is named to an important committee, and so on.

Students are successful when they achieve popularity in school and with their immediate peers. Middle class students are successful when they bring home good grades and cause no trouble in school

which may reflect on their parents. Some lower class students are successful when they defy the teacher and ridicule the academic culture of the school. All lower class students are successful when their school experience results in an increase in income within their foreseeable future.

The difference in level of education will also be an important factor in the teacher-student authority relationship. The difference in age and education may result in some teachers having the feeling that "they know what is best for students." Where this feeling exists it may deter teachers from winning authority. Teachers who feel this way are likely to attempt to make decisions for students, something it is impossible for them to do. When teachers attempt to make decisions for students some students may rebel, and the teacher's behavior thus be a causal factor in failing to win authority from the student.

Educators who have set out to examine their authority relationships should remember (1) that if he and his subordinate are from different group cultures, their cultural frame of reference will be widely different, and communication, understanding, and mutual satisfaction from the relationship will be very difficult (2) that any authority relationship is reciprocal in character, but the educator, as the superior, is in the position of the stimulus-initiator in the relationship, and (3) examination of an authority relationship should always start with an examination of the group culture of both parties

to the relationship. It would be quite natural for the educator to forget himself and his own group culture as half of the authority relationship.

We will assume that the teacher has discovered the cultural reference points from which the student starts, and is aware of his own cultural reference points and capabilities in the learning process. From this point he can begin to phrase his own behavior in the relationship to win psychological acceptance and authority from his student for the material he presents and the activities he leads. What the behavior of the teacher should be rests on the specific authority relationship in question.

Behavior Which Will Win Authority For The Educator

There are certain general patterns of behavior which will help educators to win and keep authority. Our study of the physician revealed that some types of behavior were successful in winning authority from patients. These modes of behavior were: (1) warm friendliness (2) exhibiting a genuine interest in people (3) democratic, egalitarian behavior (4) dependability (5) sincerity (6) phrasing behavior with reference to group culture (7) maintaining a professional bearing (8) remaining psychologically alert, and (9) conforming to socio-cultural norms. It is our contention that these modes of behavior will also be effective in winning and keeping authority for educators.

We discovered, in our analysis of the medical profession, that

competence in the science of medicine had very little to do with the doctor's winning of authority from patients. In the educational profession today there is a wide range of competence among the individuals who are appointed to the office of educator. Certainly it is true that the teacher's competence in his specific field will be a limiting factor in what he is able to teach students. He cannot teach something he does not know. It is highly important that the educator be competent in the science of his special field of endeavor. But we need to recognize that the scientific competence of the educator in his special field is, in itself, entirely inadequate for educational activities to be of maximum benefit to the layman and his community. To be a success in educational activities and of greatest service to the community, educators must be able to win and keep the authority of subordinates. The winning and maintenance of authority depends primarily upon the psycho-social competence of the educator in authority relationships, on his competence in the arts of his profession.

We have brought together considerable evidence on the development, phrasing, and expression of authority in ideology and human behavior in American culture and society. We have related this evidence to the field of education generally, and to some of the educator's roles. It appears that the educator may achieve personal success without paying a great deal of attention to his authority relationships with subordinates. The weight of evidence brings us

to the conclusion, however, that the educator will find more satisfaction and less conflict in his work if he is competent in authority relations. Those educators whose goals include success in educational activities as the means to greatest personal satisfaction and service to their society, need to organize their work and behavior to achieve maximum effectiveness and efficiency in authority relationships with subordinates and peers.

NOTES

1. Drucker, Peter F., "The Way To Industrial Peace", The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 193, No. 1156, November, 1946, p. 391
2. Davis, Allison, "Light From Anthropology On Intercultural Relations", Cultural Groups And Human Relations, Conference On Educational Problems Of Special Cultural Groups, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York: Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 84-85
3. Davis, Allison, Social Class Influences Upon Learning, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1952, p. 97; and Eells, Kenneth, "Some Implications For School Practice Of The Chicago Studies Of Cultural Bias In Intelligence Tests", Harvard Educational Review, Summer, 1953, p. 286
4. This description of slum culture is based on Davis, Allison, Social Class Influences Upon Learning, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1952, pp. 23-37

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