

A STUDY OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION WITH REFERENCE TO SOCIAL CLASS BARRIERS
AND SOCIAL CLASS RIGIDITY

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PREFACE

This dissertation is dedicated to a review of the theories and history of social class barriers. Social stratification, a most ubiquitous social phenomenon, has been treated from many points of view, but the aspect of rigidity has received only abortive consideration. In general, also, it may be safely stated that research in the fields of social class has not kept pace with the recognized importance of the whole subject and its various aspects

Mombert 1 is of the opinion that the problem of social stratification stands in first place among questions pertaining to society. Bauer 2 avers that class constitutes the true subject matter of social science. Fahlbeck 3 expresses surprise that this field has received so little attention. Overbergh asserts, and is supported by Ferré 4, that the study of social classes is of utmost importance to sociology. Park and Burgess refer to this as an "unworked field." 5

Confusion in classification. The chief problem confronting the investigator at the outset is confusion in terminology. Social class rigidity, as a field of study, depends upon what is meant by social class.

Authorities mean different things by the same words and the same thing by different words. Research into usage and classifications becomes immediately imperative. 6 Class has to be disentangled from social class (Chapter I); and caste requires special attention because it has been used interchangeably with social stratum, hereditary occupation, and race (Chapter II).

The need for research in the field of concept and usage is indicated by the fact that Page 7 chooses to write two volumes in the field of class before he tackles the intricacies of definitions and conceptual categories.

The scope and aim of this study. In order to illustrate the various forms of social stratification, and therefore the many kinds of social class barriers, it is necessary to survey briefly the literature of anthropology and history. Chapter III, given over to this review, contains purely introductory material; it makes no pretenses at contributing directly or indirectly to knowledge, in form or content.

It does, however, raise several points essential to the thesis concerning the origin, nature, and extent of social class rigidity.

The material collected and arranged to indicate the various mechanisms whereby social classes, or classes in general, maintain their positions of advantage and privilege (Chapter IV) falls into the category of knowledge collected and presented in a more orderly and more adequate form. The data extracted from general history (Chapters V to XII), beginning with Greek civilization, fall into the same category. Descriptive studies into the kinds of social stratification at specified intervals in European and American history are plentiful, but this dissertation is not a study of specific class systems -- it is a study in social class continuity and social class barriers. No similar organization of material, based on historical facts, exists.

The central theme of this work is: where do the social classes recruit their members, from among themselves or from outsiders? It is discovered, for instance, that several prominent sociologists give one answer to this question of recruitment in regard to the Gallo-Roman period; whereas eminent historians give another. Their divergent views provide an interesting controversy. Another intriguing discussion is provided by the conflicting opinions about the American Dream.

By going beyond ordinary sources to the biographies of families in several states (Virginia, Ohio, and Iowa), and by using the case method, a non-statistical approach already well established in the field of criminology, it is possible to estimate the degree and amount of consistency in status to a higher degree of accuracy than can be obtained from the opinions of authorities or the results of statistical studies, of which almost none exist in the field of social classes, per se. (See Appendix III.)

After reviewing several statistical studies (Chapter XIII), the results of three original projects are presented. One statistical study is made of the social status of the parents and grandparents of the faculty of Washington Square College. Another and more ambitious project was based upon the replies from the society of editors of newspapers throughout the country regarding the backgrounds of the leading local persons and their families. A third statistical study was made of persons whose weddings received considerable publicity in the columns of the New York Times during the year 1938.

The closing chapters of this dissertation deal with several topics essential to a full understanding of social class barriers. A special analysis is made of the barriers between the middle class and the classes below them on the social scale, barriers which usually have contributed heavily to social class rigidity. The biological theory of social stratification is reviewed and evaluated. Education is related to social class, as are war and totalitarianism. Finally, the question is raised: Are social classes desirable? A comprehensive understanding of social class continuity is not possible without a discussion of these more general topics.

Expression of Appreciation. The investigator wishes to thank Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild for his friendly guidance and deep understanding of the materials out of which sociology is forging a new field of human knowledge.

The writer wishes to express his sincere appreciation to the committee of readers of the Graduate School for their corrections of the original copy of this dissertation. These proved to be invaluable guides in the organization and construction of this work in its present form.

Thanks are also given to Charles Churchill, who was of great assistance in tabulating statistics, to Professors Lucy Chamberlain, Richard A. Girard, and E. Adamson Noebel for their friendly encouragement, and to Edith Headrick for the more exact translation of passages taken from the French.

1. Paul Mombert, "Die Tatsachen der Klassenbildung." Schmollers Jahrbuch, vol. XLIV (1920) p. 1041.
2. Arthur Bauer, Les Classes Sociales: analyse de la vie sociale (Paris, 1902) p.40.
3. Pontus E. Fahlbeck, Die Klassen und die Gesellschaft (Jens, 1922) p. 111.
4. Louise Marie Ferré, Les classes sociales dans la France contemporaine (Paris, 1936) p. 40.
5. Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology (Chicago, rev. ed., 1924) p. 722.
6. Consul Henry Pratt Fairchild, General Sociology (New York, 1934) p. 84, for a lucid explanation of the confusion that may arise from incorrect categories and classifications.
7. Charles Hunt Page, Class and American Sociology: From Ward to Ross (New York, 1940) p. xii.

CHAPTER I

AN ATTEMPT TO DEFINE CLASS AND SOCIAL CLASS

The word class and especially the term social class have been and remain a source of great confusion in social science. It is the intention of this chapter to contribute to social theory by systematically analyzing these terms in a more comprehensive manner than has been heretofore attempted. A full understanding of social class is prerequisite to an extended discussion of social class rigidity and mobility.

Sombart¹ believes the time has come for social scientists to come to an understanding as to the meaning of class (Gliederung nach Ständen). The present confusion may be attributed to the many meanings of the word and to the fact that this has never been recognized, he says.

Some economists have been reluctant to use the descriptive terms "economic classes" and "occupational classes" and have preferred to refer to such divisions as "social classes." This has been one source of confusion.

Economic Aspects of Definition of Class and Social Class

People speak of propertied and property-less classes, of productive and unproductive classes, and of the working class.

Mombert² states that such general terms leave the word class quite empty of meaning.

Simkhovitch³ defines classes as groups with similar sources of income. They are conscious of similar or identical economic interests. A social class is, for him, an organized body of individuals whose economic interests coincide. This formulation is quite Marxian, and it considers the class as a pressure group.

L. Von Stein⁴ divides the classes of society into ownership classes, legal classes, and honorific classes. It is this last-mentioned category which many modern authorities would identify with social classes.

Although this is not his conclusive explanation, Ginsberg at one point states:⁵

The primary determinants of social stratification are without doubt largely economic in character. Economic conditions determine an individual's occupation, and this in turn is generally a fair index of his mode of life and educational attainments, from which again may usually be inferred the sort of people whom he would meet on equal terms, the range of individuals from among whom he would normally choose his partner in marriage, and so forth.

1. Werner Sombart, *Deutscher Sozialismus* (Berlin, 1934) p. 219.

2. Paul Mombert, "Zum Wesen der sozialen Klasse," in *Hauptprobleme der Soziologie*, vol. II (Munich, 1923) p. 239.

3. As reported in: *ibid.*, p. 241

4. Lorenz von Stein, *Die Gesellschaftslehre* (Stuttgart, 1856) p. 273.

5. Morris Ginsberg, "Class Consciousness," *Ency. of the Social Sciences*, vol. III (New York, 1937) p. 537.

A discerning critic might re-phrase the foregoing in these words:

The key to a person's economic condition is best found in the social class into which he was born. His social position determines the occupation for which he fits himself or which he has a chance of entering after training. The social class condition in which he is reared is an index to his mode of life and to his educational training. From it we infer, certainly, the sort of people whom he meets on equal terms; and it is his background, not his present economic condition, which is most likely to limit his choice of mate, etc.

This debate runs through the literature on social classes, in one form or another, and the reader will have to decide which argument has the more cogency, the economic or the socio-psychological explanation of causation.

Gumplowicz takes his place alongside the economic determinists in saying that "a man's behavior is determined immediately by his economic status, which constrains him to follow a certain mode of life and awakens the corresponding mental conditions within him." 6

Marshall 7 divides class from social class by associating the former with production and the latter with consumption. Veblen's well known theory of modern hierarchies of prestige is in terms of conspicuous consumption rather than in terms of "relationship to the instruments of production," the Marxian formula. A recent textbook in sociology, however, states that a "social class is an economic group whose members are alike in their relations to the process of getting a living." 8

Few social theorists still hold this view; Mombert, Speier, Ginsberg, MacIver, Mess, Vablen, and many others have directly or indirectly refuted it.

Max Weber synthesizes the economic aspect and the socio-psychological factors in the making of status groups. He lists: "(1) the possession of economic means, (2) the external standard of living, (3) cultural and recreational possibilities." 9 As a matter of descending importance, the order should perhaps be reversed. Social contracts might come first, conspicuous consumption second, and the possession of wealth third.

Occupational and social hierarchies. Since Many writers have used the terms occupational hierarchy and social hierarchy synonymously, there must be a relationship between the two hierarchies. Complete identicalness has been discredited by theorists, and although an adequate formula of the exact relationship is difficult to invent, attempt is made here to do so.

Bücher discerned the close relationship between the status of the individual and his choice of an occupation. The inference here is that the status determines the vocation of one's choice quite as much as the vocation determines the status of the individual later in life.

6. Ludwig Gumplowicz, *The Outlines of Sociology*, tr. Albion Small (Philadelphia, 1899) p. 163.

7. T.H. Marshall, "Social Class -- A Preliminary Analysis," in the *Sociological Review*, vol. XXVI (January, 1934) p. 62

8. Charles Horton Cooley, Robert Cooley Angell, and Lowell Juillard Carr, *Introductory Sociology* (New York, 1933) p. 287.

9. According to Paul Mombert, "Class," *Ency. of the Social Sciences*, vol. III (New York, 1937) p. 532.

He states: 10

In so far as our propertied classes are also social classes according to occupation, they are not such because their occupation creates property, but rather because property determines the selection of a vocation.... Every vocation under our industrial organization yields an income; and only the propertied person is in a situation to seek out for himself the more lucrative positions...while the unpropertied person must be content with the inferior positions.

Given a broader interpretation, but in the same spirit, this could read: Members of the higher social classes will enter a given field according to the amount of esteem, prestige, and money which the occupation represents. It is not so much that the occupation gives the person prestige -- rather it is a case of the person lending his social dignity, or lack of it, to the occupation he enters.¹¹ Persons of high standing are likely, more often than not, to aspire to reputable positions with real chance of success. If the work desired requires both social and technical training, those of the higher and middle classes have the social background and the necessary time, patience, persistence, and money to obtain that technical training.

Men with such advantages have tended to monopolize political and colonial offices in the British Empire, for instance. From such groups were the army officers of the Kaiserreich (the first German Reich) chosen. They had the background and social contacts which gave them high status; they prepared themselves by university training and special education for the positions awaiting them.

In an extended debate with Bücher Schmöller ¹² argued that the social classes were a product of the division of labor and the accumulation of property. But Bücher answered that "the differences in property and income are not a consequence of the division of labor, rather they are its chief cause." ¹³ In attempting to prove this, Bücher ¹⁴ points out that persons on certain social levels intermarry and have close social ties. As a part of this regular association with each other they tend to hold for each other positions comparable to their social rank. Although their vocations often change from one generation to the next, the rank is likely to remain the same.

10. Carl Bücher, *Individual Evolution*, tr. S.M. Wickett (New York, 1912) p. 333.

11. Among primitives, trades are rated according to the desire of the different classes to monopolize or to avoid them. In one place the smiths are honored, in another outcast.

12. Gustaf Schmöller, *Die Soziale Frage, Klassenbildung, Arbeiterfrage, Klassenkampf* (Munich, 1918) p. 149.

13. Karl Bücher, *Die Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft* (Tübingen, 1904) p. 384; translation ours.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 390.

Thus Bücher rejects Schmeller's theory that the work makes the man and chooses to believe that the different social classes choose the various vocations, leaving the least desirable occupation to those with the greatest immediate need or with the least training and conditioning in restraint and in long-term planning.

Bouglé attributes to socialist theory, in particular, the doctrine that "the division of labor gave rise to the classes and that social specialization is a result of technical specialization." 15 Marshall affirms Bücher: "In all societies Social Class is concerned with the selection of occupations ... the conventional view for a man of a given station to occupy himself." 16 Landtman says that "the rich and powerful prefer to leave every kind of industrial employment to others, whereby divisions of occupations is brought about." 17

The economic interpretation of causation in this sphere of is championed by Fahlbeck. It is his opinion that in this age persons are not bound to the class of their birth.

The work of an individual "determines his final position in the social sense." 18 Nothaas agrees with Fahlbeck: "... occupation has become the basis of class identification... occupation more than anything else determines class membership in modern society..." 19 No intimation is given here, as is strongly stated by Bücher and Marshall, that status determines occupational choices and chances.

Fairchild 20 lists occupation as one of the free choices of the individual. A full expression of this theory would probably reveal that the average person may have a wide range of choices with regard to type of calling but not with regard to the rank of the occupation chosen.

Indeed, the occupational opportunities of the average person are severely limited by his class standing. His parents may neglect him; they may exploit him; they may want to see him at an early age independent of their support. (Study and observation reveal these to be the habits of the lowest classes generally.) They lack the foresight, the moral stamina (inhibitions), and the means to give their children the home life, education, poise, and connections which might improve their lot. The opposite is true of the entrenched middle and upper classes, in general.

The social class interpretation of occupational choice in contradiction to the economic interpretation is stated succinctly by Bouglé: "... instead of belonging to a particular class because one has entered a particular vocation, one enters a particular vocation because one belongs to a particular class. Social standing governs the distribution of functions." 21

The simplest analysis of modern society reveals that occupational categories do not correspond to hierarchies of social prestige, privilege, honor, and power. A "lawyer" is a person who has passed the Bar examination. He may be highly esteemed, or he may blush when his friends refer to him as a lawyer, because he may be finishing his fourth year with the Works Progress Administration.

A person's "position in the occupation," as stressed by Mombert, reveals much more. In the case of an employee of a university, it may indicate that he is an instructor in rank. Superficially considered, one instructor is the equal of every other. As has been shown, there are writers who build their theory of the social class structure on this premise. Observation demonstrates, however, that the theory of equal social status for equal professional rank cannot be applied with satisfaction to cases one confronts day after day.

15. C. Bouglé, *Qu'est-ce que la sociologie?* (Paris, 1932) p. 128; translation ours.

16. Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 63

17. Gunnar Landtman, *The Origin of the Inequality of the Social Classes* (Chicago, 1938) p. 79.

18. Pontus E. Fahlbeck, *Die Klassen und die Gesellschaft* (Jena, 1922) p. 230; translation ours.

19. J. Nothaas, *Social Ascent and Descent in Germany*, tr. S. Ellison (New York) p. 32

20. Henry Pratt Fairchild, *General Sociology* (New York, 1934) p. 740.

21. Bouglé, *op. cit.*, p. 129; translation ours.

Some instructors are young men marked to rise, with fine family backgrounds, who have married ultra-fashionable women. The faculty directory of New York University, for instance, shows that some of them live at conspicuous addresses. Other instructors are older men, with feelings of failure, who wrestle monthly with the family budget. Certainly here is abundant evidence of social heterogeneity in the presence of occupational homogeneity. Men work side by side who do not, in their leisure time, have enough in common, strictly from the social class point of view, to enable them to fraternize with one another.

Whatever occupational category is mentioned, observation quickly shows it not to be homogeneous in the social class sense. There are, within any given community, many social divisions among farmers. Even the term "farm-owner" does not describe the social position and circle of friends of the person thus designated. The same is true of the category "tenant."

In referring to social classes many of the more careful writers avoid direct reference to occupations. MacIver states categorically: "Class distinctions rest in the last resort not on function but on status." 22 Mombert 23 rules out occupational groups from his category of social class, which he identifies with class.

It can be safely stated that the weight of authority is now on the side of those who differentiate between occupational categories and social status groups.

René Worms makes the empathic statement: "One must not confuse classes with professions. A profession includes all men whose activity produces a given result, whatever their rank on the social ladder." 24 Tawney repudiates the theory of parallelism between the social functions and the social classes in these words: "The class system takes off its overalls and office coat and wears a costume appropriate to the hours of ease." 25 Slowly, this position is coming to be accepted in social science.

Wealth and social status. The relationship between economic factors and social class is further complicated by the question of the relationship between wealth and social standing. Do great and medium wealth determine high and medium class standing, respectively; or do high and middle class status determine the distribution of great and medium wealth?

Throughout human history it has not been characteristic of social classes to be strictly plutocratic. Rome, for instance, definitely rejected the plutocratic theory of status.

Precedence, social esteem, and social prestige have rarely if ever been computed in purely non-personal, material terms. Sumner and Keller observe: "Plutocracy has been held in check by aristocracy of birth, though aristocrats do not normally renounce their opportunity of becoming rich." 26 Social class usually breathes the atmosphere of aristocracy, i.e. exclusiveness based on social antecedents. This has been generally true of the craft artisans, the middle classes, and the upper classes of all societies alike. Furthermore, social class uses social advantage to reap economic rewards.

In how far does this theory hold? It is true that a family is not socially rated according to its economic means? Is it possible that status produces and distributes wealth even more frequently and effectively than wealth produces status? Should the slogan, "A man's social position depends upon his economic power," be preceded by the statement: "Usually a man's wealth depends upon the social class in which he was reared."

"Among primitive peoples," we are told, "wealth is perhaps more likely to be a result of power than power of wealth." 27 For modern times Mombert 28 would reverse this emphasis.

22. R.M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology* (New York, 1937) p. 168.

23. Mombert, *op. cit.*, (9) p. 532.

24. René Worms, *La Sociologie* (Paris, 1921) p. 71; translation ours.

25. R.H. Tawney, *Equality* (New York, 1931) p. 60.

26. William Graham Sumner and Albert Galloway Keller, *The Science of Society*, vol. I (New Haven, 1927) p. 573.

27. *Loc. cit.*

28. Mombert, *op. cit.* (9), p. 534.

He holds that the social factors of class determination may formerly have been predominant, but that with the growth of capitalism the economic factors have been ascendant. If wealth had been equally accessible to all classes, Mombert's theory would unquestionably be true, but such approximate equality did not exist. Wealth became relatively more independent of the social class system, but never completely free of its controls.

Discussions pertaining to the relationship between economic and social factors in this regard frequently mention the theoretical ease with which a wealthy person in England, for instance, can be arranged to be knighted. This is given as evidence of the power of wealth to acquire status.²⁹ The converse argument is that the nobility can recover its fortune at any time by marrying into the wealthier non-noble families. It may be argued with reason that all rich men did not become knights or nobles, but almost all titled families have remained affluent up to the present era.

Gonnard states: "The conquest of wealth is a consequence, rather than a cause, of class formation. Classes arise, first of all, from differences of origin..."³⁰

Gurewitsch belongs to the same school of thought: "Social power is, at the same time, economic power and gives the higher classes a relatively higher economic position."³¹ If it is true that the possessing classes tend to become the dominating ones, then it follows that the dominating classes tend to become the possessing ones.³²

A young man usually acquires from his parents, if they belong to the middle or upper classes, something of economic value far beyond whatever financial provision they make for him. The intangibles handed down from parents to children include social contacts, technical skills, attitudes, values, and desires: all of which may be of considerable economic significance. Such assets can more easily be turned into economic goods by these classes than can a person without means and status first acquire the means and then "purchase" the status. Social class continuously translates itself into wealth, great or small.

With wisdom it can be said that the king is rich because he is king; he is not king because he is rich.

A careful survey of the literature on this subject has revealed that the chief point of emphasis of writers in this field has been reversed in the past half-century.

29. Charles Norton Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York, 1909) p. 282.

30. René Gonnard, "Quelques considérations sur les classes," in the *Revue Economique Internationale*, 17th year, vol. II (April 10, 1925) p. 77; translation ours.

31. B. Gurewitsch, "Die Entwicklung der Menschlichen Bedürfnisse und die Soziale Gliederung der Gesellschaft," in *Staats-und-Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung*, vol. XIX, part IV (1901) p. 105; translation ours.

32. Gonnard, *op. cit.* p. 82.

When Sir Henry Maine surveyed the theories regarding the origin of aristocracies, he found that the emphasis was placed on kingly favor. He then set about to show that some noble lines were founded by rich cattlemen, that the heroes of the Nibelungenlied were "not only noble but rich." 33 The inference here is that these nobles and warriors became such by virtue of their means, but the evidence is lacking to prove that wealth actually produced the first upper classes. They could have acquired wealth as a consequence of their power.

Max Weber, in describing how wealth became concentrated, shows the priority of social position over economic power. He writes: 34

The differentiation in wealth . . . has different sources. One is chieftainship, whether in the chieftain of a clan or a military group. The division of the land among the members of the clan was in the hands of the clan chieftain. This traditional right often developed into seigniorial power which became hereditary.

Classes are not always made or unmade by economic trends, as the theory of economic determinism would teach; on the contrary, the king or tyrant sometimes undermines old aristocracies and exclusive groups and builds up different ones in their place. 35

Personal factors, most frequently of a social class character, often pave the way for the distribution of the economic surplus among persons. The workings of the social upon the economic factors in the life of colonial America are delineated by Adams: 36

. . . access to official society was a prerequisite to the securing of this influence [ability to obtain land grants] and as the society was comparatively limited, intermarriage among its members became increasingly frequent . . .

The financial standing of their members thus increasingly also enabled them to strengthen their position as merchants. In all the colonies, the councils were almost wholly made up of the members of these aristocracies . . . By means of their large landholdings, their possession of a considerable portion of the cash capital of America, their position as merchant creditors of the smaller people, their control of the councils, and their privileged situation with regard to the dispensers of patronage and favors, as well as the more intangible influences always appertaining to a distinguished social position, the aristocrats by 1700 were fastening a firm grip both upon the political management and commercial exploitation of the New World.

There is one great difference between the generalization that new wealth purchases new status and the idea that old status is a source of wealth, both new and old. The latter is always an active process. Century after century it functions smoothly. The former statement is true only in certain times and places. The present period in the United States, at least the period from 1860 to the present, has perhaps seen more of the economic influence on social classes than human history has ever before experienced. The upper classes, in other words, have been temporarily unable to monopolize wealth and therefore hold their ranks firm.

33. Henry S. Maine, *The Early History of Institutions* (London, 1890) pp. 137-138.

34. Max Weber, *General Economic History*, tr. Frank H. Knight (New York, 1927) p. 51.

35. Fahbeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-202.

36. James Truslow Adams, *Provincial Society, 1690-1763* (New York, 1927) pp. 66-67.

However, as will be shown in later chapters, the amount of social class continuity has far outweighed the amount of social class percolation. Social class produces wealth, each station more or less according to its place on the scale. Social class in America has not formed its structure each generation out of "new men" characteristically. That is, the upper and middle classes have not neglected their economic opportunities to the extent that any overwhelming amount of wealth has been allowed to fall into the hands of persons of lower class standing, with which they could overcome and outrank those persons of respectable and reputable percentage.

In order to demonstrate that families of high social standing tend to monopolize opportunity in the economic realm, Appendix I is offered as typical of the manner in which the good things of life are distributed among those with prior advantage. There one finds that, although application was made by many fine families of Scotland to be allowed to take up, early in the seventeenth century, the newly subjugated lands of North Ireland, when the final list of those accepted was issued, the larger tracts were generally distributed among persons of higher rank. Appendix I also shows, by the typical manner in which middle class families went bond for each other, the degree to which they were prepared, if given the chance, to further entrench their own economic position. But many were destined to disappointment. Their superiors came before them.

The uses to which wealth is put. Plainly, a miser is without significant social status. Once one has obtained wealth, whether by inheritance or through the careful training and education provided by one's parents, or through one's own efforts or good fortune, there is always the problem of putting it to use.

Some persons, although they have money, do not obtain social status from its use because of the way they choose to spend (or not spend) it. While it is true that "the only practicable means of impressing one's pecuniary ability on these unsympathetic observers of one's everyday life is an unremitting demonstration of ability to pay,"³⁷ as Veblen says, yet it does not follow that people are wise in choosing between different items of expenditure -- if it is social status they wish to obtain, or as is more often the case, to retain. Although it is probable that only a very small fraction of the population of any land is iconoclastic, many who acquire riches never learn how to put them to social class uses.

37. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1927), first published 1899) p. 87.

The familiar theory that if a family is newly rich it can, given time, acquire polish, manners, and contacts, which make up for high social standing," 38 should, perhaps, be qualified somewhat. The necessary quantity of wealth requisite to entrance into classes considerably higher than one's own (such as might come to a miner who make a big strike or to a farmer who becomes rich from oil) is subject to dissipation even before the end of one lifetime. Furthermore, the necessary self-discipline, such as is required in turning over the children to trained governesses, is frequently lacking.

Research has shown * that successful and wealthy men in Virginia send their children either to private schools and colleges, or, if self-made, they sometimes let them take business courses in the local high school and do as their fathers did: start at the bottom. One son is given associative contacts; the other is assured that industry will suffice for success. Fathers of traditional social status, choosing the former approach, are generally more practiced in the arts of winning and keeping social status than are fathers, themselves self-made, who start their sons where they started. However, the wiser men of new success ape the habits of families of long high social standing. Their material success becomes incorporated, then, into the social class system.

Social status, even the retention of social status, is never purchased outright. It is earned. Time, effort, patience, careful planning, and money are the price. Mere pride, hauteur, never suffices to obtain social prestige. The real cost is unending contact: seeing, greeting, meeting people. Social life is a treadmill from which there is no rest; the people are really hard at work carrying out its obligations. 39 "A leisure class always gives great attention to the arts of social intercourse," says Ross. 40 But the classes who spend their days in active work are also attentive to their social obligations. Clubs, committees, teas, drinking parties, all consume precious leisure hours. Workers' wives, too, rise early and clean the house; for when visitors come, there must be a neat place in which to sit. And the hostess, even on such an informal occasion, has thought of her personal appearance.

Wealth and social status resolve themselves, in so far as they are allied to each other, then, into the following interrelationships: (1) New wealth is more accessible to families of high and middle class standing than to families of low status. (2) Families of low standing which succeed in acquiring great of medium wealth may, sometimes, with great care and good luck, move into classes much higher than their former position. When this has been accomplished, their wealth belongs henceforth to that higher social class. However, this can happen only when (a) property and riches are not carefully controlled and monopolized by the middle and upper middle class families, and (b) where the social class structure condescends to admit shifting of status through the display of pecuniary strength.

38. Marshall, *op. cit.*, p.60

* See Appendix III.

39. C.W. Nicholls, *The 469 Ultra-Fashionables of America* (New York, 1912) pp. 10-12.

40. Edward Alsworth Ross, *The Outlines of Sociology* (New York, 1933) p. 296.

Political Aspects of Definition of Class and Social Class

In addition to purely economic criteria frequently used to define class or social class, there comes in second place the question of how status is affected by politics. Do Republicans constitute one social class, Democrats another, and Socialists still a third? If a section of the population is unable to exercise the franchise, does it, therefore, constitute a "class"?

Only in some communities does it occur to people directly to identify one's social status with one's political party, as between the two major parties of this country. Limited social discrimination is, however, frequently exercised in some circles against a person because he is a member of the Republican or Democratic party.

But the problem of the radical or workers' party or parties offers much more difficulty. Is not the workers' party, whatever its name, a class party? Does not everyone who votes and works for this party consider himself to be a member of the working class? Is a radical intellectual socially as well as politically a member of the struggling lower orders of society?

Social Status and the class struggle. Is there a direct connection between the social classes and the class struggle? Recently a sociological textbook identified the two. 41 Here the classes are defined as the two competitive groups, capitalists and laborers, in a struggle for economic goods. The authors state: 42

Although we are not quite clear what we mean when we call someone a capitalist and another a worker, yet if J.P. Morgan and John, the ditch digger, were brought together we would have little difficulty in distinguishing the two, not only by their appearance, but, more important for the sociologist, by their attitudes, their stereotyped notions about each other, their prejudices, antipathies, and loyalties. The "working class" man is a part of a culture complex. His place in the economic struggle gives him common interests with others of low income and with others who work in factories and are dependent upon wages paid by the boss. If they are conscious of these common interests and do something about it, such as supporting each other's strikes, they show signs of becoming "class conscious."

Here we are confronted with organizations (whether strictly on the political front or in the field of industrial warfare in this instance being of no consequence), with a community of interests. The differences between organizations, according to Sorokin, 43 create a basis for what is nowadays called class-differentiation, with its class antagonisms and class friction.

41. Robert L. Sutherland and Julian L. Woodward, *Introductory Sociology* (Chicago, 1937) pp. 360-361.

42. *Loc. cit.*

43. Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Nobility* (New York, 1927) pp. 439-440.

Observation and reflection lead to the conclusion that the class struggle, which is a descriptive term used to apply to the industrial conflicts and to some of the parliamentary struggles of the last century, is a struggle between pressure groups and parties. It is hardly a term applicable to the jealousies, disloyalties, yet social cohesion, of social groups which make up the social classes. The class struggle is something definite and exact, fixed by usage. The word class here, as in the case of the occupational classes, is correctly used, if by it is meant definite organizations which act as political parties or pressure groups, only so long as it is not confused with social strata or social classes, whose purposes are of another kind, whose loyalties are different, whose existence continues even after political parties, labor unions, and the class struggle have been abolished or made meaningless.

There is, then, a working class which is composed of all those who vote the labor ticket, and in this case it does not include the doorman who always votes Tory. But there is another working class, as Marshall insists, which is a "real sphere of social intercourse" and which remains a social class, even though the "working class organization ... occupied entirely in the defense of its interests against capital, belongs rather to the category of party." 44

Almost all revolutionary parties of working class orientation have intellectual leaders drawn largely from the middle and upper social classes. These parties seek to capture the state, and as such are parties. Many workers refuse to cooperate with them. Schumpeter, using class in the sense of social class, points out this fact: 45

For each individual his class membership is a given fact which is independent of his will. But he does not always confirm it by his actions. Persons are known to function, especially politically, with and for a social class to which they do not belong. In practical life these cases are well known, and we speak of them as fellow-travelers, renegades, etc.

In either its revolutionary or its institutionalized form the class struggle, except for some slave and serf uprisings, has not characterized the history of man except during the past two centuries. To function, it must have as its base the right of free assembly, free speech, and a free press, or their equivalent. Social classes, on the contrary, have always existed, at least among civilized men.

Usage has been of assistance in one respect. Professor Nathan, following usage, distinguishes between the proletariat and the proletarians. In the one case he lectures of class consciousness in the class struggle sense; in the other case he is referring to those whose way of life and non-militancy characterize their social class attitudes.

44. Marshall, *op. cit.*, p.66.

45. Joseph Schumpeter, "Die sozialen Klassen im ethnischhomogenen Milieu," in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Soziopolitik* (Tübingen, 1927) p. 8; translation ours.

Class consciousness and social class consciousness. What, then, is class consciousness? Obviously, there must be two kinds. Class consciousness in the Marxian sense of intense loyalty, solidarity, and enmity is familiar to everyone who has read in social science. It is a feeling of unity against all who will not accede to the wishes of the "latent masses." 46 Like the class struggle, class consciousness of this type "did not really show itself until the nineteenth century..." 47

Capitalists and their lackeys, typified by commuters on certain railway lines, are also known for their feelings of politico-industrial class consciousness. Their position is merely the other pole of the same axis, in so far as the kind of consciousness is concerned. They may, as may leading trade unionists, also be highly class conscious in the social class sense, however. In this case they and the trade union leaders might be equals and therefore on the "same side of the tracks." John L. Lewis has a son in Princeton.

Ginsberg rejects the organizational approach to the word class. To him the classes are not associational (British usage) and "they cannot be defined by their ends or purposes." 48 He identifies social class consciousness with consciousness of kind, feelings of equality and harmony, and feelings of superiority.

This carries the discussion to another plane, into another world. This is not the socialist formula for winning the class war; this is a description of the social class structure. This is another kind of class and another kind of class consciousness.

Here a man is not a loyal fighter. On the contrary, he lets lesser friends go by the board, while he cultivates new and superior acquaintances. He deserts his middle class and apes the one just above. Dawson and Gettys show how many middle class families give much attention to the ways of la haute société because they hope someday to break into its ranks. 49 Marshall states specifically that "Social Class is based rather on similarity of attitudes than on identity of interests ... Class consciousness may, therefore, be combined with an ambition to rise, or to enable one's children to rise. This has led to the assertion that disloyalty is a characteristic feature of Social Class." 50

46. W. Vleugels, "Die Masse," pamphlet III of the *Ergänzungshefte zu den Kölner Heften für Soziologie*, Munich, 1930, p. 8.

47. Henri See, *The Economic Interpretation of History* (New York, 1929) p. 100.

48. Ginsberg, *op. cit.*, p. 537.

49. Carl A. Dawson and Warner R. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology* (New York, 1929) p. 548.

50. Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

There are those who do not seek to climb. They are to be found in all ages and all kinds. In general, they are more characteristic of the social classes than are those who discontentedly strive to rise. Their class-consciousness is expressed in acceptance, deference, respect for position, for rank, for superior status. Gurewitsch believes that people enjoy paying deference to those higher on the social scale, because these contacts give one a feeling of power. At the same time one may wish to be in their place. 51

Sumner 52 holds that the "masses" are the core of the social structure, conservative, living on by tradition and habit, filled with inertia. They are inclined to accept their lot; they are not characteristically restive and desirous of climbing up the social ladder.

The social class structure, then, is a part of society that endures political upheavals -- it does not produce them. Other forces produce political convulsions, political strife, and class conflict.

In fact, most of the political revolutions of history, before 1917, were not greatly significant to the social class structure. Those families that had been prominent, powerful, and recognized before the upheaval have been seen to persist in influence and affluence after the first phase of the revolution has spent itself. Ogg states that, "The mob which stormed the Bastille in 1789 was composed largely of landless, hand-to-mouth people, but before the Revolution had far progressed, the fortunes of the movement had fallen completely under the guidance of men who were economically and socially of a higher rank..." 53

There is, of course, a relationship between the class struggle and class consciousness in the politico-industrial sense and the social class consciousness of family competition, accommodation, and cooperation. Sometimes rapidly, but usually slowly, political upheavals will change even the personal and family relationships and stations within a village or a great city. The present war era [WWII] is one that undermines the social status, even the actual lives, of many families in high social positions.

The organizations of worker, of retailers, of taxpayers, of teachers, of employers, also tend to group people socially as well as politically. This fact was more apparent and outstanding in times and places where the political, economic, and social activities of groups tended to coincide more closely than they do today -- as, for instance, during the better days of the craft and merchant guilds.

51. Gurewitsch, op. cit., p. 43.

52. William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1907) p. 45.

53. Frederic Austin Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe* (New York, 1923) p. 338.

Religion, Nationality, and Race: Significance for Social Class

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Fame, Notoriety, and Social Class

What has achievement and fame to do with social class standing? The distinction can perhaps be made that an individual is notorious or famous, but a family belongs to a social class as a unit. Prestige of class belongs to a child even before he has a chance to show his worth to society. Children of very famous persons are frequently at a disadvantage -- those of high class, rarely.

The personal achievements of one individual sometimes have a definitive bearing upon the social status of his family and the generations that follow. For instance, if the achievement is in a field that can be taught to the offspring, as dramatics, those bearing that name (Booth, Barrymore) have a chance to capitalize upon the prestige of the forebear. If the achievement results in the accumulation of a fortune (as in the case of Cornelius Vanderbilt), the effect may be quite lasting upon later generations.

The family to which a famous person belongs only slowly, and usually only after one or two additional generations of achievement, enters into a class position equivalent to the greatness of the achievement-reputation. Lincoln, although a famous President, did not associate with the "best people" socially; his son did. Charles Edison is beginning to convert his father's reputation, and his own achievements, into social class. His children will be much sought after.

Notoriety is scarcely at all significant for social class. People are notorious for all kinds of things; for swallowing goldfish and eating phonograph records, for being Public Enemy No. 1, for hitting a baseball 467 feet.

Many famous men, renowned for their achievements, have had no appreciable influence upon the social class hierarchy, because they have left no descendants. Their careers are often at the expense of family obligations; there is no perpetuation of status. They are flashlight bulbs, illuminating their corner of the stage briefly but well.

Achievement, followed by achievement, followed by achievement, will make up for social contacts and status commensurate with the achievement. This is the story told by the Adams family, the Byrds, the Lodges, the Cabots, the Roosevelts. In the case of the Johnson family, the famous member was a president, the offspring unknown, their offspring unknown; achievement did not translate itself into status.

It is possible that a whole definition of class could be built around the word achievement. Such a definition would read: Any family whose line shows consistent non-achievement for three generations in terms of anything worthy of praise by its neighbors (such as cleanliness, industriousness, morality, or other socially approved values) is very low indeed. The social case records of charity organizations of long standing show many such families.

65. John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven, 1937) p. 86.

66. Arthur W. Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family*, vol. II (Cleveland, 1918) p. 283.

67. Extract from *The Iron Furnace*, by J. H. Augley, 1863, contained in Felix Plugel and H. U. Faulkner, *Headings in Economic and Social History of the United States* (New York, 1929) p. 421.

Any family whose history of achievement shows a consistent record of planning, of doing the most with all available means, of keeping up its morals, of being seen and heard at the right time and place, of teaching and preparing each generation for its tasks, of wasting little time and little money, of remaining relatively sober, and of watching for favorable connections -- that record would be recognized and would give the family at least middle-class status, quite apart from any temporary financial condition.

Keeping a family line consistent and intact is itself an achievement. Noble families 700 to 1000 years old win additional respect among aristocrats for this achievement. Craftsmen, in older countries, pride themselves on the consistency of their lines.

Tentatively, one may offer the following formula for dealing with achievement, notoriety, and leadership on the one hand, and social class on the other. The financial page of a large newspaper gives the names of business leaders. The regular news pages give the names of prominent politicians. Tabloids contain the photographs of all notorious persons, especially those of great popularity and those involved in scandals. But if one wishes to know the names of the socially most acceptable families, it is wise to watch news items pertaining to weddings, parties, and resorts. Here one does not find the complete social hierarchy, but the space given to such kinds of news, especially in a local paper, indicates how important certain families are considered to be, and (by omission) how unimportant others are. Society editors actually rank the people in their districts, in fact.

Legal Classes and Social Classes

There are noblemen, slaves, freedmen, redemptionists, burghers, aliens, citizens, voters, and criminals: are these social classes?

A former president of France, presiding over a banquet of the Association for the Defense of the Middle Class, reproached the organization for its name, saying: "Depuis 1789, Dieu merci, il n'y a plus de classes en France..." 68

Because, under feudalism, there were once feudal status groups, fixed by law, are there now no status groups? And were those legal divisions social class divisions?

Perhaps it would be correct to perceive two kinds of status, one legal and one social. There is and was legal status; there is and was social status. Perhaps only occasionally in human history have these categories exactly coincided, more probably never. Social status, if defined in terms of mutually exclusive groups whose positions are fixed in normal social contacts by consensus, has always found ways of getting around legal restrictions. It is inconceivable that anywhere or at any time have all the families in any society had identical legal and social status. In fact, any large number of families within any legal category is likely to be divided into strata of a social class nature. This has always been true of noblemen, criminals, citizens, etc. Slaves, chained together in gangs, are slaves in the legal sense and lowest on the social scale in the class sense. But what of the slaves in the royal households (where slave pimps have been known to outrank free officials), slaves who were prominent physicians, slaves who sometimes acted as ghostwriters for Cicero and others?

Social ranks among criminals. There seems to be little reason today for confusing social classes with degrees of criminality, true as it is that the different social classes tend to be guilty in different degrees of the same crimes. The obvious fact remains that there are Whitneys, Hineses, and poor unfortunate Jackson whites in the state and federal prisons. Sutherland has described in detail the kinds of criminality more common to certain of the social classes, even by persons "socially accepted and approved, looked up to." 69

69. E.H. Sutherland, "White-Collar Criminality," in the American Sociological Review, vol. V, February, 1940, p. 2.

Histories tell, and correctly so, of criminals being brought to the shores of Colonial America. Lack of space, however, prevents a full explanation here of what kinds of people these criminals were. One might, especially if not given to reading extensively in this field, get the impression that there was some kind of social uniformity among those thus labeled.

The story is related of a lawyer convicted of stealing books at Cambridge who was exiled to America. "Though it was customary for the commoner sort of prisoners to be conducted on foot . . . this barrister and four other prisoners, including an attorney, a butcher, and a member of a noble family, were allowed to ride in hackney coaches with their keepers . . . they were treated on board ship with the marks of respect and distinction." 70 It is generally agreed that an appreciable proportion of the so-called criminal laborers were political prisoners taken in the rebellious seventeenth century. These men frequently represented the best elements in England and were a source of strength rather than weakness to the colonies.

Social differences among slaves. There is abundant evidence that status groups in the true sense of the actual social position do not conform to legal categories. Lowie shows this is the case of slaves: 71

The slaves of course occupy the status of inferiors, but here some discrimination must be exercised. There were indeed captives enslaved in war who could be sold like cattle and executed at their master's will. But there was another class of native slaves pawned for debt and these enjoyed far milder treatment, suffering no particular loss of prestige since their servitude was often undergone to rescue and impoverished kinsman.

Wundt 72 saw many of the factors entering into the status of persons in bondage. Both to the free and the enslaved parts of the society it makes a difference, he says, whether the enslaved are related to the tribe or are strangers. There is also a difference according to the personal relationship between master and slave.

Wundt's first principle is illustrated in the case of the first blacks brought to Virginia. They are reputed to have been indented to white masters, but only a part of the first group and none of the later ones were released. They were black; they were held in perpetual slavery. Wundt's second qualification is illustrated especially in Roman slavery, where the high degree of culture on the part of many Greek slaves made it easy for them to make a favorable personal adjustment in their relations with their Roman masters.

The inability of law to regulate social intercourse, to set up barriers over which people cannot climb, becomes quite evident when analyzed. Where persons live in close and personal proximity, they will form their own social groups, in spite of legal regulations to the contrary. The *lex Julia* forbade the marriage of freedmen with daughters of senatorial houses. "Yet we know of several such marriages in the first century . . . Felix, the brother of Pallas, had married in succession three ladies of royal blood, one of them the granddaughter of Cleopatra." 73

The term "servile origin" means something definite in the legal sense, but it does not always have even similar significance socially. In Rome there were many kinds of slaves whose native languages prevented them from being of any importance in Roman society, but not so the Greeks. But even the Greek slaves were of many kinds. "Cicero . . . mentions that well-born children had been carried off from Misenum under the very eyes of a Roman praetor. 74

The term freedman falls into the same category. It is of more value in law than in sociology. "Freedmen also entered the professions -- teaching, medicine, painting . . . or, by iron of circumstances, slave-dealers." 75

70. Charles M. Andrews, *Colonial Folkways*, (New Haven, 1919) pp. 192-193.

71. Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Society* (New York, 1925) p. 350.

72. Wilhelm Wundt, *Die Gesellschaft*, vol. VIII of *Volkerpsychologie*, (Liepzig, 1917) pp. 231-232.

73. Samuel Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (London 1925) p. 114.

74. W. Warde Fowler, *Social Life at Rome* (New York 1909) pp. 208-209.

75. S.A. Cook, et al., editors, *The Imperial Peace, AD. 70-192*, vol. XI of *The Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, 1936) p. 758.

It is probable that writers use the words servile origin, nobility, merchant class, indentured servant, and so forth, in describing what they also term social classes, because these names are convenient handles to take hold of. They are definite and concrete, whereas the terms upper class, middle class, lower class are much more abstract. It is hard for "lowest classes" to compete with "slaves," even though the former is a more exact term for referring to persons and families of very low status. The latter is only a legal term and actually indicates only a legal condition.

Redemptionists of varied social status. Indented servants did not make up a single social class. Wertebaker writes: 76

Some [indentured servants] were persons of culture, and, on rare occasions, of means . . . There are many instances of gentle blood becoming indentured servants to lawyers or physicians, in order to acquire a knowledge of those professions . . . Tutors were sometimes brought over from England under terms of indenture to instruct the children of wealthy planters in courses higher than those offered by local schools.

Greene states that "many white servants were of the better sort," and some of them, besides being teachers, were skilled workmen, "the best of whom subsequently acquired land for themselves." 77

Carman summarizes in these words: 78

Not all indentured worked out their terms of servitude on farm or plantation. In ability they varied greatly. The vast majority were ordinary laborers; a few were skilled workmen, and some were skilled artisans, tradesmen, or persons trained in the professions.

The place of the indentured servant in American social class history will be taken up more fully in a later chapter. From the foregoing, however, it is easy to see that the legal status of a person does not always correspond to his social status, even during a term of indenture.

Social classes among the nobility. Under feudalism noblemen had status and rank within the framework of the legal structure. Many of the formal aspects of status were governed by law.

Without attempting here, as will be done later, to trace the development of social class during the period of feudalism, it will suffice to state, with Seé: 79

The nobility did not form a homogenous class. There were privileged lords and others. In the first place, there were those who had been presented to the king and queen . . . The presentation was not only an honor. It conferred considerable advantages, especially in the army . . . The greatest privileges and most lucrative offices and pensions went to the court nobility.

In contrast to the splendor of the court and those admitted to it, one reads of the poor nobility. They were numerous, lived in wretched circumstances, appealed to the king for funds to educate their children, farmed their own small plots, allowed their daughters to work in the barnyards and fields. "Accordingly it is easy to understand the hostility felt by the poor, petty nobility toward the court nobility of 1789, for the latter garnered all the favors . . ." 80

What was true of the French nobility before the Revolution was true of the grades and kinds of noblemen in England, in Poland, in Italy, in Germany. There were gradations among the nobility as there are now among the bourgeoisie.

It does not clarify social class theory to refer to legal categories as classes or as social classes.

* * *

The foregoing material has dealt with the objective criteria of social classes: economic, political, religious, racial, cultural, and legal. Each has proved to be related to and influential upon the social class structure, but none alone explains or determines social class; nor does an arbitrary mixture of any two, three, or more of these aspects, as can be quickly seen from reading in Sorokin's *Social Nobility*

Social class also requires a socio-psychological and subjective interpretation.

76. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia* (Charlottesville, 1910) p. 163.

77. Evarts Soutell Greene, *The Foundations of American Nationality* (New York, 1922) pp. 321-322.

78. Harry J. Carman, *Social and Economic History of the United States*, vol. I (Boston, 1930) p. 86.

79. Henri Seé, *Economic and Social Conditions in France during the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1931) pp. 89-92.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

Subjective definitions of Social Class

Those who read in the literature of social class wish, from time to time, that the use of terms were more consistent, so confusing are the many distinctions. But there is little agreement. Each writer seems to go out into his social world with his categories and to divide the people into classes. Hence there are hundreds of formulations and many distinct approaches. In social theory there might be more progress were more attention given to concepts.

Geiger, the one authority on the subject of classes who surveys the various definitions for the reader before announcing his own, points out that sections of the populations (*Bevölkerungsmassen*) are not classes or status groups. "Which persons go to make up a stratum is determined by themselves. The concept of stratum must be achieved autogenetically, not subsumptively." 81 This definition, if not complete, is beyond doubt a good starting point toward a deep understanding of the concept social class.

Max Graf Solms aus Assenheim finds within a class the congenial atmosphere, "whereas occupation, income, and so forth, vary." 82

Common ways and common ideals. A synthetic definition, including many factors of a subjective nature, would include many of the following ideas: Classes are inevitable in every complex society. They are a result of intellectual, moral, and economic differentiation. In its present form a social class is a group of persons conscious of having a common way of life, of having similar needs and aspirations and similar ideals and possess a comparable degree of culture. The individuals in the group judge by the same scale the values of life, and therefore tend to have the same moral ideals and to be the same social type, the same idea of honor, and consequently with a certain feeling of solidarity toward similar groups of other nations as well. 83

Max Weber distinguishes between class as category and social class. He emphasizes the personal choice element in the formation and maintenance of social classes: "There are ownership classes and occupational classes and social classes: social classes are determined by the totality of those class positions between which a personal exchange is easily possible and, generation after generation, is found typically to take place." 84 This definition intimates that the social classes are made up of families, not of individuals, that a certain amount of social class rigidity or continuity is necessary to the formation of a true social class, and that social class rests upon a foundation of exclusiveness based upon the standard of values of the participants themselves. Traditional personal exchange, then, becomes the hallmark of social class.

Social class standing a birthright. Schumpeter states definitely: "We said that for the individual his membership in a definite class is a given fact -- he is born into a certain class position." 85 This emphasis upon the conditions of birth is to be commended, for obviously the secret of achieving a particular class standing with the greatest chance of success lies most dependably in making a judicious choice of parents -- not from the biological standpoint, but from the standpoint of the end desired, social standing. Social classes are based on human intercourse and association, and it is very much to anyone's advantage to find himself early in life among the right people.

A full and adequate definition of social class, in fact, will take this into consideration. As Ross says: "Social strata there will no be unless there is some kind of inheritance -- of occupation, of prestige, of office, of authority, of property on the one hand; of lowly calling, of unfreedom, of disability on the other." 86

81. Theodore Geiger, *Die Soziale Schichtung des Deutschen Volkes* (Stuttgart, 1932) pp. 125-126; translation ours.

82. Max Graf Solms aus Assenheim, *Gestalt und Gerüst der Menschenwelt* (Kiel, 1927) p. 66.

83. René Gonnard, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-68.

84. Taken from Geiger, *op.cit.*, p.9; translation ours.

85. Schumpeter, *op. cit.*, p. 3; translation ours.

86. Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

This interpretation differs from those who confuse social classes with mere occupational or political hierarchies of individuals. If civilization is to have classes, inevitably, it will not be because someone has to work and someone else has to give orders. It will be because parents strive to place their children in positions equivalent to or higher than their own. Social strata are characterized by their time span (Dauer). 87

Landtman makes the traditional or hereditary factor in social class fundamental to the definition. He states: "Inequality in standing and influence may exist without these advantages being necessarily hereditary, but in such cases the difference depends upon individual conditions and does not create classes." 88

True social classes exist only where the conditions of life are relatively constant from generation to generation, where people know each other's families and where they belong together through contact and similar ways of living. According to this formula political or economic power can be referred to as frequently belonging to certain social classes, sometimes to individuals or political parties. Hitler, from this definition, would be considered a ruler and a member of a party; the Kaiser was a ruler and a member of a ruling social class.

Thomas and Znaniecki make a sharp distinction between a person's social position or prestige and his individual or personal prestige: 89

Superiority of social position is a source of prestige even independently of any actual power which the superior class may or may not possess ... Moreover, when the leader relies on the prestige of his profession or class, he is forced to keep the traditions and to hold the esprit de corps by which this profession or class tries to maintain its prestige, and this evidently limits his initiative ... Jackowski or Wawrzyniak can hardly be characterized as priests or noblemen, but simply as individuals, each as a unique personality.

The individualistic interpretation persists, however. Sorokin 90 makes it the fundamental basis of his volume on social classes. According to his interpretation, it could be said that a Sunday School class is "stratified" if it had a rotating chairman. And it is Sorokin's belief that these "strata" of leaders make up the social classes. Panunzio also defines class as "a horizontal division of society embracing persons of same or similar economic rank, religious or political status, or possessing common cultural characteristics." 91 Here one finds nothing concerning class formation which results from the coming together of such families as find themselves congenial to each other -- and nothing pertaining to the attainment of social position through social transmission. A substitute definition, so stated as to bring out the contrast, would read: A social class is a horizontal division of society, embracing families whose social backgrounds and training are sufficiently similar to permit free and unrestrained social contacts, families which belong to the same circle, with relatively equal rank in the community.

Refined definitions of social class. To find a whole hierarchy of social classes upon fine and subtle distinctions of exclusiveness -- upon backgrounds, manners, ways of living, may seem at first glance like building a house upon the sands. Yet it can and is being done by modern students of social class. Ferré observes, for instance: 92

Between the high and the middle bourgeoisie, as between the nobility and the high bourgeoisie, we find only subtle differences in their social life, their standard of living, and their manners

The solid rocks of political office and cold cash in the bank seem much more real than exclusiveness arising from feelings of superiority and inferiority. But the sinews out of which the tough fabric of the social class structure is woven and repaired consist of powerful mechanisms of social super-ordination and subordination. Nor are the divisions abrupt. The colors and shades merge like those of the rainbow. And, to change the figure again, some individuals are like jacks running wild throughout the deck. These latter, of course, attract most of the attention. They are the exceptions, not the rule.

87. Theodor Geiger, *Die Gestalten der Gesellung* (Karlsruhe, 1928) p. 14.
88. Landtman, *op. cit.*, p.36.
89. William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, vol. IV (Chicago, 1920) pp. 205-206.
90. Sorokin, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
91. Constantine Panunzio, *Major Social Institutions* (New York, 1939) p. 528.
92. Ferré, *op. cit.*, p. 165; translation ours.

The subjective approach to social classes is found in the writings of Hans Speier, one of the most competent and careful students of this subject. He writes: 93

The concept of class compatible with this theory of honor cannot be found in Marx; rather its formulation must follow the line suggested by Eugene Dupreel: "A social class is a group placed in a hierarchy in a position above or below that of another group comparable to it, another class. The inequality of two classes or their hierarchical order does not result directly from any advantage or prerogative of either of them, such as wealth. It results only indirectly: it is necessary that one of the two classes be recognized by itself and by the other class, as advantageous and superior. This recognition is explicit or implicit."

Honor, implicitly or explicitly paid, is a basic phenomenon of man's social experience.

One of the most expert formulations of social class, as it can be seen to be after careful comparison with others, is that of Ginsberg: 94

Classes in modern societies may be described as groups of individuals who, through common descent, similarity of occupation, wealth and education, have come to have a similar mode of life, a similar stock of ideas, feelings, attitudes and forms of behavior and who, on any or all these grounds, meet one another on equal terms and regard themselves, although with varying degrees of explicitness, as belonging to one group.

The psychological basis of social class distinctions is well expressed by MacIver: "The sentiment of class is above all a sentiment of disparity. It does indeed unite those who feel distinct from other classes, but it unites them primarily because they feel distinct. Above all, it unites the 'superior' against the 'inferior.' "

Exclusiveness, that is, social exclusiveness, is the cornerstone of all social structures. The upper classes are protected, or, more properly, they protect themselves, from intimate contact with the classes below them.

Human beings are very sensitive to those different from themselves, 96 and social class differences are doubly significant because they immediately call into play attitudes of deference, subordination, or condescension. Until one knows who the other is, in the social class sense, one is likely to remain aloof and to feel ill at ease. Thus the importance of correct social introductions. When one knows the class to which another belongs, one knows how to behave towards him.

Another short and lucid definition of social class reads: "The class is a group (ensemble) of individuals socially assimilated to each other, excluding distinctions caused by age, sex, and occupation." 97 That is to say, the assimilation does not have to be complete. Room is left for such heterogeneity as springs from age, sex, and occupation. It is a bold, but commendable, step to disassociate the term occupation from that of social class.

Dawson and Gettys have listed the non-material stuff out of which social class is made: hauteur, snobbishness, titles, specialization in certain forms of etiquette, speech, etc. 98

It would seem to be the wiser course to refer to families, not individuals, as the elemental units of social classes. Descriptively, the behavior that makes for the formation and maintenance of social classes reads something like this: 99

Every family has, also, to keep up a "front" and to gain acceptance within some group of families. It becomes identified with a social class, or with a "social set" in which it plays a rôle. This rôle requires effort and conscious thought on the part of some members of the family. The family income will be budgeted among the various kinds of expenditure according to the conception the family has of itself ... Each separate family has to maintain, by conscious effort, its place among the other families.

Is it not probable that this is the basis upon which the social class structure rests: the ceaseless activities of families finding their places in the different communities throughout the land?

93. Hans Speier, "Honor and Social Structure," in *Social Research*, vol. II (1935) pp. 96-97.
94. Ginsberg, *op. cit.*, p. 536.
95. MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 173.
96. Georg Simmel, *Grundfragen der Soziologie* (Berlin, 1917) p. 39.
97. Ferré, *op. cit.*, p. 51; translation ours.
98. Dawson and Gettys, *op. cit.*, p. 545.
99. Robert E. Park, editor, *An Outline of the Principles of Sociology* (New York, 1939) p. 341.

Lippmann also makes much of the idea of social sets. His remarks could well be labeled one of the understanding definitions of social class. He writes: 100

Usually the distinguishing mark of a social set is the presumption that the children intermarry. To marry outside the set involves, at the very least, a moment of doubt before the engagement can be approved. Each social set has a fairly clear picture of its relative position in the hierarchy of social sets...

Whatever the tests of admission, the social set when formed is not a mere economic class, but something more nearly resembling a biologic clan. Membership is intimately connected with love, marriage and children, or, to speak more exactly, with the attitudes and desires that are involved. In the social set, therefore, opinions encounter the canons of Family Tradition, Respectability, Propriety, Dignity, Taste and Form, which make up the social set's picture of itself, a picture assiduously implanted in the children.

Since each community is made up of a hierarchy of social sets, it is logical to refer to a social class as the sum total of all the like social sets within the cultural area. A family, in moving to another part of the United States or Canada, for instance, would, after the initial stage of social introductions and of getting acquainted, find itself in the social circle most like the one from which it came, still within the same social class, however.

With Schumpeter, it may be concluded that the "family, not the physical person, is the true unit of class theory." 101

In conclusion, too, the importance of social class considerations in all human relationships cannot be overemphasized. Social class enters into every handclasp, every greeting, every appointment. As one eminent sociologist has stated: 102

The legal and economic order supposedly makes no distinction between the gentleman and the lady on one hand and "hoi polloi" on the other, but in ordinary affairs this distinction is much more important than are other varieties ... the clumsy divisions of the political or economic order are of no help. Even professional or occupational groupings do not afford a secure basis for differentiation.

Definition

Study, reflection, and careful comparison of many theories of social class have led to the following formulation:

A social class in any society is the sum total of all similar local social-status groups, such as will permit a family to leave one and enter the other freely. These smaller groups, in turn, are made up of families that recognize each other as approximately equal in status and which associate with each other regularly in eating, playing, and gossiping. By means of the last-mentioned factor they maintain social class codes, standards, attitudes, morals, and ideals. These families give their children such training as will fit them for the same, or nearly the same, social class. Social status is normally the common property of the family; it cannot be individualized. For lack of better terminology, the social classes should probably be plainly listed as highest, upper, middle, lower, and lowest.

100. Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York, 1922) pp. 51 - 52.

101. Schumpeter, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

102. Leopold von Wiese, *Systematic Sociology*, translated and adapted by Howard Becker (New York, 1932) p. 314.

CHAPTER II

AN ANALYSIS OF CASTE AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

It is impossible to begin a discussion of social class rigidity without first delving deeply into the meaning of caste, because conceptually caste is allied, in the minds of most sociologists, with one phase or another of social class.

The term caste has been used to mean class, social class or stratum, hereditary occupation, and race. Rigid legal classes have often been referred to as castes. Recently it has become the fashion in sociology to refer to the blacks and whites of the southern states as castes [Dollard and Warner have effectively popularized this usage of form]. Mixed breeds in Hawaii are known as half-castes.

But is it possible that the word caste can have all of these meanings at the same time?

Caste, since it is often used interchangeably with class as the basic unit in social stratification, requires special attention. Certainly caste is a form of social rigidity, it is essential that this be affirmed. If it is a different form of rigidity, the exact nature of that form must be established. A full description of the caste system in India takes up the greater part of this chapter.

Caste used interchangeably with class. One of the leading anthropologists, Rivers, is disturbed to find many writers using the terms caste and class as synonyms. His criticism of this practice serves as a good starting point for the present discussion. He writes: 1

I refer to class and caste. These two terms are often used loosely as interchangeable with one another. Lowie, for instance, being an offender in this respect, and this loose usage is frequent in popular language, for we speak of a person losing caste when we mean that he falls in that social estimation which forms so large an element in the maintenance of class distinctions.

I propose to confine the term 'caste' to the well-known institution in India, and so such other examples as it is possible to put into the category.

It is true that Lowie 2 fails to distinguish between these two terms sometimes, but he is not alone in this practice. Kimball Young refers several times to caste and class as if they were identical, and he makes the following statement: "A third characteristic is the feeling of superiority of the caste or class toward the strata below them." 3 Castes and classes are also both referred to as examples of horizontal strata by Miller. 4 (It will be shown later in this chapter that castes, unlike classes, are not horizontal social strata.)

Gonnard, whose interpretation of class has been found to be in line with the best of modern theory, does not, however, follow Rivers and others in interpreting caste in terms of the social organizations in India. Instead, Connard believes that in distinguishing between caste and class one should note that the former is "a class more rigorously closed, almost altogether closed . . . Antiquity was, above all, the time when castes flourished . . ." 5 Even the great Hobhouse could write, in his *Social Development*, that the full development "of caste was a very gradual process. So far the movement of civilization is towards a greater hierarchy of classes."

Thus one might add one illustration to another showing the indiscriminate use of caste over class. ". . . 1789 . . . equality of the classes is proclaimed . . . There are no more castes." 6

Caste used to mean hereditary status. Very common is the use of the word caste to indicate hereditary status. North, whose writings in the field of social distance stand among the most acclaimed, accepts the point of view that degrees of rigidity mark the difference between class and caste systems. His definition reads: 7

A group in which status, occupation, and culture have become hereditary is known as a caste. As a matter of fact, however, the distinction between a society based upon caste and one in which open classes prevail is simply one of degree.

MacIver, another leading authority in the field of social class theory, also identifies caste with hereditary status. He attempts to tie his interpretation in with the situation in India, a procedure not often followed by other sociologists.

1. W. H. R. Rivers, *Social Organization* (New York, 1924) p. 143.
2. See Robert H. Lowie, *The Origin of the State* (New York, 1927) p. 21; also see Lowie's *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* (New York, 1940) p. 268.
3. Kimball Young, *An Introductory Sociology* (New York, 1924) p. 476.
4. Herbert Adolphus Miller, *Races, Nations, and Classes* (Philadelphia, 1924) p. 14.
5. René Gonnard, "Quelques considérations sur les classes." in the *Revue Economique Internationale*, 17th year, vol. II, No. I (April 10, 1925) p. 67; translation ours.
6. Maurice Lair, "Le peril des classes moyennes en France," in *ibid.*, 15th year, vol. II (April - June 1923) p. 42; translation ours.
7. Cecil Clare North, *Social Differentiation* (Chapel Hill, 1926) p. 254.

MacIver defines: 8

Caste as unchangeable status: -- The feudal order approximated to a caste system. When status is wholly predetermined, so that men are born to their lot in life without hope of changing it, then class takes the extreme form of caste. This is the situation in Hindu society. 'Every Hindu necessarily belongs to the caste of his parents, and in that caste he inevitably remains. No accumulation of wealth and no exercise of talents can alter his caste status; and marriage outside his caste is prohibited or severely discouraged.' Caste is a complete barrier to the mobility of class.

North 9 concludes that the term caste applies to classes that have become fixed, and that all classes tend to become castes. Castes are different from classes, says Young, 10 because they are less flexible. Sutherland and Woodward state that a caste society is one in which the social classes stay in their places. The distinctions of these writer become truly complicated, however, when they say: "Under the Czarist regime, the serfs of Russia were a social caste. Under the Soviets, the proletariat became a ruling class" 11

Wherever one turns, one finds writers of note saying the same thing. This may be because caste is so easily understood by Occidentals in these social status terms, but seems complicated when thoroughly investigated and properly qualified. The usual statement of those who identify caste with hereditary status reads, as a rule, something like this: 12

A class always enjoys certain privileges, at least advantages. When it is more or less rigorously closed, or enjoys hereditary privileges, it is called a caste. The classes are open . . .

Ferre, a thorough student of modern social class, states: "La caste est fermée, la classe est ouverte . . ." 13 Dawson and Gettys, following the same tack, say: "When class lines become rigidly stratified, then we have a caste. As in the case of slavery, appropriate sentiments and attitudes have evolved in the caste system to give it fixity." 14

From the foregoing list of categorical definitions one might conclude that there is sufficient uniformity of opinion among sociologists so that further discussion would be useless, quite apart from the origin of the word caste and apart from the meaning which it has to the scholars who have spent their careers studying the Hindu caste system. But there is another group of writers to whom the word caste means something quite different.

Caste used to mean hereditary function. The following definitions of caste, referring to it as a system of hereditary occupations, sometimes refer to what is taking place in India; frequently no attempt is made to connect the two.

Sorokin quotes and affirms the view that "castes are social aggregates which have the privilege of monopolizing hereditarily the performance of a definite occupation." 15

Cooley, who, as one quickly realizes when reading Page's digest of the class ideas of the Fathers, probed more deeply into the psychological aspects of class realities than did any of his contemporaries, accepts the hereditary function theory of caste (a form of usage much more common outside of India than in it) and also falls into the unhappy habit of using the words caste and class interchangeably in this connection. He holds that: 16

If the transmission of function from father to son has become established, a caste spirit, a sentiment in favor of such transmission and opposed to the passage from one class to another, may arise and be shared even by the unprivileged classes. The individual then thinks of himself and his family as identified with his caste . . .

The strict occupational regulations of Diocletian and his successors have frequently been referred to as binding the people into rigid castes. 17 Maine is quoted by Sumner and Keller as saying that whatever the origin, "caste is merely a name for a trade or occupation." 18 Sorokin states explicitly: 19

We used to think that in the United States "social mobility" was greatest and that a caste tendency and conforming hereditary transmission of occupation from father to children was lowest in comparison with other societies.

Caste has been used to mean class, hereditary or rigid status, and hereditary occupation, but the end is not yet.

8. R.N. MacIver, *Society: A textbook of Sociology* (New York 1937) p. 171.
9. North, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
10. Young, *op. cit.*, p. 477.
11. R. L. Sutherland and J.L. Woodward, *Introductory Sociology* (Chicago, 1937) p. 366.
12. E. Goblot, "Les classes de la société," in the *Revue d'Economie Politique*, vol. XIII (Paris, 1899) p. 37; translation ours.
13. Louise Marie Ferré, *Les classes sociales dans la France contemporaine* (Paris, 1932) p. 36.
14. Carl A. Dawson and Werner E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology* (New York, 1929) p. 546.
15. (?)
16. Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York, 1909) p. 215.
17. See, for example, Sorokin, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
18. William Graham Sumner and Albert Galloway Keller, *The Science of Society*, vol. 1 (New Haven, 1927) p. 566.
19. Pitirim Sorokin, "American Millionaires and Multimillionaires," in the *Journal of Social Forces*, vol. III (May, 1925) p. 635.

Caste given a racial base. Those who subscribe to the conquest theory of social organization are likely, in an uncritical way, to attribute caste to conquest, even to the racial aspect of conquest. Ward, speaking in general terms, says: "As is well known, one of the first efforts of the conquest is the subdivision . . . into a series of more or less distinct strata called castes." 20

Karl Bucher states positively: "We know exactly (genau) that the lower castes are of different racial backgrounds (Abstammung) than the higher castes . . ." 21 Max Weber alludes to the differences in skin color among the castes of India; 22 Wundt finds that "in India ... the lower castes are clearly distinguishable from the higher, even as to physical characteristics." 23 These definitions do not necessarily conflict with those which hold that castes are social strata.

The modern literature, wherein blacks and whites are referred to as castes, especially in the writings of Donald Young, Warner, and Dollard, is familiar to all sociologists. In these instances the identification of caste and race is complete. Here the word caste, as used, could not simultaneously be used to identify classes or occupations. The whole race becomes a caste and vice versa.

The diversity demonstrated above leaves the conscientious student with a problem to solve, even though the task is a difficult one. Thus far it is easy to see that great confusion exists; the purpose of the citations, and their systematic arrangement, is to offer substance to the generalization that a new formulation of the concept caste is much to be desired by sound theory. The following attempt to attain an adequate definition of caste is offered as contribution to sociological literature. The value of this effort can be judged only in light of the results achieved.

What is a caste?

Caste has been identified with class, hereditary function, hereditary status, conquerors and conquered, and members of races or ethnic groups.

By way of synthesis and distinction one can see that caste is not synonymous with social class to those who write of the classes within the "black caste," for instance. Donald Young states that it "is theoretically possible to have castes without classes, classes without castes, or classes within castes." 24 Here at least one basic distinction has been made.

One sees, too, that those who refer to strictly hereditary occupations as castes are using the word in a particular connection, remotely related to what has been considered to be the situation in India, but which has been applied to this particular custom or practice, wherever found.

Those who refer to castes as social strata, or status groups, are likely to be employing the concept of social status where the notion of religious or holy status would perhaps be more applicable; that is, if they are trying to identify caste with those organizations characteristic of India.

Those who define castes in terms of conquest are thinking either (i) of what has happened after certain particular and rare instances of conquest, or (ii) they are generalizing according to the uncertain historical facts of the Cumplowicz-Oppenheimer school of social theory.

The identification of race with caste loses all meaning if it is carried too far. For instance, does a Chinese laundry man in a small town made up of white people constitute a caste? Or, again, are all blacks to be thought of as members of one caste? And all whites of another? Has the word race found a competitor in the word caste?

20. Lester F. Ward, "Social Class in the Light of Modern Sociological Theory," in the *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XIII (March, 1908) p. 617.

21. Karl Bucher, *Die Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft* (Tübingen, 1904) p. 370; translation ours.

22. Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Religionssoziologie*, vol. II (Tübingen, 1921) pp. 123 and 125.

23. Wilhelm Wundt, *Elements of Folk Psychology*, tr. E.L. Schaub (London, 1916) p. 316.

24. Donald Young, *American Minority Peoples* (New York, 1932) p. 581.

An introductory definition of caste. The most characteristic thing about a local caste group, sometimes called a sub-caste but actually the most significant unit in the caste system, is its autonomy in caste matters. One of the universal codes enforced by all local caste groups is that requiring endogamy. Other rules have to do with the regulations pertaining to religious purity or cleanliness. Sometimes it restricts occupational choices.

The autonomous social organization of the caste, then, creates an association among the civilized Hindus quite comparable to the clan among many primitives. Kroeber states this idea clearly: 25

It [the sub-caste] resembles the clan in being a social unit within a larger political or cultural whole, and in being marriage regulating and therefore hereditary from the point of view of the individual. It differs from the clan in being endogamous ...

If the word caste were to apply to groups outside of India, according to this definition, those most typical would be the Jews of Eastern Europe and the gypsies. 26 In the United States the Mennonites and Amish communities offer good illustrations. Articulate whites in the towns of our southern states, by constant gossip and watchful alertness, keep the caste codes of their group intact. The blacks, except in large cities like Atlanta, are hardly permitted, at this time, the honor of autonomous social organization, although the black churches, if united, might develop into independent and highly disciplinary associations.

In India, all groups are not Hindu; some are theoretically opposed to the cast idea. This is especially true of the Christian missions. Yet, being virtually excluded from social intercourse with other local groups, each local mission settlement is slowly transformed into a caste. For this to happen, no uniformity of social status or occupation is necessary. By being forced into endogamy, however, they tend to develop that characteristic common to all castes, common ancestors. The Bishnoi, for instance, although they refuse to employ Brahmin priests, are nevertheless considered a caste. 27

Ketkar shows that tribes, by adopting the Hindu religion and by becoming endogamous, become castes. 28 This, again fortifies the idea that caste may transcend status and occupation, but it always keeps something of kinship and much of social control as its hallmarks.

Essential to this brief preliminary definition of caste is the knowledge that no reputable authority any longer attaches importance to the four traditional castes of India, the Brahmin, Kahatrya, Vaisya, and Sudra. The emphasis is now placed upon the thousands of sub-castes, which, for all practical purposes, are the castes themselves. These (five thousand castes) include not only occupational groups but tribes, races, sects, in fact all populational bodies possessing any distinctive traits and groups consciousness." 29

Further examples of this type of social distance and social differentiation are to be found in the towns of North Africa, which are divided into endogamous, culturally integrated, and self-disciplinary groups: Arabs, Jews, Berbers, and Europeans. These give a caste flavor to the social life of these towns.

Caste is not social status. If Kroeber is correct in identifying eastern European Jews and gypsies as typical non-Indian castes, then of necessity some modification in the status notion is imperative. If Poles have for centuries felt superior to the Jews, the reverse is likewise true. In such a situation there is no socially accepted superiority and inferiority. The social distance here is not typical class exclusiveness.

25. A. L. Kroeber, "Caste," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. III (New York, 1937) p. 254.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

27. R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. I (London, 1916) p.80.

28. Shridhar Venkatosh, *The History of Caste in India*, vol. I (Ithaca, 1909) pp. 17-19.

29. Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

Class standing or social status is found within the "gypsy tribe," not between gypsies and Romanians, for instance. The gypsies have their own king and queen, nobility, high class musicians, and lower orders.

The nature of caste status in India, so often confused with the kind of social class status familiar to occidentals, has possibly never been carefully analyzed by American sociologists. What is the nature of the caste hierarchy? Fahlbeck states: 30

This (clean and unclean, twice born, etc.) does not mean that there is legal super-ordination and subordination as in the feudal order or other status societies. The castes are independent of each other as are the crafts Thanks to their membership in a caste, even the "Unfreie" are not without rights here as in other status societies.

Ghurye 31 refers to the difference in religious and in nominal status between the members of the different castes. The same writer illustrates this thought by stating: 32

Though theoretically the position of the Sudras was very low, there is evidence to show that many of them were well-to-do. Some of the succeeded in marrying their daughters in the royal families The Vaisya, though traditionally classed with the first two varnas, is grouped on many occasions with the Sudras. As we shall see later on, the occupations ordained for these two classes are almost identical.

Caste status is largely a ritualistic and honorary type of status based on degrees of purity and religious virtue. Defenses for piety has, of course, more significance among the peoples of India than among western peoples, but the principle involved can be demonstrated by an example taken from western practices. For instance, in every Christian country there is a custom that requires special respect and deference for nuns and priests wearing the cloth. New Yorkers will even give up subway seats to Catholic sisters. Is this social status? Or is it pietistic status? Ketkar explains this in these words: 33

How is the precedence manifested? As Brahmin he is at the head of society where holiness is the standard. A caste is pure or impure as much as it is high or low. This purity is not the outside purity, which is apparent to the "bodily eye," but it is some mystic, innate purity. If the pure and the impure are brought together, the pure become impure. For this reason the holy and pure castes should keep as little connections with impure castes as possible.

Castes are rated, then, on a purity scale, not on a social scale.

The Mysore Census of 1901 is quoted, in this connection, as follows: 34

In any one of the linguistic divisions of India there are as many as two hundred castes which can be grouped in classes whose gradation is largely acknowledged by all. But the order of social precedence amongst the individual castes of any class cannot be made definite, because not only is there no ungrudging acceptance of such rank but also the ideas of the people on this point are very nebulous and uncertain. The following observations vividly bring out this state of things. " . . . Excepting the Brahmin at one end and the admittedly degraded castes at the other, the members of a large proportion of the immediate castes think or profess to think that their caste is better than their neighbors, and should be ranked accordingly."

It must be remembered that where castes live side by side, with little difference in external appearances and with no common acceptance of their rank even in holiness, they still are socially exclusive; they live as strangers to each other in all things intimate. Their equal status, as judged by an observer from the outside, does not lead to fraternization.

On the other hand, there is no assurance that within a caste group there is any equality of status, opportunity, or social standing -- as the word is used in social class discussions. All of the twelve million Brahmins are not engaged in highly respectable employment, nor do they all have wealth. In fact they rank seventh in average credit among the castes of India. 35 It has frequently been pointed out that Brahmins may be servants of members of a lower caste. The fact that the personal servant of a rich Brahmin must be a poor Brahmin is well known. Speier points out that ". . . the majority of Brahmins prefer for ritual reasons the lowest service in the house to the ministrations [profession] of a physician." 36

30. Pontus E. Fahlbeck, *Die Klassen un die Gesellschaft* (Jena, 1922) p. 129; translation ours.

31. G. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India* (London, 1932) p. 2.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

33. Ketkar, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

34. Taken from Ghurye, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

35. S.S. Nehru, *Caste and Credit in the Rural Area* (New York, 1932) p. 15.

36. Hans Speier, "Honor and Social Structure," in *Social Research*, vol. II (1935) p. 80.

There is every reason to believe that within a single caste there are some families to whom good fortune or perseverance has brought more dignity, more social influence in the councils, more social esteem, than it has to others. To know a man's caste is to know the group into which his life is highly integrated and the strictness of his religious codes -- but in the absence of other data his social status would be a matter of guess.

Caste is not identified with occupation. If the idea that hereditary occupation should be designated by the word caste is to prevail, it will have to rest upon a different base from the practices of the people of India. In the following quotation one sees to what a small extent castes limit occupational choices and to what a great extent persons in the same castes have been allowed or forced into employment with a wide range of dignity and esteem. Russell writes: 37

Less than a fifth of the Brahmans of the Central Provinces are performing any priestly or religious functions, and the remaining four-fifths are landholders or engaged in Government service as magistrates, clerks or public officers, constables or orderlies, or in railway service in different grades, or in the professions as barristers and pleaders The Rajputs and Marathas were originally soldiers, but only an indefinitely small proportion belong to the Indian Army, and the remainder are ruling chiefs, landholders, cultivators, laborers Of the Telis or oil-pressers only nine per cent are engaged in their traditional occupation, and the remainder are landholders, cultivators, and shopkeepers The Bahnes or cotton-cleaners have entirely lost their occupation, as cotton is now cleaned in factories; they are cartmen or cultivators, but retain their caste name and organization.

Rivers lends his scholarship to this view. He states that "there are hardly any occupations which are not now followed by a Brahmin except those which are not following" 38 Occidental sociologists who have long associated the notion of caste with that of fixed occupation would be surprised to find that an Indian scholar, Curu Proshad Sen, could "sum up the features of caste and leave out occupation altogether." 39 Ketkar reports that, 40

Today a man can take to any occupation without changing his caste. The only exceptions are that nobody of a good caste would like to take the occupation of a shoemaker or scavenger, and no man who is not born a Brahmin would be accepted as a priest in the community.

Refined definitions of caste. The definitions of caste given at the beginning of this chapter have failed to square with the realities of the Indian system. Other authorities, however, have avoided the pitfalls of superficial usage and reproduced error; they have gone more deeply into the true significance of the word.

Westermarck 41 believes that the essence of the caste system is endogamy; whereas Rivers states that "a fourth aspect of caste, perhaps more important than any other, is its function as a religious grouping." 42 To these might well be added the fact that the caste is an agency of social control, par excellence. Repeatedly, this aspect of caste is emphasized by those most familiar with caste organization. for example: 43

But every caste decides for itself whether certain members who have been guilty of irregular conduct would be allowed to remain in the caste, and also whether another caste is fit for intercourse with them and to what extent it is.

This is the social organizational phase of caste. It leads to the conclusion that a caste is not characterized by the physical or occupational characteristics of the individuals who make it up; it is characterized by its codes, its close-knit unit social controls. These are the essentials of caste formation and these are the phases of caste that precludes the blacks in a small town in the South from being designated as "a caste." The regulations of their lives are too largely dominated by the white caste. A white man, for instance, who refuses to abide by the codes of white men is driven from the town; that is, from the society of local white men. Blacks enjoy no such autonomous social control. In fact, white officers may open blacks' front doors without knocking, an act which would shock Hindus' sense of caste rights, where, for instance, even the lowest groups (the untouchables) throw cow-dung water upon even the Brahmin who tries to pass through their quarter of the village against known regulations. 44

Frequently one read: "The caste is its own ruler."

37. Russell, op. cit., pp. 8-10.

38. Rivers, op. cit., p. 153.

39. Ibid., pp. 153-154.

40. Ketkar, op. cit., p. 19.

41. Edward Westermarck, *A Short History of Marriage* (New York, 1926) p. 59.

42. Rivers, op. cit., p. 156.

43. Ketkar, op. cit., p. 22.

44. Ghurye, op. cit., p. 11.

On the subject of caste Senart is to this day a recognized authority. He describes a caste 45

as a closed corporation, in theory at any rate rigorously hereditary; equipped with a certain traditional and independent organization including a chief and a council, meeting on occasion in assemblies of more or less plenary authority and joining together at certain festivals . . . and ruling its members by the exercise of jurisdiction, the extent of which varies, but which succeeds in making the authority of the community more felt by the sanction of certain penalties

The Oxford History of India, in its definition of caste, does not mention any hierarchy of status and says explicitly that members may or may not be restricted occupationally. The heart of its definition is: 46

A caste may be defined as a group of families internally united by peculiar rules for the observance of ceremonial purity, especially in matters of diet and marriage. The rules serve to fence it off from all other groups, each of which has its own set of rules.

From the foregoing definition it can readily be seen that the historian who specializes is likely to see a situation of this kind more clearly and accurately than might a sociologist who frequently attempts to cover too much ground. It is a loss to sociology that such a simple and factual definition as the above has not been universally adopted by writers in this field.

The relation of social class to caste. From the foregoing it is clear that a caste is not a social class; yet, if what de Tocqueville is quoted as saying is true, and there is a sense in which it is, then an explanation is called for. He observes: 47

Each caste has its own opinions, feelings, rights, manners, and modes of living. Thus, the men of whom each caste is composed do not resemble the mass of their fellow-citizens; they do not think or feel in the same manner, and they scarcely believe that they belong to the same human race

Nor does Kroeber make the task of explaining the relationship between social class and caste easier by his statement: 48

The caste and the clan may be roughly described as horizontal and vertical divisions respectively of a population. [This is a direct denial of the Young-Warner-Dollard definition that castes are vertical divisions.] Castes, therefore, are a special form of social classes, which in tendency at least are present in every society. Castes differ from social classes, however, in that they have emerged into social consciousness to the point that custom and law attempt their rigid and permanent separation from one another.

A social class is a homogeneous unit, from the point of view of status and mutual recognition; a caste is a homogeneous unit from the point of view of common ancestry, religious rites and strict organizational control. There are two kinds of homogeneity represented here.

There are instances where a caste happens to distribute work opportunities in gild-like fashion, a caste may stand in relation to the other parts of the community much in the manner of a local social class, with additional powers of social control over its members. But most of the castes, because of internal complexities of status or because of their similarity in status with other groups are not characterized by social status and do not stand in a social status relationship to other groups. Their exclusiveness, nonetheless sharp and severe, is not one of social class; it is to be compared somewhat to the exclusiveness caused by differences in nationality.

The manner in which the caste is closed both in the organizational and biological sense causes it to differ from social class. And its emphasis upon ritual and regulations pertaining to cleanliness and purity differs radically from the secular nature and informality of social class rules.

The nature of social distance. It is obvious that there must necessarily be not one but several kinds of social distance. Races are divided from each other by some feeling of strangeness, based on the differences in their features and the manner in which these have been the objects of attention. Religions stand apart because of feelings of strangeness based on other considerations. Social distance of another kind remains even where friendship and intimacy may enter, as between a man and his valet.

45. Taken from Ketkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

46. Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India* (Oxford, 1928) p. 34.

47. Taken from Westermarck, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.

48. Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

The social distance between members of different castes precludes intimacy, but this is altogether due to the simple objective fact that they belong to different organizations. The social distance between social classes has to do with exclusiveness based on the status and the corresponding learned responses of the persons concerned. Social classes divide homogeneous populations into layers of prestige and esteem, and the members of each layer are able to circulate freely with it.

Social distance, then is any social barrier between persons or groups. The kinds of social barriers may be described as horizontal, vertical, or mixed. A perfect example of a vertical barrier (dividing horizontal groups) is that which separates a British aristocrat from a Hindu prince. It reduces their relationship, typically, to one of formal recognition. The same is true of two Fifth Avenue merchants, one Japanese and one French. Their pride, each respectively, is not one of class, based on differences in status (it is presumed for the sake of the example); it is not a caste barrier, because neither the British man nor either of the two merchants is a member of any caste organization; the barrier is racial and cultural. Nationalities, in general, resemble castes in one respect -- they are usually distributed on a horizontal scale. They live alongside, but apart.

The United States today experiences the heterogeneity of mixed kinds of social distance. There are French-Canadians, Mexicans, and a few religious sects (the Mormons, e.g.) which represent cultural, almost caste-like, differences. Orientals and blacks create cultural and racial barriers. Some white groups, with their strict codes and careful supervision of degrees of exclusiveness -- over against the disorganized and unorganized blacks generally -- maintain the caste type of social distance. The same is true of all religious groups that set themselves apart by wearing distinctive clothes (Amish, Mennonites, Orthodox Jews, etc.).

Exclusiveness based on status (social class) is a part of all civilized life, but the lines are not always formally drawn. Many of the activities engaged in by Americans, for instance, especially in war time, throw the members of the different social classes together often and in many ways. But social class feeling is ever present. Classes are almost universal; caste organizations are rare phenomena outside of India and Africa.

CHAPTER III

WIDESPREAD SOCIAL CLASS RIGIDITY

In the preceding chapter, castes, as types of social organizations, were shown not to belong in this dissertation, because it was found that they do not represent social status groups per se.

The purpose of this chapter is to present instances of social status groups and structures, especially those in which social position has had a tendency to be hereditary. In these a person is inclined to be bound by his status.

This survey of social class formation will serve two purposes: first, it will show the varied nature of human association in the realm of social stratification, of which man has experienced much since the dawn of history; second, it will help to give more meaning to the term social class.

The pre-rigid stage, before the genesis of social inequality. That a stage of classlessness existed is demonstrable by logic if not by color film. Before paternity was known, or before children attached sentiment to either parent as such, there were no social classes, no inherited privilege, no family lines. Status was individual, not social. (In nature there is no easy road for the offspring of a powerful and successful wolf. The offspring have to earn their reputations anew.) Before human activities became complex, when "aggregates were small and undifferentiated,"¹ there was no place for social class rigidity.

In the earliest human communities, one reads, there was naturally very little need of any rigid policy of social organization. "Power rested in the community as whole . . . 2

Among modern primitives the Esquimaux, some Australians, and the Fuegians are not socially stratified. 3 No one dominates the Pygmy tribe, and it is without property in land. 4

Landtman, an authority of the Papuans, states the following: 5

The social equality of the Kiwai Papuans manifests itself the more completely and convincingly as it implies not only the non-existence of any differentiation as regards social standing but also the non-existence of any division of labor

In social respect every man is on a footing of equality with all the rest, and no one has any authority over his fellows. Every man does the same work and no one employs servants

The natives of Alaska are described as having lived, before the introduction of white man's goods, without "the assumption of worldly goods . . . all feasted and all starved together." 6

Kroeber 7 shows that distinct classes were not present among the California Indians and Rivers writes of the Banks Islanders: 8

The evidence points to the absence of anything which can be called hereditary chieftainship in the Banks Islands and in some of the Northern New Hebrides. It is only on reaching the northern part of Melanesia that we find true hereditary chieftainship

Although Sorokin denies the existence of unstratified societies, it is evident from the foregoing that a few exist. What one learns from these examples is that society must be very undifferentiated indeed for social classlessness to be the rule; or, conversely, even slight complexity leads to the establishment of social class rigidity of some kind.

The genesis of social rigidity. Landtman, who has delved into this phase of social origins most extensively, gives this interpretation of the origin of social classes: 9

The precedence which a man wins by his personal exploits and success is extended originally to himself alone. A social inequality which is founded upon personal conditions does not at first continue through several generations It is evident that social inequality on the ground of personal circumstances has in many cases developed into enduring class inequality The descendant of a celebrated family, even if he himself is not superior to his fellows, has at the outset a certain advantage in the consideration which his kin enjoys

Fahlbeck 10 attributes the rise of inequality to the demands of the culture, to cultural needs. But Goldenweiser adopts a compromise view.

1. Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*, vol. I (New York, 1880) p. 525.
2. Baker Brownell, editor, *Man and his World*, vol. IV (New York, 1929) p. 86.
3. Gunnar Landtman, *The Origin of the Inequality of the Social Classes* (Chicago, 1938) pp. 9-13.
4. Brownell, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
5. Landtman, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
6. Hobson Dewey Anderson and Walter Crosby Eells, *Alaska Natives* (Stanford, 1935) p. 83.
7. A. L. Kroeber, "Types of Indian Culture in California," in *Journal of American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. II (June, 1904) p. 83.
8. W.H.R.Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society* (Cambridge, 1914) pp. 324-325.
9. Landtman, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.
10. Pontus E. Fahlbeck, *Die Klassen und die Gesellschaft* (Jena, 1922) p. 24.

Men arose because of their own abilities; men arose because institutions pushed him up, as in the expression, "the times make the man." He says: 11

Leadership among men is reducible to two factors, one psycho-biological, the other more purely social. Certain individuals are "born leaders" as the saying goes; they possess those qualities of will, character, sang-froid, ambition, which mark them for positions of dominance or control. And again, social institutions, if they are to function, require some sort of organizational center as well as an edge of power, however small, which position, from earliest times on, was filled by appropriate individuals almost spontaneously or automatically. Presently the leader becomes surrounded with emblems and traditions of authority, and a little later his position is further enhanced and fortified by the principle of succession of office.

Mumford 12 notes that the conditions of activity, as among hunters, for instance, may preclude the institutionalization of leadership. The kind of activity will tend to condition the social distribution of power, according to this author.

Hobhouse 13 has systematically pursued this thought, and has arranged his results in the following table:

	Serfs & Slaves	Nobility
Lower Hunters	0.02	0.00
High Hunters	0.32	0.11
Agric. I	0.33	0.03
Past. I	0.37	0.20
Agric. II	0.46	0.15
Past. II	0.71	0.24
Agric. III	0.78	0.23

Although no completely satisfactory formulation has been made as to why one family was permitted by the community to monopolize priestly or military honors -- to set itself above others in perpetuity -- it is known that such a development occurred. The reason each family, as soon as it was organized into a unit and became conscious of the sequence of generations, should have prepared for the future living conditions of the offspring in terms of those achieved by the parents, must have lain, and must still lie, in the nature of child possession. (Unless the state or some other organization is prepared to break up the sequence of generations in family lines, it may be anticipated that this mechanism will tend to stratify all complex societies into social classes.)

Many writers have shown possible ways in which classes could have arisen. Sumner and Keller mention the "intra-group differentiation of social strata," but they emphasize as more thoroughgoing the "contrast between victorious masters and conquered aliens." 14 Dixon and Eberhart believe that though the institutions of magic "the Shamen (sic!) constituted the first distinct class." 15 Then followed the warriors. "The priests protected the warriors from the supernatural world; the warriors protected the priests and their valuable property. Of course, the underlying population . . . paid handsomely" 16 Whether this was the order of sequence is not definitely known, but one can be sure that when the first appropriation of the economic surplus took place in the towns which cradled civilization these groups were both among those favored with extra shares.

Hereditary Status. Warring and offering sacrifices were not the only functions to enter into class formation. Skills and trades have tended to be ranked by custom and to become hereditary. This probably came about because those engaged in honored crafts wanted to keep them controlled in order to protect their children from competition; those in lowly crafts had no choice but to follow the family tradition. 17

Circumcisors have been noted as honorable and hereditary among the Akikuyu Indians, while "the Kafir circumcisors constitute a professional class. " 18 Bancroft reports that among the Nootka of the North Pacific "harpooners also form a privileged class, whose rank is handed from father to son." 19 In general among uncivilized and semi-civilized, difficult as it is to explain, butchers and musicians followed despised trades, avoided by persons of standing. 20

11. Alexander Goldenweiser, *Anthropology* (New York, 1937) pp. 375 - 376.
12. Eben Mumford, *The Origins of Leadership* (Chicago, 1909) p. 78.
13. L.T. Hobhouse, *Social Development, Its Nature and Conditions* (New York, 1924) p. 275.
14. William Graham Sumner and Albert Galloway Keller, *The Science of Society*, vol. I (New Haven, 1927) p. 581.
15. Russell A. Dixon and E. Kingman Eberhart, *Economics and Cultural Change* (New York, 1938) p. 70.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-122.
17. Landtman, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
19. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of*, vol. I (San Francisco, 1886) p. 194.
20. Landtman, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

Persons are sometimes disqualified from fair competition by taints of generations old. It is reported that among the Dyaks of Borneo the least strain of "slave blood," even of generations past, "will outweigh the highest personal qualities," and act as a bar to favorable marriage. 21

Among primitives, as in civilized societies, occupations are not always hereditary, but "social optimacy displays a marked tendency to run in certain families. A son does not necessarily succeed his father's particular office, yet, official posts will generally be filled from the same privileged class" 22

Rivers, a careful student, takes note of the general customs of rigid class systems in these words: 23

Sometimes certain crafts could only be followed by persons of a certain rank. Thus, in Tonga, where there are classes intermediate between the nobles and the lowest grade of commoner, certain occupations, such as canoe-making, were limited to those of the higher ranks, while shaving and cooking were only practiced by persons of the lowest class. This distinction would seem to be connected with the sacred character of certain occupations.

The class system of the Northwest Indians was worked out by custom to the point where its levels and ways of conduct approached the modern pattern. Endogamy was encouraged on each level, the inferiors treated the superiors with considerable deference. The society was divided into noblemen, commoners, and slaves recruited from among captives. What today is recognized as conspicuous consumption was elaborated there into an intricate system of pot latching. 24

Mayas and Aztecs. Half-way between primitive cultures and those of modern civilization stand the Mayas and Aztecs, whose social class structures have been the object of much attention, so perfect were they in detail and harmony. Each and every family stood in its place in a more exact manner than was known elsewhere, even in feudal England. Although appointed, the provincial governors and higher officials of the Mayas held what were virtually hereditary offices. 25 Bancroft says of those same people: 26

All high positions, judicial, military, or sacerdotal, were hereditary and restricted to noble families, who traced their genealogy far back into the mythic annals of the nations. Between noble and plebeian blood the lines were sharply defined.

More precise, more perfect, and more completely gleichgeschaltet were the Aztecs, whose social organization reached one of the high points in man's super-ordination and subordination of man in the century before the conquest. The foundation of Aztec national life was its stratified class structure. The rich nobles drove the commoners out of every phase of political power. The lower classes were henceforth treated as the obedient slaves of the dominant class." 27 The nobility itself was nicely divided into distinct classes.

If all societies were as rigorously hereditary in status, position, and honor as was the Aztec, there would be no occasion for this dissertation concerning social class rigidity. The Aztec social hierarchy offers no difficulties of interpretation, only details of degrees of status. Like the Pyramid of the Sun, it was symmetrical, a geometric design of pronounced regularity.

There were only slight incongruities. The familiar scene of poor noblemen who had to watch the waxing strength of base-born but rich merchants surpass them in the magnificence of their houses -- this too was a part of the picture. But, as in Rome under Sulla and again in the second century A. D., men without the proper social class credentials were all driven out of the palace under Montezuma II. 28

21. Frederick Boyle, *Adventures among the Dyaks of Borneo* (London, 1865) pp. 284 - 285.

22. Landtman, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

23. W. H. R. Rivers, *Social Organization* (New York, 1924) p. 150.

24. Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Society* (New York, 1925) p. 353.

25. A. Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, Third Division, Part 2, pp. 60 - 61.

26. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, vol. II (1886) p. 638. 27. Featherman, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 106.

28. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 191 - 193.

The Peruvians. Perhaps even without even a scar of slight imperfection the Inca reigned over beast and man in a step by step arrangement of powers, honors, and duties. There were 10 men, 50 men, 100 men. Fewer by far were those in charge of 500 households, of 1000, of 10000. "The higher ones, four in number, presided over the four quarters of the Empire At the top of the entire pyramid, finally, stood the Sapa Inca himself." 29

The class system was the skeleton of the social body. Speech, dress, property, heredity, proximity to the court (or distance), long lineage, all played a part in maintaining this elaborate social system. 30 And when a new area was captured, social class rigidity maintained itself in that the leading denizens of the conquered territory were assiduously kept in places of honor, albeit a step lower.

The Maori. Among all the primitives none surpassed the Maori in paying deference in priority of residence and birth. Lowie states that in "Polynesia the family pride of the aboriginal blue-bloods rivals the superciliousness of Gilbert and Sullivan's Pooh-Bah." 31 Of freemen there were the following classes: chiefs, priests, landed gentry, large-landowners, and commoners. "However, the gradations of rank were far more numerous than this list would imply." 32 Tikopia was indeed not a society in which wealth was evenly distributed. 33

Among the Maori the social system showed a striking parallel to that of any country with a nobility based on primogeniture; the middle classes received the younger sons of the nobility into their ranks. 34 The commoners were the younger sons of younger sons of those who had made a misalliance with someone of slave background. Genealogies were memorized and provided the starting point for conversation between strangers. 35

The high-born, if they lacked the requisite ability, were not permitted to exercise positions of honor. From this it might be concluded that considerable social mobility must have resulted.. Such was not the case, however. Goldenweiser says: 36

It will be seen then that the hereditary ariki, though deprived through personal incompetence of his authority as leader of the tribe, still retained numerous functions belonging to him alone. The tendency, moreover, was for later more competent descendants of such a noble to recover the functions lost by their unfortunate forebear.

The nobles were assigned to separate afterworlds from those of the commoners. 37

African tribes. Lowie generalizes about the social stratification of African tribes. His two accounts, written two years apart, contradict each other at vital points; however, in each case there is abundant evidence of sharp and rigid social divisions characterized by status. In his *Primitive Society*, Lowie writes: 38

Africa, like Polynesia, is a region of marked social distinctions, but these bear a totally different character. There are often potentates treated in the most reverential and indeed abject manner by their subjects and surrounded by a host of hierarchically graded functionaries that would have done honor to a medieval European court. But the dignitaries derive their station not from their lofty ancestry they are not blue-bloods with endless pedigrees connecting them with some traditional figure, but political officials and as such usually the creatures of the king A patrician caste with its members bandying genealogies is an utterly un-African conception.

However, in his *Origin of the State*, Lowie gives the following data, indicating conclusively that some African tribes were hierarchized into definite classes: 39

In the Western Sudan there is a curiously stratified series of societies. The Mande and Fula are not merely divided into a patrician and plebeian caste, but embrace a whole set of graded classes.

29. Goldenweiser, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

30. Featherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 395 - 396.

31. Lowie, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 347. This statement refers to the Samoans, whose "social fabric bears a generic resemblance" to that of the Maoriana.

33. Raymond Firth, *Primitive Polynesian Economy* (London, 1939) p. 33.

34. Elsdon Best, *The Maori*, vol I (Wellington, 1924) pp. 345 - 347.

35. Bernard Willard Aginsky and Peter H. Buck, "Interesting Forces in the Maori Family," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 42 (1940) p. 200.

36. Goldenweiser, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

37. Lowie, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 349 - 350.

39. Robert H. Lowie, *The Origin of the State* (New York, 1927) p. 22.

Lowie goes on to show that, although the nobility of this region is composed of descendants of conquerors, the former or original nobility evolved into a minstrel clique, becoming confidantes of the rules, "at times even browbeating them by their ability to rattle the family skeletons, and also acted as educators of noble youths." 40 Here again is seen the social rigidities that overcome, in part, even the dislocations of conquest. Not all classes of the population are enslaved or crushed by the conquerors, as a rule. The upper classes retain, in this instance, a semblance of prestige and influence.

One must conclude that some African tribes are stratified, and in some cases these distinctions are strictly fixed for the generations to come. Absolution is, of course, more characteristic of kingly power in Africa than among most other primitive peoples. This lessens the influence of the classes there.

The main line of Occidental history. As man emerged from primitive conditions into the light of human history, as it is known to Europeans and Americans, he entered with what may be correctly characterized as a high state of social organization. By the time of the arrival of the Sumerians man knew the nature of business enterprise, of government, of distributed social power, of exclusiveness. Except for technology, life was essentially modern.

It may be said of the class system that it was even more exactly arranged at the time of the early Temple Towns than it has ever been since, except perhaps at the highest of the feudal period.

Aristocrats at the time of Herodotus could frequently trace their genealogies back five centuries, 41 which is not only a commentary on the rigidity of class distinctions but also upon the importance these considerations had in the earliest days of civilization.

Both Rome and Greece entered the era of recorded time with more formal class structures than were theirs to display to the world in their hours of magnificent glory, even though the disparity between the rich and the poor was greater in the centuries crowned with fame.

In the earliest days of Rome servants, called clients, were hereditarily attached to patrician families; they could not rise; there was no pater among their ancestors. 42

Fustel de Coulagnes succinctly summarizes the situation at the beginning of town life thus: 43 The ancient city, like all human society, had ranks, distinctions, and inequalities. We know the distinction originally made at Athens . . . at Sparta . . . and in Kuboea . . . The history of Rome is full of the struggles between the Patricians and Plebeians, struggles that we find in all the Sabine, Latin, and Etruscan cities. We can even remark that the higher we ascend in the history of Greece and Italy, the more profound and more strongly marked the distinction appears -- a positive proof that the inequality did not grow up with time, but that it existed from the beginning, and that it was contemporary with the birth of cities.

Also at the peak of its development Greek civilization was still class bound. There are those who believe that at the time of Salon birth gave was to wealth (although it is not shown how those without status could readily acquire wealth), but one reads of the aristocratic spirit which reigned in Greek society at the time of the wars with Persia, and that "birth still seemed the supreme good." 44

Only in Lacadaemon did the aristocratic spirit fail to respond even slightly to the demands for less rigidity. There the opposite trend took place; the oligarchy of peers shrank in number. 45 To the bitter end the Spartan system of distinctions were maintained.

Although, as will be shown in detail in a later chapter, many old and honored families were broken up both in Greece and Rome, at the time of the height of their civilizations, the class system remained intact.

40. Loc. cit.

41. J. B. Bury, et al., editors, Athens, 478 - 401 B.C., vol. V of the Cambridge Ancient History (Cambridge, 1927) p. 404.

42. N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, tenth edition, tr. Willard Small (Boston, 1901) pp. 302 - 303.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 301.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 334.

45. J. B. Bury, *A History of Greece* (London, 1920) p. 535.

Although the families themselves could rarely withstand the proscriptions, assassinations, and confiscation of certain notable decades, nonetheless the system made a hasty readjustment and carried on. This, of course, was more obvious in Rome than in Greece, which rapidly collapsed under foreign rule. The notion that the liquidation of many patrician families in Rome opened the way to a percolation of large numbers of lower class persons upward is a mistaken one.

Rome turned no sharp corners with regard to her classes from the building of the first wall on the Tiber to the last battle with the Turks. In the Eastern Empire the 46

Byzantine aristocracy counted among its members some very great lords, proud, ambitious, unruly, some highly educated men, some good administrators . . . They were an elite, superior by far to the aristocracy of the Western Empire in culture, in intelligence, in political acumen.

And in the West during the centuries of imperial disintegration it was the provincial senatorial class which had a practical monopoly on lucrative functions. "They were often the descendants of men who had held such office from time immemorial . . . Their sons were trained to follow them . . ." 47

Early Gaul. Of the Celtic primitives encountered by the Romans beyond the Alps it is said: "Cette société était fort aristocratique et les rangs y étaient très inégaux." 48 Fustel de Coulanges goes on to say that at the time of Caesar the classes were strictly hereditary. "One sees clearly . . . the prestige of birth, of property in land, and of practice of arms." 49

Conquest, thought by some sociologists to be always a great disturber of the class structure, came almost painlessly to the Gauls. Instead of following the Gumpowicz-Oppenheimer-Ward formula, the Romans respected the class pyramid of the Gallic tribes. The Romans did, naturally, put some of their leading citizens into important posts, but they also used their common soldiery to bear the brunt of protecting the territory. Each class, Roman and Celtic, found its place in that area much closer to that of their former status than the conquest theory would have envisioned. Not from Gaul but from Greece were persons of higher class standing taken into bondage at that time. Educated Greeks could be pressed into household and professional service -- the upper class Gauls were left at home to stabilize the social order there. Van Dyke states: 50

With the form of local government in Gaul, the Romans interfered as little as possible . . . Gaul became finally a country of cities, but the Romans took no abrupt steps and the transformation seemed to come about like some change wrought slowly by the forces of nature.

The famous historian Gibbon 51 shows that during the occupation of Gaul by the Romans there was no progressive amelioration of the lot of the masses, nor any breaking down of the barriers between the classes. Gibbon traces the institutions of feudalism back to the Celtic barbarians, when the masses sought protection on the great estates of Gallic nobles and were fettered to the land.

During this era Fahlbeck 52 says there were many kinds of bondage, real slaves, serfs of different categories, and half-free freedmen; each group recruited itself by heredity.

The early Teutonic tribes. The primitives from which most modern Europeans sprang were not the egalitarian democrats of which the legends about free men in forest councils tell. There were nobles, commoners, freedmen, and slaves. And the nobles boasted of ancient lineage. 53 Cooley says that a "servile caste, strictly hereditary, existed even among the primitive German tribes" 54

46. P. Boissonnade, *Le travail dans l'Europe chrétienne au moyen-âge (V - XVe siècles)* (Paris, 1921) pp. 48 - 49; translation ours.

47. Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* (London, 1925) p. 254.

48. N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, vol. I (Paris, 1891) p. 22.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 24; translation ours.

50. Paul Van Dyke, *The Story of France* (New York, 1928) p. 24.

51. Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. I (New York, 1932, Modern Library edition) pp. 307 - 308.

52. Fahlbeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 - 148.

53. Frank W. Blackmar, *History of Human Society* (New York, 1926) p. 285.

54. Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York, 1909) p. 221.

Jacob Grimm, famed for fairy tales and other ancient lore, was also a philologist of note. He was intrigued by the question as to whether all Germanic tribes recognized a nobility. Grim divides the people into free men and serfs (knechte). The nobility and the (otherwise) free persons stand on the same legal footing, but the nobles have some prerogatives denied the commonality. Where kings and priests hold sway, there "must be a division between the nobility and the merely free, in all probability because the nature of every priestly arrangement (einrichtung) produces it." 55

Grimm found that among the Goths there was no king but "reiks," a respected and honored aristocracy. 56 Another variation was found in that among the Burgundians the most honored persons were the "upper clergy" who were called finista or finisto, meaning the oldest. 57

Among the Saxons marriage was restricted to persons on the same legal level, free, freed, or slave, indicating the care with which exclusiveness was practiced. Fustel de Coulagne says: "This marriage prohibition is the most obvious proof of the old class distinctions." 58

The beginnings of feudalism. Instance upon instance of general social class rigidity confront one who reads widely in the history of the age which followed those of barbarism and antiquity. Sometimes social position and exclusiveness are expressed in legal terms, such as nobleman, serf, or slave; sometimes in terms of occupation, such as craftsman, merchants, minstrels; sometimes in terms of political or religious power, such as courtier, adviser, magician. Through and around these terms are discernible the social classes which went to make up the social class hierarchies of the medieval period.

This period of human history began with an increase in the number of persons held in actual slavery. By 725 the price of slaves in Europe had dropped to the point where they sank "to a degree of subjection which had never before existed in the history of slavery." 59 Whether or not Dowd has his facts in perfect order here is doubtful, but the fact that there were still individuals and groups held as personal property, still stands as one of the essential factors in the earliest medieval social structures.

The exact nature of the transference from Roman control to feudal organization will have to await later treatment. In the ninth century hereditary social status was firmly established in France and Italy. This is not to say, of course, that such was not the case in the intervening centuries.

The same was true of the German territories. "The great German duchies which emerged from the ruins of the Carolingian Empire were led by their old nobility." 60

And when feudalism extended itself far to the east into the "wastes of Russia," it did not ensnare free and equal men. "The tribes were headed by chiefs, military, civil, or religious (joupans, starostes, startchinas, knezos)" 61

What happened during feudalism is too familiar to call for a rapid survey at this point. When it is taken up, in a later chapter, it will be necessary to pursue small points carefully, step by step.

Other illustrations of widespread social class rigidity. Almost wherever one turns, much evidence of social class rigidity confronts the eye. "In Japan during her military age -- twelfth century to the middle of the nineteenth century AD. -- society was divided into five distinct groups." 62

55. Jacob L. K. Grimm, *Deutsche Reichsalterthümer* (Göttingen, 1854) p. 257; translation ours.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 266.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

58. *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 258; translation ours. 59. Jerome Dowd, *Control in Human Societies* (New York, 1936) p. 44.

60. Melvin N. Knight, *Economic History of Europe to the End of the Middle Ages* (Boston, 1926) p. 151; italics not in the original.

61. Boissonade, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

62. G. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India* (London, 1932) p. 129.

Extreme social exclusiveness, combined with economic and political power, is seen in the Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella. "In Aragon the barons were limited to a few great families who traced their descent from twelve peers 63 "Class distinctions have ever been closely guarded in Spain" 64

The history of Mexico has been a history of social classes, even if they have not been mechanically divided by hue of skin. From original slavery the masses escaped into peonage; from peonage into tenantry and cheap labor. 65

The story of the classes in the thirteen colonies, too, will have to wait more detailed treatment. Here it can be noted, however, that in the case of New Amsterdam and New York the conquest theory broke down, but the theory of social class rigidity held up. Greene states: 66

Notwithstanding these differences in religion and politics, New York was moderately prosperous during the early years of English rule. Some of the thrifty Dutch burghers found it possible to make money and acquire land at least as rapidly as under their own government. Dutch families like the Phillipses and Van Cortlandts were soon represented in the provincial council

Conclusion. The foregoing illustrations of various kinds of social strata, starting with undifferentiated primitives and prehistoric men and sweeping through history, were set down to convey a thought that most of the peoples class hierarchies of great stability, "and man was the child of his father rather than of his own works," 67 as Mosca says of the ancient Egyptians.

(One does not have to look for extreme instances of ingrown blood relationships, such as the marriage of sibs, to see the "aristocratic" tendencies of all families, except, of course, the destitute and utterly demoralized. Where the family must, because of incest taboos, share with others, the local social class is the next unit of social intimacy. Through social class one family shares with another, giving a daughter and taking another, without relinquishing its hold on whatever monopoly of social prestige the family happens to possess. This is the process of social class maintenance that has been part of every complex society. It belongs to the significant social processes.)

The above is not exhaustive. Many data are to be brought forward concerning social class rigidity in Greece, Rome, the feudal period, modern Europe, and the United States. But this general information gives perspective to the topic of the dissertation.

The following chapter will be given over to the mechanisms that are used, or have been used, to perpetuate social classes and to facilitate the exercise of social class exclusiveness.

63. Bancroft, op. cit., vol. VI, p. 27.

64. Ibid., vol. XI, p. 740.

65. Ibid., vol. XIV, p. 612.

66. Evarts Boutell Greene, *The Foundations of American Nationality* (New York, 1922) p. 160.

67. Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class*, ed. and rev. by Arthur Livingston (New York, 1939) p. 344.

CHAPTER IV

MECHANISMS TENDING TO MAINTAIN SOCIAL CLASS RIGIDITY

The preceding chapter illustrated relatively rigid social strata of many times and places. The present section will set down the chief mechanisms and devices used by families of social standing of every degree (above those of the lowest class) to maintain their positions and, sometimes, to improve their prestige or to keep from falling severely. Different devices have been used at different times; some are almost universal. Respect for genealogy, for instance, is a common source of prestige. It is a source of pride and a source of deference.

The list of mechanisms to be mentioned here is long. Nearly every important device used to stabilize the social class structure has received some attention, if it has not been thoroughly analyzed. After taking note of these many devices, one is not surprised to find that the classes (except the lowest, again, which has no choice) are able to hold their respective ranks relatively firm. Some of these devices shut out competition; some maintain the fiction of competition, giving the lower classes hope. However, all of the them together do not make the compartments of any social order water-tight; nor does the absence of some of the most effective of these instruments leave gaping holes in the walls of these compartments through which a rapidly flowing current passes.

Some of the more important mechanisms to be discussed here are: (1) setting up rules against inter-class marriage, (2) playing host to those seeking protection; (3) monopolizing religious functions, (4) wearing insignia, (5) enslavement, (6) entering clean occupations (7) monopolizing trade or business, (8) owning property, (9) monopolizing government or being close to the government, (10) mating favorably, (11) specializing in etiquette and fashion, (12) maintaining an atmosphere of secrecy, (13) leading wars and conquests, etc.

Ross, at the turn of the century, gave over one chapter of his *Social Control* to a discussion of prestige factors based on birth, wealth, education, militarism, and so forth. All of Ross's works, in fact, elaborate these more obvious devices for maintaining prestige and dominance. Dawson and Gettys list a few of the mechanisms used to maintain the social classes as constant entities. Their statement reads: 1

Not infrequently classes adopt some one or more mechanisms for the purpose of creating or fortifying the lines between them. These mechanisms may be the immaterial ones of hauteur, snobbishness, titles or rank, specialization in certain forms of etiquette, salutation, speech, and the like, or they may be visible marks of class differentiation in the form of uniforms, insignia, crests, exclusive societies and clubs, high church and low church, and so on. These and other distinctive evidences of class differences serve to "show a person his place" and to see that he stays there.

The intention here is to expand, better to illustrate, and more completely to analyze many of the devices which have played a significant part in the various class systems of human societies. If this chapter accomplishes its purpose, it will have added to the synthesis of human knowledge in the field of status differentiation.

Retention of the gens. One of the first devices known to history and used to preserve class position, after the original grasping of control over the economic surplus and the monopolizing or controlling of the distribution of war booty, was that of attempting to maintain the aristocratic gens organization in a time when the state was already destined to adopt territorial and representative government. The patricians had, eventually, to share power with the more influential plebs, but for centuries 2

The gens . . . formed a body whose constitution was radically aristocratic. It was through their internal organization that the patricians of Rome and the Eupatrids of Athens were able to perpetuate their privileges for so long a time.

The Roman plebs and the Athenians demos broke through this form of organization and established the franchise system, but only after long effort; 3 even so, the results were of more political than social significance.

1. Carl. A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology* (New York, 1929) p. 545.
2. N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, tr. Willard Small (Boston, 1901, tenth edition) p. 132.
3. Henry Sumner Maine, *The Early History of Institutions* (London, 1890) p. 76.

Rules against inter-class marriage. Some disapproval or penalty is attached to nearly all inter-class marriage. 4 Nobilities are always set apart by rules against marriage with commoners. Roman plebeians and patricians could not inter-marry until the year 445 B.C. And among the Teutons or primitive times any free man who married a slave became one himself. 5 This same sentiment echoed nineteen centuries later in the scandal of von Blomberg, the German general who married the daughter of a smith.

Modern cases of inter-class marriage, largely of men to inferior women, have a different effect upon the upper classes than upon the lower. A high percentage of upper class women remain unmarried. This, however, does not signify any important shift in the social class structure, because the proportion of lower class women who thus escape their normal fate and rise appreciably is relatively small in comparison to their total number. The spirit and habit of healthy family life is to seek to perpetuate class differences by excluding persons of lower class from marriage into families of higher standing. No reputable sociologist would advocate a theory of marriage based on the opposite principle.

Class endogamy, or a tendency thereunto, is a powerful freezing agent in social class matters.

Protection. In the centuries of Imperial disintegration, provincial Roman senators pursued a policy of engrossment, under the promise of protection, which was carried on till the establishment of the duchies of feudal Europe. Also among the Aztecs "the plebeians were content to work without pay for the nobles, if they could insure their protection by so doing." 6

Modern experiences with protective associations, although not yet influential in affecting the social class hierarchy, lead one to the conclusion, as does the reading of instances of protection during other eras, that much of the real danger from which the inferiors are fleeing often emanates from the protector himself.

When farmers today lose their farms but are permitted to remain on them as tenants, a stiffening of the social class hierarchy tends to take place. Moreover, the system of furnishing tools and fertilizer, wherever in use, is also likened to the protective process of other centuries in that it creates the same spirit of class dependence.

Racketeers in the ranks of labor and elsewhere, who promise protection in the pristine form, may not long be tolerated in American life, but who would venture the same prediction for governmental agents that may take their place?

The story of protection as a solidifier of social status in Europe is written deeply in the period from 100 BC. to 1200 AD., and there is much likelihood that it will be a part of the history of the coming century. Brutality creates or cultivates the desire for protective super-ordination.

Monopoly of religion. Many writers are of the opinion that the first distinct separation of function, prestige, and power was the establishment of the priesthood and class monopoly of religious functions. 7 Frazer, Spencer, and Lippert have all shown instances of kings who were also priests -- throughout Polynesia, and many parts of Africa, in the Americas, and in ancient Greece and Rome. 8

4. Gunnar Landtman, *The Origin of the Inequality of the Social Classes* (Chicago, 1938) p. 294.

5. Edward Westermarck, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, vol. II (London, 1917) pp. 379 - 380.

6. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of*, vol. II (San Francisco, 1886) p. 217.

7. Russell A. Dixon and E. Kingman Eberhart, *Economics and Cultural Change* (New York, 1938) p. 70. Also: Raker Brownell, editor, *Man and His World*, vol. IV (New York, 1929) pp. 98 - 99.

8. Landtman, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

The ancient patriarchs were men of high status; they were also the conductors of worship. They and the priests, per se, were originally and everywhere the caretakers of tradition, 9 itself the handmaiden of the social class system.

According to the definition of social class formulated in Chapter I, priests do not constitute a social class as such. They, with their wives and offspring, if any, are usually too few in any one community to form a clique of associative families. They are functionaries of enormous power, however, and this power is used to the advantage of the whole social class they serve, if it be middle or upper. That section of clergy that ministers to the lower and lowest classes usually renders a service of rationalization and comfort. Priests and other clergymen often belong to the class they serve, and in no appreciable manner do they engage vigorously in activities which promote social class mobility.

Of all the examples of actual social classes that monopolized religious powers, antiquity offers the best. Only grudgingly did the patricians give way to the demand for public gods and public ceremonies. By holding fast to religious practices, the patricians had been able to levy special taxes on the clients, plebs, and aliens. 10

Later, when this control over religion was broken, the plebs, as a whole, did not or could not free themselves from the limitations of lower status. Except for a few plebeian aristocrats, the plebs lived as they had lived before, a plain and neglected mass, the growing proletariat of Rome. Neither the franchise nor public religion spared them from the ignominy of low status.

Insignia. The uses to which insignia may be put, directly or indirectly affecting social class, are multitudinous. In modern America regalia is not as common as in many foreign lands. For instance, unless this war has changed the custom, in Germany children attending Gymnasias wear caps that ostensibly designate their academic grade. But these caps signify much more: they indicate to the passerby, to store clerks, to neighbors, that the bearer belongs to the middle class, at least. To him who wears an academic cap all pay more attention; they approach him differently; they expect him to have more dignity and honor. He has.

Similar is the influence of fraternity pins, college pennants, even steamship and hotel labels (some more than others). The title of Lord, Doctor, Professor, or Honorable is a part of this same system of distinctions. 11 Noble titles, of course, are more significant because of their social class connotations and hereditary nature. One form of insignia is called fashion: clothes so worn as to make one a "gentleman" or a "lady."

Nowadays, however, some carefully coached and highly disciplined salesmen who have acquired their polish away from home are nevertheless able to dress like fashion plates. And, too, the brass buttons of his coat have more than once cursed a bureaucrat with a false sense of his own superiority. These are exceptions to the rule.

Insignia do not divide the classes of society, but they do heighten social class consciousness. They invite and attract esteem. 12

Enslavement. Nothing jells a social class hierarchy more rapidly than the widespread introduction of slavery. It divides the people into the slave and free; it also divides the free into slave owners and those without slaves; it introduces the spirit of aristocracy even among the slaves. Never are the free one class, the slaves another; but the whole society is stratified socially. Slavery fits into aristocratic mores as a hand into a glove. It is a means of putting down the "surplus" people in the population. They cannot even possibly elope with daughters of higher standing; they cannot compete for status. Slavery is a legal means of buttressing the kind of social distance always associated with social class.

9. Pontus H. Fahlbeck, *Die Klassen und die Gesellschaft* (Jena, 1922) p. 36.

10. Fustel de Coulagne, *op. cit.*, p. 303. Also: pp. 262 ff., p. 313, pp. 384 ff., p387.

11. Leopold von Wiese, *Systematic Sociology*, translated and adapted by Howard Becker (New York, 1932) p. 314.

12. G. L. Duprat, "La sociologie des hierarchies sociales," in *Annals de l'Institut International de Sociologie*, Tome XV, 1927 (Paris, 1928) pp. 184 - 185.

Clean and dirty. Whoever conceived of the dichotomy of clean and unclean occupations did a great service to himself and to his descendants if he belonged to the upper classes.

The division of labor often leans heavily upon this theoretical distinction, and the remuneration for the different functions is likely to reflect all the horror that those who are spared the dirty work have of it. Only recently have white-collar employees found themselves paid less than large numbers of workers with grimy hands. In fact, with the growth in the physical sense has dwindled greatly. This change came later than, but is similar to, the rise in prestige of physicians and undertakers. Trade unions in the mechanical trades and the tendency of sons of some respectable families to engage in engineering have both done much to cause a shift in emphasis.

Like the story of slavery, instances of distinctions based on clean and unclean concepts are familiar to every sociologist. Lowie, Landtman, fahlbeck, and Sumner recount them in endless array. ¹³ The literature in this field refers repeated to "unclean pariahs," "pariah class," "debarred from communion with other people." In these instances the occupation concerned must embrace a social class; those practicing it stand apart socially.

Monopoly of a trade or business. It is one thing for people to choose as they are able between the honorable and dishonorable trades and professions. It is another and more significant matter, from the point of view of social class rigidity, if these functions are completely controlled by certain families or classes. During feudalism the nobles had a practical monopoly of land ownership in agriculture, the industry of that period. The guilds practically owned the traffic in the towns.

Max Weber lays great stress upon the monopoly of spiritual and material goods and chances. He says: ¹⁴

Alongside the specific honor of social class (Standesehre), which always rests upon distance and exclusiveness, and alongside honor advantages or privileges (Ehrenvorzügen), as the right to wear certain clothes . . . eat certain food denied to others . . . carry arms . . . there exist all kinds of material monopolies.

The monopolies meant here are such as originate in inheritance and in the choices of workmen are able to make or, conversely, are denied from making. (To repeat: a person's early class position is closely related to his early home environment upon which his occupational function is typically superimposed as a confirmation of an a priori condition of status.)

The instances of class monopoly of occupations and business enterprises are as old as written records and are innumerable. The best example of the influence of monopoly upon social class can be seen around the squares of Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Alt-Frankfurt-am-Main. The homes of a powerful medieval class still stand.

Wealth and property. The aspect of social class having to do with wealth and property was discussed in Chapter I. Here it need only be repeated that there are those who believe property to be the basis of social class position. Property is theft, the source of inequality -- so runs the tale. Expropriate the expropriators and end the curse of snobbery, social inequality, and social classes. Others say wealth is a measure of social status; therefore pay homage to the captains of industry and to the rich men who have made the nation great. In either case, wealth is thought of as the basis of the social class structure. But it has been shown that social classes are not altogether determined by lists of property holdings.

The outstanding fact is, nevertheless, that property rights and all the ways of their transference have an enormous influence upon social class continuity, day in and day out, to social class rigidity. This does not deny or conflict with the fact that it has sometimes facilitated social mobility.

13. See: Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Society* (New York, 1925) p. 351, and *The Origin of the State* (New York, 1927) p. 25. Also Landtman, op. cit., pp. 93 and 96. Also, William Graham Sumner and Albert Galloway Keller, *The Science of Society*, vol. I (New Haven, 1927) p. 228.

14. Max Weber, *Grundriss der Socialökonomik*, III Abteilung, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Tubingen, 1925) p. 637; translation ours.

However, even among the Kwakiutl Indians, where pot latching is thought by some to be the open road to status for all climbers, it has been shown that if an upstart threatens to crash into the hereditary upper class, "gangs up on him," and he relapses ignominiously "into his original plebeian status." 15

Also, as will be shown, the wealth accumulated by tax-collectors and contractors in Rome did not facilitate corresponding social class mobility. Wealth did contribute, however, toward the strengthening of the economic and social position of the equities, per se, and some equities did rise into the Senate under the four Claudian emperors. 16

Wealth is a stabilizer of social status, and social class stabilizes the distribution of wealth. In the extreme case of mobility, such as represented by the Vanderbilts and Astors, wealth not only secured high social standing; it has also stabilized the social positions of four consecutive generations. "Thus a son, who inherits the estate of his father, is enabled to maintain an equal rank." 17

Property is related to social class status both positively and negatively. Those without property must choose between coming to terms with a property owner or sleeping in the streets or jumping in the ocean, as George Bernard Shaw once said. Property is not only the creator and perpetuator of higher standing; conversely, it is the creator and perpetuator of misery, social disability, and social class disqualification. "Those who are poor become dependent upon the rich" 18 "We should all like to live on the Avenue facing the Park, and do business opposite the Post Office. If we are not rich enough to do so, we yield to force and law and go off peacefully to live and do business where the monopoly is not felt," 19 wrote Sumner, but he did not live to see what it was like when men sought ultimate shelter in the dumps of Hoovervilles.

In comprehensive social class terms it can be said that the rich and exclusive form cliques to keep themselves exclusive and rich through untold generations.

Government and class connection with government. Von Wiese 20 states that the chief source of social class differentiation after land ownership and the accumulation of mobile wealth has been the privileges bestowed by the state upon those who support it and upon its functionaries. He goes on to state that the third factor in many instances brings with it the other two, a very wise statement indeed.

A class monopoly of the machinery of state is an almost invulnerable bulwark against the intrusion of lower classes into the higher ranks. Of all the states which have ever existed, few have been free of class domination. (Class here means social class, not class in the sense of warring political and economic parties and organizations.) In fact, one of the reasons for the mad scramble in the nineteenth century for an extension of the franchise was that the lower orders (by means of the politico-industrial class struggle) hoped to defeat by parliamentarism the age-old system of aristocratic rule.

One eminent student and teacher of the subject of social stratification, Hans Speier, says in his lectures that pre-war German social classes could be considered, from one point of view, not as a notched pyramid, but as a series of concentric circles with the royal court at the center; proximity to or distance from the Kaiser was the key to the diagram. Family background, army rank, financial standing, and academic achievement were all woven into a pattern of social classes according to the ability of the persons concerned to meet and fraternize with those nearer and nearer to the throne. It was in that society that the working man's circles felt that they had no direct access to the society of the emperor, and were, therefore, quite outside the pale of social honor.

15. Lowie, *Origin of the State*, op. cit., pp. 39 - 40.

16. S. A. Cook, et al., editors, *The Augustan Empire, 44 BC. - 70 AD.*, vol. X of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, 1934) p. 188.

17. John Miller, *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*, 4th edition (Edinburgh, 1808) p. 153.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

19. Sumner and Keller, op. cit., p. 258.

20. von Wiese, op. cit., p. 297.

Simmel 21 refers to the power (Potenz) acquired by an individual clothed in the dignity and honor of state authority. This power is easily transferred into social class influence through the favors bestowed upon the other higher-class persons and families and their reciprocating appreciation.

Political office filled by regularly stated elections where the franchise is universal reduces the influence of political office on the social classes greatly, of course. But few societies afford or have afforded the luxury of democratic machinery.

The older form or alliance between political, economic, and social power will illustrate Fairchild's accredited theory of rotary action patterns. Maine 22 traces the history of political favoritism through Roman, Teuton, and English times. In fact, history is replete with tales of benefits derived by the upper classes from government.

Interests. According to their desires, people pursue various interests, and in joining hands for such pursuits, they help to create and maintain the social classes.

Interests, it is true, are more likely to lead to the formation of political parties or economic organizations than to the creation of exclusive groups of intimate social relationships. They are, however, hobby and recreational interests, clubhouses, charities, parades, and community events that give the social classes a chance to gather together or to show off their plumage before each other.

The "Karnaval" of Catholic Germany, for instance, especially in Cologne, is, (in peace times), the focal point of the interests of hundreds of groups which take part in the parade. They prepare all year for the great event; they spend hundreds of thousands of marks; they appear before the throngs in the insignia and costumes and floats which designate the type of organization, even the class, to which they belong. The guilds of medieval Europe walk past the cathedral again; each of the most fashionable clubs in the city has an expensive float.

Anything which causes the organization of a merchant's association, a trade union, or an agrarian party is likely to construct several cross-bars in the social class ladder. This is likewise true of professional or intellectual societies. Mosca says that "every group of persons that is engaged in a special function has a certain homogeneity of spirit, education and, especially, interests." 23 Gumprowicz describes the group process of formally social classes or social types out of organized associations in these words: 24

How many educated professions are differentiated in the middle class: doctors, attorneys, judges, teachers, officials, master mechanics, engineers. Each circle creates its own peculiar spirit, so to say, a moral atmosphere of principles, ideas, views, and conceptions, in which its members live and in which their posterity is born and educated.

Fairchild, in discussing the propertylessness of many denizens of modern industrial nations, shows how this division of people into the "haves" and the "have-nots" is paralleled by "strong feelings of common interest among the members of each group respectively, and a temptation to distrust, suspicion, envy, hatred, and antagonism toward the other group." 25 Elsewhere the same eminent sociologist states: "Common interests, on the other hand, are definitely socializing." 26

Marriage and family customs. Marriage has been referred to as a device by which the rich and exclusive monopolize riches and exclusiveness. Also, the rules discouraging inter-class marriage have been analyzed. Marriage and the family are the focal point of social class formation, social class-consciousness, and the perpetuation of social status. Marriage is a device by which the social class structure is held relatively rigid. Marriage customs may almost completely separate the classes, even as they do the caste organizations. Endogamy is the rule. There is no such thing on earth as enforced social class exogamy. Even those peoples who have almost no nobility, like the Chinese, may have something equivalent, from the social class point of view; they may encourage early marriages and they may control the mating process.

21. George Simmel, *Soziologie* (Munich, 1923) p. 103.

22. Maine, *op. cit.*, pp. 141 ff. 23. Gastano Mosca, *The Ruling Class*, ed. and rev. A. Livingston (New York, 1939) p. 480.

24. Ludwig Gumplowicz, *The Outlines of Sociology*, tr. A. Small (Philadelphia, 1899) p. 165.

25. Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Economics for the Millions* (New York, 1940) p. 136.

26. Henry Pratt Fairchild, *The Foundations of Social Life* (New York, 1927) p. 226.

Social class always enters into marriages arranged by matchmakers or parents; the higher the class, the more this enters into consideration. In the later middle ages "the evil of child marriages seems to have been more common amongst the upper classes" 27

The dowry system, wherever in use, is a social as well as an economic instrument. It might well have been set up in order to entrench the class lines. It brings marriage to the planned stage, and social class considerations are a part of all planned marriages. ". . . the custom of seeking 'good providers' and daughters and widows 'well placed' was as firmly fixed in Massachusetts as the common law itself." 28

Specialization in etiquette and fashion. One of the means by which each social class excels the one below it, and perpetuates this distance through careful training of the child, is by specializing in etiquette and fashion. Children seldom fail to respond to parental example in these matters. If the father whittles and spits, the son most likely whittles and spits.

Social class comparisons, invidious and otherwise, are constantly being made. This is true of every social layer from the dregs of society that lie drunk in foul-smelling doorways upward through all the social strata to ladies who never wear the same gown to two social functions. Taste in clothes and care in manners, or lack thereof, are parts of the daily life of every class.

These matters pertain solely to externals; they do not apply to the way individuals behave when not subject to social class comparisons. In fact, it has been the complaint of many sexologists that the younger generation is coached much more in dining room etiquette than it is in the manners required to maintain connubial felicity.

The finer sensitivities revolving around etiquette, developed by careful training, are the aesthetics of the social class system. Women, more carefully trained in these matters, frequently cannot bring themselves to share a household with poorly trained men; this sometimes results in spinster-hood. In the social gatherings of any class above that of proletarian status a shortage of "eligible men" is obvious. At the top of the social scale there is a great surplus of women; at the very bottom many men have to share the attentions of but few women.

There is fashion in more than clothes and etiquette beyond parlor rules. The condition of hands, choice of remarks, kinds of pater, of accent, of pauses in conversation, little movements of the head and hand, meaningful glances -- all these aspects of breeding mark one man from another and indicate the circle in which he moves. Middle class radicals have trouble fraternizing with real workers. They do not know, and cannot easily learn, how to behave on that level.

Secrecy and snobbery. "A privileged stratum consciously or unconsciously veils itself in mystery in order to appear to the disadvantaged levels greater, more powerful, and more worthy of respect than it actually is," 29 says von Wiese, and Landtman shows that "a distinct feature of the aristocratic ranks among certain peoples is their separate language or mode of using the popular vernacular." 30

In former centuries the ability of the upper classes to read and write lent immeasurably to their prestige. (Crude indeed were the upper classes in France in the ninth century who had temporarily lost their knowledge of writing.) Today it is hard to visualize the gap once existing between the read and the unread. More than learning was involved here: the mystery of secret knowledge over-awed the illiterate.

Higher classes make pretense at possessing special knowledge by sabotaging conversation about certain topics when talking with persons of lower class standing. Condescension, non-committal responses, lifted eyebrows (all the tricks known to schoolteachers to gain respect and to appear to know much more than they do) are used by the higher classes in the presence of those who pay deference to them.

27. A. Abram, *English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1913) p. 115.

28. Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, vol. I (New York, 1927) p. 136.

29. von Wiese, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

30. Landtman, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

If a lower class person fails to pay deference in this regard, but instead sets himself up to talk as "man to man," he may feel the atmosphere chill, as a child does when he has spoken out of turn. Higher classes do not wish to meet idea with idea; disdain is a more powerful weapon. It denies the arguer his audience; refusal to discuss implies greater understanding, surpassing the comprehension of the other party.

By these means the members of the lower classes are flustered, upset, and embarrassed. Their moment of weakness is a moment of strength for the upper classes. These take advantage of it by assuming a superior pose. This inscrutable aloofness acts as a barrier to informality, intimacy, or social equity. This "beneath my dignity" attitude, says, von Wiese, 31 is what infuriates the self-made man.

Regard for genealogy. The highest class in every society has a system of pedigrees, and lineage tends to make the class structure rigid down to the amorphous dregs upon which it rests. Only the lowest slave has to face the ignominy of not knowing or caring who his parents were.

It is exceedingly difficult for a person, even of only middle class standing, to fall into the gutter and stay there. It is even harder for a person born in the gutter, and dragged through it in childhood, to rise very far above it. This is not altogether because of property considerations or even training. To a large extent the fact that other people know the parents from whom one has sprung either gives one a great boost or hangs as a millstone around one's neck.

To argue that in large cities other people do not know a person's parents presumes that the person concerned lives in a different city from that of his parents, that he never describes his family background, and that he has changed the habits acquired at home. Only a minute portion of the population meets these conditions. It is folly to try to crash higher circles by pretending "orphan birth."

It is commonly assumed that only old aunts and genealogical fanatics are concerned with lineage in this country. But is not the genealogical room at the New York Public Library as large as that given over to American history? Furthermore, lineage has a broader and deeper meaning: every neighborhood is constantly evaluating children according to their parents, and vice versa; and since there is an overlapping generation, this applies also to grandchildren. Low class standing places a heavy mark upon the children and children's children. To this day, twelve centuries after the occurrence, a peasantry of Asturias are "derived between the descendants of those who aided the patriot Pelayo against the Moors, and those who did not -- so strong is the influence of tradition and dead ancestry." 32

It is difficult to overrate this custom of paying honor to family background; it is found too frequently and too significantly. "Some of the Dutch settlers who came to New Amsterdam and founded important families there naturally brought their coats-of-arms with them as part of their worldly gear." 33

If a family is proud of its name, it is most likely paying attention to matters of social class. If it is not lineage conscious, it is probably careless about other matters that make for the retention or achievement of respectable social class standing.

Conquest and war. There is a popular, or once popular, theory that the social class hierarchy is composed of layers of "races" who once stood in the relationship of conquerors and conquered. True it is that there have been instances in which this theory has had validity. However, the generalization that classes arise through war and are finally fixed by conquest is too sweeping to be of value. (Instances of conquests that did not greatly affect the social class system, as has been asserted, will be taken up in later chapters. Also it must be repeated, wars unmake social classes.) Here it is possible to discuss only the extent to which these two devices have contributed toward making social class structures rigid.

31. von Wiese, op. cit., p. 297.

32. Bancroft, op. cit., vol. VI, p. 23.

33. Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, *English Ancestral Homes of Noted Americans* (Philadelphia, 1915) p. 299.

A sharp distinction should be made between the conquest of primitives and the conquest of civilized peoples. In the case of the former, the displacement of the existing class structure is likely to be more violent and radical than when civilized peoples are conquered. The difference between the treatment of the Boers by the British and their common treatment of the natives is a case in point. 34 Although all examples of social class formation through conquest should be checked, there is no doubt as to the general effect of the conquest of South American Indians by Europeans. Not all those of lighter complexions are high in status, but there is a tendency in the direction of displacing the authority and prestige of leading natives, and a tendency to superimpose the European class system upon the whole population, which system places the native at a disadvantage. 35

The classical theory of conquest deserves at least mention and a hearing here. And it must be borne in mind that it has applicability in many instances. Furthermore, there is a deep-seated half-truth in the theory itself. Ratzel's formulation reads: "Where war is carried on and booty acquired, greater differences arise, which find their expression in the ownership of slaves, women, arms, and spirited mounts." 36 Oppenheimer is more positive. He says: 37

A sound sociology has to recall the fact that class formation in historic times did not take place through gradual differentiation in pacific economic competition, but was the result of violent conquest and subjugation.

Gumplowicz indicates the ethnic aspect in stating the theory. "Social inequality," he says, "arises originally from the union (Zusammentreffen) of distinct (heterogen) ethnical element of unlike power" 38 This alienism, plus conquest, tends to make for relative inflexibility between the classes, according to Sumner. 39 An example of this rigidity is to be found in the history of English village of Crawley, where the old Celtic village was subordinated to the younger Anglo-Saxon village and given the "menial tasks and week-work" 40

Much the same could be said of the social classes in the Baltic states, up to the withdrawal of the Germans and the recent entrance of Soviet authority there. 41 But the Normans, as will be shown, did not permanently establish either a higher nobility or even a high class in England, as has so often been alleged.

Primogeniture and entail. Directly responsible for much social class rigidity are mechanisms such as primogeniture and entail. This is because of their effect upon the families out of which the social classes are formed. They preserve family fortunes intact, increase the uneven distribution of wealth, encourage aristocratic thought and action, and entrench conservatism. Instances of this practice are to be found among primitives in ancient civilizations, and in modern nations with strong aristocratic institutions.

The effect of primogeniture is not to give all the children of an upper class family equally high status. The effect, whether intended or not, is (1) to preserve the family name and line, (2) to limit the number of persons in very high positions, (3) to insure their high status, and (4) to force parts of every high family downward, as if to make them take the front lines trenches against the threat from lower class competition. When in full, swing, primogeniture and entail were powerful instruments with which to beat back the masses, by using younger brothers as shock troops and property as ordnance.

34. Carter G. Woodson, *African Heroes and Heroines* (Washington, 1939) p. 189.

35. A. W. Pezet, "The Latin Americans," in *Immigrant Backgrounds*, Henry Pratt Fairchild, ed. (New York, 1927) p. 171.

36. Taken from Franz Oppenheimer, *The State*, tr. J. M. Gitterman (New York, 1926) p. 36.

37. *Ibid.*, p. viiii.

38. Gumplowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

39. Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 582.

40. Norman Scott and Ethel Culbert Gras, *The Economic and Social History of an English Village, (Crawley, Hampshire) A.D. 909 - 1928* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1930) p. 8.

41. Arthur Ruhl, "Russians and Baltic Peoples," in *Immigrant Backgrounds*, ed. Henry Pratt Fairchild (New York, 1927) p. 226.

In early Greece and ancient India it was the rule that all property "should remain in the family to which religion had attached it." 42 Wills, as known today, were unknown then. This custom, which became less pronounced during the peak of the ancient city civilizations, was found again to be the cornerstone of the social class institutions of the feudal era, 43 and also, as one would expect, among the Aztecs. 44 Much of the aristocratic trend in the colonies was traceable to the practice of entail and primogeniture. 45 Jefferson hoped that much social equality would result from the abolition of these two devices, but many southern families used the will to accomplish much the same result.

The use of ancient callings. Tradition lays a heavy hand upon all human relationships to guide them into channels old with time. Such an important things as a by-gone economic system can have the effect of holding the class lines steadier than otherwise would be the case. In both Rome and England, close connection with landed estates was (and in England still is) a source of social prestige. 46 America, once agricultural, has ceased to attach social importance to agrarian residence or pursuits. Some estates, such as Biltmore, are only reflections of an age already passed.

"Agriculture still held in the estimation of the Greeks a certain primacy as the most ancient and most natural of callings." 47 Socrates and Aristotle both praised this idea.

In India the long standing prestige of religious functions tends to lend dignity to those associated with their most devout observance; whereas among the Chinese it is the ancient profession of the governmental bureaucrat which is reputedly most highly esteemed. In small towns in the United States today banking is more honored, as such, than managing a chain store, and lawyers tend to assume greater dignity than local manufacturers. This is in part due to the influence of ancient callings. Toward these the conservative upper classes tend to lean, although they will desert religion, governmental service, agriculture, or any function when it loses its honor; that, too, is a part of the strategy of status retention.

Education and apprenticeship. Wherever education is monopolized by the upper classes, there will be little social circulation. Wherever the lower classes are provided with a practical training, the same rigidity will result. It is a grievous error to imagine, however, that to give the children of all classes uniformly the same pre-collegiate secondary training will keep the social class lines loose and flexible, that it will provide for the upward percolation of most of the talented. (This question will be discussed in great detail in a later chapter.) Examples of masses kept in ignorance are many. In how many times and places would the following sentence be applicable: "Here the schools of learning were open to the children of the higher classes; a poor man was content to teach his son his own trade."

Education and apprenticeship, broadly interpreted, are the mainstays of every social class system. They maintain the social class structure; they cannot undermine it. For instance, the pupils of the county high school at Potwin, Kansas, study only such subjects as are recognized for entrance into college, but only one or two of thirty take further academic training; they stay where their parents were. The social class system does not budge. The opposite training is given in most European countries. The parents are asked early to choose between apprenticeship and the Gymnasium. The common people must choose the former. Indeed, the effects of the two systems of training are practically the same, so far as the class structure is concerned.

In America, where lower class boys are given some hope of higher education, the higher classes, indeed, receive, in addition, special preparation; for them are provided: tutors, cram schools, fashionable colleges, professional schools, and special connections when they graduate. The end result is not mass social mobility. America's economic abundance, out of which is provided much education, is also superabundance for the favored classes.

42. N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

43. Dixon and Eberhart, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

44. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 255.

45. Beard and Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

46. Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, vol. II (New Haven, 1936) p. 200.

47. J. B. Bury, et al., *Athens*, vol. V of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, 1927) p. 12.

Ecological factors. Man's spatial relationships, the subject matter of ecology, always affect his institutions. In his search for a place to live, acceptable to his social class, one man competes with another, in the biotic sense. In large cities status expresses itself to a great extent both in the location and type of apartment in which a family lives.

Whenever man roams, he has no fixed social classes; wherever he lives in the congregation of community life he specializes in his occupational and social functions. 48 His class structure is much firmer. The concentration of the population makes for extremes in social standing because of the struggle for space.

City building also means, as a rule, the centralization of power, and this has more easily led to its restriction in fewer hands. Only as civilizations disintegrate, and sometimes not even then, are there signs of the weakening of power of the upper classes in highly concentrated areas.

On the other hand, when cities are in their high tide, they attain power over the hinterland of such magnitude that the effect has often been to give the city dwellers a false sense of permanent prosperity, while the rural classes from top to bottom have suffered from the despair of prolonged depression. The agonies of dislocation caused by flight from decaying cities come as an echo of the miseries of agrarian populations during the preceding period.

Serfdom and peonage. There is a theory, and it sounds plausible, that in the early days of the Temple Towns man had not developed government to the point where control over individuals could be trusted to the general law-enforcement agencies and that the device of possession, of which serfdom is a form, in which regulations and controls were enforced by the owners, produced law and order without a highly developed governmental system. The patron controlled his clients, called helots in Sparta. Roman and medieval history is filled with accounts of serfs and other privately supervised human groups of many kinds; in South America the same system has taken the special form of peonage. The United States in the twentieth century has not been altogether free from this device. "The Immigration Commission made a thorough investigation of this subject, and found evidences of peonage in every state in the Union, except Oklahoma and Connecticut." 49

The effects of serfdom upon flexibility in the social class system are immediately perceivable. Japan's famous five centuries of stability and balanced social life rested upon bondsmen: its economic and social base. So perfect was the pattern in many places, so dependable, so simple in organization, that many modern thinkers look back with nostalgia upon that age when each man stood in his place secure. (The modern counterpart of a rigid socio-legal scheme is military organization, where each man is told when to do as well as where to stay.)

Prestige of all things old. The social class structure is ancient. It is a system of human relations so old and customary as to make the theory of a classless society or the theory of utter loyalty to the state (the military scheme referred to above, characteristic of National Socialism) look infantile indeed. Social class exclusiveness and prestige (like religion, war, and government) are the children of the customs and mores and are among their first-born.

Sociologists often refer to the traditions, folkways, and mores as socially significant with respect to innumerable phases of human life; yet sometimes they infer that the social classes are determined by quite contemporary factors in economic, political, and social life. Actually, in regard to social class especially, because of its intimate relation to family life, the power of tradition is strongest. Recognition of socially superior and inferior families is one of the most entrenched of human habits.

48. M. C. Burkitt, *Our Early Ancestors* (Cambridge, 1926) p. 51.

49. Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Immigration* (New York, 1925) p. 279.

If it is true, as it was among the Greeks and Romans, that that which is ancient can be seen to rest securely upon at least one solid rock: it is old and entrenched. Its age makes for its solidity, its stiffness, and its rigidity. Radical indeed is the notion that the social class structure should be undermined or destroyed. The thought of such an eventuality is itself a threat to society's existence, as it knows itself to be. Probable is the hypothesis that the confusion is politico-industrial leadership now said to reign in the Soviet Union (June 1, 1941) may well rest upon the absence of customary forms of deference, prestige, honor, and pride. Political leadership is having difficulty supplanting social class institutions.

Soll und Haben. The poor borrow; the rich lend. This tends to keep the poor poor and to make the rich richer. Of course, not all the poor borrow, nor only the poor; and all who lend are neither rich nor high class. But the lender-borrower relationship is nonetheless a social as well as an economic reality, and so long as credit is in private hands, this device will probably function in favor of the favored.

In Rome money was lent at forty per cent per annum, and much of the increase went to the very gentlemen who kept up the pose of not engaging in commercial pursuits. They were ostensibly above such activities.

The effect of the debtor-creditor mechanism on a social class system is graphically described by Bury, 49 and the ideas developed concerning Greece would apply universally wherever the mechanism is in operation.

The oppression of debt is found in lost farms, homes, and even personal liberty. The course of debt through human history is a trail of ruin for the many and power, opulence, and luxury for the few. All the way up and down the social scale it has added its influence to others in keeping the social pyramid broad at the base and pointed at the top.

The enemy alien. Ancient as the class structure and a factor in its rigidity is the custom of distrusting and socially restricting strangers. Its bearing upon the social classes is this: the more numerous the lines which can be drawn to disqualify others from moving into any particular group, the smaller it is and therefore the more exclusive. If half the population can be arbitrarily disqualified from the social class struggle by slavery, race, or nationality, then social class competition takes place only within the other half. If these latter can again be divided by such devices as land ownership and tenantry, the number of persons who could possibly aspire to high status is again reduced. In all this the out-group concept "alien" plays its part.

If the number of aliens is small and dispersed or if they are quite heterogeneous, the aliens do not have a chance to segregate themselves and form a class hierarchy of their own and are therefore likely to be disqualified from all social class competition of significance. If, on the other hand, they have their own social ladder, they still do not compete in the social affairs of the citizens or natives.

Rome used aliens as a source of private income for higher class citizens, and in England in earlier centuries the conditions under which strangers and foreigners were allowed to carry on trade in the towns were deliberately complicated. 50 "The attitude of Englishmen towards aliens in the later Middle Ages was one of hostility At times the lives of aliens were not safe." 51

The story is told by a reputable sociologist of a German school teacher from a not distant town, whose wife was a native of the place itself; he was always referred to as "the foreigner." This type of social distance does not disappear with the death of the first generation; it remains, even though always weakening "Kind und Kindeskind gegenüber." 52

49. J. B. Bury, *A History of Greece* (London, 1920) pp. 180 - 181. 50. W. J. Ashley, *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory, Part II* (New York, 1914) p. 13.

51. Abram, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

52. Leopold von Wiese, ed., "Das Dorf also Soziale Gebilde," in *Ergänzungshefte zu den Kölner Heften für Soziologie, Heft I* (Munich, 1928) p. 39. Also see John Drinkwater, *Cotswold Characters*, *Yale Review*, vol. 10, July 1921, pp. 839 - 843.

Aliens, in the sociological sense, are not a class, but their presence has a tendency, in the case of Mexicans, French Canadians, and some of the recent immigrants from Europe, to affect the class structure by encouraging exclusiveness, increasing land values, increasing markets, and adding to the labor supply. This has given some old Americans a better opportunity economically and professionally; others have been further depressed by the competition. In any case, the net result has been to intensify the social classes of this nation.

Priority. Tirelessly, priority functions to keep the newcomer from attaining social equality. Those who are established put those who have just arrived through a period of initiation.

A professor of solid family background and fine manners moved, not long ago, to a small old town on the Hudson. He relates that those in the town of long local ancestry and of upper middle class standing were aristocratically exclusive; whereas those with only a dozen years' priority assumed the less ripened air of "owning the place."

The Mayflower emphasis, in so far as it bolsters class position, is essentially one of priority, and the prestige accruing to pioneers is of the same order. Priority is a part of the pattern of behavior in which older immigrants tend to look down upon newer ones. Among the civil servants of England who serve in India, even among all the English there, except for persons of formal rank, people take precedence at parties and have social standing according to the length of their residence in the several communities.

It was not the talented serf who made up the earliest guilds, but the local townsmen; they had priority. 53 Priority played a major part in the development of that system of protection and monopoly known as the guilds. Persons with priority in many industries, notably banking, oil, automobiles, etc., have sometimes founded great fortunes. This illustrates the multiple forms which this mechanism can take.

The prestige of the Colony Club and Harvard University is in part linked to their time-rank -- they are associated with "firsts." The highest nobles of Arabia are those who can trace their descent from Patima, daughter of Mohammed. Families in America which first began to put Roman numerals after their surnames, through the device of priority, are now able to impress others with a bit more of social status than they would otherwise have.

Charisma and other personal qualities. It is commonly recognized, and probably too often acclaimed, that the class structure is formed according to the personal attributes of the persons who make up the society. The gracious charm and impressive intellectual leadership of the upper classes as over against the somber dullness of men who stand hours on end in cheap saloons seem to verify this oft-asserted hypothesis. But are not these differences the result of the class system, not the cause of it?

Two children are born on the same day. At the age of two, one plays in the street, learns early to dodge traffic, to avoid rough places in the sidewalk, to dig in garbage cans; he stays up till ten o'clock on summer nights. In the course of time, naturally, his bright eyes redden. Dust, adventure, stickball, hard labor, weeks of enforced idleness and job seeking, women, drink, bacteria, and vermin combine to make him a broken, weary, God-forsaken creature. When, at fifty, he shuffles a disease-ridden frame along the Bowery, he looks dull and stupid, almost like an "Unmensch."

Those who read these pages will know from experience or observation what happens to the child of an upper middle class home, and, by viewing him at the theatre, at least, they will know the majesty of high class dignity, age fifty.

It is this educated or socially transmitted poise and personal honor that helps greatly to perpetuate the social classes. It may truthfully be stated that for every leader who by means of personal qualities breaks through the class lines, there are manifold more who, possessing the kind of personal dignity and qualities which social class has cultivated and nurtured, retain status by means of these very personal qualities.

Charisma, or personal magnetism, may have accounted for the first medicine men, as Osborn 54 states, but the costumes, training, and learned tricks of later medicine men gave them similar charismatic qualities. Jesus may have possessed great power to impress others, but great religious power over others is now institutionalized, in part, in the Pope, whoever he may be. Such is also the nature of the personal qualities which make for social status; in one case they enable a man to rise high -- in hundreds of cases they enable those who attain these qualities through training to use them to retain status. Most of the people who were born to higher class develop, among others, many of the same personal qualities which "self-made men" possess. If one were to catalog the rules Dale Carnegie lays down for the achievement of higher status, one would find that they are, in large part, the very rules under which upper class children are nurtured.

Spencer recognized this fact and stated it clearly in these words:

The ideas, and sentiments and modes of behavior, perpetually repeated, generate on the one side an inherited fitness for command, and on the other side an inherited fitness for obedience; with the result that in the course of time there arises on both sides the belief that the established relations of classes are the natural ones.

Charisma and other personal qualities, then, are not instruments for facilitating social mobility, by and large; their chief contribution is to maintain status and to perpetuate it.

Summary. The foregoing discussion was planned to give the factors which enter into the bracing and cross-bracing of the social class structure.

Factors making for social class stability not discussed in this chapter include (1) publicity or the lack of it, especially on the occasion of visits, trips, parties, weddings, births, and deaths; (2) ostentation, a topic treated extensively by Veblen; (3) moral habits, so important to the middle class; (4) types and kinds of recreational and social clubs; (5) establishment of levels of nobility, etc. (Many of the factors affecting ancient and modern classes will receive more ample treatment in the remaining chapters of this dissertation.)

In any society, the customs and folkways of which have led to the development of snobbishness, * different accents or usages of language, * social restrictions on aliens or newcomers, * peonage * or serfdom, concentration of population, * heredity of office, differences in education and apprenticeship among the different classes, * exploitation of human labor, * high regard for ancient callings, * laws or social codes to discourage or prevent the division and distribution of property, * wars and conquest, * regard for family background, * class specialization in etiquette and fashion, * political favoritism, * emphasis upon class endogamy, * wealth and property rights, * conventions of the clean versus the unclean, interests, * insignia, * religion, * racketeering, * social and recreational clubs, * and diverse moral standards -- any society which practices any considerable number of these folkways will nurture its social classes, maintain them, perpetuate them.

54. Henry Fairfield Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age* (New York, 1936) p. 358.

* Factors still in operation in American society [in 1941].

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL CLASS RIGIDITIES IN GREECE AND THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

The general introductory material of this dissertation has been presented; the definitions, examples, and surveys of classes have come to a close. There now follows an account of the tendencies in Greek and Roman history toward social immobility and the factors that entered into these tendencies. Factors that contribute to breaking down social class barriers and to promoting social class mobility among the Greeks and Romans are not neglected.

The object here is two-fold: (1) to bring to the attention of sociologists the documented evidence of historians in order to correct several sociological interpretations of what took place among the social classes in those ancient civilizations, and (2) to determine the kinds, extent, and degree of social rigidity in that period of history. Neither of these goals, per se, has heretofore been attempted. In fact, it appears that some sociologists have been making their interpretations of parts of history after only slight acquaintance with the subject matter itself, and therefore have been guilty of gross misrepresentation, as will be shown. Furthermore, although there are some descriptive studies of the different classes of antiquity, one cannot find an analysis of the degrees, kinds, and amounts of social class rigidity during that period.

Early Greece. When the first towns of Greece were built, the population had long since been stratified into several classes. At the head of each society was a king, usually referred to as a priest-king. He was one of the factors instrumental in breaking down the power of the gentile organizations, headed by nobles usually called eutrapids.

By the time of Solon this highly exclusive upper class, a nobility in the strictest sense of the word, with its tribal organization and its hold on religion, had lost many of its privileges. Familiar, indeed, is the story of how these aristocrats of ancient lineage had to share power and prestige with some of the commoners, with other rich men. The fact that there were other rich men indicates that the social class structure was not completely rigid.

As in Rome and England later, this concession on the part of old nobility was inevitable as (1) the towns grew, (2) the territory enlarged, (3) and the commercial development, in turn, created wealthy and fashionable groups outside of the exclusive nobility itself. These latter groups were commoners in the legal sense but not in social class. They belonged to the unofficial aristocracy, and they would not let the very ancient descent of the eutrapids stand in the way of their full recognition. They, too, were proud of their family backgrounds and their wealth. They, these rich and illustrious, entered into their properly recognized class position, sociologically speaking.

The change which permitted men to be ranked according to their wealth, so far as their legal and political status was concerned, "was not the work of the lowest classes." ¹ It was the result of the efforts of families whose social status was out of line with their legal rank, and they urgently wanted this situation remedied by gaining recognition not for all commoners, but for themselves. The simplest solution was to institute the rule that wealth should establish rank. This did least harm to the old and still fully satisfied the new elements in the upper social class.

This reform was not a social revolution. It did not result in giving full social prominence to the merely wealthy. The legal categories or ranks were not parallel to the social classes after Solon, as they had not been before. The descendants of older lines and of the older nobility lived on in the reflected glory of their past, much as the patrician lines in Rome still retained the upper hand in social esteem long after the reforms in the Roman constitution.

1. N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, tr. Willard Small (tenth edition, Boston, 1901) p. 430.

Nor did those reforms indicate that only "new" families were rich. It can be shown that most of the families that qualified to rank high on the lists, made up according to amounts of wealth, with lineal descendants of the old nobility. These changes meant only that the ancient noble families had to share prestige with a select and highly honored and respectable few of the so-called commonality, itself greatly stratified. The old nobles lost more in the way of political prerogative than they lost in social prestige. They were not thrown into an amorphous mass of socially undifferentiated humanity, as were the upper and middle classes in 1917.

To interpret these reforms as moves in the direction of theoretical social equality or in the direction of abolishing the rigidities of the social class system is to misrepresent them and to misunderstand the nature of social institutions. In this case the flexibility was in the adjustments made by both of the upper classes to a de facto situation; they made it de jure. This can hardly be interpreted as a great extension of flexibility in the social class system. Actually, in spite of the land and debt reforms, the little man continued a downward course. The middle classes presumably held their own.

When commerce began to displace agriculture as the dominant economic system of Greece, "the nobles were themselves the chief speculators. But the wealth they acquired by trade undermined their political position." 2 Others, in a word, began to share in the power of wealth, which introduced a new political system, "and aristocracies resting on birth tended to transform themselves into aristocracies resting on wealth." 3 In these statements by Bury there is more support for the theory that the old nobles became the new aristocrats than that they were pushed aside in wholesale fashion by rising upstarts -- a notion not found once in the historical data pursued. High status, in sum, shared the new wealth of economic institutions, and political power was shared with other upper class persons who were partners in the increased trade.

The free classes of Athens at the time of Solon were divided into the upper class (the descendants of the land owning nobility, the captains of industry and commerce, and the formally educated -- each of these categories overlapping with the others), the middle class artisans, retailers, peasants, and workers of nondescript character. As late as the Peloponesian wars these divisions were still in force. The class lines held firm, even though social life was not formally regulated and coldly rigid as in Sparta.

Athens, in the fifth century BC., is said to have had the following distribution of classes, as compared with Sweden in 1900 AD. The difference in the percentage of workers is due to the presence of slaves in Athens.
4

	Athens	Sweden
Upper class	4.5	5.3
Middle class	59.5	39.0
Workers	36.0	55.7

Sparta. Whereas in most of the other cities, after an era of reforms and changes, "the social differences remained as before, but they were not legally established . . .," 5 in Sparta the rigidities were almost utterly inflexible, by law. Discipline was so strong that Sparta resembled the Incas in maintaining a close parallel between social classes and legal categories or classes.

Here there was, presumably at the height of Spartan power, "one citizen to four of the middle class and twelve of the helots . . . or every seventeenth man was a citizen." 6 The slow decline of citizens, increasing the percentage of tyranny of the ruling class, did not lead to a letting down of barriers through the introduction of middle class elements into the higher brackets. To the bitter end the Spartan aristocrats held on, even welcoming the conqueror on one occasion because the political power had slipped from their hands; and the conqueror, by reputation, could be trusted to restore it. Such was the fame of Roman social attitudes.

2. J. B. Bury, *History of Greece*, (London, 1920) p. 118.

3. *Loc. cit.*

4. Pontus E. Fahlbeck, *Die Klassen und die Gesellschaft* (Jena, 1922) pp. 233 - 238.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 221; translation ours.

6. Frank S. Blackmar, *History of Human Society* (New York, 1926) p. 243.

(All class data about Greece, as can be seen from the short foregoing discussion, are likely to turn upon such matters as citizenship, civil rights, and civil ranks. The political functions, it is true, frequently influence class position, but not universally or absolutely. The free alien might, in terms of social contacts, rank quite high, in spite of his political disabilities, or quite low. A famous history at one place divides the population of Greek states "into three main classes -- the civic, the free alien and the servile." 7 These categories should not be confused with the social classes, although not all writers are careful to point this out. In reading social science, the mature student constantly guards himself against this and similar obliquity.)

Effect of the right to vote upon social inequality. In studies about Greece much importance was attached to the right to vote, because, as it came to be used, it profoundly affected the upper strata of Athenian society. A vote in fourth century Athens meant the right to help make or unmake a tyrant, or to add thousands to the public treasury at the expense of a rich resident. It was also a source of income from political graft, although Rome is better known for this form of corruption. This right, as exercised, resulted in grave consequences to social class relationships.

During and after the internecine strife on the Greek peninsula the populace, with its vote, began to do things to the highest social class. The feeling was widespread "that 'aristocrats' were at heart traitors" 8 Furthermore, the treasury of the city-state was incapable of paying allowances to jurors except by resorting to confiscation, and tribunals "gave ear to all kinds of charges against men of prominence and property." 9

The story of confiscation in Greece is a familiar one, and it does not need to be repeated in detail here. Its significance for this discussion is as follows: The confiscations of those fateful decades were not for the purpose of establishing sound social classes or of setting up an economy of distributive abundance. The age was one of great riches, ruthless aggregations of power, and of oppression. The public, as a pressure group and in the same spirit, voted itself bonus after bonus. Like Samson, Demos was blind and shook the temple down upon its head.

Nor was it equality that was sought after so much as quick cash and hearty revenge against those who had accumulated wealth. Equality is a rational concept (not a customary one) and, in terms of social life, a very idealistic one. The Greek people of that age were not utopian dreamers. They were "Townsendites" and "Legionnaires" in power. They did not pursue the "middle way," nor were they carrying on a revolution under conscious radical leadership. The result of their actions was a disruption of one set of exploiters after another, an increase in ruthlessness and brutality on all sides. No equality was achieved; the population was as stratified afterwards as before. The civilization crumbled, but the social classes remained intact. It was not a period in which poor men became rich. The era was not characterized by upward mobility, rather it was an age in which some families of the upper classes of Greece suffered the same fate as proscribed families of the Claudian era in Rome. Only where the landed estates were divided up (and this phase of passing events was insignificant) was there evidence of anything more than temporary relief from poverty at the bottom. "The upper classes among the ancients never had intelligence or ability enough to direct the poor towards labor, and thus help them to escape honorably from their misery and corruption." 10

One is reminded of the present era of trials and purges by Seeck's statement that "as long as freedom existed in Greece, revolution broke out and with them mass murders and exiling One thinks of the mental power (geistige Kraft) destroyed in these suicidal struggles!" 11

Greek and modern parallels and contrasts. Not only was there an utter absence of social equality among the Greeks, but also there was no movement in the direction of mitigating the rigors of extreme inequalities. There was no social class program of amelioration and adjustment.

7. J. B. Bury, et al., eds., Athens (478 - 401 BC.) vol. V, Cambridge Ancient History (Cambridge, 1927) p. 3.

8. Ibid., p. 349.

9. Loc. cit.

10. Fustel de Coullagnes, op. cit., p. 453.

11. Otto Seeck, Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt, vol. I (Berlin, 1921) p. 279; translation ours.

There was, in Greece, a well organized and rich aristocracy which endured Roman protection right on through into the established and highly stratified Byzantine empire. Only in the development of civilization under Diocletian and his successors in the Eastern empire was there evidence of public policy coming to grips with social class realities. Only then did destructive civil strife and/or laissez-faire give way to systematic labor and provision for the security of the different social levels. So far as the social class results were concerned, not the means, it was not until the third and fourth centuries AD. that social legislation and class organization in the eastern Mediterranean region began to approach the modern "middle way" program.

However, there were characteristics of the social life of Greece during the fifth and fourth centuries which are much in evidence today. They were: (1) election by and public support of the idle and other pressure groups, (2) wars, (3) the exiling and execution of intellectuals, some of the rich, and some of the aristocrats. If the modern trend in Germany, England, and France, for instance, goes the same route as in ancient Greece, as has been predicted by many Europeans, no immediate program of social class stabilization is in sight. An era of plunder, hatred, and recrimination seems to have descended upon Europe. Nor can one take hope in the extremely brutal measures used to disrupt normal associative groupings (the classes) in the Soviet Union. This latter scheme is, of course, quite new in human history, because it is a combination of proscription and confiscation on the one hand and militarism and social planning on the other.

In sum, Greek civilization experienced many more political changes than it did changes in social status. It developed with an aristocracy and merged into Byzantine still possessing one.

Preliminary statement about Roman classes. The purpose of the following is not to survey the development of Rome or to describe the classes, as such. It is to study the changes which took place in the membership of the Roman social classes in an effort to determine, in a general way, whether or not there were significant shifts in the make-up of the classes. Did the class lines hold firm, relatively, through the turmoil of Roman history, or did they break and shatter under the impact of political rights, dictatorship, and decline? When and where was the most social class circulation? When did the common man have a chance to rise? Were there always, from first to last, prominent and aristocratic families? If one aristocracy was destroyed, and/or failed to reproduce itself, where did the Romans recruit their new aristocracy, and how new was it? What did the Romans mean by *novus homo*?

Precise data as to the amount and incidence of social climbing and falling are missing. However, enough is known to indicate that several of the generalities which have long persisted in sociological literature are in need of revision. One of these, for instance, is that after several centuries of struggle the plebeians broke the hold of the aristocracy and destroyed the barriers to high status for the commonest man. In fact, much more correct data are available than are presented in the material based on this period found in many current social science texts. The purpose here, again, is two-fold: to correct erroneous interpretations based on too little familiarity with history, and to delineate the incidence of social class rigidity.

Early Rome. The first accurate picture of Roman life shows that the *gentes* were made up of patrons whose followers or serfs were called clients. At that stage of Roman development, when many patricians gathered at Rome from the towns roundabout, with their clients to serve them, they joined together into such a close knit endogamous unit that their organization by Rome expanded so rapidly and the population grew so fast that no castes were formed. On the contrary, the tendency toward the formation of a "caste line" was overcome through the insistence of rich, powerful, and fashionable plebs. Therefore, Rome was characterized by classes; contrary to the experience of India, she never knew the development of established caste organizations.

Little is known about the early clients. They seem to have disappeared to form a part of the plebeian mass not long after the founding of the city. 12 But of the patricians themselves much more exact information is available.

Who were the patricians? The conquest theory that the patricians were Sabines, whereas the plebeians were Latins, has been answered, even while it was being promulgated, by research into the origins of the patrician families. Duruy 13 and Fustel de Coulanges found that they were the cream of the society or neighboring towns who fled to Rome because of the political disturbances in their native places. Heitland 14 believes that the patricians were more largely Sabine and that the plebeians were more largely Latins, but that neither group was homogeneous. Blackmar's 15 idea that those who first settled in Rome established the patrician lines fails to take into consideration that each patron arrived in Rome with his clients. The gens and its dependents came as a unit.

The significant fact was that each patrician family could by marriage enter into connubium with each other, even though they were in some respects mutually strange to each other. This was because of their mutual recognition of common aristocratic backgrounds and status. Furthermore, families continued to come to the center as the city-state grew, and some of these aristocratic newcomers were also recognized as patricians.

Gibbon properly refers to the separation of patrician from plebeian as "the proudest and most perfect separation which can be found in any age or country between the nobles and the people" 16 But Sorokin's statement, that "the centuries before the fifth and sixth centuries BC. seem to have been the period of a weak mobility from the layer of the plebeians to that of the patricians," 17 lacks utterly in historical accuracy. The patricians kept their blood too pure to allow for any percolation into it. The separation was proud, perfect, and complete. "The patrician who formed a misalliance . . . lost his rank, fell into an inferior class. Every bastard was cast out by religion from pure families and counted among the plebs." 18

However, as will be shown, there was some circulation upward within the plebs. They had, by this time, ceased to constitute a layer in society. In fact, they were never a single social class, as were the patricians, because some of them were rich and illustrious persons from other cities, especially from the eastern Mediterranean.

Who were the plebs? Originally, there were few plebs. When Rome was founded, the lower class was composed of clients. The plebs were free men, unattached to a patriarch, living "in an enclosure on the slope of Capitoline Hill;" they were the clients who had lost their patron; they could hold property, and they practiced crafts. 19 When the lower classes were no longer distributed among the gentes, but lived apart, they were known as plebeians. 20

The only important social mobility during the early centuries, which in turn affected only a small percentage of the plebs, was the appearance of the new aristocracy, often referred to as the aristocracy of money. The development paralleled in trend that which had taken place in Greece. Some of these new aristocrats were themselves of highly respectable lineage. The following citation shows how old and honorable some of these plebeian families were: 21

The plebeian was not always poor. Often he belonged to a family that was originally from another city, which was there rich and influential, and whom the fate of war had transported to Rome without taking away his wealth, or the sentiment of dignity that ordinarily accompanies it.

Perhaps as an afterthought, at least in a secondary position, Fustel de Coulanges states that "sometimes, too, the plebeian had become rich by his labor, especially in the time of the kings." 22

12. Georg Friedrich Schoeman, *Griechische Alterthümer*, vol. I (Berlin, 1861) p. 136.
13. Victor Duruy, *History of Rome*, vol. I. (Boston, 1883) pp. 132 ff.
14. W. E. Heitland, *Roman Republic*, vol. I (Cambridge, 1909) p. 42.
15. Blackmar, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
16. Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. I (Modern Library edition, New York, 1932) p. 525.
17. Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York, 1927) p. 148.
18. Fustel de Coulanges, *op. cit.*, p. 380.
19. Duruy, *op. cit.*, pp. 196 - 197.
20. Fustel de Coulanges, *op. cit.*, p. 360.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 398.
22. *Loc. cit.*

There is no reason to believe that when the clients escaped from serfdom into freedom there was any marked degree of social advancement. They were, it is true, freed from the perhaps more toilsome routine of agriculture, but their status in the growing city as a part of the mass of unheralded plebeian proletarians cannot be said to have been much above the very base of the social pyramid.

The legal and political rise of plebeian elements. The extension of political rights to commoners has tended to monopolize the attention of social theorists; they have frequently lost sight of the social classes because of the dramatic aspects of the political struggle.

From the social class point of view the significant fact during this period was the division of the plebs, clearly and markedly, in high class plebs and the masses. The introduction of money, which could be passed from hand to hand without religious ceremony, enabled some plebs to remain or become wealthy. 23 They displayed their riches, arranged themselves into social ranks in true social class fashion. "Some [plebeian] families were prominent, some names increased in importance. A sort of aristocracy was formed among the people" 24 The plebs "followed the lead of this new aristocracy, which they were proud of possessing." 25 Not all plebs could aspire to high position; not all did. "If the plebs were somewhat indifferent, there was a plebeian aristocracy that was ambitious." 26 There are the upper class commoners who conspired and struggled to abolish political and connubial disabilities, as a matter of pride. Tenney Frank designates those plebeians who gradually won approximate equality with the patricians as "property-holding plebeians." 27

Out of these ambitious and prominent groups, in addition to the overwhelming majority of persons related to the ancient nobility, the new nobility of office was formed. Many of the newly ordained official nobility were patricians, many were the younger branches of old patrician gentes, some were descendants of aristocratic plebeians. The artisan class of plebeians and the amorphous mass of Roman proletarians did not present candidates for judgeships or the senate in numbers great enough to arouse comment even in socially class conscious Rome.

Sorokin, although documented history does not corroborate his statement, says: 28
The period after 449 BC to the middle of the fourth century BC could be regarded as the period of an intensive circulation because during this period the plebeians obtained almost a complete equality with the patricians, and in this way passed from a lower to a higher stratum.

Whatever circulation was approved in that century had already taken place; law ratified a de facto situation. Furthermore, the plebeians, at least the great mass of them, obtained no semblance of equality with the ancient patrician families. The mass of plebs lived very lowly existences indeed. Finally, it is absurd to state that a whole mass, such as the majority of plebs were, could "pass from a lower to a higher stratum." This is somewhat equivalent to saying that the workers in the Soviet Union rose and inherited the places of the ousted nobility, or that the blacks after 1865 took their places as the equals of their former masters. (The situation of the ordinary plebs was less disturbed, changed, or improved than that of these remotely analogous illustrations.) Sorokin's confusion of social equality with limited political rights illustrates the kind of error into which even prominent sociologists can fall.

The Republic reaches middle age. Tenney Frank 29 reports that the Punic wars enhanced the prestige of the senatorial nobility. Furthermore, this "new aristocracy" performed so well that it entrenched itself in power. He also notes the depletion of the ranks of free farmers and the growth of large estates. These data indicate that the middle age of the Republic was not one of social class mobility upward, except, to a limited extent among the equites, that is, the capitalists, merchants, and contractors.

23. Ibid., p. 364. 24. Ibid., p. 365. 25. Ibid., p. 366. 26. Ibid., p. 405.
27. Tenney Frank, "The Roman World," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. I (NY, 1937) p. 45.
28. Sorokin, op. cit., p. 148.
29. Frank, op. cit., p. 45.

Of upstarts nothing is heard during this era. The new aristocracy, made up almost altogether of two old aristocracies, froze as fast as it formed, entrenched its clique in office, and provided places for its sons. They, with their love of the land, took an active part in grabbing up the land of fallen soldiers and in obtaining parts of the leased ager publicus. 30

Mommsen is quoted as saying that "the overthrow of Junkertum did not take from the common life of Rome its aristocratic character in any way." 31

The significant social class fact concerning the middle period of the Republic is that aristocratic sentiments were exceptionally strong. At the time of the Gracchi, for instance, 32

The aristocracy, drawing its livelihood from slave labor on large estates, not infrequently from a general's share in booty, and occasionally from a shrewd marriage, and basing its claims for social distinction upon ancestry and political office, remained a closed corporation of less than a hundred outstanding families living in one city.

In agriculture, and perhaps in the trades, the introduction of slaves and the conditions of war had begun to depress parts of the lower classes.

The only important movement on the social scale in an upward direction was to be found among the equites. They did not accomplish what bourgeois elements in parts of Western Europe were destined to do centuries later, however; they did not rise to the top.

The rôle of wealth -- the equites. In the third and second centuries BC. wealth per se did not divide man from man, class from class. The older orders of Rome, the aristocrats, did not lose their hold on social prestige. In fact, when the capitalists and other business and governmental elements threatened them, they struck back. On this point the record is clear: 33

Before the Gracchi the knights had not yet formed a separate social caste of peculiar distinction. That some were wealthy and kept elaborate households in imitation of the senators is probable. They provided well-dowered daughters now and then to save noble families from financial ruin, and after a few such connections had been formed with the influential, a member of an equestrian family occasionally succeeded in gaining enough support to dare to be a candidate for aristocratic office. But during the Republic the road to social distinction was always difficult for the financial group. The Gracchi gave them some political recognition and prestige, but also a hostility toward them that cost them dearly whenever -- as under Sulla -- the nobility was secure in the saddle. Rarely has a capitalist class as such suffered the disasters that it did at Rome.

Sulla "organized a terrible butchery among the financiers, from which as a class they never recovered. After Caesar they completely disappeared as a political element." 34

The equites, instead of rising to the highest positions, entrenched themselves in the middle groove. The age of the Republic at its height was not an age of any significant social mobility. This, too, is in the record: 35

For reasons not wholly clear the ranks of the nobility seem not to have been threatened to any extent by parvenus. Between 200 and 146 BC. there were one hundred and eight consuls elected. Only about eight of these belonged to families that had not been represented in consular office before . . . the people were satisfied to continue the old families in positions of dignity.

Cato, one of the commoners to play a stellar role, was not a democrat, certainly. "Though a novus homo himself he seems not to have aided other 'new men' to office." 36

The middle age of the Republic was one of less mobility than the era preceding it; in the earlier period the rich plebeians were able to merge themselves with the older aristocrats. In the middle period the equites were stopped short of that goal; they had to be content with an entrenched middle position. Yet this is the period of "open" classes, as opposed to other eras of "closed" classes, a distinction intimating freedom of movement on the social scale and repeatedly emphasized by Sorokin and Fahlbeck.

30. S. A. Cook, et. al., editors, Rome and the Mediterranean (218 - 133 B.C.), vol. VIII of the Cambridge Ancient History (Cambridge, 1930) pp. 336 - 337.
31. Matthias Gelzer, Die Nobilität der Römischen Republik (Leipzig, 1912) p. 1; translation ours.
32. Frank, op. cit., p. 46.
33. Cook, et. al., op. cit., p. 383.
34. Oswald Spengler, The Hour of Decision (New York, 1934) p. 86.
35. Cook, et al, op. cit., pp. 365 - 366.
36. Ibid., p. 369.

The last days of the Republic. The period from about 130 to 44 BC. was indeed the gilded age, with enormous fortunes for the few. 37 Although the aristocracy kept a strong hand on the social ambitions of upstarts, there was an increase in the number of wealthier families. Public contracts, war booty, tax gathering, contributed to this end.

Of first importance in all this is the fact that, so far as class standing was concerned, little difference was achieved by the sudden addition of tens of millions of money units to the fortunes of an already propertied family, whether equite or senatorial. The social class ladder was not as responsive to differences in money fortunes in the first century BC. as in the United States in the nineteenth century AD.

The few "new" men of that era were the objects of much comment, but they were not new in the sense that they sprang from the proletariat. Usually they were of equite extraction; they were new only in that they now met the legal qualifications for rank among the hereditary nobility. The equites had, by this time, become what Bucher calls a "money aristocracy." 38

So rigid were the class lines at the top that above the men of business of equestrian rank, in social standing though not necessarily in wealth, there was in Cicero's time an aristocracy. 39 By this time all the aristocrats were known as "optimates." Of these the "clarissima," the highest of the high in fame, included some of the oldest and most aristocratic families of Roman history. 40

In the course of three hundred years 600 consuls were elected. Of this number, twenty-four were new men, and one of these, Marius, served seven of the twenty-four terms. "In regard to this condition one can speak of the rule of a nobility." 41 And again one must bear in mind that new men were not necessarily lacking in social class backgrounds. Mosca says that "in republican Rome the more prominent families held the same public offices from father to son for generation after generation." 42

From the foregoing it would appear that the Republic was not troubled by extensive upward social class mobility. So far as her social classes are concerned, Rome was never democratic. But already toward the end of the Republic rumblings of new and foreboding things to come were heard.

A concern of all aristocrats was the decline in the birth rate among all Roman and particularly among the upper class. Such a trend, if continued, would spell the end of the whole class as a hereditary, self-perpetuating entity. Obviously, recruitment was in order. Sulla, who could safely be trusted to choose aristocrats, provided for the automatic elevation of members of the quaestorian college into the senate, and he increased their number. 43

This was a sign of future trouble, but it did not point to the immediate disintegration of the upper classes. At the time of Cicero ". . . there were still prominent in Rome bearers of fair-sounding names like Cornelii, Claudii or Sulpicii." 44 It may be safely stated that the period of civil wars was more destructive to the Roman political and constitutional system than to the social class structure.

The middle classes. Few changes took place among the middle classes during the last days of the Republic. Julius Caesar granted citizenship to all doctors and those pursuing other studies who lived in Rome or who might move there. 45 This act probably had less effect upon the social classes than it did upon the theories pertaining to the classes. It contributed to the replacement of Romans by Greeks and others from the east. This, in the course of time, probably strengthened the impression that there was considerable social mobility in Rome because of the prevalence of Greek names. Since there were destined to be many freedmen of Greek nationality, was it not natural yet incorrect to reason that many descendants of freedmen had risen in status?

37. Fahlbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

38. Karl Bucher, *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1922) p. 101.

39. See S. A. Cook, et al, *The Roman Republic (133 - 44 BC.)* vol. IX of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, 1932) pp. 777 - 779.

40. Gelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 39 - 41.

42. Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class*, ed. and rev. by Arthur Livingston (New York, 1939) p. 260.

43. Cook, et al, *op. cit.*, vol. IX, p. 287.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 777.

45. Eduard Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie und das Principat des Pompejus* (Stuttgart, 1919) p. 483.

The business classes were very busy supplying armies, building public works, and supervising colonial economic activities. They were accumulating staggering fortunes. They probably felt that they should be accorded full prestige, for it is authoritatively reported that the last decades of the Republic were periods of struggle between the equestrians and the senators over the spoils of imperialism. 46 However, even with the establishment of the Empire, there is no evidence of social victory for the publicani and equites.

Independent farmers were, as is well known, rapidly losing ground. They were sinking, and to that extent there was social class descent. Their position, in comparison to other groups, was falling. This, of course, was a special kind of social class mobility.

Slaves and the Roman proletariat. There were many kinds of slaves, as has been shown. Tiro was Cicero's chief secretary. "His literary powers fitted him to help Cicero in his writings" 47 Some slaves were tied by chains, some were house servants, some were teachers and physicians.

There was much social class mobility among freedmen, if one views the matter superficially. Actually most of these ascending persons were only regaining in Rome something of the position and status which they had had in Greece. The period of frequent "rising freedmen" came during the first century AD. and will be discussed in that connection.

The artisans in the cities experienced irregular employment and much unemployment. They lacked education, adequate housing and home training; even a private place to lounge was not theirs. 48 The plebs were by the conditions of life virtually cut off from a chance to rise. Household slaves were frequently in better positions, socially and economically.

Were these the plebeians? The people who, three centuries earlier, had achieved equality with the patricians? Truly, these were the great body of plebs who had become the proletariat of Rome. In six hundred years their position had not improved in the least. And not for another three hundred years were they to be given work and the dignity of inherited and apprenticed occupations. As usual in the ancient world, their mobility was never great. Like the toilers on the land they fluctuated between "B" to "C" on the social scale. To them the vote was given; it was taken away. Their class position was little affected either way.

46. Frank, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

47. Cook, *et al*, *op. cit.*, vol. IX, p. 788.

48. W. Warde Fowler, *Social Life at Rome* (New York, 1909) p. 29.

CHAPTER VI

CLASS RIGIDITIES IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Did the Roman Empire differ in its class rigidities and structure from the Republic? What happened to the social classes during the brutal reigns of the first century? During the centuries of rapid decline? Did Roman life lose its aristocratic tenor? Under the Emperors, did men rise from the bottom to the top?

The purpose of this chapter is to answer these and similar questions, to outline the main aspects of social class trends, and to correct some of the errors found in sociological interpretations of this era. The need for such correction is indicated, for instance, in the following statement quoted by Sorokin: 1

. . . as to the patricians, to the time of Caesar, there were only about fifteen patrician families surviving; all others were extinct. Even the equestrian and noble families that climbed at the time of Caesar and Augustus were extinct at the time of Claudius.

The Cambridge Ancient History, however, states that by the time of Vespasian "the number of patrician families had shrunk considerably . . ." 2 From the time of Caesar to that of Vespasian was a span of 125 years.

Proscription and death. There can be no doubt that the upper classes in the city of Rome declined sharply through proscription and death during the civil wars and the four Claudian reigns. Although three hundred optimates and two thousand equites had fallen in the cruel proscription of the second triumvirate, and for long periods executions continued daily; nevertheless the aristocratic elements did not lose their hold on Roman society. Although very few of the "most ancient patrician families" were left by the time of Claudius, 3 the fresh elements introduced by him and by Vespasian were not notably from among the business groups of the capital or from among the ex-slaves! Aristocrats were brought from Gaul and other outlying districts. Social class mobility was forestalled, so far as the highest classes were concerned. "Vespasian found it necessary to recruit the ranks of the aristocracy from Italy and the provinces." 4

Social mobility (in the sense of rising in social status by effort, intelligence, and enterprise into the higher and highest classes) was not characteristic of the first century, in spite of the many repeatedly empty seats in the senate. Sometimes, it is true, personal friends of the emperor, insiders, pimps of the imperial household, connivers, schemers, flatterers, did receive temporary recognition. Even some freedmen, like Pallas, were known throughout the Empire for their wealth and high favor, but these persons did not establish a new ruling class. At the end of the century an enlightened emperor, following the practice of rulers since Sulla, found recruits for high dignitaries among ancient families. The family life and procreative habits of the land owning aristocrats provided a stable upper class for centuries to come, even after the invasions.

In spite of the proscriptions and confiscation that characterized many of the actions of several of the early emperors, it would be incorrect to think that these dictators were enemies of the aristocratic way of life and of all aristocrats. On the contrary, they subsidized many noble families (an aristocratic practice to be repeated during the last reigns of the French kings before the revolution). Augustus "found it politic to subsidize many great families. The same policy had been continued by Tiberius, Nero, and Vespasian." 5 Augustus was especially solicitous of the welfare of the aristocrats. He purged the senate of those who had brought shame upon its name and appointed worthy new members to the highest group of the aristocracy, the patricians, so that their influence might not die out. 6

1. Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Nobility* (New York, 1927) p. 357.

2. S. A. Cook, et al., editors, *The Imperial Peace, AD. 70 - 192*, vol. IX of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, 1936) p. 10.

3. Samuel Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (London, 1925) pp. 70 - 71.

4. *Loc. cit.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

6. Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. I (Modern Library edition, New York, 1932) pp. 53 - 54.

Regarding this period, however, Sorokin makes the following generalization, intimating much social class mobility: 7

. . . . after the end of the Republic, the upper classes began to be filled by climbers from still lower strata -- the freemen, slaves and barbarians. In this way, "the shovel of social selection" dug deeper and deeper until it reached the very bottom of the social pyramid.

The validity of this statement becomes more uncertain the more one reads the carefully documented histories of the period.

The new aristocracy and the rôle of wealth. It is said of Vespasian, who was chiefly instrumental in setting up the aristocracy which was to characterize the Empire as the patricians and optimates had characterized the Republic, that he was "prudent" and given to making sound choices in selecting the provincials. 8 Münzer notes that in this new nobility were many famous family lines of republican Rome. 9 These new senators (not new men), with the titles of *illustris* and *spectabiles*, were patrons of the new satellite cities and otherwise were usually agricultural magnates. Both their property and their positions of honor were hereditary through the centuries. 10

It is possible, even probable, that among this new aristocracy, established after more than a century of purging, based largely on the strongest surviving aristocratic families of the Empire, there were at least some representatives of the new equite group. But the social classes were not diffused. There was a high class, practically the same as before, except for losses due to purges and the inclusion in the senate of provincial aristocrats. Wealth, in general, however, was not strong enough to crash the top circles, even in this period of their greatest weakness and reorganization. Dill reports that after the local aristocracy of curial rank, came, in order of social precedence, members of the knightly [equestrian] class and the order of Augustales." 11 The last mentioned were a special group of rich men who were denied the honors of higher social class. The order of precedence was, then, such as before: aristocrats, capitalists and financiers, and new middle class elements made up largely of rich Greeks. Wealthy freedmen received a decoration of dubious social prestige value, the order of Augustales. 12 Trimalchic was the classic example.

But the equites, in those days of peace and prosperity, could not ordinarily expect to ascend the social ladder. They are referred to as a part of the middle class, along with the descendants of the old citizen farmers and soldiers. It was they who had to share "a large number of freedmen" the trade and industry of the far flung Empire. 13 Whenever the leaders of industry did found a senatorial house, they closed the door as soon as they entered, for their descendants were to be found, four and five centuries later, expressing contempt for manual industry and tracing themselves back to "Scipio or even to Aeneas or Agamemnon." 14

It was not at the end of the third century AD. but at the end of the first that Rome set her social class structure in order, so far as the upper classes were concerned. If the equites remained in the middle class, as the Cambridge Ancient History states, and if the new aristocracy became frozen for centuries to come, as Fahlbeck and Dill describe, then it is correct to refer to Rome as aristocratic and rigid in social class from her inception to her end. The following statement by Sorokin, then, would appear to be somewhat exaggerated:

It is possible to say, with a reasonable degree of certainty, that the period from the last century of the Republic to that of the third century AD. was in general a period of intensive mobility.

7. Sorokin, *op. cit.*, p. 497.

8. Cook, et al., *op. cit.*, p. 10.

9. Friedrich Münzer, *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien* (Stuttgart, 1920) p. 375.

10. Pontus E. Fahlbeck, *Die Klassen und die Gesellschaft* (Jena, 1922) p. 330.

11. Dill, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

13. Cook, et al., *op. cit.*, vol. XI, p. 761.

14. Dill, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

The only periods of social confusion, then, were two decades in the center of each of the two centuries, one the first century BC. and the other the first century AD. In the confusion which accompanied the establishment of the empire, the upper classes in Rome were themselves numerous enough to fill the gaps caused by death and proscription. In the dark days of Caligula (who appointed a horse to the senate) and Nero, ascent on the social scale (in the social whirl) did not establish a new social class. Sporadic rises, themselves exceptions, were characterized by their temporary nature. The actual ruling classes of Roman society either retained status or disappeared to give way to their aristocratic cousins from or in the provinces.

The plebs of the early Empire. During the period of imperial prosperity the artisans were occupied, entertainment was furnished, bread was free, misery was not widespread, the treasury was not bankrupt, the plebs lounged in the Forum by day and slept in insulae by night. There was little to report about them. Little was reported.

Only in the collegia does one see what was happening to the social relationships on this lower level of society. Here the same feeling for rank and tendency toward gradation that characterized the upper classes was noticeable. Dill states: 15

We have drawn attention . . . to the strict gradation of social rank in the city polity. The same characteristic is repeated in the collegiate organization. In these humble plebeian coteries, composed of "men without a grandfather," perhaps, whose father was a slave, or of men who were slaves themselves, there emerges, to our astonishment, a punctilious observant of shadowy distinctions, which is an inheritance from the exclusive aristocratic pride of the old republic.

These collegia elected patrons from among the middle classes, and sometimes from among the public officials of the Empire. The humbler colleges had to be content with rich freedmen. But in fraternizing with the plebs, the patron did not lose his dignity. He sat in pomp, ate the best food, and was wrapped in self-importance.

Slaves and ex-slaves in the early Empire. The influence of slaves and freedmen upon the social class structure and the extent to which they shifted their social position by gaining admission into the classes of free citizens are difficult to estimate for this early period of the Empire. Two neglected facts, however, should be emphasized at the outset: (1) some slaves carried in their persons the culture, education, training, and attitudes of the middle and upper classes of Greece and Asia Minor; (2) many successful Greeks did not spring from slavery. These latter often descended from free Greeks who had been both enterprising and successful in the Hellenic world and dominated and controlled large portions of Roman business. The "disappearance" of true Romans, the alienation of the free Roman population, which went on at a rapid rate during the first century A.D., was not altogether a result of manumission. Much immigration facilitated the foreignization of Italy.

Many slaves were the managers of their owners' enterprises; some even reached their hands into the imperial treasury, which was the emperor's household fund. What they did as slaves, they repeated two-fold as freedmen.

If the freedmen were to have had an effect upon the upper classes, this was surely greatly hampered and checkmated by the introduction of provincial aristocrats into senatorial ranks. Such as Rome's was of filling the voids at the top, left by lines which had died out or had been murdered.

The replenishing of the ranks of the aristocracy from far-flung cities and districts may have been a slap in the face of some of the novi homines who had humiliated the senate by carrying on intrigues within the palace. Certain it is that the new aristocracy was not recruited even from these successful freedmen, although some of them were so well versed in philosophy, rhetoric, and languages as to consider even the cultivated Romans beneath them. Still they could not officially rise; Rome was committed to social class exclusiveness.

Although some very high imperial offices were held by freedmen until the time of Hadrian, they were "very exceptional cases. In the bureaus of finance, it has been discovered from the inscriptions that the officials were all of equestrian rank." 16

15. Ibid., p. 270.

16. Ibid., p. 116.

A Pallas or a Narcissus was in the almost equivalent position of a "Fatty" Arbuckle: rich, praised, popular, but of no significant influence upon the social class system in this or the next generation. The inability of the "merely rich" to become socially important is illustrated by Petronius. He quotes a guest at the table of Trimalchic as saying: 17

That one [a friend of Trimalchic] you see lying at the bottom of the end of the sofa has eight hundred thousand. He is quite a nobody.

Trimalchic, in dictating his will, ordered a sundial constructed with his name on it, "so that anyone who looks at the time will have to read whether he likes it or not." 18 Concerning many of these exceptionally rich persons, frequently freedmen, Dill writes that "they will 'pick a farthing from a dung-heap with their teeth' . . . They were not, indeed, encumbered with dignity or self-respect." 19 Are these people Sorokin refers to, when stating that the shovel of social selection was digging the upper classes from the bottom of the social pyramid? Could Roman society elevate these people to replace diminishing patrician lines? Actually, Rome did not. She did not even elevate the most competent and cultured Greeks who had taught her sons but had been her slaves.

The disintegration of Roman civilization. Slaves and freedmen, the whole mass of them, were destined to be a factor in the underlying changes that the whole Roman civilization was to undergo. They unwittingly contributed to the downfall of the Western Empire and indirectly to the reestablishment of the social system of serfdom and agrarianism. The other major factor in the disintegration of the Roman civilization was the program of rapid city-building. These two phases, both of which affected the social classes greatly, will be taken up in this order: (1) the decline of the population, particularly of slaves, and (2) the disorganization caused by the rapid expansion of cities.

Augustus declared peace upon the world; captives ceased to pour in. The working population, then, began to decline rapidly in numbers. 20 In declining, the agricultural slave finally achieved a bargaining position (without a class struggle) which led to his slight elevation in rights and privileges under a new system of serfdom. Furthermore, declining slave power spelt declining economic productivity throughout the Empire, contributing to the famines and decentralization which started during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

The closing of the period of conquest and the "consequent closing of the importation of fresh slaves, made it necessary to treat the slaves . . . with greater care." 21 The shortage of man power was so obvious that in the middle of the second century many humanitarian reforms were instituted to protect the slave, 22 and as the number of slaves declined, the captives taken in occasional battles were no longer enslaved but were used in agriculture as serfs (*Leibeigene*). 23 The "natural increase of slaves was, of course, very limited . . . Many enterprises had to shut down because of the shortage of labor." 24

In a word, the base of the social pyramid shrank, and the economic power behind the social positions of the upper and middle classes weakened. A great economic burden was placed on the shoulders of the middle classes (the senatorial class was both rich and tax-free), and they were literally crushed under it, 25 as will be shown.

Not only was a drop in the general population, and especially in the number of slaves, destined to disrupt normal life. Perhaps more significant was the exodus from the rural regions into the newly built towns of the Empire. This left great sections of arable land utterly unused, decreasing again the economic surplus but adding to the national outgo of these new jewel cities.

17. Petronius, "The Satyricon," in Roman Literature in Translation, C. Howe and G. A. Harper, editors (New York, 1924, p. 566.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 569.

19. Dill, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

21. Richard Congreve, ed., *The Politics of Aristotle* (London, 1874) p. 497.

22. Gibbon, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 - 36.

23. Fahlbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 319; translation ours.

25. Melvin M. Knight, *Economic History of Europe to the End of the Middle Ages* (Boston, 1926) p. 79.

The crisis in civilization, which developed rapidly after the reign of Aurelius, led directly to the strict social class rules of Diocletian and his successors; a discussion of it is therefore relevant. This crisis was in no small degree caused by the collapse of the economic base upon which the mushroom cities were built.

The order of sequence of pertinent events was: (1) conquest, booty, slaves; (2) peace and prosperity, decline in population, construction of miniature Romes throughout Italy, North Africa, and Asia Minor; (3) economic collapse, after economy, decentralization of economic life in the West which set in with Septimus Severus, burdensome taxes, strict legal class categories, hereditary social class divisions.

Especially during the reign of Hadrian were cities constructed which attempted to equal "the rank and splendor" of their great parent. 26 Cities vied with each other to become the more splendid, and communities and provinces which were by no means rich fell into the spirit of the age and also overbuilt. The proconsul had "sometimes to moderate their emulation." 27 Rich men and aristocratic alike deemed it almost an obligation to contribute what amounted to monuments to their names. Atticus built monumental buildings in his age of splendor equivalent to those constructed by the Rockefellers in this century.

But the funds for maintenance did not suffice. Instead of increasing productivity, many of the cities attracted economic effort from agriculture into sterile channels of pure consumption. Summarized: 28

It was an age of engineers and architects, who turned villages into cities and built cities in the desert, adorned the temples and stately arches and basilicas, and feeding their fountains from the springs of distant hills. The rich were powerful and popular; and never had they to pay so heavily for popularity and power. The cost of civic feasts and games, of forums and temples and theatres, was won by flattery, or extorted by an inexorable force of public opinion from their coffers. The poor were feasted and amused by their social superiors who received a deference and adulation expressed on hundreds of inscriptions. And it must be confessed that these records of ambitious munificence and expectant gratitude do not raise our conception of either the economic or moral condition of the age.

Like a university that has allowed itself to be given more buildings than it can heat and sweep and staff with teachers, the Roman provinces began to feel the pinch of shortages. Funds were not sufficient to keep the new system of feasts and easy consumption "a going concern." The bubble burst. Within a short century after Aurelius took office the disintegration of Roman civilization in the West had gone far beyond repair: starvation, pestilence, war, "had consumed, in a few years, the moiety of the human species." 29 There was a severe shortage of coins, roadways were deserted, cities fell into a hunger slump. The luxury of magnificent cities was "false consumption." Knight states: 30

Many of the showy public works, such as amphitheaters, baths, and palaces, which appeared in imperial times, were constructed primarily to keep otherwise idle labor employed. Like the Egyptian pyramids, they were natural products of the contemporary social order.

Retrenchment and stabilization in the East. From the reign of Marcus Aurelius, when the weakness of the Empire became clear for the first time, to the reign of Diocletian, about one hundred years later, civilization experienced one of its swiftest declines. Upon the different strata of the population the era from about 170 AD. onward had different effects.

The guilds, called *collegia*, which for centuries had either been forbidden or allowed to continue only as friendly societies, became official, strong, and effective instruments of social policy. Special privileges and duties were associated with artisan and trading groups. Each guild had a regulated monopoly, each its assembly, its leader, its brotherhood. 31 The bureaucrats "held together the Byzantine Empire; it was enlightened, industrious and orderly." 32

26. Gibbon, op. cit., p. 32.

27. Ibid., p. 40.

28. Dill, op. cit., p. 4.

29. Gibbon, op. cit., p. 245.

30. Knight, op. cit., p. 66.

31. P. Boissonade, *Le travail dans l'Europe chrétienne au moyen âge (V - XVe siècles)* (Paris, 1921) p. 57.

32. Bede Jarrett, "The Universal Church," in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. I (NY, 1937) p. 63.

The reasons for and the nature of the strict rules introduced by Diocletian are summarized by Mosca: 33

Beginning with Diocletian's time, in order to deal with the grave depression that had fallen upon the empire . . . the state assumed extraordinary powers and exercised extraordinary functions of control. It presumed to discipline the whole economic sphere of life, fixing wages and the prices of crops. In order to assure continuity in what we now call "public services," it prohibited those who were employed in them from leaving their positions and obliged the son to follow the trade his father had followed.

These regulations were introduced only after every effort had been made to keep the Empire solvent by the ordinary means of taxation. The middle classes formerly had been burdened with the costs of municipal upkeep and had been crushed under the load. Some senators had fled the very towns their grandfathers had helped to build and had secluded themselves on large agricultural estates. Now the workers on the land became coloni, and those in the shops were likewise held in positions of dependence. 34 Now business began to return to normal. The social conditions in agriculture improved in that slavery gave way to serfdom; in the cities, except the capital, the workers were provided with more regular work and an end was made of the dole.

About the development of the classes in the Roman world writers have diverse opinions, but from what is well known, the following citation can hardly be called a correct summary of the meaning of these changes: 35

Under the Republic, the individual's position and activities had been largely determined by his own will and efforts. The Empire reduced the population to a number of castes and classes.

Although, as Bede Jarrett and many others have shown, the Western Empire thrived and prospered and kept civilization going. It had nevertheless been referred to as an "intolerable system of caste and servitude." 36 From the point of view of modern ideals the Byzantine Empire seems truly "intolerable," but when compared to the hundred years preceding the adoption of the regulations, the new order of the eastern Mediterranean was a godsend. Civilization made a choice between a kind of bankrupt liberty and security. The choice made proved to be a worthy one. One reads much of artisans at work, 37 little of the urban rubble and municipal feasts for the poor. The middle classes were no longer being wiped out; business men were not fleeing from the honors of their fathers to hide among the proletariat in order to escape imperial responsibilities, as had been so tragic and so common at an earlier period and still took place in the West. 38 There were now numerous bourgeois who "served to maintain a kind of social equilibrium." 39

Social class trends in the West. The development of class lines in the West did not follow the same pattern as in the East. In Italy, as early as the time of Pertinax, many estates lay deserted. 40 In some sections Germans were invited to settle in great colonies in order to fill up the gap left by migration and death. 41 Both of these facts tended to establish serfdom and ease the rigors of slavery.

Four categories of persons came to be serfs: (1) slaves; (2) inquilini, who were either captives or migrant barbarians; (3) coloni, who were originally small lease-holders; and (4) independent peasants, of whom there were still a few. 42

Since the towns were long the bases of the administrative machinery of the Roman Empire, the burden of collecting taxes fell upon them. But in the West the towns were declining in every respect. Senatorial families had been quick to leave them to their fate and to withdraw to the country. 43 These enjoyed many privileges and exemptions, among which "the most important was that which relieved senators from municipal burdens." 44

33. Caetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class*, ed. and rev. by Arthur Livingston (New York, 1939) p. 368.
34. Karl Bucher, *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1922) p. 196.
35. Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
36. Dill, *op. cit.*, p. 254.
37. Edward Masline Hulme, *The Middle Ages* (New York, 1938) p. 162.
38. Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* (London, 1925) p. 253.
39. Boissonade, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
40. Fahlbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 333.
41. Gibbon, *op. cit.*, pp. 313 - 314.
42. Otto Seeck, "Die Schatzordnung Diocletians, " in *Zeitschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Weimar, 1896) vol. IV, pp. 314 - 316.
43. Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1924) p. 275.
44. Dill, *op. cit.*, (38) p. 249.

The senators not only had the prestige of wealth; the more powerful families had also "a practical monopoly of the highest prefectures and offices of the state. They were often descendants of men who had held such offices from time immemorial." 45 While the curiales were burdened to the point of despair and sometimes to the point of flight into serfdom and servitude, 46 the senatorial classes lived in "dignified tranquility and the enjoyment of that cultural society, so stately, and so exclusive, but so charming" 47

The net result was that the senatorial class, itself old at the time of Tiberius, was now entrenched in villas; meanwhile town life and all the classes attached thereto languished. This is one of the few times in human history when the middle classes were completely outwitted by the aristocrats. The new agrarianism strengthened the morale of labor and the dignity of the aristocracy, but it wiped out, temporarily, except in a few towns, the very existences of the trading, financial, and manufacturing classes.

Social mobility evaluated. Proof of relative social immobility during this era is shown in that "the plebeian class, composed of the various corporations of free laborers, artisans . . . could not furnish many recruits to fill the gaps in the curia." 48 Men were being drafted to assume curial responsibilities, but this only encouraged merchants not to keep their wealth in immobile form; trade was drying out; it gave way to peddling. Rostovtzeff bemoans the depression and invasions which "wiped out the flourishing centers of bourgeois life." 49

The limited degree to which upward mobility was possible during the era from the time of Aurelius to the sacking of Rome is shown in the following: 50

The law did not absolutely prohibit a curial from rising to another grade in society, but it made his progress so slow and difficult that escape by legal means was possible to very few. Even when a man had surmounted all barriers, and become an imperial functionary or a senator, his children, born before his elevation, were retained in their original rank, and his property remained liable for the municipal charges of his class. If a man attempted to hasten his rise, or his deliverance, by overlapping some of the stages of duty he was sent back to the original starting point.

Fustel de Coulagne says that a plebeian could become a curial and a curial a senator; but, while saying this, he gives detailed accounts of how the curials deserted their posts and submerged themselves among the plebeians. 51

The net result of social class changes was that the curiales and other middle class elements fell out of sight. No one filled their places. The same is true of small independent farmers and coloni. Slaves became serfs, improving their lot by receiving the dignity of family life and personal freedom, within limits. The senators, long powerful, rose in power and prestige. They became centers of power, each at the head of a small realm. Or they became administrators or leading clerics.

Social class aspects of the invasion. Rome, which had once been foreignized by Greeks and other captives, now experienced the influx, first peaceably, later forcibly, although Roman resistance was not worthy of the name, of many Germans. These latter "settling in masses displace the Roman population, which disappears from the fields." 52 By the time of the break up of the Western Empire only small islands of Roman life were left, largely centered in the senatorial nobility and the clergy. 53

The Germans who came in at first were slaves, then tenant farmers and serfs and soldiers. But by the fifth century the Teutons came in such numbers as to provide their own social class hierarchy. They came, in fact, stratified. Their princes, carls, kings, and nobles generally began to partake of military and political power with the Romans. All the barbarians were not of low class! "Germans" were not a class by the constituents of a group of societies, all of which were stratified into aristocracies (nobility), free commoners, and servile groups. Many became or were "serfs" upon arrival.

45. Ibid., p. 254.

46. Ibid., p. 253.

47. Ibid., p. 254.

48. Ibid., p. 252.

49. M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (New York, 1926)
pp. 411 - 412.

50. Dill, *op. cit.*, (38) pp. 256 - 257.

51 N. D. Fustel de Coulagnes, *Histoire des institutions de l'ancienne France*, vol. II (Paris, 1891)
pp. 184 - 186.

52. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

53. Ibid., p. 479.

What was, then, the effect of the great barbaric invasion upon the social classes of the Romans? Superficially, one might imagine that the leadership would be taken over by the conquerors -- that is the essence of the conquest social class theory. Actually, although there were instances of flight by some members of the upper classes, 54 the Roman class structure held its own with astonishing tenacity. In the light of what happened in the century following the first sacking of Rome, it is altogether probable that St. Jerome's account of its effect upon the superior families of Italy was greatly exaggerated. 55

There were, of course, flight, terror, and murder. The barbarians, unfamiliar with city life, had broken into the cities and towns. But life had to go on. Artisans were called back to their posts. More important still was the fact that during the long reign of Theodoric 56

all the forms of the Roman administration survived Theodoric had done his utmost to conciliate the Catholic clergy and the Italian nobility Romans had retained all the official posts; not one had been given to an Ostrogoth.

It is well known that the towns of northern Italy never died out, nor did they lose their memory of Roman political, judicial, economic, and social life. The bishops, mostly of senatorial family, were Roman for centuries. Ataulf, even before Theodoric, had found that the world could be governed only by Roman laws.⁵⁷

For all this there was reason: Who were the literate? Who was familiar with civilized administration and affairs? Who led the church, which greatly awed the barbarians? Who kept the records? Who impressed the invaders with their nonchalance? With their estates and villas? They were the strong and old families who lived in the reflected glory of the patrician Republic and the senatorial Empire.

Of these things much will be shown in the case of Gaul. Italy was no different. If anything, there was even more continuity of Roman class divisions in Italy than in Gaul, which had to endure a dual invasion, first by the Franks and Burgundians, later by the Northmen.

It can be said without error that although the centralized Empire disintegrated and fell apart in the West, the family lines and the social class structure did not fall apart or disintegrate. Whatever will be said in the next chapter about Gaul will apply well to Italy. The classical theory of social classes (subordination and superordination) formed by the mechanism of conquest will be shown to have little applicability in the case of the barbarian invasions of the Roman Empire. Here the theory of social class continuity holds true.

Conclusion. The theory that Roman social classes are first "closed," then "open," and "closed again" should give way to the interpretation that Roman civilization was aristocratic and socially class conscious from the outset, through the middle years, and at the end. Documented history does not substantiate the theory of Sorokin, Fahlbeck, and Knight that there were alternating periods of intensive mobility and intensive rigidity.

54. Gibbon, *op. cit.*, p. 1125; Dill, *op. cit.*, (38) p. 244.

55. *Ibid.*, (Dill) pp. 307 - 308.

56. Hulme, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 - 154.

57. Edward A. Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest*, vol. V (Oxford, 1876) p. 58.

CHAPTER VII

CONQUEST AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN

GAUL AND EARLY FRANCE

The class structure of the Gallo-Romans either was or was not greatly affected by the Germanic invasions - on this matter there is much diversity of opinion. The purpose of this chapter is to trace the destinies of the different classes as they stood, fought, fled, and ruled their way through the dark centuries from ca. 400 to ca. 900 AD., to determine whether or not there was a displacement of the upper ruling classes by barbarians. (That is the conquest theory of social classes expounded by Gumpłowicz, Sorokin, Ward, Oppenheimer, etc.) The second purpose is to see whether this was an age of great social mobility, as asserted by Sorokin. Here again it will be shown, in so far as the present researcher has been able to determine within the limits of his time: (1) the nature and degree of social class rigidity and (2) the manner in which the prominent sociologists have erroneously interpreted the happenings of this period in regard to social class. The documented record of historians is brought to the attention of the reader.

The problem is immediately posed by the following assertions of Sorokin: 1

The beginning of the Middle Ages in Europe may be regarded generally as a period of the most intensive vertical mobility. Among the Teutons, Franks, and Celtic peoples at the moment, the stratum of the chiefs and leaders was still open to almost anybody who displayed the necessary talent and ability. Systematic invasion by the Goths, Nuns, Lombards, Vandals, and so on, disintegrated social stratification; kept it in a disorderly state; ruined one aristocracy after another; and raised new and newer upstarts and adventurers. In this way the old Roman aristocracy and senatorial families were ruined and disappeared. The bold new adventurers became, and continued to be, the founders of the new dynasties and the new nobility.

If it is found that the era referred to in the foregoing was not one of intensive mobility, that the chieftainships of the Germanic tribes (the Celtic peoples on the continent were Romanized and had no chiefs) were "not open" before the invasions and were still "not open" after it, that the social stratification did not disintegrate and was not in a disorderly state, that the Gallo-Roman and Germanic aristocracies were not ruined one after another, that upstarts were rare, and that the old Roman aristocracy was not ruined but was merged into the new nobility -- if these things are shown, and similar mistakes by other sociologists are corrected, one of the purposes of this chapter will have been fulfilled. Sociological interpretations of history can help to maintain the self-respect of social science only in so far as they are true to the facts of history. Nothing is gained for sociology if it is burdened by false interpretations of data. It is the purpose of this chapter to do some housecleaning.

The Roman aristocracy in Gaul. The aristocratic class of Gaul at the time of the great migrations was very ancient in lineage. In Gaul, under Roman rule, 2

The structure of society in general remained what it had always been; in each city there was an aristocracy of great landlords surrounded by a multitude of clients and small tenants. It was no great change for the rich noble of independent Gaul to become the Gallo-Roman senator, when under Claudius the Senate was thrown open to the provincial citizens of Gallia Comata; and such a senator, living on the income from his estates, and controlling directly or indirectly a mass of peasants and workpeople, was a powerful conservative element of the social system, and later, when the Empire began to break up, was destined to be the most stable element in a crumbling world. He dominated, but he protected.

The social class hierarchy, then, remained firm; it was the political system which underwent great changes during this period. The Roman aristocracy withstood the pressure of disintegration -- it even waxed in power and splendor, as Van Dyke shows in his summary of the late Empire period: 3

The landed aristocracy, which grew wealthy partly through these conditions, came to exercise the functions of magistrates upon their estates which tended to become, as the Empire decayed, small independent semi-political units, economically self-sufficing. In their huge villas the Gallo-Roman nobles lived a luxurious and splendid life.

1. Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York, 1927) p. 149.
2. S. A. Cook, et al., editors, *The Imperial Peace, AD. 70 - 192*, vol. XI of *The Cambridge Ancient History* (New York, 1936) pp. 506 - 507.
3. Paul Van Dyke, *The Story of France* (New York, 1928) p. 36.

Danger from beneath in Gaul. During the period of the invasions themselves, the aristocrats had more to fear from their own kinsmen of the lower classes than from the Germans. Not conquest but internal disorder caused most widespread fear in the upper classes in the century of the fall of Rome. Dill states: 4

The country districts suffered more from brigands than even from German bands on the warpath or from German spies The great noble in his strong house, surrounded by troops of clients and serfs, could protect himself against the attacks of these desperadoes; but the sufferings of the meaner sort may be inferred

With all available documents at his disposal, Dill summarizes as follows: 5

Yet it is probable that the Gallo-Roman nobles had little to fear from any open assault of German forces in regular war. The real danger was from irregular bands or from gangs of brigands, which were as often recruited from the wreck of Roman society as from the invaders. But all the evidence goes to show that the great Roman families suffered little in the invasions either from violence or from confiscation.

This last sentence expresses the exact opposite view of that given by Sorokin, and the difference here is one of documented study as over against deductive reasoning.

Rome, religion, and the bishops. In this age religion did not languish. It maintained, instead, a steady growth. Its power spread; its hold on life increased. And it was Roman to the core. Hulme shows the relation of the church to the Gallo-Roman aristocracy of this era: 6

Still more powerful was the fusing influence of the church. This was due largely to its organization From the pope downward, through the archbishops and bishops, to the parish priests in the remotest districts the papal power extended Civil jurisdiction had passed very largely into the hands of the bishops. Those prelates were chosen almost without exception from the Roman landed nobility.

Because of the language problem, because the church came to be the patron of formal learning, and because of the desire of many aristocrats to flee from the crudities of the barbarians and withdraw into monasteries, the natural tendency was for this powerful social institution, religion, to fall into and remain in the hands of Roman families. The higher offices were taken over by the higher and better educated classes.

Roman society in the Merovingian age. The senatorial families, instead of being ruined and disappearing, during the century of invasion, retained the gains they had made during the first stages of political disintegration. One reads: 7

Meanwhile, ordinary Gallo-Roman life probably went on as it had done for generations before the Visigoths appeared at Toulouse, or the Franks at Cambrai, and Church life was even less disturbed by the great upheaval. We can see or infer that the great landholders and senators, although they may have had to share their estates with a Gothic or Bergundian guest, on the whole maintained their rank and wealth.

The new German governments came but without "taking the place of imperial functionaries." 8 "The aristocrat at those times easily and often became the prince bishop" 9 The German king "in carrying out his new task of administration was obliged to use the trained skill of Roman lawyers and administrators." 10

As if to contradict completely the whole theory of cultural and racial antagonism, a part of the conquest theory of invasion, Dill states: 11

The kingly power, which was the only power in the sixth century, was exerted equally over both races there is hardly a trace of hatred and friction in the social relations of the two races The German kings, even such masterful rulers and Euric or Theodoric, had to rely on Roman advisers in the problems of administration. And we may be sure that Clovis had also to do so Some great Romans in the perilous period of invasion may have retired for safety to strongly fortified castles. But in this time of Clovis and his sons they seem to have taken part in public life, both in Church and State. The great Churchmen, from the

first, were generally of Roman race. And Roman names appear with growing frequency in the great offices of state.

The Germans were far outnumbered by the natives, and instead of the civilized population being conquered by the uncivilized, in the social class sphere there was much to show that (except for purges of German nobles by Clovis) the upper classes in each society held their positions relatively secure, the Romans exerting tremendous influence upon affairs of state, church, and society generally. Roman influence was made even greater by the internal strife among the upper class Germans.

4. Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* (London, 1925) p. 379.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 374 - 375.

6. Edward Maslin Hulme, *The Middle Ages* (New York, 1938) pp. 204 - 205.

7. Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age* (London, 1926) p. 25.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

The German nobility purged. Clovis, instead of letting his royal kinsmen or other Frankish nobles become the French nobility, as he might possibly have done, actually disposed of "all possible rivals of his own race Having killed off his royal kinsmen, he was not likely to spare any Frank noble whose prestige was dangerous." 12

In Chapter III it was shown that the Germanic tribes were formed into a hierarchy of noblemen, freemen, and slaves. This had been true from time immemorial. Although it appears at first glance plausible, it is impossible to maintain that the invaders formed, even in the highest ranks, a solid clique which monopolized all the prestige appertaining to the conquest: the policy of Clovis was to strike terror among the Germanic nobles while leaning upon the docile, amiable, and suave Gallo-German nobles and their brothers, the clergy, for counsel, advice, and assistance. The conquest theory breaks down, therefore, because the conquerors were not united in language, were lacking in self-confidence, were divided in class structure, and were mutually distrustful of each other.

Over against the account of events by Dill one can place the following statement by Westermarck, who states: 13

The descendants of the German conquerors of Gaul were for a thousand years the dominant race in France, and until the fifteenth century all the higher nobility were of Frankish or Burgundian origin.

Dill's account, to be supplemented by others in this chapter to fill out the whole story of the conquest, reads: 14

In the slaughter of the Frank chiefs many others fell, any one, in fact, who was likely to challenge the title of Clovis. Clovis was mild and considerate to his Roman subjects, but ruthless to his Frank rivals and any possible pretenders to the throne. The cynical lament he made, that he was left alone among strangers His dynasty was destined, within a century from his death, to be undermined by a new aristocracy [made up in large and possibly in major part by Gallo-Romans] which it created, or which was evolved by social and official conditions of the age. But the old Teutonic noble class had almost vanished when Clovis had established his power The descendants of the old German families must have been sadly thinned by incessant wars, hardship, and disease.

The former statement, by Westermarck, is the familiar social class theory of conquest; the latter, by Dill, is the record of history.

However, one can judge that those who did remain powerful in public affairs (especially those outside the reach of Clovis, those German leaders in tribes which did not migrate far from their home grounds) were not barbarian adventurers of low status but were, as shown in the biographies of Runcimer, Bertram, and Guntram, "in native rank, the equal or superior of the greatest Roman nobles," as was stated specifically of Runcimer. 15 The age was in no way characterized by any appreciable number of upstarts.

Sorokin, on the contrary, states, although there is scarcely a reference to these things in documented history, that "a great many medieval slaves, brigands, serfs, and men of humble origin, in this way became nobles, masters, princes, dukes, high officials." 16 The same author refers to the "founders of the Merovingians and Carolingians, and their highest nobility," as having risen; whereas the royal blood of Clovis is known to all readers of history, and Fustel de Coulanges goes to great pains to show that the "Carolingians belonged to the Merovingian aristocracy." 17

More proof of social class rigidity. The new nobility, formed during the hundred years of the Merovingians, was made up of educated Romans who took care of legal details, large landholders who had received titles from the central government, which titles became immediately hereditary, and other favored persons who rode with the kings on the hunt and stayed at his side in camp.

12. Ibid., p. 219.

13. Edward Westermarck, *A Short History of Marriage* (New York, 1926) p. 62.

14. Dill, *op. cit.*, (7) p. 217.

15. Ibid., p. 18.

16. Sorokin, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

17. N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, vol. II (Paris, 1891) pp. 123 - 126.

One reads: 18 This new aristocracy was composed of both Frank and Gallo-Roman elements. We have seen how great Roman families rose in the official hierarchy. But a far larger number, living undisturbed on their ancestral estates, still enjoyed the wealth and social consideration of generations before the conquest The Frank kings had after the conquest come into possession of great estates which were previously public land

Land hungry Germans were paid off with deserted and public lands; the Gallo-Romans entered the new nobility as powerful figures in church and state and as entrenched and rich landholders. "Antrustions and courtiers, high officials, along with the possessors of landed wealth, more or less ancient, Roman or Frank, were all forming a new aristocracy." 19

Conquest -- theory and fact. It is proper that the theory of conquest should be discussed here, because the Germanic invasions of western and southern Europe have frequently been used to demonstrate its validity. The theory, in its pure form, reads: 20

. . . warring group exercised conquest over some entire weaker group . . . [the former] would settle down in the territory of the conquered, or in an adjacent territory and live from the proceeds of the labor of the vanquished.

This is supposed to produce, according to North, "a more profound sort of differentiation.." 21

Lester P. Ward states the conquest theory in these words: 22

The slaves of Greece and Rome, the Plebeians of later Rome, the serfs and villains of feudal times, and the laboring and menial classes of all ages have belonged to nobles, lords, and upper classes generally. They represent the conquered races of the world, and had occupied those social positions since long before there was any written history of the countries in which they lived. It is this fact that concealed their true origin for so long and obscured the great ethnic principle that underlies the social classes.

M. Raoul de la Grasserie is quoted, in this connection, as stating that "the serfs and villains of France belonged to the Celtic nation opposed to the Germanic of their lords." 23

Gonnard, a sociologist of note, examined the theory, so popular among the French nobility, that they were of a different race from the roture, and found it wanting. He states: 24

In reality, one is able to affirm that . . . the distinction of classes in France does not correspond at all to a difference of races. In the epoch of the Carolingians . . . Gallo-Romans and Germans were both equally recruited to make up the aristocracy.

Gumplowicz, one of the most vigorous exponents of the race-conquest theory, refers, as does Wundt, to the conquest of England by the Normans and states, or infers, that the new nobility was composed of the conquerors. 25 Later in this chapter it will be shown that this, too, is not historically accurate.

Fahlbeck gives credence to the conquest theory in general and in the particular case at issue: the "establishment of the states in the western Roman world at the time of the migrations of peoples, and later the conquest of England by the Normans." 26

Cooley, under the influence of the conquest theory, altogether ignores the presence of the Gallo-Roman elements. He does, however, concede the existence of higher hereditary status groups among the Germanic tribes, which latter historical fact Sorokin denies. Cooley writes: 27

Thus the conquest of southern Europe by northern tribes led to a period of somewhat confused readjustment, in which men of natural power bettered their status. The classes that emerged were as much the result of competition as derived by inheritance from those of tribal society.

In refuting Ward, Gumpłowicz, Fahlbeck, Sorokin, Wundt, Cooley, Westermarck, and the exponents of the Nordic myth, one need only cite accredited historians; they have gone much more thoroughly into detail.

18. Dill, *op. cit.*, (7) pp. 223 - 224.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 225 - 226.

20. Cecil Clare North, *Social Differentiation* (Chapel Hill, 1926) p. 210.

21. *Loc. cit.*

22. Lester P. Ward, "Social Classes in the Light of Modern Social Theory," in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XIII (March, 1908) p. 620.

23. North, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

24. René Gonnard, "Quelques considérations sur les classes," in *Revue Economique Internationale*, 17th year, vol. II, No. 1 (Paris, April 10, 1925) pp. 69 - 70; translation ours.

25. Ludwig Gumpłowicz, *Der Rassenkampf* (Innsbruck, 1883) p. 208. 26. Pontus E. Fahlbeck, *Die Klassen und die Gesellschaft* (Jena, 1922) p. 47; translation ours.

27. Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York, 1909) pp. 225 - 226.

Dill states clearly: 28

We are accustomed to think of the German kings as wielding an overwhelming power over a crushed and conquered population. But the Roman population far outnumbered the invaders, and the Roman nobility was wealthy, powerful, and above all, bound together by the closest ties of tradition and culture. That the Germans inspired fear is certain; but it is equally certain that they were very sensitive to the good or evil opinions held about them by their Roman neighbors, and especially to the opinion of an exclusive and fastidious caste.

Van Dyke also tells a different story from that of the protagonists of the conquest theory: 29

Under the long rule of the Merovingian kings, there grew up a class of nobles who made the title of count and duke, originally works of service to the king, patents of permanent family rank.

If the new nobility was formed during the Merovingian times, data provided by Dill would make it appear certain that members of the old senatorial class were at that time landowners on a large scale and officials of importance in the state, therefore merging significantly into the new nobility of western Europe.

In choosing his counts and dukes, the king was not limited with regard to race. "Even under the early Merovingians there are more counts with Roman than with Frank names in the history of Gregory of Tours," 30 says Dill, and it has already been shown that with time the number and frequency of Roman names among important officials tended to increase.

The race-conquest theory is predicated on racial antagonism and hatred, but, except for some penalties against plebeian brigands listed in the Salic code, the invaders sought to "create a system of equal rights as between the two races." The Bergundian Code is an authentic record of this effort. 31

Outright denial of race-conquest theory. Dill, who follows the lines of thought developed by Fustel de Coulagne, and who is himself a master scholar of this period of history, gives the lie to the social class theory of conquest, in this instance, in these words: 32

The theory, born of the French Revolution, that the mass of the old Gallic people had been from the first crushed by the arrogance and exactions of the original conquerors, and by the French noblesse who were descended from them, is now seen to be a figment inspired by a political purpose and without any historical foundation . . . There is hardly a sign that the Gallo-Roman population felt themselves impoverished and oppressed.

The sociological theory of conquest does not apply to the invasion of Gaul and the formation of the French social hierarchy. In this instance the theory should be formulated to read: In general new social classes are formed out of the old, especially in the event of a civilized people being conquered by primitives whose very diversity of culture made them dependent upon the language and laws of the civilized society. Roman and Germanic leaders became French noblemen; there was some upstartism among the Franks because of the envy and suspicion of Clovis, but among the Gallo-Romans the old classes retained their positions: serfs were serfs, aristocrats were aristocrats, before and after.

Continuity in the social class structure is not completely demonstrated, but it is strongly inferred, wherever it is shown that there was continuity of Roman influence and dominance during and after the invasions, as, for instance, in the surviving towns.

In Venice, for example, it was found in a study of the "Venetian nobility" that the families which stood at the top 33

. . . looked in part back to the famous family traditions . . . in the ninth century still using the Greek particle meaning "with by-name," a custom seen often in Byzantine . . . we find ourselves in the sphere of aristocratic families (Contareni, Mastalicio, Magistracus, etc.) who in the years after 853 were the leading persons in the history of Venice.

During the period after the migrations the Germans lived for the most part in the country, leaving the towns of southern France and northern Italy to suffer little under the conciliatory Ostrogoths or more barbarous Lombards.

28. Dill, *op. cit.*, (7), p. 378.

29. Van Dyke, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

30. Dill, *op. cit.*, (7), p. 142.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

33. M. Morores, "Der Venezianische Adel," in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, vol. XIX (Stuttgart, 1926) p. 196; translation ours.

"Ravenna remained through all this period an outpost of Byzantine culture." 34

The Italian nobility was characteristically urban, which mean characteristically Roman, and therefore serves not as a proof but as a disproof of the conquest theory.

From what is known of the relations of several Italian towns to the Eastern Europe, from their internal municipal life, from the names of their leading citizens, and from their cultural habits, one can only conclude that conquest had not displaced many effective Roman families, nor did invasion disperse them, nor did they die off for want of offspring. One must conclude that some of the old-line municipal administrators, lawyers, and senators had now turned to trade and to the courts of the Germanic kings as well as remaining, in part, landed aristocrats.

Historical accounts of the serfs (*Le serf est le meme homme que l'ancien esclave*), 35 both Germanic and Roman, typically fail to make any reference to social mobility, to upstartism, to the disintegration of social stratification. There is a sharp difference of emphasis and detail between the facts as presented by accredited historians and the interpretations of events by the conquest theorists of sociology.

Summary. With regard to Gaul and Italy it seems clear that the powerful officials appointed by the kings, although not forming an independent nobility, tended to form an hereditary one. This was true already under the Merovingians. And these officials were made up in considerable part of descendants of Roman senatorial families. The German nobles fought among themselves while the Gallo-Roman aristocrats spoke softly and filled the seats of power in church and state, and on the land. When the time came for seigneurs to make hereditary and permanent their titles and holdings, it was not the "conqueror" who took all, confiscating the holdings and titles of the "conquered." The lists were made up of powerful families, now intermarried. All thought of face seems to have given way to thoughts of class. Although the Merovingian and Carolingian kings thought they were absolute and that they could give and withhold office and perhaps land even at will, one reads nowhere in reputable histories of their failing to have the political sagacity to choose those already well entrenched on the land and in the court. There was nothing new or revolutionary in the events which heralded the formal freezing of the class structure which took place in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries.

Boissonade reviews the trend, showing that the feudal nobles were in large parts descendants of the older aristocracies, in these words: 36

Thus Irish, Gallic, Armorican wchechelpers, pencenedls, cinnidls, machtierns, baires (owners of cows); Anglo-Saxon antrustions, nobiles, proceres, optimates, dukes, and counts; Visigoth and Ibero-Roman nobiliores, gardings, judices, dukes, and counts -- these finally form one and the same class, that of lords (seniores, optimates, proceres, potentes), which replaces that of the Roman senators and the old Germanic and Celtic noblemen.

Boissonade also mentions that persons in close service to the king were sometimes, in spite of their humble birth, elevated to noble rank. Thus one reads also about those fortunate few, the ones personally close to those in power, who sometimes (rarely in terms of all personal servants and infinitely small in terms of personal connection with the king.

Such is the story of social class continuity in an age of conquest and turmoil. From it, one is led to believe that one of the most tenacious of all human institutions is social class.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

It is not the purpose of this dissertation to attack the conquest theory of social class formation in general. However, in the study of the history of social class changes it was noted that sociology has not always kept pace with history in dealing with events in Gallo-Rome. The same may now be recorded with reference to the Norman Conquest.

A glance at the lists of the English peerage reveals that none of the lines reaches back to the time of William the Conqueror. One might, with misgivings, attribute this fact to the dying out of family lines. For instance, it is theoretically possible that many of the descendants and relatives of the descendants of Norman nobles allowed their family lines to die out completely as late as the seventeenth or eighteenth century. If that were true, it could authentically be stated that the Normans succeeded in founding the English nobility, if not of today, then of centuries gone by. In other words, no definite proof of the inability of the Normans to establish a relatively permanent noble class is provided by the following list, taken from Whitakers' Peerage for 1911 although this is strongly inferred, because titles are transferable to distant relatives and do not ordinarily lapse:

The premier Duke of England dates from 1483.

The premier Marquis of England dates from 1532.

The premier earldom of England dates from 1442.

(But since the serfdom of Arundel, now merged into the dukedom of Norfolk, dates from 1152, it might be so honored.)

The premier English Viscount dates from 1550.

The premier English Baron dates from 1246.

34. Hulme, *op. cit.*, pp. 189 - 190.

35. Fustel de Coullagnes, *op. cit.*, vol. IV (Paris, 1889) p. 54.

36. P. Boissonade, *Le travail dans l'Europe chrétienne au moyen age (V - XVe siècles)* (Paris, 1921) p. 104; translation ours.

Before setting out to show the manner in which it can be demonstrated that the Normans did not succeed in establishing a hereditary ruling class, and in holding themselves in exclusive prestige above the conquered population, which is only intimated in the foregoing, it is proper that a statement be made which gives the position of those who believe in the conquest theory.

Sorokin quotes and affirms the clean and bold statement: 37

The Norman Conquest appears to have almost completely supplanted the aristocracy of the Anglo-Saxon race, and to have put the adventurers who accompanied William into the place of those nobles who had ruled the peasantry . . . Anglo-Saxon lords were degraded . . . The dignitaries of the old monarchy were constrained to retire.

Wilhelm Wundt goes even further, seeing in the present day nobility of England the physical and speech characteristics of the Norman conquerors. His statement reads: 38

So verrät noch heute der hohe englische Adel in seinem physischen Eigenschaften und sogar in gewissen dialektischen Eigentümlichkeiten seine Abstammung von den normanischen Eroberern.

Although Wundt did not publish the foregoing until 1917, it can be stated that as early as 1876 a five volume study of the Norman Conquest had been made showing neither physically, culturally, socially, nor politically (in the sense of leadership) was the effect of the conquest traceable in English life a few decades after William I -- much less heute noch.

Westermarck states the conquest theory in standard fashion. He says: 39

Social differentiation may be the result of foreign conquest and subjugation, the conquerors becoming the nobility and the subjugated the commonality or slaves. In England, before the Norman Conquest the aristocracy was Saxon; after it, Norman.

That these statements do not rest upon documented historical facts has been revealed in the painstaking researches of Freeman. From his extensive study one gets a clear view of why the Normans failed to establish a aristocratic ruling class, even though the groundwork for one had been laid by the initial distribution of titles and land. Freeman writes: 40

It is plain that, in all this vast system of confiscation, there was no avowed difference made between Englishmen and foreigners. It was clearly William's object, not only to reward and to punish, but to carry out a politic scheme of putting the greater part of the lands of his new kingdom into the hands of his own countrymen. But no such purpose appears on the face of any legal document. King William punished, by the usual punishment of confiscation of lands, those men, English or French, who rebelled against him. He rewarded in the usual way, by grants of lands, those men, French or English, who did him good service.

In the foregoing it is clear that the conquest was not altogether a matter of robbing Peter to pay Paul. It shows that the political head of the state leaned heavily toward his own kind, but he also had to bear down heavily upon some of his own group, even at the outset of the conquest. This was somewhat after the manner of Glovis. It is also clear that some persons among the conquered were quick to find a way of ingratiating themselves into the favor of the new ruler. Freeman also observes: "Even at the time of the Survey, a large number of Englishmen still held their own lands or the lands of their fathers undisturbed" 41 But when he went to France and returned, he found the lords too independent, so he confiscated again and gave "his" lands to whomever he chose -- mostly Normans, but many English. 42

It was natural that by this time some of the English aristocracy should have reached the court and fallen into the good graces of the sovereign.

After the death of William there followed an era of civil warfare and confusion during which many of the Norman families were utterly annihilated. Instead of living to see their progeny settled in high stations of political and social life, they perished in the throes of plot and counter-plot!

Freeman says of the reign of Stephen (1135 - 54), only a short lifetime after William's time: 43

Even this wretched time had its share in wiping out the distinction between the conquerors and the conquered. In the universal slaying and harrying . . . no distinction was made between Norman and Englishman . . . The anarchy itself thus led men to forget older national enmities . . . and it led them too to join as one people in welcoming the return of order under a prince who was as little Norman as he was English. It is in this reign, if the word reign be not utterly out of place, that we hear the last faint echoes of the time when England was inhabited by men who could be pointedly divided into conquerors and conquered. During this reign we hear for the last time, from a very few and very uncertain voices, the word Norman used to imply a distinct class among the inhabitants of England. In the next reign the distinction is wholly wiped out

With these words, based on a lifetime of research by a well-known historian, the Norman Conquest may be dismissed as in incidental disturbance on the social class scene, a splash in the English sea of conventionality and stable social classes. The havoc of the Norman Conquest was repaired within a century -- so far as the social class system of England was concerned. Wundt, Westermarck, Sorokin, and many other social philosophers of history and hereby respectfully referred to as Freeman. The Normans did not establish the English nobility.

37. Sorokin, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

38. Wilhelm Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, vol. VIII, *Die Gesellschaft*, 2nd part (Leipzig, 1917) p. 105.

39. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

40. Edward A. Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest*, vol. V (Oxford, 1876) p. 32.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 242 - 243; italics not in original.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL CLASS RIGIDITIES IN THE PERIOD FROM FEUDALISM TO INDUSTRIALISM

One interpretation of medieval history is that between the years 600 and 850 AD., or thereabout, one man's chances of becoming a nobleman were almost as good as another's, given equal physical and intellectual powers. Accompanying this interpretation, usually, is the related theory that the exact regulations of feudalism then suddenly put every man and his descendants into a very particular niche or groove from which extrication was impossible, except through the church or in the towns. According to this theory, from the tenth to the seventeenth centuries the social class structure of western Europe remained frozen (except in the towns, "those spots of open opportunity"), in contrast to the preceding and succeeding periods of "great social mobility." Both of these ideas are what Beard might refer to as "schoolbook fictions."

It has already been shown that the age preceding the formal establishment of feudalism was one of unequal opportunity. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the next, or feudal, part of history to determine whether or not there actually was great social mobility in the towns, and to describe what was taking place in the sphere of agriculture. An attempt will be made to confine the discussion to those aspects of medieval history which are relevant to the subject of social mobility and social class continuity. * Studies of the formal setup of the feudal classes abound -- but it is the hope of this one to trace the moving parts of the social class mechanism. This is a study of social class dynamics. There is always some social class mobility -- the question is, how much?

The classes at the outset of feudalism. The early classes of feudalism may be divided as follows:

(1) An aristocracy of large landholders. Some of these aristocrats owned landed properties handed down to them through generations of Gallo-Romans of senatorial rank, now intermarried with Germans. Some were more largely German in descent, offspring of German aristocrats who, after leading armies into western Europe, were granted large tracts of public (old imperial) lands, or parts of Gallo-Roman estates, or the whole of a deserted estate. The third source of recruitment was from among the administrative officers of the court, sometimes Gallo-Romans of senatorial lineage, sometimes Germans, all personal friends of the king and some of humble birth. These offices were rapidly becoming hereditary and soon came to carry with them grants of land. "Hereditary tenure, together with precarious tenure, existed in the time of the Merovingians. It grew continually and became a widely prevalent fact before it was recognized as law." 1 In any case, whatever their background, the seigneurs were now landed aristocrats.

(2) The merchants were at a low ebb of power and prestige, because town life, for the most part, especially in the northern parts of Europe, had not been developed or had given way to rural life. The artisans were, at the beginning, incorporated into the feudal system (much as the artisan blacks in the ante-bellum South were largely included within the slave and plantation system).

(3) The great mass of humanity was composed largely of serfs. Their position was then not greatly different from what it had been when the walls of Rome were first built. Slaves, it is true, persisted plentifully until about the end of the first millenium AD. Indeed, it may be correctly asserted that the first social mobility of significance during the period of feudalism was the general disappearance of slaves in Europe. They attained, largely, the more stable and honorable status of serfs.

It will be noted, not only in this first instance of significant nobility, but also throughout the medieval period, that there was a fermentation going on in agriculture as well as in the towns. The latter had no monopoly upon social opportunity. " . . . the mass of the people, in what is now England, were from the first in a servile condition, and . . . their history, up to the Norman Conquest and beyond, has been one of progressive amelioration." 2

* A certain familiarity with historical details and background is prerequisite to an understanding of this discussion.

1. Edward Maslim Hume, *The Middle Ages* (New York, 1938) p. 320.

2. W. J. Ashley, *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory, Part I* (London, 1913) p. 15.

This latter fact of the early subjection and of the continuous improvement of the lot of the lower classes under agricultural feudalism corresponds to the earlier situation in Italy, where the lot of the latifundian slave was made more dignified, his family life legalized, and his foothold to a secure life made firmer by the rules of tenure adopted by the later Roman emperors.

Agricultural feudalism. The feudalization of public authority by the great landowners began long before the time of the Merovingians. The German kings, instead of introducing feudalization, were actually unable to prevent its growth and spread. 3 As an agricultural system "all the essential features of the manor . . . (with the exception of the lord's jurisdiction) may be reasonably traced to the later Roman law . . ." 4

Agricultural feudalism rested upon the firm base of large estates. Boissonade describes this in these words: 5

The land domination of the lay aristocracy grew through its encroachment upon the public lands, the violence it displayed toward the small landowners, the pressure it exerted upon the heads of state, and through colonization.

Whatever is said of land ownership during this early period is relatively true also of social class position, or the social class ladder was set deep in the earth. Landowners were powerful personages, and powerful personages were landowners. They were one and the same, aristocrats, and hosts to kings. Office holders had become landholders. Business men without land had lost out in the race for place. Churchmen of large-landowning families themselves retained, and others acquired, prestige according to the size of the land tracts they frequently supervised, in connection with their other duties. Serfs were divided into several categories or classes almost exactly according to the amount of land inherited by them. Land policy, therefore, greatly affected the continuity of the social classes and the perpetuation of aristocratic folkways and mores.

Primogeniture, the hallmark of the true aristocratic tradition, was in one section of southern France for a short time forgotten, only to be reinstated for the preservation of large estates and the high nobility. (One thinks of what happened in Poland where primogeniture of title was not customary: the story is told that among seven noblemen in one village there was one dress suit for use on separate visits to the court.) With regard to the situation in southern France, Hulme writes: 6

Many causes brought about sub-infeudation. Great principalities were broken up, especially in the south, by the right of succession, which allowed equality of partition among the heirs. Only rarely in the north, if at all, were territories left to the younger sons. In the south, however, partition upon succession was the rule . . . if the rule had been applied indefinitely the great southern principalities would have disappeared. But they saw the peril, and, as early as the middle of the tenth century, strove to avert it. Marriages were arranged to restore disrupted domains; and the younger sons were made ecclesiastical dignitaries, or territories were given to them of insignificant size.

Thus the "extra" sons of high families found places left for them in the middle ground between the very strong and the very weak. Social circulation was, in a controlled and modified form, from the top downward. Church offices were reserved, political offices were distributed, smaller plots of land found, not for aspiring or capable serfs or servants, but for sons born "almost to glory," the younger sons of high noblemen. This phenomenon will recur again in the case of English and American upper and middle classes. It is a very potent factor, preventing, in part, the rising of persons from below. This is social circulation in reverse, a counter motion that tends to nullify any natural percolation of talent that might be moving or trying to move from beneath upwards.

The full establishment of agricultural feudalism accompanied the political decentralization of the ninth century. It was the invasions of the ninth, not the fifth, century which were decisive in breaking down public authority. Therefore, it may well be argued, the rough and tumble era of civil wars and insolent independence, when barons were strong of arm and ready in battle, came after the social class structure had become stabilized. It can therefore be strongly inferred that the adventurers who played a large part in the internal strife of western Europe at the time of the ninth and tenth century invasions were men of higher class backgrounds, not upstarts, as Sorokin and others have stated.

3. Hulme, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

4. Ashley, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 - 15.

5. P. Boissonade, *Le travail dans l'Europe chrétienne au moyen age, (V - XVe siècles)* (Paris, 1921) p. 103; translation ours.

6. Hulme, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

After making it clear that "les seigneurs n'étaient pas des conquérants: il y avait parmi eux autant du Gaulois que de Germains." 7 Fustel de Coulanges states: 8

It was not the aristocracy which fought against the king, not the German race against the Gallo-Roman It was groups of seigneurs who fought other groups of seigneurs for the acquisition of office, land, or bishopric.

As a part of the story of social class rigidities, the composition and origin of any class must be clearly shown, in order that there will be no doubt as to whether or not the new class rose from the mass. Once the nobility was firmly established, procreation was obviously the key to recruitment. But the factor of origin is crucial because it accounts for the intervening period between the Roman senatorial class and the period of high feudalism. For that reason the following summary is offered. In speaking of the independent, self-controlled, firmly established agricultural nobility, Hulme says: 9

Whence came this insubordinate nobility? It had been formed by the dignitaries of the court, the provincial officials, the heads of the abbeys, the bishops The kingship had created this aristocracy. It had endowed it with lands. It had permitted it to grow powerful without mistrust Their power waxed; that of the king waned A growing part of the population became economically dependent upon the great landowning aristocracy.

Such were, in part, the class aspects of the establishment of agricultural feudalism. The upper classes were truly aristocrats. Middle classes almost immediately began to develop, in that places were made for younger sons by sub-infeudation and by the need of the manors for special officials to manage them. Other changes began immediately, as will be shown.

Shifts and changes among serfs. In the two hundred years between William the Conqueror and the end of the thirteenth century many complexities began to appear in the lower orders of the agricultural feudal system. "Commutation of personal services to money payments began in earnest in northern Europe about 1200. Already many of the better tenants had begun hiring cotters to perform their boon-day or harvest obligations." 10

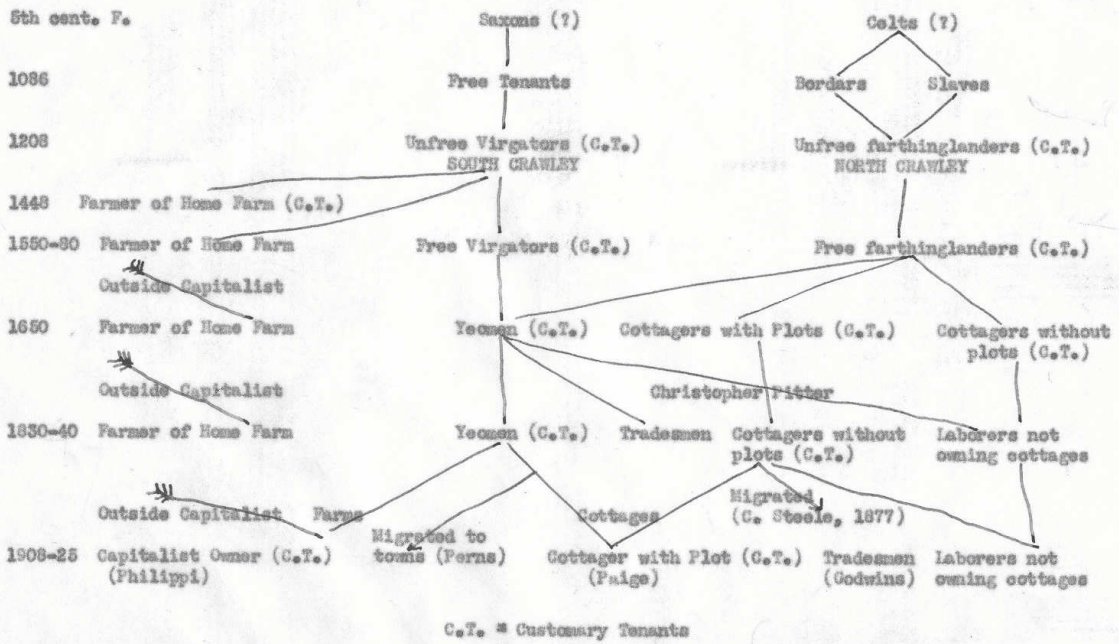
Cotters were land-less and sub-marginal dwellers on the estates. They were hired under the most precarious of conditions, the labor market. How much better serfs were to become economically still stronger as they leaned upon these hired laborers. In Crawley, an English village, it is said that the villeins who started out with advantages became the recipients of "very favorable terms of occupancy in the thirteenth century," 11 while the dwellers in North Crawley always lagged behind, remaining cotters for centuries.

These facts lend still more credence to the principle of social class, namely, that persons or groups with an initial start or advantage tend to rise, if anyone does. To them that have, more is given.

Regarding the many changes taking place among the serfs in the very centuries when feudalism was at its height, Ashley says: 12

When we compare the comparative simplicity of Domesday Book, in which over the greater part of England, villeins, cotters or borders, and slaves make up the whole population, with the elaborate divisions into six, eight, or even ten classes in the customs of the latter part of the thirteenth century, the changes seem bewildering in their complexity and variety.

TABLE SHOWING GENESIS OF CRAWLEY LANDHOLDERS*



* Norman Scott and Ethel Culbert Gras, The Economic and Social History of an English Village (Crawley, Hampshire) A.D. 909-1928 (Cambridge, Mass., 1930) p. 112.

7. N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, vol. VI (Paris, 1892) p. 574.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 592; translation ours.
9. Hulme, *op. cit.*, pp. 248 - 249.
10. Melvin M. Knight, *Economic History of Europe to the End of the Middle Ages* (Boston, 1926) p. 187.
11. Norman Scott and Ethel Culbert Gras, *The Economic and Social History of an English Village* (Crawley, Hampshire) A.D. 909 - 1928 (Cambridge, Mass., 1930) p. 7
12. Ashley, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

Already at this time a class of men had made its appearance who were "dependent wholly or in part on the wages they received for agricultural labor." 13

Following these early changes, subsequent developments took the form of gradual shifts in the same direction. The strong, free yeoman type evolved from the full-fledged villeins. In France the stable peasant type evolved gradually through the centuries, so that at the time of the Revolution the relations of serfs to lords were only remotely similar to what they had been at the time of Charles the Great. Some of the peasants of France had advanced into respectable, middle class rank. (Many of the nobles were by then unable to dress to visit the capital.)

It is not true that agrarian feudalism was a rigid system, in the social class sense. Even economically and in terms of customary rights there was a strong tide of evolution. Those who find the feudal classes "closed" are thinking in terms of personal percolation from one legal class designation into another; but there is another form of social class mobility, the kind represented by the rise in power of the provincial senatorial class at the time of the break up of the Roman Empire and the kind represented by the evolution of the Bavarian type of peasants with their large and independent farms.

The manner in which the agricultural laboring class and the yeoman farmer in England developed from the earlier serfs, and the nature of that differentiation, is shown in the table on page 239. In toto, of course, the chart reveals the limitations on movement during the whole period. Social class mobility certainly was not characteristic of any portion of the history of Crawley, certainly not of the last two hundred years.

In the evolution of social opportunity and human institutions under agricultural feudalism one disruptive movement entered, commercial and industrial capitalism. The sharpest break came in England, causing the development among the agricultural classes there to be more abruptly broken than in France, for instance. The Beards summarize as follows, and from their statement one gets the impression that the new era of commercialism was not one of opportunity for agricultural persons to rise on the social scale: 14

As things turned out, the whole rural economy of England was altered with the disappearance of serfdom. Greedy lords now seized the common lands of villages under acts of Parliament, made by their agents, authorizing them to enclose great areas and extinguish the ancient rights of the peasant . . . city streets were filled with paupers

(This statement pertains to the early enclosures but would be just as applicable to the great enclosures at the end of the eighteenth century, when industrial cities mushroomed and workers' families were huddled together in slums and made to work from dawn to dark.

* * *

Feudalism, then, immediately began to allow for social differentiation. "Once commutation got well started, the medieval tendency toward fixity got hold of it, and it became itself customary." 15 Movement, in a word, becomes a fixed policy. This movement toward more freedom and more rights for the stronger families among the serfs was evident in England (the yeomen), in France (les paysans), in Germany (die Bauern), in Russia (the Kulaks). Some families tended to become displaced and to become hereditary agricultural laborers. Such is, in outline, the social class mobility and immobility of agricultural feudalism. More will be said later about the nobility and the break up of agricultural feudalism.

13. Loc. cit.

14. Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, vol. I (New York, 1927) p. 24.

15. Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

Social classes in the early towns. In order to ascertain who made up the early trading and producing groups in the towns, one must glance back into Roman times.

In Italy, after the Empire, the leading citizens of the towns were not averse to engaging in trade and commerce. There is every reason to believe that those who had the entrepreneurial spirit to develop the industrial and commercial life of early medieval times were persons who were following the trades and activities of their ancestors, or noblemen who had been driven from the land by the country loving Lombards, and who were not content to sit idly by and let opportunity slip away -- they chose to enter commercial life (much as their distant cousins in Gaul, after centuries of pacifist laziness, had taken up the sword and learned to fight). By doing so, they preserved their social class position by finding a new economic base, shared by the commercial experts from Byzantine and the descendants of the old Roman municipal administrators.

It is not one of the customs of the upper classes to quit, to disappear into the proletarian mass, even in times of great change.

Merchants have belonged to all the ages; they have experienced an unbroken line of tradition and behavior, if there was a market place to stand in, from the time of the Phoenicians through the present scramble for sales outlets by radio advertising.

In the age under discussion apprenticeship in commerce was a family matter and early native business men passed their knowledge and their wealth on to their children and established the slowly rising commercial aristocracies.

The groups of traders in Gaul that survived the invasions and kept alive the commercial life were the very groups whose experience and habits had most secure roots in long tradition. "When King Guntram in 585 passed through Orleans . . . he was welcomed by a great crowd, among which the Jews and traders from the East" 16 This can only be interpreted as class continuity, the maintenance of the father's activity by the son, rather than as a racial characteristic. (There were many Jews not engaged in commercial pursuits!) Knight reports that "Syrians and Jews from the Near East were the pioneers in finance in the Italian towns." 17

All the way up through Europe the light which drove out the darkness of the barter world was kindled by trading experience, old and solid. (Once this knowledge got into the hands of natives, who were not subject to limitations and discrimination, they used it rapidly to build up commercial classes, even commercial aristocracies.) "William the Conqueror . . . actually taking Jews to that country in the hope of building up a type of economic life which could be made to yield revenue." 18 The people who introduced commercial life into northern Europe, although some Scandinavians had run ships through Gibraltar, were "pedlars . . . from Byzantium, Syria, and from the cities of southern Europe" 19

The social class implications of the foregoing are shown in the following: 20

In Italy, the towns took the lead. Eventually, a new commercial aristocracy was able to play nobles, clergy, kings and commoners against each other and to seize the real power for itself. This took place in Venice in 976, in Milan slightly later, spreading to Cremona, Sologna, Pavia, and Genoa.

If the commercial classes could crystalize an aristocracy in the 900's, there must have been a carry-over from ancient and honored Greek and Roman families, as was shown to have been the case in Venice. There is every reason to believe that part of the commercial aristocracy in northern Italy was made up of the descendants of the old senatorial nobility and that others were descended from Roman middle classes.

The early guilds. It is entirely possible that in some places certain artisan organizations may have enjoyed continuous existence from Roman times to the twelfth century. 21 It is "even possible that Roman regulations may have served as models for the organization of servile artisans on the lands of monasteries and great nobles -- from which, on the continent, some of the later craft guilds doubtless sprang." 22 But, all things considered, it is likely that only a few organizations in northern and western Europe remained intact

during the centuries of invasion, chiefly because of the decline in town life. In northern Italy, however, there was, as in Byzantium, a hierarchy of commercial and craft groups, "with the financial, commercial, and legal people at the top, followed by the larger-scale industries, and the craftsmen, in the stricter, narrower sense, at the bottom." 23 One reads that "the fraternal aspects of gild life were much the same in Byzantium as in the Italian cities later on." 24

16. Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age* (London, 1926) p. 244.

17. Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

19. Jerome Dowd, *Control in Human Societies* (New York, 1936) p. 47.

20. Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

21. Ashley, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 - 78.

22. *Loc. cit.*

23. Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

24. *Loc. cit.*

Who, then, organized the guilds of Western Europe? (It is not one of the theories advanced by this dissertation that the guilds of western Europe sprang directly from Italian models, although there was much of Roman flavor about every aspect of the medieval system, and much knowledge about economic behavior was diffused from the south to the north.) It is quite probable that the uniformity of northern guilds resulted from discussions with the early merchants who came, definitely, from the Mediterranean, being Greeks, Syrians, Arabs, Jews, Italians. 25 The first members of the craft guilds were "artisans [who] had collected in these embryonic urban communities, and had begun to work for the traders under non-servile conditions Craftsmen in increasing numbers copied the goods which commerce brought in" 26

Such was, in essence, the origin of the craft guilds. How much personal contact with outsiders and suggestions by merchants aided the formation of these organizations is not known. However, it is clear that those people who learned how to work, to organize, to manage, and to administer were trained by experienced masters to do so -- in those centuries when there was no "school of commerce!"

The craft guilds were early monopolized by those who possessed the valuable industrial knowledge referred to above. There was early established a burgher class of aristocratic workers, as will be shown. Particularly true is the idea that the guilds early prevented rather than promoted social class mobility. Particularly doubtful, even erroneous, is the notion that when "the medieval economic system was at its height, entrance into the various craft guilds was restricted by little except the merits of the candidates." This notion is a very persistent schoolbook fiction.

Entrance into guilds open to talent. The idea that the guilds were open to all who could produce a masterpiece which would fulfill objective standards is of great importance to the sociology of social class -- if it be true. If it is a valid idea, one would have to believe that serfs and non-gild townsmen knew of these objective standards and were allowed to compete for them. That they did not, in general, break into the class of master craftsmen would, under this theory of open opportunity, be attributable to their lack of talent, enterprise, or aptitude. The idea that the guilds left competition open infers that the early masters, and even the later and more powerful ones, were not solicitous about the future of their own sons. Both of these ideas are incredible. What were the facts? Who did become apprentices and masters in the early days of the guilds? When and how soon after the start of the guilds did the "freezing up" process set in?

So far as the early guilds were concerned (the ones which may be said to have fathered the guild system as it spread over western and northern Europe) there was no semblance of equal opportunity in their make up. One reads: 27

Since Italy was fast becoming a trading rather than an agricultural country, with its nobility living largely in the towns, large-scale commerce such as importing and exporting was accounted respectable. Even men of noble blood engaged in it Thus the great commercial guilds of the Italian cities were not democratic in any modern sense, any more than were their prototypes at Constantinople or their still more remote antecedents in the older Rome on the Tiber.

. . . The guilds in the great industries were likewise aristocratic

Italian bankers' guilds, serving both commerce and industry, were fully as aristocratic as the ones mentioned above.

25. Ibid., p. 95.

26. Ibid., p. 219.

27. Ibid., pp. 110 - 111.

Among the smaller crafts, it is said, where little capital was involved, the apprentice became the journeyman and the journeyman became master. But who were the apprentices? The sons of the masters? Or could every young man enter into the first step of this ladder that pointed upward? What is to keep the little independents also from having aristocratic notions as to who owned their businesses and who ran them?

Not being regulated, as are present day civil service examinations, the competition for places must have followed the line of personal relationships and connections, which was, then, the social class method. No master was forced to accept apprentice "A" or "B" or any other. No apprentice was sent, after a physical and psychological examination, to Meister Sachs for placement. The masters selected their own apprentices. For this reason, if for no other, the idea of an open struggle at that time (something on the order of the opening of the Cherokee strip), or of an orderly and regulated selective process, like the civil service, is incomprehensible.

There are only two ways in which competition can in any sense be open and fair: either by being controlled from above, as in a track meet, or by being a free-for-all scramble. In the latter case "chance" plays a part, by which is meant that the factors of causation remain concealed, as Fairchild has logically demonstrated. The "struggle" to become an apprentice was neither a struggle nor fair competition. It was a smoothly regulated series of personal relationships, controlled by the customs of social class election.

This latter aspect is emphasized by Geiger, who says that the "strongly exclusive character of the medieval guilds was based not so much upon their nature as productive groups (Schaffensgruppen) as upon the caste spirit which characterized the social life of the Middle Ages altogether." 28

Ashley, whose two-volume study includes one of the most scholarly of all written records about the development of the guilds, says that the thirteenth century marked the rise of the craft guilds. 29 But, by 1321, the London weavers were already accused of misusing the power to demand heavy entrance fees, thereby unduly limiting the number of licensed workmen. Ashley shows that "before the middle of the fourteenth century, there are unmistakable traces of the desire to limit competition by diminishing the influx of newcomers." 30

From the foregoing it can be judged (1) that not many persons lived in the towns and were therefore free and able to set themselves up in a craft business in the thirteenth century; (2) that before there could possibly have been any considerable increase in the number of artisans, the guilds had become bulwarks of protection for insiders. This latter tendency evidenced itself more rapidly in some places than in others, but everywhere (in the Low Countries, certainly in southern Europe centuries earlier, and in England) as soon as a craft became a thing of power and prosperity, ("at its height") it was organized by exclusive groups or cliques.

In 1364 wealthy traders, like the drapers, obtained letters patent "which directly ordained that 'no one should use that mystery unless he had been admitted by the common assent of the same mystery.'" 31 By 1450, all pretense at open opportunity in the English guilds was abandoned and the crafts candidly sought protection from the competition of newcomers. 32

The greatest barrier to the individual outside the "master class" was the penalty imposed upon the newcomer, whereas the family of the master was exempt from restrictive regulations. In 1398, when no one could become a leather-seller who had not been apprenticed in the trade, "they still excepted from this rule a master's own wife and children." 33

Far from being the open sesame to the oppressed fugitive from the manor, the crafts were specifically barred to the poor. Ashley reports: 34

. . . the Act of 1406 -- which was avowedly intended to lessen the influx from agricultural labor to industrial pursuits, -- merely enacts that no persons unable to spend twenty shillings by the year should apprentice their children.

28. Theodor Geiger, *Die Gestaltung der Gesellung* (Karlsruhe, 1928) p. 67; translation ours.

29. Ashley, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

30. *Ibid.*, Part II, pp. 75 - 76.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 77 - 78.

32. *Loc. cit.*

33. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

The Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices listed a number of the more common mysteries which were open only to apprentices whose fathers owned freeholds with clear incomes of forty shillings, except where the apprentices were the sons of a master. 35

Short was the period in which apprentice became journeyman and journeyman master, as school books relate events. By 1381, the journeymen were not "down-trodden or very harshly used, but still [were] conscious that they were never likely to become masters." 36

It is truly naive to attach importance to the notion that when a serf fled to a town he needed to stay but a year in order to become a free man, presumably on his way to becoming a master. The facts read differently; his path was not an easy one. One learns: 37

The important privilege, known as the freedom of the city, was largely restricted to craft guild members, which made membership very important. Anyone not possessing the freedom of the city was liable to be impressed into the navy, thrown into jail for trivial offenses, or subjected to other inconveniences.

Proof of the early differentiation of the crafts into "junior aristocracies" in the Low Countries is shown in a bit of history which played itself out between the years 1302 and 1328: 38

Van Artevelde's new government was based on three economic groups: (1) the "Old Citizens" -- including both the rich guildsmen and other old families; (2) the weavers, a newly organized, powerful middle industrial group; and (3) the lesser guilds. This strongly suggests the social stratification of the Italian towns.

If stratification was pyramided at this early date, when was the system "open"? When the assertion is made that "wealth was beginning to be the criterion of a man's social position, although much deference was still paid to birth . . .," 39 one is constrained to protest that birth was a decisive factor in the business world, almost as decisive as it was in agriculture at that time.

The decline of the craft guilds. The ruin of the craft guilds was a case of gradual substitution. The rich traders, as wholesalers, introduced the domestic system against the protests of the masters and to their bitter misfortune. This explanation of events will be taken up at the end of the section to follow, the part dealing with the growth of capitalism. Here it should be stated, however, that the craft masters did not, as a rule, grow richer, more numerous, more powerful, and did not usher in the era of factory production. Instead, they were left behind, clinging to old regulations and monopolies no longer effective. The power and influence of the merchants outstripped the craftsmen. "The small masters sought to save themselves from hopeless dependence upon the traders or the industrial entrepreneurs . . . They even went to the extent of enlisting powerful persons at court to aid them in their fight against the wholesale handicraft system." 40 Charles I is said to have taken up arms in their behalf; he lost his head; they lost their monopoly. The putting-out system had engulfed them; the industrial system made repairmen of them, in so far as they remained independent.

One thinks of shoemakers, tailors, and furriers. This is another instance of middle class elements being outwitted by those above them.

The development of early capitalism. The social class aspects of early commercial enterprise reveal that there had been a certain definite continuity in lineage. Whoever refers to the rich and powerful business men of the eighteenth century in Europe, known as the upper bourgeoisie or capitalists, as upstarts and as men risen from the ranks or as persons without family background, should be persuaded to re-state his generalizations in the light of the documented history of commerce and business.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

37. *Loc. cit.*

38. Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

39. A. Abram, *English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1913) p. 7.

40. N. S. B. Gras, *Industrial Evolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930) pp. 57 - 58.

But before the business classes of the eighteenth century can be described, it is necessary that the general economic trend be traced from ancient times and that whatever facts about the social classes, social status, and social mobility or social class stability are available be outlined. It has already been indicated (1) that business activity thrived early in Italy, (2) that the business leaders there constituted an aristocratic class, (3) that business enterprise was introduced into northern Europe by persons who knew it as a hereditary occupation. It remains to be shown (1) that the commercial aristocracies, the merchant guilds, were not greatly subject to influx from the outside, and (2) that they became the precursors of the modern business classes. That is to say, the bourgeoisie who superseded the nobility, in part, in western Europe was composed of families of long experience in modern large scale capitalist enterprise. Throughout the period under review, any evidence of established commercial aristocracies would go to substantiate the theory of social class stability, continuity, and rigidity.

Capitalism, meaning a store of wealth "which can be directed into new and more profitable channels as occasion arises," 41 was beginning to emerge at Ravenna as early as the fifth century. 42. The businessmen of the Italian and Hansa towns, and the inter-linking cities of Frankfurt and Strassbourg, are referred to as a "capitalist merchants." 43 The capital fund was first nurtured by the Hansards and Italian merchants." 44 Knight, et al., state explicitly: 45

With the rise of national states, the financial capitalism which had grown up in northern Italy began to look less like that of the ancient world, and to take on an aspect more familiar to us This was nearly two hundred years before the times conventionally spoken of as "modern."

Already it has been shown that there was a definite transference of business acumen from the Roman Empire to medieval Italy and from medieval Italy northward. There is no reason to repeat the details here. The following may serve as a "transfer medium" from Italy to northern Europe: 46

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the chief commercial center was in the cities of Italy, whence the merchants sent out their goods and their agents to the towns and markets of northern Europe For two hundred years the Italian merchants were the masters of European commerce.

In northern Europe commerce was highly organized by the guild merchants, and "there is no more hotly controversial subject in all history than the exact antecedents and earliest activities of the guild merchant." 47 Presumably, they originated in the Low Countries in the ninth century, where the market was separate from the military post and Episcopal city nearby. 48

Social class aspects of commercial enterprise. So far as prestige and status are concerned, it can be stated without fear of contradiction that the merchants were both of earlier origin and stronger than the craftsmen; they became early aristocratic; they were the early capitalists -- as will be shown.

In England, in the second half of the eleventh century the merchant guilds began to appear; during the twelfth century they arose in all the important English towns. "The rise of craft guilds is, roughly speaking, a century later" 49 Royal charters allowed merchant guilds the privilege of monopolizing trade, and even charters granting to the merchants of new towns free trade in England were insufficient to overcome the older rules. 50

In France the class lines, carrying over from the Roman period, were more commonly drawn, or at least more clearly visible, in the early period of new mercantile advance. Van Dyke traces both the economic and social class development: 51

In the twelfth century there began to appear a third class or estate, the burghers or city dwellers. As we have seen this new or third estate became very early divided into two sections, the patricians or haute bourgeoisie and the common urban people, or petite bourgeoisie These men of the wealthier burghers began to enter into royal, or princely, service and found there great opportunities for profit. They bought land and came into social relation with the smaller nobles or country gentry So, by the union of the lower nobles and the higher burghers there arose a class intermediate between the nobility and the third estate out of which was to come the nobility of the robe, as distinguished from the nobility of the sword.

41. Ashley, op. cit., Part I, p. 43.

42. H. M. Robertson, *Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism, A Criticism of Max Weber and His School* (Cambridge, 1933) p. 36. 43. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

44. Russell A. Dixon and E. Kingsman Eberhart, *Economics and Cultural Change* (New York, 1938) p. 354.

45. Melvin M. Knight, et al., *Economic History of Europe in Modern Times* (Boston, 1928) p. 260.

46. Dowd, op. cit., p. 48.

47. Knight, op. cit., p. 206.

48. *Loc. cit.*

49. Ashley, op. cit., Part I, p. 76.

50. *Ibid.*, Part II, p. 44.

51. Paul Van Dyke, *The Story of France* (New York, 1928) p. 223.

The most impressive fact in the foregoing citation is the early date at which this bourgeois aristocracy was formed. The merchants, bankers, and soon the industrialists, gradually established themselves in "chateaux," became aristocrats, reached their bejeweled hands toward the agricultural nobility -- who felt constrained to shake them. This was one of the great sources of supply for recruitment into the French nobility for centuries. It is erroneous to believe that these new nobles were, as a rule, boorish climbers who forced their way into the nobility with newly found gold. They were the haute-bourgeoisie who had separated very early from the common urban people.

The early date at which propertied groups assumed dominant positions (indicating an early separation of the business groups into upper and middle classes) in the Low Countries is shown in the following: 52

At Ypres, from the thirteenth century, one hundred and forty drapers (wholesale dealers in woolens) centralized the control of the woolen industry. They controlled the output of the smaller shops and set up something like the domestic or putting-out system that became general only in modern times.

The early power of the merchants in England, indicating the long evolutionary development of the business classes, is shown in a quotation from Law, out of her book, *The English Nouveaux Riches in the Fourteenth Century*. It reads: 53

How did the insignificant peddling English traders of the eleventh, twelfth, and early thirteenth centuries so suddenly develop into the important political plutocracy of the fourteenth, a plutocracy so powerful that at one time it threatened to furnish the English constitution with a fourth estate, the merchants?

How can families of three hundred years' commercial standing and increased prosperity be called newly rich and plutocratic? And why the designation "insignificant peddling traders?" Ashley has gone into detail to show that the first merchants in England were persons who "held land within the town boundaries . . . burgesses or citizens par excellence, who alone were fully qualified members of the town assembly." 54

The heart of the matter of the social class aspects of the early commercial development is summarized and succinctly stated in the following: 55

Social classes, properly speaking, must be founded at least partially upon the principle of heredity. The old merchant guildsmen had already become a narrow hereditary aristocracy. A son inherited his father's social position with his wealth, just as country aristocratic families handed down their social class with their lands. When large amounts of capital began overflowing into industry, a new industrial aristocracy grew up . . . This had been true of the exporting industries almost from the beginning, and was merely extended as trade increased.

The foregoing summary reveals a clear understanding of social classes and the mechanisms of social class formation and maintenance. There is no loose talk here about "upstart" businessmen, or nouveaux riches, or of persons without family lines and family backgrounds. When, later, it is seen that merchants sent proud sons to America, who put on airs and wore coats-of-arms, one must not imagine that they were imposters. Behind many a draper family were generations of standing and prestige (if not genuinely noble backgrounds, under the principle of "extra" sons).

Fahlbeck places the merchants of the towns above the master craftsmen and divides them into the retailers and wholesalers. "Out of the latter there grew, finally, an aristocracy based on wealth, which gradually became a real nobility, city nobility and patrician family lines . . ." 56

The extent to which the old noble aristocracy took part in the new business ventures in northern Europe has not been mentioned. Of this much was seen, as time went on. To the extent that it took place, there was even less opportunity for the lower classes to share in the new enterprises except as laborers. ". . . the journeyman generally remained in a lower class of permanent wage-laborers." 57 In both Italy and the low countries the nobles had lived in the towns and had been very active in trading ventures. To them business was not a strange thing. Nor will it seem strange to find many noblemen among the commercial adventurers of the Elizabethan and later reigns.

52. Knight, *op. cit.* (9), pp. 220 - 221.

53. Quoted in R. H. Gretton, *The English Middle Class* (London, 1917) p. 43.

54. Ashley, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 73.

55. Knight, *op. cit.* (9), p. 225.

56. Pontus E. Fahlbeck, *Die Klassen und die Gesellschaft* (Jena, 1922) p. 167; translation ours.

57. Knight, *op. cit.* (9), p. 226.

The laboring classes. As early as the middle of the fourteenth century a "labor class" came into existence. 58 The reasons given for this are (1) increase in the population, (2) a larger and more anonymous market, (3) influx of labor from rural districts which followed the gradual relaxation of the bonds of serfdom, and "finally, the sheer selfishness of the masters in limiting their own numbers. But whatever may be the cause, of the fact itself there can be no manner of doubt." 59

Wage workers (and industrialists) were known in parts of France hundreds of years before the establishment of the factory system. The valleys of the Meuse and the Sambre and the provinces of Flanders and Brabant were active in manufacture and export. Knight reports: 60

In these export trades, the distinction between employer and laborer was sharp . . . the actual workers were day laborers, often owning nothing but the clothes they wore. They lived in hovels hired by the week, and starved, begged or wandered about in search of work whenever crises or personal misfortunes deprived them of their wages. Their daily grind started and stopped at the sounding of a bell; they drew their pay Saturday nights, and were held in contempt as "blue nails" by the more fortunate classes The one characteristic of the early nineteenth-century factory system at its worst that was wanting in the Low Countries at the close of the Middle Ages was the concentration in large shops.

Gonnard, surveying these trends, says that as "early as the sixteenth century . . . a new aristocracy arises, an aristocracy of the merchants, industrialists, and bankers. Beneath them, the working class" 61

Later, there was introduced the famous domestic or putting-out system that, along with the still later introduction of the factory method, was a powerful blow in the face of labor. Through these new technical arrangements the worker was not only prevented from rising, a condition to which he was relatively well adjusted, but he was made insecure, often uprooted, and utterly neglected. To imagine that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were eras of opportunities for the workers is to be in double error. It is to interchange the minus and the plus signs.

Concerning this period when the middle and upper middle classes were becoming rapidly wealthier, Sorokin quotes the old notion that "the path by which they rose to eminence was open to any man in the kingdom," which has a hollow ring, when one sees what was actually happening to the masses of humanity during this period. In contrast to Sorokin's oblique reference to great social mobility, Carman states: 62

We have already noted that the English working man did not share the hard-won victories gained by the English middle class during the seventeenth century. His status remained unaltered or because of changing economic conditions became even worse . . . and his children at an early age were forced to toil that they might contribute their bit to the meager support of the household. He was always face to face with starvation and beggary, and struggle and economize as he might he was unable to save anything for sickness or old age.

The artisans of this period, descendant from those who had long practiced the ancient crafts, were not generally sharing in the opportunities offered by the age; they were, in fact, slipping. See states: 63

We find a small minority of artisans tending to rise above their class, but the great majority were losing their independence more and more Thus an aristocracy of merchants held the proletarian workmen under their thumb. This was the result of an unfortunate development. The merchants, who often had considerable capital at their disposal, reached a point where they dictated to the workmen, who had no ready cash.

. . . The abbot Berthelon declared: "Invariably the master-workman rises before dawn and continues his work until well into the night, in order by long hours to make up the inadequate compensation."

The same author, an outstanding authority on the eighteenth century, states also that, in France, "in the eighteenth century . . . it was impossible for the majority of journeymen to rise above their station . . . they were doomed to remain journeymen all their lives." 64

58. Ashley, *op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 101 - 102.

59. *Loc. cit.*

60. Knight, *op. cit.* (9) p. 231.

61. René Gonnard, "Quelques considérations sur les classes," in the *Revue Economique Internationale*, 17th year, vol. II, No. I, April 10, 1925, p. 80; translation ours.

62. Harry J. Carman, *Social and Economic History of the United States*, vol. I (Boston, 1930) p. 85.

63. Henri See, *The Economic and Social Conditions in France in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1931) pp. 177 - 178; italics ours.

64. *Loc. cit.*

The bourgeois classes. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries business activity, stimulated by conquest and speculation, increased in quantity and intensity. Who were these commercial men who led the moneymaking cliques? Dixon and Eberhart assert: 65

The ranks of the bourgeoisie were fed from two sources. The abler nobility adopted the new business techniques and became functioning members of the new class while their less amenable brothers sank into bankruptcy or became members of the proletariat. But by far the larger number of recruits came from below rather than above. As trade grew and market opportunities increased, thousands of wage-paid employees acquired the basis of bourgeois power by means of thrift and saving.

Dixon and Eberhart overlook, here, the old and well-established commercial aristocracies described above. Furthermore, the thought that large numbers of the nobility became members of the proletariat "ignores the fact that noblemen had too much education and polish, too many connections, too many chances to "marry wealth," to allow themselves to drop into the laboring masses. Even the landed aristocrats in France who remained in agriculture and became slowly impoverished were still noblemen.

The other thought that thousands of wage-paid employees saves their pennies and "acquired the basis of bourgeois power" -- as the greater source of recruits for the capitalist classes -- is a common one, typical of the propaganda that under capitalism there is opportunity for all. In all this, where were the old masters? They were, as has been shown, unable to protect themselves after the democratic system got under way. How then, are the wage-paid employees, living in insecurity as has been shown, to "acquire the basis of bourgeois power"? Is this not another "schoolbook" fiction?

Similarly, Kimball Young's assertion, that "an enterprising artisan or master workman might by increasing his business gradually rise to wealth and shift from lower to high social status," fails to take note of the well-known facts (1) that no artisan could engage in independent enterprise unless he were a master, and (2) that no one master in the guild could increase his business gradually over others in the same guild.

Who, then, were the forebears of the eighteenth century capitalists? Certainly many were noblemen or descendants of the nobility and gentry, for commerce was the natural field of endeavor for fourth sons. And, following See, Carman, Knight, Ashley, and others, there was much evidence of social class continuity. Business men descended from commercial aristocracies. (In view of the need of the wage workers to exploit their children in order to meet the expenses of living, there is little room for belief in the theory that many of the bourgeoisie were recruited from the lowest order of society by the route of saved coppers!)

North summarizes the development of the capitalist entrepreneur in these words: 66

The first use of capital, as we know it, was in trade, and the first group to be pushed upward to power by it was the merchant The manufacturers, who from the seventeenth century on have shared with the traders the control of capital, sprang from the trading classes. The capital of the merchants became available for the marvelous expansion of industry

According to Knight, et al., 67 the cradle of modern capitalism was the trading town.

Carman sees the antecedents of the English captains of industry and commerce in the middle classes of earlier centuries. He states: 68

. . . small landholders, merchants, manufacturers, money lenders, and shop-keepers. This class, which even under the early Tudors began to displace the old feudal nobility in the councils of the state, increased greatly in wealth, numbers, and power during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries It was this class, as we shall presently see, which furnished most of the leaders and managers, nearly all the capital, and many of the pioneers for the founding of England's overseas domains.

See summarizes in these words: 69

Capitalism, in its commercial form at least, developed remarkably in the eighteenth century and began to exercise an influence upon industry. The class of merchants and factory directors became ever more important. In many cases they succeeded in getting "control" of rural industry, thus opening the way to great capitalist industry. In the urban trades of the textile industry . . . the master-merchants brought the master-workmen under their domination, making mere wage earners of them. Thus this essentially capitalist class of merchants became stronger and stronger This class was to be the parent of the great industrial magnates of the nineteenth century.

65. Dixon and Eberhart, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

66. Cecil Clare North, *Social Differentiation* (Chapel Hill, 1926) pp. 221 - 222.

67. Knight, et al., *op. cit.*, p. 339.

68. Carman, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

69. See, *op. cit.*, pp. 230 - 231; italics not in original.

The nobility and descendants of noblemen during the age of commercial expansion. It is the contention here that the business classes of the eighteenth century stemmed from those of former centuries, after the fashion of the Buddenbrooks. However, there were newcomers, and it is probable that among the effective elements in business were many who came from noble stock.

The competition offered by the younger sons of nobles is well portrayed by Wertenbaker, who writes: 70

Some writers have pointed to the number of families in Virginia that were entitled to the use of coats-of-arms as convincing proof that the aristocracy of the colony was founded by men of high social rank. It is true that in numerous instances Virginians had the right to coats-of-arms, but this does not prove that their blood was noble, for in most cases these emblems of gentility came to them through ancestors that were mercantile in occupation and instinct. During the 17th century the trades were in high repute in England, and to them resorted many younger sons of the gentry. These youths, excluded from a share in the paternal estate by the laws of primogeniture, were forced either into the professions or the trades. It was the custom for the country gentleman to leave his eldest son the whole of his landed estates . . . the fourth [son] was sent to London to learn the art of weaving, of watch making or the like. It was the educating of the youngest sons in the trades that gave rise to the close connection between the commercial classes in England and the gentry. Great numbers of merchants in the trading cities were related to the country squire or even to the nobleman.

The landed nobility not only began early to intermarry with the commercial aristocracy -- they also began early to enter business activities themselves. Abram writes: 71

Perhaps this lack of ready money was one of the reasons why nobles were willing to marry the daughters of rich merchants. Some of them replenished their purses by engaging in trade. Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland (1422 - 4), the Marquis of Suffolk (1445 - 6) . . . and even members of the royal family were amongst those who received licenses to export wool.

The extent to which the nobility was eager to take part in business ventures is written large in the history of the American colonies. In his great work, *The Colonial Period of American History*, Andrews 72 uses eighteen pages to describe the ventures of the following, among others: Sirs: Georges, Lenox, Arundel, Surrey, Calvert, Eyles, Montgomery, Heath; Lord Stafford; the Duke of Montague; John Percival, second Earl of Egmont; and Lord Fairfax.

It is clear that the English nobility did not disdain commercial pursuits, nor did the French disdain holding mercantile monopolies, in contrast to the manner of Roman aristocrats. They followed instead, the lead of the first commercial nations of Europe, Italy and the Low Countries, where the nobility and its half-brother, the commercial aristocracy, were engaged in the new undertakings. In reputable works dealing with this period the nobility, as a rule, is given a prominent place in the commercial activities (notably wherever monopolized) of the nations of Western Europe.

Social class rigidities at the end of the eighteenth century. Much has been written about the social class rigidities of feudalism and of the social class fluidity of capitalism, especially in its earlier stages. One of the great virtues of the laissez-faire economic order was supposed to be the way in which it facilitated the upward percolation of persons of talent from among the lower orders of society. As a part of the propaganda of bourgeois capitalism, textbooks have frequently referred to the aristocrats and nobles as decadent, and much abuse has been heaped upon the feudal order associated with the nobility.

Spengler refers to the "old aristocratic society" as being "fragile and sickly in certain respect . . ." and he philosophizes about the bourgeois era by saying that "a live society renews itself perpetually by precious blood which pours into it from below and from outside." 73 What Spengler does not show, or even investigate for his readers, is how "fresh" and how "new" the blood of the bourgeoisie was. Nor does he show whether it was the noble families which were decadent or the agrarian-mercantile system. What happened to the system was one thing; what happened to the families of the nobility was quite another.

70. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia* (Charlottesville, 1910) pp. 24 - 25.

71. Abram, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 - 17.

72. Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, vol. II (New Haven, 1936) pp. 222 - 240.

73. Oswald Spengler, *The Hour of Decision* (New York, 1934) pp. 90 - 91.

The old order fared much worse than did the nobility. In fact, Spengler refers to the bourgeoisie in the middle of the nineteenth century as having the ambition "to vie with the nobility in its mode of life and if possible to be merged with it." 74 From this it must be inferred that the old blood was standing up fairly well against the "new" competition.

In outline, it must be asked: what was taking place among the nobility, the businessmen, the agriculturalists, and the workers in the new manufactories and in commerce?

Sorokin makes the assertion: 75

At the end of the eighteenth century the aristocracy of the Middle Ages was almost burned out. What remained was exterminated during the wave of revolutions at the end of the eighteenth century. After that time, the upper strata, with very few exceptions, began to be filled by new people; by new rural migrants, and by the offspring of previous rural migrants.

The French Revolution did not exterminate the nobility even in France, and documented history contains few, if any, references to "rural migrants" who made up the upper strata of European societies. Instead, the nobility persisted, and the urban commercial aristocracies, long established, were well situated to enlarge their activities when the hour of increased trade and mass production appeared.

The failure of many writers to note the dates at which things are "old" and "new" has caused great confusion. Old families, now in the nobility, are referred to as "new." The nobility of eighteenth century France was not made up of new families (entrance into the nobility practically ceased one hundred years earlier), nor were the commercial aristocrats of that same period upstarts or "new" even though their emergence into official political control was sudden, in France.. "It is a mistake to believe that at the end of the eighteenth century the nobility and the clergy were the only owning classes in France. The slow process of evolution, which brought into the hands of the bourgeoisie not only movable (personal) property, but also land, began long before 1789." 76 Even among the nobles there was social class rigidity. Schumpeter notes that there were early two classes of noblemen, princes and "blosse ritterlichen Burgherren." Between these two classes there "was not only differences in rank, but also of legal rights, types of life, power, and no connubium." 77

Conclusion. It is obvious that the capitalist era did not burst suddenly upon the world, that it was introduced by business groups of long standing, especially by the merchants. The producing guilds were outflanked by the domestic system and left by the wayside or converted into wage-earners under the factory system.

Which groups, then, rose and which declined? Land-owning burghers had become master merchants and had in very early times entrenched themselves against newcomers. These groups rose from their strong beginnings. The master craftsmen, after an early rise and long stabilization, lost their political protection and their craft monopolies -- they then slowly declined in relative importance. The journeymen, on a lower level, followed the same curve as the master craftsmen. Likewise, the poor nobility suffered a slow decline in status, since they remained, generally, in agriculture and faced the loss of their serfs through commutation. They also had to meet the competition of the rising yeoman class of peasants.

There was more social mobility in agriculture and much less in commercial pursuits during the centuries from the tenth to the eighteenth that schoolbooks have usually acknowledged. The records of carefully documented history have been of value in lining up the theories of social class trends with the realities of the age between the establishment of feudalism and the mass production age of factory production.

The following chapter will be given over to a review of social class trends in the period between Napoleon and the First World War.

74. Loc. cit.

75. Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York, 1927) p. 495.

76. Maxime Kavalewsky, *La France économique et sociale à la veille de la révolution*, vol. I (Paris, 1909) p. 1; translation ours.

77. Joseph Schumpeter, "Die Sozialen Klassen in Ethnischhomogenen Milieu," in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* (Tübingen, 1927) pp. 13 - 14; translation ours.

CHAPTER IX

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND SOCIAL CLASS

Feudalism passed largely out of existence in western Europe before the beginning of the nineteenth century and gave way to a capitalist era, which Simmel characterizes as a system of "Freiheit ohne Gleichheit." 1 Was the epoch of individualism and industrialism, ushered in by the development in England and by the French Revolution, the open sesame for those held in check and kept down by the system of feudal restrictions, regulations, and limitations?

Opinion divided on social class implications of new age. As has been the case regarding every other historical epoch, expert opinion is sharply divided as to the meaning of capitalism for persons of lower social rank. Dawson and Gettys, for instance, state: 2

With the fall of the Bastille in the French Revolution, there fell with it a social order based on privilege and tyranny, and there arose a new social class based on greater equalization of opportunity, the so-called "middle class." . . . there exists today, in most modern societies, a large middle class -- more properly middle classes -- which serves, according to the democratic tradition, as the open sesame for all those of ambition and energy in the lower classes . . .

Later in this dissertation it will be shown that a great barrier exists between the lower and the middle classes, far greater than is presupposed in the above paragraph. Furthermore, there is a sharp division of opinion as to whether or not the industrial era spelt greater equalization of opportunity, as will be shown presently.

Sorokin assures his readers that "the great French Revolution and the period of the Napoleonic Empire, when those 'who had been nothing became everything,' and contrariwise, were again the periods of most intensive vertical social mobility." 3 Elsewhere, however, the same author states that "the social circulation in the seventeenth century was not less than that of the nineteenth century." 4 The seventeenth century, as has been seen, was a period of rigidity. The nobility in France was beginning to restrict the inclusion of commercial aristocrats; the poor in England were suffering because of rising prices and set wages; the master craftsmen were no longer allowing journeymen to rise into their ranks. Could it be that the nineteenth century was similar to the seventeenth not because of greater equalization of opportunity but because of greater inequality? Furthermore, the intimation that those who assumed power and partook in the sales of expropriated lands and in the new commercial ventures had been, formerly, "nobodies" is to pervert the correct interpretation of the economic and social class development in France before the Revolution.

Fahlbeck finds the modern classes, for the first time in the history of civilization, "open." 5 This author intimates more than he says on the surface. The thought that the classes were open leads naturally to the facile conclusion that there was considerable circulation from beneath. One fact that almost necessitates this conclusion is, of course, the common knowledge that among the masses of men there is much talent and ability. Unless held down legally, "surely many of these people would rise."

What difference did the new order of industrialism make in the lives of the peasants, workers, artisans, and small independents? To one author the chance to move to the city was a chance to improve one's lot. (To others it was but descent into misery.) Young, for instance, writes: 6

The old limitations of aristocracy and birth began to break down. Wealth, not birth, was soon to determine social status. Furthermore, the rural classes could no longer be kept in the old framework. Opportunities for working in the cities gave the peasant and the serf a chance to escape the obligations to lord and master.

1. Georg Simmel, *Grundfragen der Soziologie* (Berlin, 1917) p. 89.
2. Carl A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology* (New York, 1929) p. 547.
3. Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York, 1927) p. 151.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
5. Pontus E. Fahlbeck, *Die Klassen und die Gesellschaft* (Jena, 1922) pp. 192 - 193.
6. Kimball Young, *An Introductory Sociology* (New York, 1934) pp. 482 - 483.

The uncritical statement that the cities offered the peasant and serf "a chance to escape" from onerous obligations needs careful scrutiny. In a way, this whole chapter may be considered a denial of that thought. It will be demonstrated with materials assembled, for example, that the historians, with their documentary evidence, are not convinced that the era was one of "opportunity." They are more convinced that it was, in its early decades at least, an age of less for the masses and of more for the upper classes.

North, a sociologist whose knowledge of historical details is evident, and whose conclusions are therefore in line with those of the historians, puts little stock in the theory of social mobility in this era. His emphasis upon social class continuity here is to be contrasted with Sorokin's emphasis upon "most intensive vertical mobility." North quotes Bucher to this effect: 7 As one observes, each step taken by medieval division of labor in industry was conditioned by the possession of wealth. It the same with trade. The trading classes of Middle Ages is derived from the class of urban landowners, who had become . . . possessors of movable capital. It is from this class of stock-holders and tradesmen that the current manufacturing class has sprung since the seventeenth century.

Gretton is of the opinion that the middle class was rising during this period, but that "the lower classes -- the workmen, artisans, and laborers -- were securely enchained." 8 Fahlbeck takes the contrary view, stating: "Freedom and equality are the great characteristics of the open class society, just as bondage and difference (Verschiedenheit) are for feudal society." 9

Opinion divided as to the facts of social class in the new age of industrial capitalism. One confronts in the literature not only differences of opinion with regard to the significance of the new era for the lower classes, with regard to opportunity, but also with regard to the facts themselves.

Statistical evidence of vertical mobility in the cotton industry in England was presented to show that as high as 84 per cent of the managing directors of the factories had started their employment as operatives or at equally low pay. This material was gathered by two researchers and presented at a meeting of the Royal Statistical Society. To their report they add: 10

It is beyond question that in the early days of the factory system, the movement of workpeople, against gravity, so to speak, was common. Indeed, trade depressions were actually attributed to the ease with which workpeople, indifferently supplied with capital, could thrust themselves into the ranks of employers.

These are hard statistical facts (and strongly worded opinions) about mobility in the industrial field. Sorokin includes these data in his book on social mobility at their face value. Mombert, as will be pointed out under that section of this dissertation given over to statistical studies, immediately recognized that something was amiss here and consequently discounted them. The statistical error was a very simple one, and anyone who reads the appended minutes of this discussion by the members of the Royal Society will find it pointed out by one of those present. The questionnaire upon which the figures were based did not specify whether these directors who rose from the ranks began as bona fide workers or as "operatives" who were learning their fathers' or friends' business by starting at the bottom -- much as young financiers frequently learn the practical set up of an office by working as messenger boys, and so forth, for six months or a year.

As for the unique theory about depressions caused by the entrance of so many workpeople into business, the statisticians gave no documentation, and in all the economic and general histories surveyed by this researcher no such thought was brought forward. In fact, the historians paint a different picture of the early factory system, as will be shown.

Other cold statistics have been gathered to indicate enormous swings up and down. According to Roscher, out of eighty-five firms in Stettin in 1739, in 1859 all had disappeared. 11 Engel took for granted that in the whole of France eighty per cent of the employers were formerly workers. 12

7. Cecil Clare North, *Social Differentiation* (Chapel Hill, 1926) p. 224.

8. R. H. Gretton, *The English Middle Class* (London, 1917) p. 158.

9. Fahlbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 227; translation ours.

10. S. J. Chapman and F. J. Marquis, "The Recruiting of the Employing Classes from the Ranks of the Wage-earners in the Cotton Industry," in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, vol. LXXV, (February, 1912) p. 299.

11. As reviewed in: Robert Rene Kuczynski, *Der Zug nach der Stadt* (Stuttgart, 1897) p. 96.

Roscher's figures about firms in Stettin may or may not have a significant bearing upon the social classes of that city. The presumption is that the families that formerly owned these firms had, 120 years later, fallen out of the ranks of firm owner. What is not shown is (1) how many of the descendants were owners of new firms, (2) how many had migrated to America, and (3) how many family lines had died out for want of progeny. Facts about social class descent and ascent are not revealed by reference to lists of company names.

Nor are Engel's statistics concerning the high percentage of all employers who were once workers very enlightening. It may have been that eighty per cent of the employers were small independent craftsmen, all of whom were once apprentices. What is not shown is how many of the larger industrialists started at the bottom.

Historians describe events of the early nineteenth century in such a way as to give a different set of facts upon which to base one's opinion of that era. See, for instance, says: 13

During the nineteenth century the conception of social classes and the consciousness of their existence on the part of individuals became ever more marked The class of influential merchants and great captains of industry acquired higher importance. The gap between employers and employees became more marked.

Such is the verdict of one of the few scholars of great repute ever to devote most of his career to this very epoch.

Binder, who belongs among the pioneer sociologists of this country and whose familiarity with history is well known, makes the following observation: 14

After the industrial revolution had gotten well on its way, men and women begging for work or for alms were besieging the offices and houses of the well-to-do. It is only on this basis that an explanation for the long hours in factories is possible.

If, as everyone knows, this was a period of excessive hours and much child labor, it was perforce not an epoch of opportunity and advantage to any significant number of the working classes. Although it was an age without legal barriers to social mobility, and "although anyone might now rise in the world . . . it was necessary that not every one should rise." 15 Property, experience, connections, education (particularly the last-mentioned item) all worked to hold the masses of men down.

Concerning the new city dwellers, the noted authority on labor, Hoxie, says: 16

Morality degenerated to the lowest possible depths. Poverty, drunkenness and vice held undisputed sway. Thus, within a generation, was the industrial worker of England, from an independent, skilled, tool-owning producer of goods for sale, or a worker in process of becoming such, a country or small town dweller, comfortably housed, fed and clothed, living a life governed by definite customs, based on definite religious, ethical and social concepts, protected by an intricate legal code, reduced to an unskilled wage-worker dependent upon a master to whom he was merely a part in the process of production, ill-paid, ill-housed, ill-fed, deprived of the ordinary conditions and standards of life -- the basis of a new and distinct class in society.

To anyone of middle class background, quite as much as to one of the upper classes, these conditions were already not conducive to "most intensive social mobility," at least not from the base of the social class pyramid, the working masses. It was truer that those "somebodies," the master craftsmen, became "nobodies" than the reverse.

In 1802 the "Health and Morals Act" forbade the apprenticeship of children under nine in the mills and reduced the hours of child labor to twelve per day. 17 Such conditions must have been the basis for the remark by Alexis de Tocqueville, a most observing gentleman, that "the poor have few means of escaping from their condition and becoming rich" 18 This same popular writer states also that "the elements of which the class of the poor is composed are fixed" 19 and that "the manufacturing aristocracy of our age first impoverishes and debases the men who serve it, and then abandons them to be supported by the charity of the public." 20

12. Loc. cit.

13. Henri See, *The Economic and Social Conditions in France in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1931) p. 231.

14. Rudolph M. Binder, *Principles of Sociology* (New York, 1928) p. 45.

15. Gretton, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

16. C. H. Cooley, R. C. Angell, and L. J. Carr, *Introductory Sociology* (New York, 1933) p. 317, adapted from R. F. Hoxie, *Trade Unionism in the United States*.

17. Russell A. Dixon and E. Kingman Eberhart, *Economics and Cultural Change* (New York, 1938) p. 451.

18. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol. II (New York, 1900) p. 170.

19. Loc. cit.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

Dixon and Eberhart, in surveying this period: state: 31

But while colossal new industrial fortunes were being built large urban populations were being subject to a new type of pauperism. In the early days of competition capitalists used all their power to oppress the laborers, driving wages down to the starvation point.

This is a different story from the one mentioned above, wherein it is said that "opportunities for working in the cities gave the peasant and the serf a chance to escape the obligations to lord and master." Knight, et al., are convinced that 22

real misery does not seem to have been very general on the eve of the Industrial Revolution. Conditions were likely to be worse where the workers were land-less . . . What the new machinery did was to increase the amount of dislocation and the movement of population toward the centers where the workers were subject to more discipline and regimentation.

"Escape the obligations" but fall into misery and regimentation?

The handicraftsmen, instead of rising with the tide of production, found themselves displaced by the new techniques. Tobis traces the trend in these words: 23

The new freedom brought, as the handicraftsmen had feared, a rapid expansion of the larger factories had a diminution of the production by craftsmen. Many skilled artisans fell into need and into a difficult economic position; they were compelled to enter the factories as workers

Heath is similarly quoted as saying that "a considerable number of the artisans are driven to an unskilled trade through the pressure of economic forces." 24 Heath's study was based on the occupational census at the end of the nineteenth century, after most of this particular kind of dislocation had taken place. Briefs refers the proletarianization which "has gone on at an increasing rate." 25

The social structure of the age of individualism. It has been characteristic of some writers to presume that because one hierarchical organization (the four estates) gave way to another (the industrial-financial system with its many occupational categories) that these new functions brought "up" with them new personnel, people not only new in the function but also new in the status that it represented. The fact that new class alignments around functions took place is not proof that those families long associated with the older economic system necessarily failed to make the transference and to play an equivalent part in controlling the new organization. Anyone familiar with the roster of leading family names in either France, England, or Germany will recognize how swift they were in adjusting themselves to the new situations.

The social class problem in the nineteenth century is confused (1) by political changes and new franchise privileges, (2) by economic changes in every sphere, (3) by changes in fashions, especially in dress, and (4) by the widespread social and philosophical reverberations of the politico-industrial class struggle. In the franchise sphere and in the realm of fashion, democracy led to a certain amount of egalitarianism. At least it seemed so on the surface. Every man had a vote, and every man could, theoretically, dress according to the fashions of the season. However, by watching the social classes at play and at work, what happened to the nobility, the haute bourgeoisie, the middle classes, and the masses of working men can be seen.

One must, of course, be aware of the tremendous amount of propaganda that has been and still is issued in praise of the age of individualism and capitalism. Except for some churchmen and their spokesmen (and except for the socialist criticisms), it has only recently been openly stated that the industrial system failed to bring opportunity to the people. In fact, there exists a school that preaches loudly the virtues of feudalism as over against the modern age. Nothing is revealed and nothing is proved by the glowing and damning words on each side. A search for the truth involves ignoring propaganda for and against the capitalist system and a conscientious seeking after the facts themselves.

21. Dixon and Eberhart, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

22. Melvin M Knight, et al., *Economic History of Europe in Modern Times* (Boston, 1928) pp. 394 - 395.

23. H. Tobis, *Das Mittelstandproblem der Nachkriegszeit und seine Statistische Erfassung* (Grimmen, 1930) p. 3; translation ours.

24. Quoted in Sorokin, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

25. Goetz A. Briefs, *The Proletariat* (New York, 1937) p. 186.

The following summary of the conditions in which the workers of the new order had to live, itself quite similar to the foregoing data, may be sufficient to conclude this section which had dealt with the fate of the new industrial workers: 26

Profits, not human needs or welfare, decided in what types of towns, in what kinds of streets, and in what sort of houses the workers must make their homes. Cities grew without plan and with little consideration for the wants or needs of human beings Despite the power and wealth that the new technology afforded, the life of the average city dweller sank to a new low during the first half century after Watt developed his practical steam engine. People worked longer hours under more fatiguing and less healthy conditions; they lived in filthy cramped quarters without running water or sewage facilities, and populated the cities with unwanted and uncared-for children who often found surcease more quickly than their parents in paupers' graves.

Lecky summarizes the situation thus: 27

Wealth was immensely increased, but the inequalities of its distribution were aggravated. The contrast between extravagant luxury and abject misery became much more frequent and much more glaring than before. The wealthy employer ceased to live among his people; the quarters of the rich and of the poor became more distant, and every great city soon presented those sharp divisions of classes and districts

Von Wiese says that the coming of the industrial revolution "greatly accelerated this tendency toward stratification in English society The cleft between the classes was widened by the wage system " 28 The period of history, referred to by Dawson and Gettys as one of greater equalization of opportunity and by Sorokin as one of most intense vertical mobility, von Wiese calls by another name.

The middle classes. As has been seen in the instance of the fate of the small independent craftsmen, "the lower middle class was threatened in most fields." 29 (It is a matter of interpretation as to whether the independent handicraftsmen of this period were a part of the lower or middle classes -- it is probably more correct to definitely identify them with the lower middle class.) This great group stood to lose by the coming of mass production.

Similarly when forced sales of land which accompanied the French Revolution were made, it was not the rural proletariat, which owned less than a hectare of land or none at all (constituting in many parts of France a majority of the population) which was able to buy up the national property. See states: 30

Owners of means and farmers on a large scale . . . constituted only a small minority of the rural population. It was especially this class that, at the time of the Revolution, profited by the abolition of the manorial system and the sale of the national property.

Knight, et al., tell the same story: 31

The Government furthermore took steps to destroy large landholdings through confiscation of the lands held by the Crown, the nobility, and the Church After their confiscation a relatively small part of these lands was purchased by the peasant, but a substantial area was absorbed by the middle class, which let out its newly acquired lands to tenant farmers.

There was an increase in opportunity, then, for certain elements in the upper middle class, especially the chance to place all their offspring in positions of respectability. But the rise of the third estate "was of meaning and consequence only because of the fact that the fourth estate existed The third estate could exploit the fourth and raise itself above it." 32

"One must not forget -- and this fact is of great importance -- that the bourgeoisie is the heir of that aristocracy," 33 says Sieyes, meaning the nobility.

The implications of the growth of the new class, the white-collar workers, usually associated with the lower middle class because of their superiority in dress, manners, and social contacts over other workers, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, were tremendous. It is generally believed (1) that they had higher

class status than manual workers, (2) that they were more likely to have a chance to ascend the social scale than had manual workers, and (3) that they were likely to be conservative in political philosophy. All three of these items are probably true. However, the route to social success is narrow and contains many obstacles to deter the climber, even in this non-manual sphere of business. Many a man starts out to be a banker and ends as a dead-end clerk. (The researcher has been told that an executive of a large Fifth Avenue department store made a statistical study showing that out of 857 girls who enter retailing to make a career of merchandizing with the hope of rising to a position of importance -- buyer, for instance -- only one woman reaches the goal. In Europe the competition is even stiffer than in America.)

26. Dixon and Eberhart, *op. cit.*, p. 457.

27. Quoted in Leopold von Wiese, *Systematic Sociology*, translated and adapted by Howard Becker (New York, 1932) p. 639.

28. *Loc. cit.*

29. Fahlbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

30. See, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 and 6.

31. Knight, et al., *op. cit.*, p. 481.

32. Georg Simmel, *Soziologie* (Munich, 1923 edition) p. 164; translation ours.

33. Quoted in P. Coudert, *La bourgeoisie et la question sociale* (Paris, 1914) p. 31; translation ours.

The facts which need to be emphasized about the white collar class (containing, as has been noted, representatives of several of the social classes) are: (1) the way in which salaries are undercut by the open competition for positions, (2) the lack of organization with which to restrict the labor market and help squeeze out part of the profits of capitalism and imperialism, (3) the cost which respectability puts on persons struggling to live up to the level of conventionality, their frequent childlessness, and even the inadequacy of their diet, (4) the false sense of social importance based on contact with persons of socially higher rank, and (5) the tendency for companies to employ presentable young men, which has serious implications for these same young men ten years later.

When Soll und Haben was written the typical clerical worker was, even if in a rut, a part of the "firm's family." That was just after the middle of the last century. "For generations the salaried employees were not only in the middle class but were also well paid . . . economically secure and socially respected." 34 As a consequence of their growth in numbers, and the factors mentioned above, they have been in part practically proletarianized.

In writing of the white collared employees, Geiger, who struggled conscientiously with definitions, says that, these categories (civil servants and salaried employees), taken alone, "are not a class . . . but in our bureaucratically burdened German world, they are almost a caste." 35 (He means here a series of hereditary occupations.)

Another type and kind of middle class member was the yeoman. In England, according to the experience of Crawley as described by Gras, the nineteenth century saw the yeoman type grow gradually during the first half of the century, only to fall into utter helplessness, bankruptcy, and flight before the first World War. Gras describes the downward trend of the solid yeomanry thus: 36

This is the end of the yeomen of the village of Crawley! How are we to explain their going? Locally it is said that the yeoman families died out. That is in a sense true, but in another sense it is not. The families did not die out -- only that part remaining in the village died out. Had the family occupations and estates been prosperous and promising, the families would probably have supplied representatives to continue the business of farming . . . Farmers were obliged, it was said, to mortgage their holdings and were never able to pay off the mortgage. This is at least suggestive of the truth . . . What they could not do was compete with American wheat and Australian wool and mutton. From about 1879 to perhaps 1914 was a trying time for Crawley's agriculture . . . Those Crawley cottagers who had gone to America and to Australia were wreaking vengeance on the yeoman farmers who had taken the holdings of their families.

Thus another trend in the nineteenth century, as in the roaring twenties of this century in the United States, pointed downward for a large section of the middle class -- the independent farmer. A part of the dislocation was caused by the sudden growth of cities, with the corresponding prosperity that drew many sons from the farms into the cities. Only in parts of France and Germany was the temptation to "sell out and go to town" resisted with the tough steel nerves of peasant stubbornness.

The squeezing out of the yeoman stock in Crawley (and "the conditions of Crawley is not peculiar") has serious implications. Gras says that those remaining "lack ambition, vigor, initiative, zest, and promise." 37 Worse yet, he states that "to build up some of the old yeoman qualities would be an even finer evolved feat than building up fertility on a barren upland, "which is a thought worth pondering. Whether one likes it or not, feudalism did produce the yeoman, and the modern age of world trade, in this case, laid him low.

34. Eduard Heimann, "Sozialismus und Mittelstand," Sonderdruck aus Neue Blaetter für den Sozialismus (Berlin, 1932) p. 7; translation ours.

35. Theodor Geiger, Die Soziale Schichtung des Deutschen Volkes (Stuttgart, 1932) p. 98.

36. Norman Scott and Ethel Culbert Gras, The Economic and Social History of an English Village (Crawley, Hampshire) A.D. 909 - 1928 (Cambridge, Mass., 1930) p. 126.

37. Ibid., p. 139.

Of the foregoing types of lower middle class families (white-collar, yeoman, and master craftsman) it can be said that all of them tended to suffer during the nineteenth century, in terms of relative social prestige. There is reason to believe that only in France the lower middle class peasant continued his evolutionary development upwards to sturdy, independent farmer.

The middle class itself (as distinguished from the lower middle class) tended, of course, to prosper with the increase in trade, in civil services, in professional activities, in politics. It shared considerably in the glory which came to the bourgeoisie, now (as before) a part of the upper classes in Western Europe. Its chief happiness came as a result of the fact that the increasing population, increase in town life, and the factors mentioned above gave the middle class a chance to place practically all of the sons in some kind of respectable position. The tightness of the sixteenth century, which caused the gentry in England to put their younger sons into manual jobs, had passed.

The upper classes: nobility and haute bourgeoisie. In France, the nobility, without its special privileges, remained divided as before into cliques or levels of exclusiveness. There were (1) those of royal lineage, (2) those of the old feudal aristocracy, (3) those whose families were raised to the peerage after the sixteenth century, (4) the aristocracy of the different empires, (5) the papal nobility, and (6) notables who could be included in the aristocracy with certain reservations. There were also, of course, the various ranks within these groupings that had precedence over each other.

In the nineteenth century, as before, all the nobility was not in one class; nor would any level of noblemen, except the very highest, fail to be equivalent to that of some persons from among the bourgeoisie. The latter became, of course, notably affluent. They were acquiring wealth at a very rapid rate during the nineteenth century, as is shown in the following: 38

The difference between the old regime and the present vary with the rungs of the social ladder. For instance, they are far less conspicuous in the lower classes whose income, taken as a whole, had only doubled up to 1913; whereas, for the very wealthy, their fortunes had increased six-fold.

One of the places where the mingling of bourgeois and noble persons could be seen was in the officers' corps of the army. Ferré observes the following: 39

The military leadership has always been the function of the elite. Under the old regime it was reserved exclusively to the aristocracy of birth. Even today it draws unto itself a great many of the sons of the nobility. The remainder of the officers come from the bourgeoisie . . . An officer's wife may not have a business, or hold a position, even if it is an honorable profession.

The same blend, and the same monopoly of positions of prestige, characterized not only the French army, but also has been strikingly apparent in the armies of the British and Germans even up to the present.

Just as time and space prevent a discussion of the social classes of eastern Europe and Asia, just so do they prevent a full description of the lavishness (especially in food, which was frequently baked and served in grotesque and highly ornamented designs far in excess of the requirements of the diners), of the manners, the dress, and the outlook of the capitalists of the nineteenth century. The fact that these families were not characteristically upstarts, as they have been caricatured by some writers, has already been indicated at the opening of this chapter.

Conclusion. It is obvious that by the end of the period under review high capitalization and mass production, particularly, were barriers to social mobility and to some extent destroyers of the security of some parts of the lower and middle classes. "Most undertakings are inaccessible to individuals" 40 in a world dominated by corporations, where super-trusts can buy their way into every growing industry.

The century which is famous for the extension of the ballot, for the introduction of universal education (chiefly elementary, industrial, and military), and for the "freeing of men from the bondage of feudalism and the limitations on trade and occupation" -- this century can be said to have benefited the upper and middle classes of western Europe more than it did the lower middle and the lowest classes.

It is probable that the great convulsions of the last three decades have uprooted more classes and opened more new gates to more of the masses than did a century and a half of fresh and arrogant capitalism. One sees on every hand the fall of royal houses, the flight of capitalists, of landed noblemen, of rentiers, the rise of Brown Shirts, the democratization of the British Air Force, the spying on and suspecting and disrespecting of bourgeois elements -- these are the new developments, not to mention the social and political revolutions of the times. Compared to this, the era preceding 1914 was one of great social class stability.

The industrial workers, through the trade unions and the ballot, stabilized their relative positions. In about 1880 the agricultural workers attained the level of living of the Elizabethan era and held it until the First World War. The bureaucrats, officials, and civil servants of France, Germany, and England formed distinct parts of society and contributed greatly to the opportunities of the middle classes. The professions waxed in number. The business and commercial families of these countries showed striking resemblance to the Buddenbrooks, except in England, in part, where they tended to merge into the nobility and to become the most aristocratic type of imperial-capitalist the world has ever seen.

* * *

The fore-going chapters traced in a general way the social class development and changes in Europe from early Greece to the World War; the ones immediately to follow will do the same for the American colonies and the Westward Movement to determine, if possible, the degree, amount, and kinds of social class rigidity and mobility here.

38. Vicomte Georges d'Avenel, *Histoire de la fortune française* (Paris, 1927) p. 124; translation ours.

39. Louise Marie Ferré, *Les classes sociales dans la France contemporaine* (Paris, 1936) p. 167; translation ours. 40. Adolphe Coste, *Les conditions sociales du bonheur et de la force* (Paris, 1885) p. 100; translation ours.

CHAPTER X

THE AMERICAN DREAM

Opposite the title page of a well-known volume of history, published in 1927, there is printed the following statement: 1

Ours is a country where men start from a humble origin . . . and where they can attain the most elevated positions, or acquire a large amount of wealth, according to the pursuits they elect for themselves. No exclusive privileges of birth, no entailment of estates, no civil or political disqualification, stand in their path; but one has as good a chance as another, according to his talents, prudence, and personal exertions. This is a country of self-made men

This is a concise and clear statement of the American Dream. If it is true that this society offers unlimited opportunity according to the talents and energies of individuals, this will prove to be a very mobile social class system, if, indeed one could call such a fluid condition a system of social classes. There are those, including some of the moulders of public opinion, who insist that there are no social classes in this country.

What have been the origins of American middle class families? Of the higher classes of colonial society? Of the people who populated the West? Of the poor whites? What have been the kinds of opportunities offered by this rich continent. To whom have these opportunities been available? -- These are some of the questions of this introductory chapter, the one to follow concerning the colonial era, and Chapter XII dealing with the Westward Movement, will attempt to answer.

Before exploring the facts of history themselves, it is proper that the general statement of the American Dream be elaborated and that some criticism and some important qualifications of it be made, within the limits of time and space available here. That is the purpose and function of this chapter.

Versions of the American Dream. There are many different versions of the American Dream. Usually no attempt is made to give concrete illustrations or proof. The Dream is, almost altogether, a generalization. Sometimes it is expressed as a hope, sometimes as opportunity actually being taken advantage of, in a general way. Either way, it is what is known today as a "sociological myth," which is to say something so well publicized or so widely believed in that it has acquired somewhat of an axiomatic character. Even many of those who do not believe in the American Dream as of today attribute validity to it as of the thirties and forties of the last century.

In the paragraphs to follow a number of the generalizations that normally fall under the caption, "The American Dream," are presented to form the backdrop for the main presentation of historical realities to which the next two chapters will be devoted.

Wertenbaker states one of his versions of the American Dream in these words: "When an alien newcomer to the United States sees from the deck of his steamer the Statue of Liberty and the ragged sky line of lower Manhattan, he feels that the goal of his ambition has been reached, that the land of opportunity lies before him." 2

Turner phrases one of his generalizations about the opportunities to be found on the frontier thus: 3

The lands, practically free, in this vast area not only attracted the settler, but furnished opportunity for all men to hew out their own careers. The wilderness ever opened a gate of escape to the poor, the discontented, and the oppressed.

The American Banker is quoted as admitting that the average citizen is poor and must be satisfied "with the great hope that he will have the same opportunities which our fathers had to better his position." 4 The belief here is that there is still much truth in the American Dream, that young men should not stop thriving, that chances today are as good as they were earlier. How good they were then is not stated.

1. Calvin Colton, *Junius Tracts*, no. vii (New York, 1844) p. 15, quoted in Carl Russell Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man* (New York, 1927) opposite copyright page.
2. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia* (Princeton, 1922) p. 39.
3. Fredrick Jackson Turner, *Rise of the New West* (New York, 1906) p. 68.
4. Quoted in Lewis Corey, *The Crisis of the Middle Class* (New York, 1935) p. 10.

Another statement of the American Dream by Wertenbaker (even though this same author has made extensive studies to show that the era of opportunity for the lower classes ended before 1680 in the colony which "began with the founding of Jamestown," as will be shown) reads: 5

. . . an American minister would not invite the janitor to his church to have tea with his family. Yet the janitor might some day become a millionaire and, without resentment for the past, condescend to invite the minister to his home.

The vital phenomenon in American history has been the lifting of millions from the lower class into the middle class This movement began with the founding of Jamestown, and it is still in progress

It is this spectacle of continuous rise, this fermenting within the social body, this lack of class bonds which accounts for another American characteristic -- optimism.

Greene, by introducing the words "hope" and "industrious," qualifies his statement to the American Dream. He says: "So in spite of some class distinctions, a country in which almost any industrious white man could hope to own land tended to become democratic both socially and politically." 6

One phase of the American Dream, no longer accepted by most historians, is the following statement by Turner: 7

Whenever social conditions tended to crystallize in the East, whenever capital tended to press upon labor or political restraints to impede the freedom of the mass, there was this gate of escape to the free conditions of frontier.

One statement by Timothy Flint, often quoted, may in part be responsible for the belief in the authenticity of open opportunity in the West. Flint wrote: 8

One of my immediate neighbors . . . had hired a man, a black man, and two sons He raised, the year I came away, two thousand four hundred bushels of corn, eight hundred bushels of wheat, and other articles in proportion, and the number of cattle and hogs that he might raise was indefinite Any person, able and disposed to labor, is forever freed from the apprehension of poverty

Fish, who wrote a volume obviously dedicated to the American Dream, summarizes his belief in the following citation: 9

To be an American was enough to have all doors open. It was something new in the world

Liberty and opportunity, after all, meant responsibility, a sobering thought; one other gift of the American political system involved no personal effort, was complete at birth -- equality.

Americans of the thirties and forties laughed at by foreigners, and still are by their descendants, for their frequent assertion that every American was a king in his own country. Few remember today, what every schoolboy knew, that this was not a figure of speech, but a specific provision of the national and of every state constitution

There was so close an approximation to economic equality to match the political that effort and ability could raise anyone to the top. The absence of higher professional training made communion with the intellectual almost as easy as entrance into the ranks of the opulent.

Commager infers the existence of equality, but doubts the consequence usually attributed to it. In a recent review in a metropolitan newspaper he writes: 10

Doubtless, too, the frontier swept away artificial distinctions of class or wealth and discovered the real worth of men, but whether this made for democracy is again open to dispute. It may be questioned whether the "frontier" States are more democratic, now, than are Massachusetts or New York

Young is of the opinion that industry and trade "have made countless wealthy men of European immigrants. It is only natural that of the millions of immigrants who have started as day laborers, clerks and peddlers, a reasonable proportion would achieve success as measured by income." 11 Time and space preclude a rebuttal here, but one may ask that a "reasonable proportion" is. The story of immigration is told by Jacob Riis, Thomas and Znaniecki, and Jane Addams throws a much different light upon the subject. Could it not be that the wealthy Americans descended from higher class immigrants and that the poor of today have descended from lower class immigrants?

5. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The Founding of American Civilization, The Middle Colonies* (New York, 1938) pp. 2 - 3.

6.

7. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920) p. 259.

8. Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (Boston, 1826) p. 249.

9. Fish, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 and 9.

10. Henry Steele Commager, in a review of *Vanguards of the Frontier*, in *The New York Times Book Review*, May 25, 1941.

11. Donald Young, *American Minority Peoples* (New York, 1932) p. 146.

Another writer who sets out to show that America is a land of opportunity makes the following stirring statements: 12

The chief glory of America is that it is a country in which genius and industry find their speediest and surest reward. Fame and fortune are here open to all who are willing to work for them. Neither class distinctions nor social prejudices, neither differences of birth, religion, nor ideas can prevent a man of true merit from winning the just reward of his labors in this favored land. We are emphatically a nation of self-made men, and it is to the labors of this worthy class that our marvelous national prosperity is due.

The biographies which make up the greater part of the book from which the foregoing was taken included the life histories of the following persons, who are shown in the data given to have sprung from family backgrounds good enough to enable one to say that their start in life was such as to preclude them from being labeled self-made: Girard, Steward, Lawrence, Longworth, Marshall Field, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Cyrus West Field, William H. Vanderbilt, Gould, Fulton, Goodyear, Hoe, Colt, Morse, McCormick, Bennett, Marshall, Brady, West, Rogers, Swing, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Booth, and Joseph Jefferson. Those whose backgrounds are in doubt, for lack of information or because they seemed to fall quite low in the middle class and are therefore perhaps self-made, include: Astor, Chickering, Whitney, and Bonner. Those who may be said to have risen from among the plain people are: Stout, Peabody, Armour, Pullman, Howe, Powers, and Cartwright. In a word, the biographies given to prove this country to have produced its greatest men by the route of elevation from the mass included an overwhelming number of persons from families which gave their sons a great deal of impetus, their "start in life."

Great masses of Americans, in the valleys and on plains of this continent, are relegated to the limbo of the demoralized by the vigorous pen of Ross: 13

When I was a boy, no gray-haired man worked on a farm for wages unless he was a drunkard or wastrel. So short and easy was the path to farm ownership that virtually all the farm "hands" were less than thirty-five years of age.

(One may ask: were there many farm hands except sons of middle class farmers in that district?)

In another eloquent passage, Ross portrays the West as a paradise of opportunity: 14

Moreover, such differences as there were in respect to economic condition did not put distance between people. In general, class distinctions show themselves, not between those who possess and those who do not possess, but between those who possess and those who not only do not but apparently cannot possess. Always in the West -- whether the "West" was Ohio or Idaho -- the rich banker has not objected to the penniless but capable young man calling on his daughter, because the banker had been penniless himself when he married, and because he knew that this young man would be as well off as the banker now is when he had reached the same age. The abundance of opportunity of the frontier, coupled with equal access to these many opportunities, engendered a sense of social equality that gradually hindered the social consequences of economic stratification from glaringly showing themselves.

Penniless young men were to become as rich as wealthy bankers and abundant opportunities were equally accessible to all -- that is the American Dream.

Dawson and Gettys are more cautious. Like Greene, they qualify their statement by using the word "hope." Their statement reads: 15

The democratic tradition holds out hope to all who desire to advance themselves by whatever means -- wealth, learning, ability, political "pull," specialization, etc. -- that they may succeed in reaching the highest pinnacle of "success" which means social recognition, status, and elevated rank.

Cooley, like Ross, discounts the theory of Dawson and Gettys that success means elevation in rank. He says: "With us, if people have money, they enjoy it; if not, they manage with what they have, neither regarding themselves nor being regarded by others as essentially inferior." 16

Sixty years after the enactment of the laws against primogeniture and entail, de Tocqueville said: "The sons of opulent citizens have become merchants, lawyers or physicians. Most of them have lapsed into obscurity. The last trace of heredity ranks and distinctions is destroyed -- the law of partition has reduced all to one level." 17

12. W. R. Houghton, *Kings of Fortune, or the Triumphs and Achievements of the Noble, Self-made Men* (Chicago, 1888) p. 5.

13. Edward Alsworth Ross, *The Social Trend* (New York, 1922) p. 66.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 70 - 71.

15. Carl A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology* (New York, 1929) p. 548.

16. Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York, 1909) p. 282.

17. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol. I (re-published, New York, 1900) pp. 50 - 51.

Sutherland and Woodward, authors of a recent textbook, revive the dream of becoming President, and, in addition, allow the expectation of rising to prove the existence of the same. They state: 18

Social classes in the United States -- In a country like the United States, where the social classes have never been thoroughly stratified, there is movement from one level to another. The farmer boy may still dream of becoming President, even though statistics based on Who's who give the sons of the prominent the best chances of succeeding their fathers. The expectation of advancement from low to high status has resulted in a kind of vertical nobility, rather than in the development of horizontal classes, but this condition may not always prevail.

Willkie, recently a candidate for the Presidency, writes on "The Faith That Is America." He points to Europe as a continent of closed classes, as compared with the freedom of movement in America. He says: 19

They [his ancestors] were led to these shores, as were millions before and after them, by a special reputation that the United States has had among nations. This reputation is founded upon one simple fact: in the United States the plain man has always had a chance.

And with schooling finished, there were no doors closed to their [his parents'] children just because they came from a plain family in a small town. No class distinction, no law interfered with their effort to earn a living in the occupation of their choice

. . . Because we set no limit to a man's achievement; in mine, factory, field, or service in business or the arts, an able man, regardless of his class or creed, can realize his ambition.

Perhaps the most important of all recent utterances about the American Dream was made by the President of Harvard University in a recent speech entitled: "A Free Classless Society, Ideal or Illusion?" In it he said, among other things, that the social changes during the last fifty years had moved the society toward a social system composed of hereditary classes. "Have we reached a point where the ideal of a peculiar American society, classless and free, must be regarded as of only historical significance? Has the ideal lost both validity and vitality?" 20 The report of the end of the address, as given in the New York Post, reads as follows: 21

Class mobility, Dr. Conant said, was the basis of the American ideal of a classless society -- one in which the "shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves in three generations" notion prevails rather than the aristocratic adage that it takes three generations to make a gentleman. "If a classless society is to be preserved," he said, "the American people must not shrink from drastic action."

Here one sees the implied exhortation to prevent the existence of social classes, in the true and hereditary sense, and to break up family lines of social class continuity on the middle and higher levels according to the theory that every third generation should be proletarian. Gentlemen, even though three generations have striven to produce them, "are personae non gratae."

But would social classes cease to form even though every competent young man were given a scholarship enabling him to take an engineering course, a law course, or a course in the principles and methods of high school teaching? Or would those with advantages merely increase the pressure of personal contacts in order to circumvent the social class mobility anticipated? There are colleges open to the lower classes that find their graduates a drug on the market. The same might be true of the graduates of Harvard if scholarships were increased to enable all high school students with averages of eighty per cent to enroll. (The problem of social classes and theories of education will be taken up in detail in a later chapter.)

The American Dream recently created a storm in the educational atmosphere of a wealthy New York suburb. Rugg, a well-known textbook writer, had written an elementary history that aroused several of the members of the Board of Education of Englewood to condemn it as subversive and un-American. According to the newspaper account of the incident, "what particularly annoyed some members of the board was that in one third of his textbooks Dr. Rugg said America was not the land of opportunity for all

people." 22 Rugg's reply was that he was trying to bring realities into the classroom instead of keeping them out.

18. Robert L. Sutherland and Julian L. Woodward, *Introductory Sociology* (Chicago, 1937) pp. 362 - 363.

19. Wendell L. Willkie, "The Faith That Is America," *Readers Digest* (December, 1939) p. 1. There are neutral observers who believe that Mr. Willkie is still nursing his ambition, but the history of presidential campaigns does not bear out the generalization that every candidate reaches his goal, e.g., one recalls William Jennings Bryan.

20. *New York Post*, October 24, 1939.

21. *Loc. cit.*

22. *New York Herald Tribune* (December 14, 1939).

Concerning an earlier epoch and another section, the South immediately after the War Between the States, Reuter writes: 23

The conditions of life were absurdly easy. Any industrious and sober man could, as a result of a few years' labor, become possessed of sufficient land and other property to make him independent of the wage system . . . In spite of this, however, the growth of the middle class was abnormally slow

But were the blacks, about whom the foregoing was said, or the poor whites, of whom much will be said later, "economic men?" Or were they lacking in the habits, traditions, and experiences of the middle class, and can these things be spun out of clear air? It will be seen that rich resources may lie close at hand and not be used to advantage by thousands upon thousands of American citizens: the abundance which was America was available to the different classes almost in proportion to the advantages of the classes themselves, as will be seen.

Turner states a point of view about the frontier quite similar to that of Reuter about the South. According to his theory, on the frontier 24

were mill sites, town sites, transportation lines, banking centers, openings in the law, in politics -- all the varied chances for advancement afforded in a rapidly developing society where every thing was open to him who knew how to seize the opportunity.

All that needs to be said is that the middle and upper classes knew. This will be shown later from the writings of Theodore Roosevelt, so far as Kentucky was concerned. (The theory that the West was the land of opportunity for all is frequently based upon such a narrow interpretation that "all the good people" would be more definite and exact a term. These matters will be dealt with in detail in Chapters XI and XII.) The great plains of Illinois, Iowa, and so forth were largely settled by "extra" sons of middle class farmers further east who could afford to outfit themselves and purchase the land. They knew how to seize the opportunity.

Schlesinger lines up with those, like Cooley and Ross, who deny the common maxim that differences in wealth made for differences in social standing among the people in the early West. He is quoted as saying that "the absence of distinctions among men as property owners tended to make the people disregard wealth as a criterion of fitness and to look upon all men as essentially equal." 25 This strongly infers, as does the statement by Commager, that there was an equality of means among the people who settled the West, an idea which possibly qualifies for the tag "schoolbook fiction." The Winning of the West documents a completely different story. The West was settled by classes, rich and poor, high and low.

The Turner theory has found many recent adherents. For instance, Corey portrays the West as a land of great opportunity and of almost equal chances for those who moved there. He writes: 26

It was comparatively easy for dissatisfied farmers and workers in the older settlements to pull up stakes and go West, where land was cheap, taxes were low, and needed agricultural equipment a minor item of capital investment Almost anyone might acquire his own means of livelihood, become an independent farmer or an independent small entrepreneur in industry and trade. These conditions invigorated the sense of democracy and equality.

Day of opportunity passed? The American Dream, of which the foregoing statements are typical, is beginning to lose its hold upon the youth of the land. It has been relegated, as Conant fears, to the discard. Thompson, the columnist, is stirred by the facts revealed in a recent survey: 27

I have been haunted by a little item that appeared several days ago regarding a poll taken by the Y.M.C.A. among young people in the City of New York. The Y.M.C.A. polled representative cross sections of employed and unemployed youth regarding their belief in opportunity, and found that 80 per cent believe that ability no longer offers assurance of success in America.

23. Edward Byron Reuter, *The Mulatto in the United States* (Boston, 1918) pp. 352 - 353.

24. Turner, *op. cit.* (7), p. 272.

25. Quoted in Corey, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

26. *Loc. cit.*

27. Dorothy Thompson, "On the Record," in the *New York Herald Tribune*, November 27, 1939.

Later in her column Thompson says: "Now, with all the talk of lack of opportunity, the cold fact is that there are more opportunities than there are young people willing to prepare themselves for them. I am not blaming the youth. I am blaming their educations."

There seems to be a growing belief that the American Dream, "once a reality," has lost most of its validity. An Episcopal clergyman of note is quoted as contrasting the glories of the past with the actualities of today. In preaching before a distinguished congregation in 1937, the Reverend Prince said that America 28

as the world's greatest arena for the exercise of ambition and the traditional home of self-made men and women is rapidly becoming a faded memory The boast that here humanity can find emancipation from the thralls of humble birth and that every poorest lad may rise to the highest office in the land no longer stirs the disillusioned youth of modern times. America is following continental lands in developing a class-bound society. Class demarcation is becoming sharper as prospects wane and men despair of rise from the ranks where they were born

America, then, according to this theory was once a land of great opportunity for the little man, but the social classes are fast becoming crystallized. It may be true as Thompson believes, on the contrary, that the present era is one of great opportunity for those who still have the drives and habits of "industry and thrift." Recent European immigrants with this study background are proving that opportunity is not dead. Furthermore, the history of the nineteenth century, when studied in terms of educational facilities, wages, and sizes of families was probably more of an era of middle class opportunity than of opportunity for the poor, as will be shown.

It can be seen from the foregoing that there is much room for study, research, and reflection upon the nature of the American social class structure and the degrees of opportunities and mobility in this great land.

A modest appraisal of opportunity. In contrast to the rosy description of opportunity as given by Timothy Flint, the following statement by an English traveler in the period between 1785 - 1835 is both modest and lacking in "ideal" and "illusion." Mesick writes: 29

What classes of men, then, were to surmount these difficulties and eventually to become prosperous and desirable citizens of the republic? The extreme poor, of whatever trade or occupation, were always bettered by emigration to America, if they were industrious and willing to work. Except in the eastern congested districts, it was always possible to find employment with a tradesman as an apprentice, or with farmers who had more land than they could manage to cultivate.

The poor immigrant was assured of more to eat and surer work.

The following was written about America in these latter days when some men have accumulated millions, but that if it were to prove to be relatively true, as a general statement of American history, in the colonial era, the nineteenth century, and the twentieth? Dixon and Eberhart write: 30

The race of life is one in which some of the runners start near the finish line and others weighted down and handicaps limp down the track from far behind the starting gun. It is no mere accident that some individuals control hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of property while others, after a life-time of toil in the cotton fields of the South or the factories of the North, at last find their permanent rest in a pauper's grave.

Perhaps the part about the pauper's grave is superfluous. It is enough that marriages, education, wealth, family prestige, political activity, and special home training all function to separate the social classes. There were, as will be shown, and are, as every social scientist knows, poor and low class families, middle class families, and upper class families in America. How great the gaps were and how long lasting, will be demonstrated, within the limits of time and space. in the following two chapters, to which this one is but an introduction.

Frequently, those who have stated the American Dream in most glowing terms seem to have forgotten that the United States has not only progressive, prosperous and "egalitarian" sections but also vast regions which have for decades, even centuries, been characteristically anything but egalitarian.

Lewinson, for instance, writes: 31

The Southern States have, since the beginning of American history, constituted a distinct region, with a peculiar economic, social, and political complexion. They have been marked by prominent class distinctions: at the bottom of the scale, the blacks; at the top the white "Bourbons," once planters, later industrialists, financiers, and landlords. In between stood a class of small farmers, owning few or no slaves, pushed back by the plantation system into the less fertile hills. In the remote mountains and in the pine barrens near the coast, a true agricultural proletariat led a miserable existence of poverty, ignorance, and squalor.

This is not the American Dream. It is, however, true social history.

It is the intention of the present writer that the next two chapters on American history shall hew close to the line of unbiased, straight facts about the realities of the social class lines and trends.

28. Quoted in Goetz A. Briefs, *The Proletariat* (New York, 1937) p. 227.

29. Jane Louise Mesick, *The English Traveller in America, 1785 - 1835* (New York, 1922 edition) pp. 37 - 38.

30. Russell A. Dixon and E. Kingman Eberhart, *Economics and Cultural Change* (New York, 1938) p. 503.

31. Paul Lewinson, *Race, Class and Party* (New York, 1932) p. 3.

CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL CLASS RIGIDITIES IN COLONIAL AMERICA

It is the purpose of this chapter to throw some light on that troublesome generalization known as the American Dream. The thesis developed here is that the social classes in America have shown not only in the general sources of information, but more especially in the supplementary material (Appendix III) based on family biographies. This presentation, including Chapter XII, gives systematic form and shape to the discussion of social class formation in American history for the first time, so far as can be ascertained.

The lower classes in the American colonies. Many immigrants with few means hoped to find on this continent free land, 1

the tillage of which would insure them a measure of independence. Upon arriving they found vast available parts of the country, especially the most desirable and accessible portions bordering shores or rivers, pre-empted The laborer was purposely abused to the utmost and he was made to feel in many ways his particular low place in the social organization.

Myers is a vitriolic writer; perhaps he has exaggerated. But Adams, historian of recent fame, could never be accused of hatred for economic royalists of stirring up feeling for the suffering masses. His description of the Virginia-Carolina countryside at the beginning of the eighteenth century reads: 2

In one place where Byrd stopped, he says that "there was a dirty poor house, with hardly anything in it but children, that wallow'd about like so many pigs. ". . . Of the wife of one frontiersman we read in the contemporary account of a visitor that "she is a very civil woman and shows nothing of ruggedness or immodesty in her carriage, yet she will carry a gun in the woods and kill deer, turkeys, etc., shoot down wild cattle, catch and tye hogs, knock down beeves with an ax"

. . . . When the era of land speculation set in, it was the toils and dangers of such people as these that gave the speculators their profits, and these heroic, if often squalid and uncouth, figures should be traced on the reverse of that tapestry on the other and brilliant side of which are the gay and attractive figures of gentlemen and ladies in satin and brocade in houses where the light of abundant candles set in silver flickered across many a treasured portrait of today.

Schlesinger, honored professor of history at Harvard, makes the following statement, the opposite viewpoint to that of the American Dream: 3

It may stimulate some philosophical reflection to find that the improvements in the modes of life during this period were altogether in the homes of the rich and that the poor man in 1763 was in no better situation than his pioneer grandfather had been.

This is nothing new to the student of the social classes. It has already been seen that the ordinary plebs in Rome received only their allotment of bread while Rome waxed rich on war loot; between 1500 and 1600 England increased her per capita wealth, but the distribution mechanism drew off the cream for the few. Plain houses in the South were transformed into palatial mansions while the backwoods and outskirts of towns stank of unending squalor.

The theory that abundant land in America gave rise to middle class independence should give way to the theory that the generosity of nature here guaranteed to the lower classes of Europe only more to eat and drink. That is to say, independence (freedom from both feudal bonds and the wage system) assured no person of low class of a place in the ranks of the class above. This is made clear by Adams: 4

It might be true, as Franklin said . . . that any man who could bait a hook or pull a trigger could get food in America, but this brought him no nearer to becoming a mercantile magnate or an opulent planter By the first decade of the eighteenth century, therefore . . . the differences between the man who started with advantages and the man who did not, [was becoming] more definite and more fixed.

This is a description of American colonial life; there is no dreaming here.

Wertenbaker 5 divides colonial society of the seventeenth century, the period earlier than that of the foregoing descriptions, as follows: (1) an aristocracy at the top, (2) skilled artisans and freeholders, (3) unskilled laborers, usually addressed by their Christian names only, (4) indentured servants, (5) slaves. "Men of the three lowest classes were often admitted to the church society, but seldom to political citizenship, and the line of social distinction was sharply drawn in this case." 6

1. Gustavus Myers, *History of the Great American Fortunes* (New York, 1936 edition) p. 37.
2. James Truslow Adams, *Provincial Society, 1690 - 1763* (New York, 1927) pp. 92 - 93.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. xvi and xvii of the foreword by Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 58 - 59.
5. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The First Americans 1607 - 1690* (New York, 1929) pp. 72 - 74.
6. *Loc. cit.*

The proportion of the lower orders to the higher is indicated in the number of persons with enough property to entitle them to vote. In Massachusetts, for instance, according to the charter of 1691, the qualifications for a voter was the possession of a freehold estate with an income of forty shilling per year or a personal estate worth fifty pounds sterling. Yet "in 1703, for example, out of a population of about seven thousand in Boston only two hundred and six voted for representatives." 7 How many could have voted it not shown. The Boards, however, estimate that in Pennsylvania, in the country districts, at least fifty per cent of the males were denied the ballot, even though the colony "allowed all men who held personal property worth fifty pounds, as well as freeholders, to vote for assemblymen" 8

An "Invoys" was taken in the town of Newbury, Massachusetts in 1688. It showed that the property of its 269 citizens the majority of farms were between ten and thirty acres; the largest was only 155 acres. 9 This indicates that even among the property owners the proportion of families struggling with the rocks, soil, and elements on a low level of living was considerable.

Carman says of the small farmers, skilled artisans and laborers: 10

Hampered by ignorance, without political power, often exploited by their employers, victimized by speculators, gamblers, dispensers of strong drink and liable for imprisonment for debt, their lot was far from being an enviable one.

Aside from a consideration of the indentured servant, which will be taken up later in this chapter as a part of a special study of the colony of Virginia, the foregoing serves to indicate (1) the presence of many persons of definitely lower class standing in the colonies, (2) the fact that these lower orders were not in a position to step upward in the social scale, else they would have done so, and, especially, (3) that their condition was not one of progressive amelioration and improvement during the colonial era. The above quotation from Carman was written about the lower classes at the time of the establishment of the Constitution, showing that the colonial period did not follow the pattern of the American Dream, at least not for the lower classes.

The middle classes in colonial society. Any family already across the great divide separating those who work for others from those who get others to work for them -- which was, in those times, a tough and ready way of dividing the lower classes from their superiors -- was at least in the middle class. This class had, by 1650, sunk its teeth into the fruits of the new colonization. Although it was always difficult to distinguish members of the upper middle class in colonial America from many of the aristocrats, it was never hard to distinguish members of the middle classes from the masses. Furthermore, it is doubtlessly true that the chances of plucking one of the larger plums America offered was many times greater for those who were already trained in middle class habits and ideals and in possession of middle class capital than for those who, through habit and lack of credit or capital, lived from hand to mouth, from father to son. Also, many middle class persons who might never have founded a fortune through the operations of the laws of free competition succeeded in waxing rich by being able or fortunate enough to connive with the aristocratic political and economic leaders. It is difficult to draw a sharp class line among the persons engaged in political intrigue. Personal proximity to judges, land supervisors, governors, and even colonial dames were used by some members of the middle as well as by many members of the upper classes as a lever with which to pry open the abundant resources of this continent.

7. Adams, op. cit., p. 21

8. Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, vol. I (New York, 1927) p. 110.

9. Adams, op. cit., p. 29.

10. Harry J. Carman, *Social and Economic History of the United States* (Boston, 1930) vol. I, p. 406.

Social class continuity from Europe to America. Absolutely essential to an understanding of the social classes of the colonies (and later, the United States) is the concept: "As they came, so did they tend to remain."

German middle class farmers, choosing their farmlands carefully according to sound principles of agriculture, remained in the middle class. ". . . the emigrants who founded the Bay Colony belonged to the middle strata of English society." 11 The development of society both in the district of Lancaster, Pennsylvania and among the Yankees wherever they migrated, even generations later, as contrasted with the poor whites who fled into the hills of the southeastern colonies, testifies to the continuity of social class lines. It was the inexperienced (in career management) indentured servant who allowed himself, for lack of means and foresight, to be pushed into the poorest lands and to remain pocketed there.

The Beards explain the nature of this type of social class continuity (with all the cultural trimmings that went with it) in the movement of populations to the colonies, laying emphasis upon the middle class derivations of many colonists. They write: 12

The prevailing class structure by which the provincial culture of America was so largely conditioned was derived in the main from the mother country. Although it is sometimes imagined, on the basis of schoolbook fictions, that the colonies were local democracies formed on the pure principles of a New World philosophy and founded on substantial economic equality, the facts of the case lend little color to that view. In reality, by the colonizing process, the middle orders of England -- landed gentry of the minor rank, merchants, and yeomen -- with their psychology and social values were produced in a new environment.

The whole of colonial America was, of course, partly English, and partly French. This last-mentioned section, notably Quebec, is of value to this theory of immigration (as they came, so did they tend to remain) in that it shows the close similarity between the colonial classes and the homeland. Quebec also demonstrates (as do the mountaineers of the Appalachian range) what happens among a people largely devoid of middle class elements, even in a land of rich natural resources. New France was populated by nobles and serfs. Her society was sharply divided. To this day the mass of French Canadians are in the same position, relatively, as their English cousins who indented themselves to Virginians and later into the Piedmont and mountains of the South; they are poor and proletarian. The original settlers, in the main, were orphans, peasants, and common soldiers. (A few well-educated girls were sent over to be the wives of officers.) Immediately the population began to grow through the natural increase of births over deaths. 13

What this birth-rate has been persistently, from his day to our own, may be imagined from these two telling facts; first, that the three million French-Canadians in North America today are nearly all descended from less than thirty thousand French immigrants, most of whom came out under Talon's supervision.

It was under Talon that the persons referred to above were brought from France, as soldiers and as prospective wives, selected in orphanages and from among peasant girls.

Very recently a leader of the French-Canadians in Quebec appealed to his people to learn English, because, although they could farm or cut timber without the use of that language, they could not, without it, compete with other Canadians for better positions. 14 Such prodding would have been utterly unnecessary in any population whose social class morale had been spirited by a liberal sprinkling of the middle class. Striving, through the educational channel, is characteristic of the middle class, as is evidenced by the interest shown in education among the middle class Yankees and all middle class elements in the earlier and latest immigration.

Other colonies besides those mentioned above showed characteristics similar to those of Europe. Wertenbaker, after describing in detail the different social classes of New Amsterdam, comes to the conclusion that 15

As the people of New Amsterdam were much the same as the people of the average Dutch trading town, so was the place in outward aspect a replica in miniature of Amsterdam or Middelburg, or Laiden, or Hoorn.

11. Beard and Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 125 - 126.

13. Clark Wissler, et al., *The Pageant of America, Adventures in the Wilderness* (New Haven, 1925) p. 311.

14. *New York Post*, January 10, 1941.

15. Thomas Jefferson Wertebaker, *The Founding of American Civilization, The Middle Colonies* (New York, 1938) p. 40.

The early classes of the colonies were counterparts of the European social classes -- except for an overabundance of middle class elements in New England and eastern Pennsylvania, and a lack of middle class elements in Quebec, Spanish America, and the southern colonies. This was, then, in spite of the abundance of wealth in resources, not a land of equal or unusual opportunity, beyond the case with which a family could attain food. There was much social class rigidity and, during the colonial era, even an intensification of social stratification. This fact will become the more clear as a review is made of the upper or aristocratic classes.

The upper classes in colonial times. The extent to which colonial society was stratified and the part that the upper classes played in that stratification is summarized by Carman in these words: 16

We have already noted how, during the century and a half preceding the American Revolution, two fairly distinct social and economic classes developed in Colonial America. One, the conservatives, composed of the rich and the well-born -- of merchants, large landholders, and money-lenders -- dominated every phase of colonial life. It owned or controlled the economic resources of the colonies -- the bulk of the land, forests, fishing grounds, the agencies of commerce, and the fluid capital. By means of property qualifications for voting and office holding, and by recourse to the devices of wire pulling, log rolling, and bossism, it was able to limit greatly the political power of the rank and file. Socially, its members considered themselves superior to the common people, toward whom they assumed a snobbish attitude. Indeed, unless one had money or was a member of an "old respectable" family, or was well educated or had served the state in some prominent capacity, he was regarded as socially inferior. Even at Harvard College students' names, to the eve of the Revolution, were arranged in the order of the "respectability of their parentage."

Social life in the colonies was "burdened and charmed" by those of aristocratic ways. This was as might have been expected because colonial society was copied after that of England. As the Beards state: 17

So in a fashion the society of England was duplicated. Sons of the landed proprietors went in for trade as well as the Church and the army; daughters of rich merchants married sons of the landed families; and after . . . 1685, a little flavor of the court gave tone to the ceremonial life of the upper classes.

Myers summarizes his study of early fortunes, tracing the power of the upper classes to their early control of the land. It tended to be their natural resource. He says: 18

The sinister effects of this first great grasping of land long permeated the whole fabric of society and were prominently seen before and after the Revolution, and especially in the third and fourth decades of the eighteenth century.

The "badge of aristocracy" was worn even in prosaic Massachusetts by the socially most respectable students; they were allowed to eat at the fellow's table at Harvard, a custom imported from Cambridge. "Among those so privileged was one Saltonstall of the class of 1659." 19 (This and other names on the modern social calendar indicate, to some extent, the degree of social class mobility which this nation has maintained.)

Some of the leading names of families of high standing are noted in that 20

many of the gentlemen settlers had a right to bear arms, as the Washingtons, Harrisons, Balls, Berkeleys, Byrds, Pages, Carys, Bollings, Clairbornes, Burwells, and others in Virginia, as hadd the Penns, Logans, Penningtons, Lloyds and numerous Pennsylvania families, as well as many of those who emigrated to New Jersey, Delaware, New York and to the New England and Southern Colonies.

No aristocracy can sustain itself on the dry toast of lists of precedence. The meat and broth of high social class are a resource to exploit and the customary habit of marrying within the "clan." These nourish and sustain it -- they provide for its present and its future. In colonial times the upper classes had both natural and human resources to exploit, and they contracted their formal alliances with foresight. The circumstances that enabled them to flourish are described by Adams thus: 21

As has already been said, access to official society was a prerequisite to the securing of this influence [land grants, etc.] and as that society was comparatively limited, intermarriage among its members became increasingly frequent and everywhere added its weight to the building up of local aristocracies In all the colonies, the councils were almost wholly made up of the members of these small aristocracies, or plutocracies, and as the suffrage was very limited, their influence extended to the assemblies . . . the aristocrats by 1700 were fastening a firm grip both on the political management and commercial exploitation of the New World.

16. Carman, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

17. Beard and Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

18. Myers, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 - 35.

19. Franklin B. Dexter, *On Some Social Distinctions at Harvard and Yale Before the Revolution* (Worcester, 1894) p. 5.

20. Anne Hollingworth Wharton, *English Ancestral Homes of Noted Americans* (Philadelphia, 1915) p. 296.

21. Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 - 67.

This does not fulfill the American Dream. The more one learns about the colonial age, the less can one detect any signs of increasing equality or open opportunity or "most intensive" social mobility. The schoolbook fiction that at first a few aristocrats arrived with their inept personal coteries, that their influence was not long felt, and that the eighteenth century experienced an increase in the political institutions of democracy and economic opportunity for the little man (according to the Benjamin Franklin pattern) should perhaps be replaced. Truer is the thought that in some of the colonies there was a shortage of upper class families for several decades; but as the 1700 corner was turned, those on the inside and provided with the advantages were setting a fast pace, a stride which left the masses of men further and further behind with each passing decade up to the Revolution, at least.

Control of politics, class and social class consciousness, and capital accumulation created "upper classmen" out of elements, some of which were no doubt of lower middle class and even, though rarely, of proletarian backgrounds. But these same factors contributed more to bringing to full bloom the ostentation of those classes which had come over "passage paid, with furniture and servants." They became a clique of beautifully mansioned, proud, and fashionable folk. These realities of colonial life are depicted in the following: 22

In New York an extraordinary proportion of the landed wealth was in the hands of Sir William Johnson or representatives of these great aristocratic families who throughout the colonial period, and even after, dominated every phase of the colony's institutional activity In Virginia and the Carolinas millions of acres of fertile lands of the back country fell into the hands of speculators like Robert Beverly, Richard Henderson, the Washingtons, the Carters, and Lord Fairfax

. . . Legal contests and long-drawn-out quarrels between the older and richer families engaged in land speculation on the one hand, and the poorer inhabitants and the newcomers anxious to acquire homes and landed property on the other, featured the history of practically every colony throughout the colonial period.

The manner in which favoritism and social standing played their part in the distribution of wealth is shown in the following: 23

For the acquisition of a rapid fortune in land merely by standing well with the powers that be, New York offered a rich field. Among Governor Fletcher's grants, for example, was one to his favorite . . . Captain John Evans, of an area . . . between three hundred and fifty thousand and six hundred thousand acres, a quitrent of only twenty shillings for the whole, for which Evans alleged he was later offered 10,000 pounds in England.

High social class is more than family rank, money, and social prestige -- it is a way of life, especially a way of recreation. In New York, for instance, where distinctions were more definitely pronounced than in New England or the other Middle Colonies, the finest families spent their winters in the city at the mouth of the Hudson, "where amusements of various kinds from the theater to bull-baiting were furnished for their diversion" 24

* * *

The foregoing treatment of colonial social classes has been general, somewhat scattered, non-technical and inconclusive. In order to include more exact details and without covering so much territory at once, the following study of the Colony, and to a limited extent the later State of Virginia, has been made. Its purpose is to determine, in a special survey, what happened to one social class structure in the New World, a social class system which has had to go through more than its share of the vicissitudes of social, political, and economic change and upheaval. Virginia was chosen because the records have been well kept from the earliest times to the present, in various forms, and because the social class structure was shaken up by the laws made after the Revolution and by the defeat of the Confederacy by the northern states. For both of these reasons Virginia has become the object of special attention.

The Virginia Colony and State

What were the workings of colonization, indenture, land policies, political and economic forces, exclusiveness, slavery, and war upon the three hundred years of social class development in the Old Dominion? Which Virginians forged ahead? Which lagged behind? What were the antecedents of the outcast "hill-billies?" It is the purpose of this section to answer these and similar questions.

22. Carman, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 - 71.

23. Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

24. Beard and Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

Virginia produced and welcomed a strong group of aristocratic families. These kept their lines intact through many decades through the use of primogeniture and entail. But this legal bulwark fell under the ferocious attacks of revolutionary egalitarianism, led by one of Virginia's own sons? Were, then, the First Families crushed, dispersed, ruined? Not appreciably. Custom took the place of the legal bulwark. Did the competition of Mississippi cotton, of Missouri corn, of northern industry, ruin and bring despair to the "planter class?" Not appreciably. The war between the States was a great blow, but the descendants of the old leading colonial Virginians became, largely, lawyers, bankers, real estate men, editors, politicians. They are still on top today. -- not all of them and not exclusively, of course. The idea of social class stability and continuity becomes deeply impressed upon anyone who studies the prestige groups in Virginian society through the years.

If these facts are substantiated by the data to follow, the story of social classes in one part of the United States will be complete. Furthermore, it will be demonstrated that even in this so-called land of "shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves in three generations" there was rigidity in the social class structure, continuity in social class lines, sufficient to cast doubt upon the validity of the great American Dream.

Virginia before 1650. Virginia was not settled chiefly by middle class elements. If the middle class was not well represented in the immigrant stock, no one should expect to find it well represented in the colony thirty or forty years later. It was not.

Up to the year 1635, about one quarter of the immigrants were free persons. "After 1635, the percentage of free settlers became much smaller." 25 Wertenbaker goes on to say: 26

With the exception of the merchants and other well-to-do men that formed the basis of the aristocracy, the free immigrants were ignorant and crude. But few of them could read and write

Where a void existed -- where no sizable middle class came over, and few aristocratic families came and remained during the early decades -- it is not surprising that at first there were "few men of good standing in the colony," and that some poorly educated persons of humble origin should be found in "important positions." 27 Wertenbaker states that this "is notably true of the first half of the 17th century," and that had "there been many men of ability or rank to select from, these Plebeians would never have found a place in the assembly" 28

Thus the land of opportunity was especially grateful for the assistance of energetic persons of very common origin because there was work to be done, even legislative work, so long as the upper classes were shorthanded. Later, when enough well-born individuals arrived or were born in the colony, it was natural, as indicated above, that people of lowly birth should become personae non gratae. After 1650, and especially after 1700, this exact development took place. One reads: 29

Instances of the election of freedmen to the House, fairly frequent in the early years of the colony, became rarer as the century advanced and the field of selection widened . . . even so late as the middle of the century the door of opportunity was still opened to the freedman.

The door of opportunity, in other words, was open in Virginia during the few decades before the coming of many respectable families, before many people at all had come. "Prior to the passage of the navigation acts . . . Virginia and Maryland were lands of opportunity for the poor immigrant." 30 As usually recounted, the American Dream makes no provision for such a sudden ending in two of the rich and prosperous colonies before 1680!

25. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia* (Charlottesville, 1910) p. 155.

26. *Loc. cit.*

27. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

28. *Loc. cit.*

29. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia* (Princeton, 1922) p. 740.

30. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.* (5), p. 33.

The exact extent to which former indentured servants were honored by high positions in the early years is debated by the greatest authorities in this field. Bruce quotes Dr. William G. Stanard as saying that "between 1607 and 1650, only two names [of Assemblymen] can be found who had ever been technically in the list of indentured servants." 31 Wertebaker searched through the lists and found few scattered ex-servants, sometimes none, usually one or two, once four at one session. Of these four one was a Townsend, "a gentleman by birth." (Many of the indentured servants were educated men, and some of highly cultured families, as has been previously shown.) Wertebaker estimates and gives figures slightly higher than those of Bruce, but the difference is not significant. 32

The important point is that these opportunities soon closed for persons of lowly birth. Furthermore, in percentages of the total number of social inferiors those who rose in the early decades were exceedingly small. "At the end of half a century no less than 56,250 persons would have emerged from servitude to become free citizens." And not all of these had been born to poverty and ignorance.

One discovers that "it is apparent, then, that in the first half century of its existence Virginia was the land of opportunity." 33 But to admit even this, one is put in the position of attributing great importance to the rise in local importance of a relatively insignificant number of former servants, some of whom were born into good families. However, fifty years at the very beginning is not a very long time for one of the wealthy colonies to remain true, even in a definitely limited way, to the American Dream.

It is said that if a man applied himself diligently to his task, he could plant and harvest with his own hands a sizeable crop of tobacco, on the free land available during the first decades of the life of the colony, at a fair margin of profit, but for the high cost of all articles imported. The farmers complained, even before the passage of the navigation acts, that "this year the Merchants have bought our tobacco with their commodities at less than a penny the pounce." 34 Furthermore, just as some of these independent farmers were getting on their feet, as will be seen, their feet were knocked from under them, and mechanisms set to work against a repetition of these very opportunities in agriculture, so far as the servants and poor free men yet to come were concerned.

Finally, none of the great Virginian families descended from servants. The nearest any of them came to lower class affiliation at the time of emigration was to have sprung from members of some of the English guilds. Admittedly, but not connoting lowly or proletarian origin, the Byrds descended from "a London goldsmith." 35 Oswald Cary was the son of an English merchant, Philip Ludwell of a mercer, and Thomas Fitzhugh, as if to strain at a gnat to show some low class background among the FFV's, "was thought to have been the grandson of a malster." 36

Many of the first families migrated to America after 1650, as a part of the royalist exodus at the time of Cromwell. They were, as will be shown, to bring high-class standards and habits with them. Furthermore, in view of the fact that most of the leading commercial classes coming to America were either directly or remotely related to the gentry and to the nobility, through one line or another, it is useless to try to determine exactly the extent to which they were technically aristocratic. Wertebaker and Bruce have both attempted to answer the question of the social rank of the leading families of Virginia at the time of their arrival. One author leans toward the "commoner" interpretation, the other toward the "blue-blood" theory. Bruce has pointed out, as will be shown, that the prominent families in Virginia had, almost uniformly, respectable and honorable backgrounds.

31. Philip Alexander Bruce, *The Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (Lynchburg, second edition, 1927) p. 100.

32. Wertebaker, *op. cit.* (5), p. 33.

33. Wertebaker, *op. cit.* (28), p. 71.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

35. Wertebaker, *op. cit.* (24), p. 19.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Virginian social classes in the period from 1650 to 1725. Virginia was not settled by strong contingents of middle class elements, as was the Bay. At first, in fact, there was a shortage of social, even of political and economic, leadership. This situation was gradually remedied. Bruce shows this in the following excerpt: 37

But from 1619 . . . down to 1700, perhaps not a period of twelve months went by that this [gentry] class did not receive additions by the arrival from England of men of equal social standing, who were in a position to acquire, by patent or purchase, estates, large or small, according to the means at their command. And these men became at once as much a part of this class from a social point of view as if they had been born in the Colony in the same walk of life It was in this century that there emigrated from England the Armisteads, Banisters, Bassets, Blands, Bollings, Bacons, Brents, Beverleys, Burwells, Byrds, Carys, Corbins, Carters, Clairbornes, Curtises, Fauntleroyes, Fitzhughs, Harrisones, Lees, Lightfoots, Ludwells, Masons, Pages, Peytons, Randolphs, Robinsons, Scarboroughs, Spencers, Taylors, Thoroughgoods, Washingtons, and Wormeleys

By the time these families had acquired their estates, by patent or purchase, more of the Eastern Shore was taken up, reserved, and monopolized. Before 1700 a great dislocation of the common white population in this area was taking place. These commoners were being driven, like cattle before a fire, into the hills and across the border. In one manner or another they were nearly all caught in the dragnet of misfortune.

According to the Rent Rolls of 1704 - 1705, there were 450 families in Virginia (apart from the Northern Neck, held largely by a few families, including the Washingtons, Lees, Spencers, and Carters) with farms of more than one thousand acres; 750 families owned farms of from five hundred to one thousand acres, and 2693 owned acreages of from one hundred to five hundred. Definitely in the class of small independents were 1411 families who lived on their own small tracts of less than one hundred acres. 38

But the free population, by the turn of the century, could not possibly have been less than 20,000 families. Servants, who made up the great majority of the white immigrants, were becoming freedmen as early as 1671 at the rate of one thousand per year. 39 Out of these 20,000 families, or more, only 4854 are accounted for among the owners of land (town life had not developed greatly at this times). One is forced to conclude that thousands were depressed below the level of land ownership, in a colony of abundant land, or they had migrated to parts unknown to the land title office. They had become squatters.

White men gave way to black. "For a full half century the tobacco colonies were subjected to a double movement, the influx of African slaves, and the flight before them of poor whites." 40 Of those who remained, nearly all sank into a state of poverty and misery.

In contrast, at that time, the prosperous planter was master of all he surveyed. His great dwelling was comfortable, "its great hall hung with tapestry, its chambers provided with all kinds of furniture" 41

Of the displacement of the little man, the Beards say: "Under the system of extensive and wasteful cultivation by slave labor, the rich coastal plain was quickly occupied, forcing small farmers in search of homes to flock into the upland regions." 42 It was a similar displacement to that described by Benjamin Franklin in the memorable work said to have been the source of Malthus' inspiration to write on population. Franklin wrote: "The blacks . . . have greatly diminished the whites there; the poor are by this means deprived of employment, while a few families acquire vast estates" 43

The small independent farmer, perhaps a former servant or his descendent, after the passage of the navigation acts, "often suffered keenly for a lack of adequate clothing . . . could not protect his family from the winter's cold." 44

37. Bruce, op. cit., pp. 11 - 12.

38. Ibid., pp. 98 - 105.

39. Wertenbaker, op. cit. (28), p. 41.

40. Wertenbaker, op. cit (5), p. 305.

41. Ibid., p. 315.

42. Beard and Beard, op. cit., p. 87.

43. Benjamin Franklin, "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, etc.," *The Magazine of History*, extra numbers 61 - 64, vol. XVI (Tarrytown, 1918, first printed in Boston, 1755) pp. 220 - 221.

44. Wertenbaker, op. cit. (28), p. 103.

The death-knell of the American Dream is sounded by Wertenbaker in these words: 45

It would be expected, then, that even the most exhaustive investigation could reveal but a few indentured servants, coming over after 1660, who succeeded in establishing themselves in the Virginia yeomanry, and such, indeed, is the case. Fortunately we have at hand for the period in question the means of determining this matter with an exactness impossible for the first half of the century . . . it is safe to say that not more than five or six percent of the indentured servants of this period succeeded in establishing themselves as independent planters.

The foregoing was based on an exact scientific study of family names. The consequences of this trend had enormous repercussions upon the hopes of many of those who had come to Virginia to establish themselves in a new land of abundance and opportunity. Wertenbaker's obituary of the American Dream is summarized in these words: 46

The glorious promises which the country had held out to him [the Virginian yeoman] in the first fifty years of its existence had been belied. The Virginia which had formerly been so largely the land of the little farmer, had become the land of masters and slaves. For aught else there was no room.

In another volume the same author states: 47

The South fell largely under the control of an aristocracy of large slave-holders . . . while the "poor white trash" who owned no slaves were kept in a condition of economic and political dependence.

History has shown, also, that those who chose to flee to the uplands in order to eke out an existence on the hillsides only jumped out of the frying pan into the fire. No honorable status or stable standard of living was within reach of those who threw up their shacks on the mountain sides.

The little man who came early and got a small foothold on security was displaced; the little man who came later found not even a respite from his misery; America was, from the day of his arrival, another system of social class rigidity, from which he had presumably hoped to escape.

Shortly before 1860 this freezing out process was still proceeding on its relentless schedule. "The poor whites on the banks of the Congaree (S.C.) . . . are the descendants of former proprietors . . . but for generations their fathers have been gradually selling off to the richer planters." 48

Bruce reports that the individual plantation grew larger and larger as the number of slaves increased. "The tendency toward engrossment of the soil . . . was just as strong in 1861 . . . as it was two hundred years earlier." 49 This was true in spite of the Jeffersonian laws against primogeniture and entail.

Such is the general outline of trends in opportunity in Virginia in the middle period of her colonial development and an indication of the continuation of those trends. For the thirsty poor, opportunity in Virginia was an ocean of salt water. Or, if one prefers another figure, even the early opportunity was an "Indian gift"; there was a string attached.

A review of the likelihood of a poor man's rising and becoming part of respectable society will not be complete, however, until a survey is made of the different classes, as such.

Slaves and free blacks. The early blacks, like the early servant, had a better chance of improving his situation than did those who arrived later. Woodson states: 50

These first African captives in America, moreover, were largely house servants who had almost as much freedom as members of their master's families. There is evidence that the blacks brought to Jamestown in 1619 were placed among families in this way [as indentured servants], and one of those very blacks became the master of a servant himself.

And in another volume the same author makes the following statement: "As the blacks were first brought here as indentured servants and only thereafter were debased to the status of slaves, some of the race became free during this transition." 51

45. Ibid., pp. 97 - 98.

46. Ibid., p. 151.

47. Wertenbaker, op. cit. (14), pp. 19 - 20.

48. Arthur W. Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family*, vol. II (Cleveland, 1918) p. 349.

49. Philip Alexander Bruce, *The Rise of the New South*, (Philadelphia, 1905) p. 422.

50. Carter G. Woodson, *Negro Makers of History* (Washington, 1928) p. 25.

51. Carter G. Woodson, *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830* (Washington, 1925) p. xlvi.

Emancipated slaves and their descendants moved in two directions: one group, usually those given training, experience, and money by a kind master, formed the basis for what soon became the black middle class. The other freedmen of color lived an outcast, neglected, and insecure existence. Their state was often more miserable than that of many slaves -- it was a state of existence somewhat similar to that of the least fortunate poor whites. Freedom, as an abstract principle, did not have concrete social class meaning in colonial Virginia. Realities belied Wecter's statement that "there were only two classes in America: indentured servants or slaves, and freemen." 52

A slave's chances of rising were not dependent upon his talents and abilities; they were personal and dependent upon the whims and leanings of his master. The house servants tended to form a social class among the slaves, one rung above the field slaves, as a class. But rising did not typically depend upon individual effort.

Indentured servants. It was not among blacks but among the white servants, the redemptioners, that one would expect to find many persons rising above their former station. But the fate of the earlier servants, who soon lost the little hold they had attained on the ledge of yeomanry, and the fate of later lower class arrivals, bound or free, who found their one and only chance to escape utter misery in the misty blue hills, high and far to the west and south of the eastern shore, was an unhappy one. More details as to their lives and opportunities than has been given, however, are needed to complete the story of low status in Virginia and the neighboring colonies.

There were, at the time of their arrival, at least three types or classes of indentured servants: those who came voluntarily, those who were "carried here against their will," 53 and those who were of middle or higher class standing, with education, background, and ambition, as have been described in an earlier chapter. This last-mentioned type came either voluntarily to escape some public shame or to get away from their old surroundings, or involuntarily as political prisoners. Ballagh, in writing about white servitude in the Colony of Virginia, says: "Many servants were besides this of better origin and education than the generality" 54 Wertenbaker, referring to indentured servants, states: 55

Some were persons of culture, and, on rare occasions, of means There are many instances of persons of gentle blood becoming indentured servants to lawyers or physicians, in order to acquire a knowledge of those professions. Tutors were sometimes brought over from England under terms of indenture Several instances are recorded of gentlemen . . . who are spoke of as servants

These facts throw considerable light upon the statistics which go to show that in the first half century a scattering of servants are found in the Assembly and other places of honor. There is no way of knowing exactly whether or not these were persons with education and background.

Another factor affecting mobility is the much-discussed "fifty acres of free land for every servant." Were these granted to each servant at the expiration of his term of servitude? It seems certain that at the very beginning, in some colonies other than Virginia, this practice was carried out. But emphasis has been placed too heavily upon the likelihood of such an eventuality. Wertenbaker discredits the notion:

There existed in England a widespread impression that the servant, upon securing his freedom, was entitled by law to fifty acres of land. This appears to have been a mistake arising from a misapprehension of the nature of the headright, which belonged not to the servant himself, but to the person who paid for his transportation.

Misery among the poor whites. Many descriptions have been written about the miserable conditions prevailing among the poor whites of Virginia and her neighbors. Since the vast majority of the immigrants to Virginia were servants, they can correctly be considered the ancestors of these poor white families.

52. Dixon Wecter, *The Saga of American Society, A Record of Social Aspiration, 1607 - 1937* (New York, 1937) p. 14.

53. Beard and Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

54. James Curties Ballagh, *White Servitude in the Colony of Virginia* (Baltimore, 1895) p. 83.

55. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.* (24), p. 163.

Faulkner, for instance, writes: 56

Although Virginia was particularly unfortunate in its immigrants, it was not alone. North Carolina and Maryland received a considerable addition to their population from indentured servants who had served their time in Virginia and pushed on to the frontiers to take up land, or from runaway servants and criminals from that colony. William Byrd . . . in 1728 speaks of the North Carolinians as irreligious, immoral, dirty, and incurably lazy . . . It is almost needless to say that the "poor whites of the South today are to no small extent descended from the servile class of Europe.

Calhoun similarly reports: 57

Chastellux, a French traveler, frequently remarks on the masses of poverty-stricken people he saw in Virginia, some dressed in rags and living in miserable huts. They were indolent and hopeless, a product of the slave system, which degraded useful effort. From them sprang many of the "poor whites" of later days.

In many writings one finds affirmation of the thesis of considerable social class rigidity. The explanation of the existence of poor whites in the South in terms of their social class backgrounds is probably much more nearly adequate than an explanation based upon geographic and economic conditions.

Low social backgrounds alone can account for the following references to the poor whites of Virginia and the neighboring colonies during the period of settlement. Property systems, climate, and topography could not possibly have produced these results in so short a time after the arrival of the settlers. The following words and phrases have been culled from several writers: 58 "nest of the most notorious profligates on earth," "loose and lascivious," "vile and corrupt," "debauched, dissolute, and corrupt," "outcasts," runaway servants, insolvent debtors, and fugitives from justice," "naturally loose and wicked, obstinate and rebellious, crafty and deceitful," "miserable huts inhabited by whites whose wan faces and ragged garments gave testimony to their poverty," "children run around naked and a chair was not in the house and never will be," "sand-hillers -- every house having half a dozen children, the entire family in one room," and in the year 1842 it was written: "We saw boys and girls . . . of six and seven . . . some using small axes, others carrying wood . . . In general, they were very dirty . . . the mother being too weary to wash them . . ."

Nor has the picture changed in still another century. The present researcher has traveled through the Ozarks, the pine barrens of Louisiana, the lowlands and mountains of Tennessee, the mining sections of Kentucky, all the counties of the Piedmont and mountains of North Carolina and Virginia, and among the clay-eaters of Georgia by foot, on a bicycle, by car with camping outfit, and as a hitch-hiker. Intimate tours through twenty thousand miles of mountain and lowland country, sometimes on the backmost roads, showed that most of the poor whites are now just where their ancestors were in 1700: low in status, prolific, wan, lean, and miserable. In Pineville, Kentucky, and Franklin, North Carolina, they gather on Saturdays in the filthy courthouses to get their relief -- an almost inhuman assemblage. They are a sickly, weak, sullen, and helpless crowd, the worst assortment of the human species that the researcher has seen in any of eleven countries, toured by bicycle.

In 1700 they "showed no ambition to improve their agricultural methods or to engage in industry or trade," 59 and these same words describe their descendants today.

To argue that every man had a good chance in colonial America is to fail to realize that most of the immigrants who came to Virginia, specifically, were not "economic men." They were persons to whom household, career, and farm management were as strange as were the rules of international law to the peons of Mexico. Now were they to know what to do, how to do it, when to act, and when to rest? No one had drilled them in these habits and skills. Nor can the weather be blamed, for the climate of the southern hills and mountains is exhilarating and stimulating, if a person knows enough to stay in out of the rain or to dress for it.

56. Harold U. Faulkner, "Colonial History Debunked," Harper's Magazine, vol. 152 (December, 1925) p. 86.

57. Calhoun, op. cit., pp. 328 - 329.

58. These words and phrases were taken from the following sources, some of which were themselves quoting earlier writers: Ibid., pp. 320 - 321; 348 - 349; 350. C. M. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History, vol. III (New Haven, 1937) pp. 248 - 250. Wertenbaker, op. cit. (28), p. 152.

59. Andrews, op. cit., p. 259.

The poor whites are a people who neglect their shelter, their animals, their health, and their mental development because they have never experienced good housing, good husbandry, or good management. Children grew up in droves without enough land or work to go around; they became steeled to misery; they incoherently excuse themselves by complaining of hard luck.

Such is a rapid glimpse at a class of families to whom middle class habits and aristocratic manners were and still are foreign. Most of them descend from those driven from the Eastern Shore.

The middle class. There were very few middle class elements among the immigrants to Virginia, but even though few in number, they made their mark upon the life of the colony. If anyone was to do so, they had to, because it was too much to expect that the poor whites would be able to get enough of a foothold to be able to make it good. This is explained in the following excerpt: 60

Yet it must not be forgotten that any immigration of poor freemen, however small, would have a very marked influence upon the formation of the small farmer class. Of the host of servants a certain proportion only, a proportion probably less than fifty percent, could hope even in the most favorable times to become freeholders. If they surveyed the hardships and dangers of the service with their masters, it still remained for them to acquire property and win for themselves a place in the life of the colony. And to accomplish this they must display determination, intelligence, industry and thrift, qualities by no means universal among the classes in England from which the servants were chiefly drawn. But for the free immigrant there need be no period of probation. He might at once purchase his farm, erect his home, secure all necessary tools and put out his crop of tobacco. And whereas the servant usually found it possible to maintain a family only after many years of hard work, perhaps not at all, the free settler often married before leaving England and brought his wife and children with him.

The absence of town life, of course, reduced the number of middle class elements attracted to Virginia, and the power of the slave-owning aristocrats prevented and even decreased the chance of a yeoman class's becoming strong in Virginia. The full explanation of the absence of middle class elements in the later colonial decades is to be found in the small number which arrived; for, although conditions were not favorable to the development of such a class out of the elements arriving, these conditions were not such as could have stopped the drive, power, and wit of the Pilgrims, for instance, or the middle class Scotch-Irish who later proved their metal on the rugged frontier under more adverse conditions.

Above, mention was made of the fact that none of the servants became the founder of any of the FFV's. Almost the same may now be stated with regard to the yeomen. Bruce says: 61

The term "yeoman" appears with little frequency in the early land patents There were only about 15 persons so designated in the early land patents; these were None of these names, with the exception of Sibsey became prominent in the social history of the Colony.

Little reference is made in the history of the Virginia Colony even to the existence of a middle class, so effectively did the aristocrats steal the show and the poor whites and blacks fill in the background. As to the existence of a middle class in the detailed biographies in Appendix III than could be deduced from the unusual historical accounts of that period.

The aristocrats of Virginia. Not only did the aristocrats of the Colony of Virginia steal the show; they stole the very land itself, as is shown in the following account: 62

Amid these acts of deception and fraud one deed is conspicuous. Col. Philip Ludwell had brought into the colony forty immigrants and according to a law . . . this entitled him to a grant of two thousand acres of land. After securing the patent, he changed the record with his own hand by adding a cipher each to the forty and two thousand, making them four hundred and twenty thousand respectively . . . so great was his influence that the matter was ignored and his rights were not disputed.

Alexander Spotwood was guilty of a theft even greater than that of Ludwell

The commonness of fraud of this kind among the Virginia planters of the earlier period does not necessarily stamp them as being conspicuously dishonest. They were subjected to great and unusual temptations.

60. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.* (28), p. 82.

61. Bruce, *op. cit.*, pp. 120 - 121.

62. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.* (24), pp. 97 - 99.

While the small independent farmer was shrinking and the freed servants were withdrawing into the hills to eke out a living, "the wealthier Virginians showed throughout the colonial period a passion for land that frequently led them into the grossest and most unjustifiable fraud." 63 By 1700 land could be had for five shillings per hundred acres, but "there were also irregular practices which enabled influential men to secure land on even easier terms." 64

Who were these aristocrats? Did they grow up with the country, "develop almost entirely within the colony?" Of did they bring their status with them? Greene leans toward the explanation that the gentry of England and the Cavaliers contributed most of the upper classes in Virginia. He says: 65

After the opening of the English Civil War, Virginia grew more rapidly; for the disappointed Cavaliers began to take refuge across the sea By 1652, there were perhaps 20,000 people in the province.

This pioneer population was drawn from various classes. From the first there had been a fair proportion of the gentry and this element was strengthened by the coming of the Cavaliers; but there were also traders and a considerable number of workingmen. The latter were usually indentured servants

Mary Johnston similarly emphasizes the Cavalier influence; she states: 66

Men, women, and children came until to a considerable degree the tone of society rang Cavalier Now Washingtons appear, with Randolphs, Carys, Skipwiths, Brodnaxes, Tylers, Masons, Madisons, Monroes, and many more. These persons are not without means; they bring with them servants; they are in high favor with Governor and Council; they acquire large tracts of virgin land From being English country gentlemen they turn easily to become Virginia planter.

The aristocracy of Virginia was also descended from the merchants of England, many of whom, according to the rule of "extra" sons, were related to the gentry and even to the nobility, as has been explained above. Wertebaker 67 traces this connection. But it fell to Bruce to trace down the status of many of the leading Virginia families and to determine the extent to which persons of considerable social rank came to the colony. The following abstract is taken from his thorough study of the social life of Virginia in the seventeenth century: 68

One half of the first voyage and thirty-three out of a company of 120 in the first supply ship were gentlemen. Three-fourths of those who signed the Virginia charter of 1612 were included in the circle of the English gentry. Twenty-five were peers of the realm. Gentlemen continued to come steadily after Smith's departure. Eleven gentlemen came on the Ann and the Bonny Bess in 1624. The following settlers were connected by close ties of blood or marriage with members of the English baronetage: the Wests, Pawletts, Percies, Spelmans, Whitakers, Thorpes, Throckmortons, Dales, Berkeleys, Willoughbys, Fleets, Wyatts, Stracheys, Davisons, Rolfes, Thompsons, Allingtons. The following persons were of or closely related to the nobility or were in very high positions when they migrated to the Old Dominion: Sir John Zouch, Walter Aston, Thomas Booth, William Clairborne, Adam Thoroughgood, Samuel Mathews, Henry Finch, Captain John West, Sir John Harvey, Joseph Noy, Henry Woodhouse, Major Richard Moryson, Lord Cutt, Christopher Calthorpe, George Reade, Richard Kemp, etc., etc. The following families belonged to the squirearchy: the Yeos, Broadhursts, Peachies, Parkes, Evelys, Gibbons [great grandfather of the historian], Corbins, Pages, Beverleys, Harrison, Gookins, Carters, Ashtons, Burwells, the Smiths. Descendants of persons of distinguished profession, who, in most cases trace back to the landed gentry, included: the Fitzhughs, Douthats, Lightfoots, Lomaxes, Mallories, Montagues, Juxons, Sheldons, Singletons, Newmans, and Boltions. All of these persons were of importance in the colony. Royal officers who came to Virginia between 1649 and 1660 were: General Hammond, Colonels Molesworth, Bridger, and Norwood, and Majors Stevens, Brodnax, and Fox. Other Cavaliers are listed as: the Langstons, Bishops, Culpeppers, Harrisons, Sir Thomas Lunsfords, Randolphs, Masons, Washingtons, Honeywoods, Skipwiths, Fowkes, Berkeleys.

There was a close relationship between English merchants and the gentry and nobility. Fourth sons of gentlemen might serve apprenticeships in London. They did not cause thereby to be members of the country gentry. There was no disposition to shut out from genteel gentry those persons belonging to these

trade corporations. The Byrds' forebear was a banker; the Blands sprang from a skinner's guild; the Ludwells were mercers. The Fitzhughs traced their ancestry back to both a malster and to the Barony of Ravensworth; the Griffiths and Stanfords were London merchants. Several families were descended from Lord Mayors of London.

Ballagh notes "a greater development of the aristocratic sentiment from the influx of a considerable number of gentlemen just after the civil war in England" 69

The stories of poor lads who rose to prominence in Virginia, as if they were without social class backgrounds, always need investigating. Patrick Henry, for instance, was cousin to Lord Brougham 70 and to Dolly Madison as well.

One must conclude that there was much social class rigidity in the social classes of Virginia and that the aristocratic families did not emerge from low status to high social rank. These families, however, proved better the theory of America as the land of opportunity than did the poor families, described above. They proved, beyond doubt, that for those who had a head start there were abundant resources available.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

64. Evarts Boutell Greene, *The Foundations of American Nationality* (New York, 1922) pp. 319 - 320.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

66. Mary Johnston, *Pioneers of the South* (New Haven, 1918) p. 150.

67. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.* (24), pp. 24ff.

68. Adapted from Bruce, *op. cit.* (30), pp. 27 - 29, 31, 32, 35 - 38, 61 - 76, 78, 79, 81 - 97.

69. Ballagh, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

70. Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, *Colonial Days and Dames* (Philadelphia, 1895) p. 138.

As a separate and distinct class, strengthened by intermarriage, strong in social position and economic power, arbiters of Southern fashions and etiquette, exclusive and much sought after, for centuries these families endured. As late as 1937 a keen observer could write: ". . . it is still worth while to identify this class group Although it has lost its actual grip on the social machine to a very great extent, it has maintained the momentum of its social prestige and assimilation into it is still a great value to the South."
71

The War Between the States was a great shock to the planter class. Before the war the social life was led by people living in country estates, but since the war "all that is best is to be found in the city." 72 The truth is, of course, that the aristocratic families moved in great numbers to the cities and there carried on their leadership, in general, with a new economic base. (This will appear evident from a reading of the biographical material concerning prominent Virginians in Appendix III.) Bruce summarizes the movement of prominent families from country to city in these words: 73

If we go to some Southern county, which, in the times of slavery, was the seat of an intelligent, refined, and cultivated gentry, we shall discover that the only society possessing any distinction is centered in the courthouse town; and this society is generally made up of the families of professional men whose names are among the most ancient and honorable in the history of the States In the last quarter of a century, many fortunes have been made by representatives of the old rural gentry.

There are those who would argue that, although it might have been difficult for persons of lowly origin to crash into the highest social set of exclusive families, nevertheless these persons frequently made their names in other fields, after the pattern of Alfred E. Smith. In his *Virginia Plutarch*, Bruce set about to give the life stories of all the eminent Virginians, from John Smith to Walter Reed. The present researcher sought out the social class backgrounds of all the prominent persons listed. The biographies included those of Captain John Smith, Princess Pocahontas, Sir Thomas Dale, Sir George Yeardly, Sir William Berkeley, Nathaniel Bacon, Sir Francis Nicholson, Alexander Spotwood, William Byrd, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, George Mason, Richard Henry Lee, George Rogers Clark, General David Morgan, John Sevier, Captain Meriwether Lewis, James Madison, John Marshall, James Monroe, John Randolph, General Sam Houston, John Tyler, General Winfield Scott, Edgar Allan Poe, Commodore Matthew Fontaine Maury, Robert E. Lee, General Thomas J. Jackson, General Stuart, Woodrow Wilson, and Walter Reed.

From the data given, 74 which were extensive, it was found that only one man, General Morgan, was of proletarian background. Furthermore, the most effective Virginians, with the exception of Wilson, were cradled in the highest classes. A goodly number appear to have been reared in middle class homes. Many, of course, played stellar roles and were not absorbed in a social class equivalent to that of their fame. This was particularly true of General Morgan.

Conclusion. This chapter has given the reader a picture of the classes in the colonies, especially in Virginia. It has indicated that this is a land of opportunity principally for those with a good base from which to spring. No significant social class circulation was discerned. There was little in the story of colonial life to indicate that a general social class percolation was taking place.

In Appendix III data are given which indicate, on the basis of family biographies of present day Virginians and their ancestors, that the later social class trends in that state have not been greatly different from those of earlier times. Overwhelming social class continuity was found.

71. John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven, 1937) pp. 79 - 80.

72. Bruce, *op. cit.* (49), p. 421.

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 433 - 434.

74. Philip Alexander Bruce, *The Virginia Plutarch*, vol. I (Chapel Hill, 1929) pp. 12, 28, 43, 58, 71, 89, 102, 118, 135 - 136, 155, 195 ff., 212 ff., 269, 288, 306; vol. II, pp. 38, 58, 76, 88, 116, 151, 171, 188 ff., 206 ff., 224 ff., 268 ff., 287, and 310 ff.

CHAPTER XII

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT

The colonial period appears to have been a second edition of the European original. After having come over at quite different levels, the classes drew still further apart during the eighteenth century. But during the nineteenth century, could not every man go West to the rich virgin lands and make good? That he could is commonly believed by many interpreters of American history.

If ever the theory of social class stability were taxed, it was during the period of rapid westward expansion. The record of that movement has usually been written up in such a manner as to leave the impression either that opportunity enabled me to compete freely and equally or that those persons who traveled westward were, in some vague way, of equal status.

The door of equal opportunity. "To the struggling eastern farmer, dissatisfied tradesman, religious dissenter, oppressed mechanic, or ambitious young lawyer, the West was a sort of 'promised land' the gates of which were ever open," 1 says Carman. In his history of the lost state of Franklin, Williams tells that "cheap land promoted individualism and economic equality." 2 But in the same paragraph he writes: "The owners of the larger farms in the fertile valleys were also holders of slaves" The latter statement is more revealing of the true situation than the former.

Coman, following the Turner thesis, states the American Dream of this period in these lines: 3

Workmen and operatives thrown out of employment by the curtailment of industry turned to the unclaimed lands beyond the Mississippi as an opportunity not only to earn a livelihood but to attain the independence that was the dream of every American citizen . . . thousands of the more impercunious families made their way . . . to the land of freedom and plenty. Allured by tales sent back by the pioneers or by the prospectuses distributed by speculators, they undertook the journey with the strong conviction that fortune lay before them, but with small comprehension of the risks and hardships of the new life.

The difference between expectation and fulfillment were, then, to be learned the hard way by the pioneers, although the complete story of the movement does not always find its way into the descriptions and interpretations of the period.

Turner lists the wonderful opportunities offered by the West in the following manner: 4

Here were mill sites, town sites, transportation lines, banking centers, openings in the law, in politics -- all the varied chances for advancement afforded in the rapidly developing society where everything was open to him who knew how to seize the opportunity.

But speculative capital and business-trained insight, the heritage of the upper and middle classes, were rarely the tools of the lower classes. It may be said, again and again, that if there were great opportunities in the West for the little man, there were double and treble chances for advancement for the middle and upper classes. What was to be had cheap by the poor was available to the rich with still greater ease. This was particularly true of mill sites, town sites, transportation lines, banking centers, openings in the law, politics. These things were open to all those who could purchase them or who had been trained to know how to attain them by careful calculation, concentration, and application.

The settlement of Iowa appears to have been more heavily weighted with middle class elements than were Kentucky and Louisiana, for instance. The explanation for this is not to be found in the chances of eastern workers acquiring homesteads and equipment and saving pennies. Instead, the following statement by Ross offers a better key to the explanation: "When I was a boy in Iowa the farmer's son, on the twenty-first birthday was presented by his father with a team, a wagon, and perhaps a few farm implements." 5

1. Harry J. Carman, *Social and Economic History of the United States*, vol. I (Boston, 1930) p. 499.
2. Samuel Cole Williams, *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (Nashville, 1924) p. 270.
3. Katherine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, vol. II (New York, 1930) pp. 67 - 68.
4. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920) p. 272.
5. Edward Alsworth Ross, *The Social Trend* (New York, 1922) p. 55.

In actuality, this is not different from saying that merchants set their sons up in business or that a cobbler's son has a chance to learn and practice a trade. The sons described by Ross were like their fathers in opportunity for those whose proximity and means gave them an advantage. Others, who came in scattered bands from the east were often sorely disappointed by their experiences in struggling westward "to occupy free land." 6

One final statement of the open opportunities in the West deserves to be made because it has so often been quoted and footnoted in the general histories of the period. Peck states: 7

The common mechanic is on a social equality with the merchant, the lawyer, the physician, and the minister . . . Any sober, industrious mechanic can place himself in affluent circumstances, and place his children on an equality with the children of the commercial and professional community, by migrating to any of our new and rising western towns. They will find no occasion here for combinations to sustain their interests, nor meet with annoyance from gangs of unprincipled foreigners, under the imposing names of "Trade Unions."

This has been one of the chief authorities for those who wish to substantiate their belief in the truth of the American Dream. Here it may serve as a backdrop for the following descriptions of what actually took place in the movement of population westward.

The westward movement of the different social strata. There are two ways of describing the westward movement of the social classes. One places those without capital at the vanguard of migration. They were the trappers and backwoodsmen. There followed, according to this scheme, those with more capital and more cultured manners. After them came men of greater means to develop industries and banking.

The actual story of settlement, in the wooded and mountainous sections, may be stated in these terms. But the story of ownership, control, and advantage is more complicated. The land speculator was ahead of, not behind, the growth of land values. Among the trappers and scouts were the agents of men with means and political connections. Furthermore, many of the squatters who forged ahead of registered titles and cleared the land lived to see others profit by their hard labors.

From the point of view of the student of social classes, the most important fact is that the real backwoodsman settled in the new places many times in the course of two generations and were never in a position to reap the riches which lay about them. They did not know how to stick, to dig in, to stay put. They were rolling stones.

The descriptions of the classes moving westward, as given by Peck, there is to be found a denial of his pamphleteer statements concerning social equality. He says: 8

Generally, in all the western settlements, three classes, like the waves of the ocean, have rolled one after the other. First, comes the pioneer, who depends for the subsistence of his family chiefly upon the high timber," "cleans out for the New Purchase," or migrates to Arkansas The next class of emigrants purchase the lands, add field to field, clear out the roads . . .

Another wave rolls on. The men of capital and enterprise come

Nothing is shown here of growing up with the country, of rising from the bottom to the top. Instead, the poorer and earlier classes give way to the wealthier groups arriving later.

But it is also true that in some sections of the country, particularly in the settlement of Kentucky, the classes all arrived simultaneously. Of the settlement of Texas, Bancroft writes: 9

When it is borne in mind from how many states of the Union the early settlers of Texas proceeded, that descendants of the pilgrim fathers, the Hollanders from the north, of old Virginia cavaliers, and the ancient Huguenots who settled South Carolina, that hunters from Kentucky and Tennessee, the illiterate frontier farmers, all flocked to his land of promise

6. Justin Winsor, *The Westward Movement* (Boston, 1897) pp. 402 - 403.

7. J. M. Peck, *New Guide for Emigrants to the West* (Boston, 1837) pp. 116 - 117.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 119 - 121.

9. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of*, vol. XVI (San Francisco, 1869) pp. 390 - 391.

One of the most realistic evaluations of the class situation in the West at the time of settlement was written by Theodore Roosevelt. In his *Winning of the West*, he writes: 10

The hunter and trapper came first . . . Close behind the mere hunter came the rude hunter-settler . . . He was adventurous, restless, shiftless

The third class consisted of the men who were thrifty as well as adventurous, the men who were more industrious than restless. These were they who entered in to hold the land, and who had handed it on as an inheritance to their children and their children's children

Yet a fourth class was composed of men of means, of the well-to-do planters, merchants, and lawyers, of the men whose families already stood high on the Atlantic slope . . . These men soon grew to take the leading places in the new commonwealth. They were of good blood -- using the words as they should be used, as meaning blood that had flowed through the veins of generations of self-restraint and courage and hard work, and careful training in mind and in the manly virtues.

Whether the classes were all found in the same migration or followed each other tandem fashion is immaterial to the point under discussion. The fact is that the West was not settled by people who lived in essential equality with each other, not did the conditions of the West reduce them to one common denominator.

To carry through the thought that the several classes settled the West, it is necessary that a description be given of the movement westward of the various classes, as such.

The westward movement of the upper and middle classes. Concerning "American aristocracy," Fish writes that "few towns or country sides of the West were without its representatives. Its mode of life thus presented a model toward which most Americans had always looked with desire, and now could look with confidence." 11 That the poor whites who lived near Mr. Clay of Ashland arose into the aristocracy is not a matter of record, but that the settlements of the West contained representatives of eastern aristocrats can go unchallenged. They were there, and their houses were furnished with plush.

In writing of Kentucky one author says: 12

The beauty of the country and richness of the soil, however, excited general attention soon after the peace, and many persons of respectability and fortune fell in with the current of popular rushing westward.

In a book not specifically dedicated to the rise of the common man during the early nineteenth century, and therefore under no pressure of reiterating the social mobility of the period, the historian Fish describes the influx of well-bred elements into Kentucky at the turn of the century in these words: 13

The leadership of the new party in thought and personnel was Virginian. The Virginia stock was now at its prime. The hardships of the early years had weeded out the physically weak, and the cavalier immigration had infused an element of high refinement, which served to excite the emulation of the rest Finally, at this period the Virginia . . . stock controlled Kentucky, and also Ohio, which became a state in 1803.

The leadership in part of the new West was, then, furnished by the planter class of the east; the poor in the West could only have descended from the poor whites described in the previous chapter.

Instead of the state of Kentucky becoming egalitarian with time, it was in less than two decades of migration "a State different no more from Virginia, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina than these differed from one another." 14 There was scarcely time in that short interval for the processes of social class mobility to account for the diversity within the Kentucky population. Only the immigration of these different classes could make that state in that time so nearly like those back east.

That the West, the "raw settlements," were the recipients of a large and effective immigration of "gentry," made up of planters and sons of men of means is fully described by Roosevelt, who remarks that they

deemed "it a place that afforded unusual opportunities to the man with capital no less than to him whose sole trust was in his own adventurous energy." 15

Not only did the planters of the South join in the settlement of Kentucky -- the officers (but not the common soldiers) of the Revolution took title to thousands of acres of rich lands as recompense for their service to the colonial cause.

10. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. II (New York, 1917) pp. 181 - 183.

11. Carl Russell Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man* (New York, 1927) p. 19.

12. Felix Flugel and Harold U. Faulkner, *Readings in Economic and Social History of the United States* (New York, 1929) p. 138.

13. Carl Russell Fish, *The Development of American Nationality* (New York, 1938) p. 87.

14. Roosevelt, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

15. *Loc. cit.*

Roosevelt describes this movement of men of means and influence thus: 16

This distress at home inclined many people of means and ambition to try their fortunes in the West; while another and equally powerful motive was the desire to secure great tracts of virgin lands, for possession or speculation. Many distinguished soldiers had been rewarded by successive warrants for unoccupied land, which they entered wherever they chose, until they could claim thousands upon thousands of acres. Sometimes they sold their warrants to outsiders; but whether they remained in the hands of the original holders or not, they served as great stimulus to the westward movement, and drew many of the representatives of the wealthiest and most influential families in the parent states to the lands on the farther side of the mountains.

Although everyone had a vote and "all Kentuckians took a great interest in politics . . . the gentry and men of means and the lawyers very soon took the lead in political affairs." 17

The ultimate test of the social class standing of migrants was to be found in the equipment, especially in the kinds of house-furnishings, the families took with them into the West and the kinds of homes they built there. One reads that, 18

Thought the typical inhabitant of Kentucky was still the small frontier farmer, the class of well-to-do gentry had always attained good proportions. Elsewhere throughout the West, in Tennessee, and even here and there in Ohio and the Territories of Indiana and Mississippi, there were to be found occasional houses that were well built and well furnished, and surrounded by pleasant grounds, fairly well kept; houses to which the owners had brought their stores of silver and linen and, heavy old-fashioned furniture from their homes in the Eastern States.

"The leaders of Kentucky life were men who owned large estates, on which they lived in their great roomy houses." If they engaged in the law, they also supervised the plantations and "were always ready to try their hand at some kind of manufacture . . . to any business in which there was a chance to make money" These gentlemen were "always on the lookout for any fresh region of exceptional advantages, such as many of them considered the lands along the lower Mississippi." 19

Carman, describing the movement westward, shows the migration of upper class elements alongside those without means, who "trudged on foot." He says: 20

The roads leading from Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia to Kentucky and Tennessee were, with few exceptions, always crowded with long trains of heavy, lumbering, canvas-covered Conestoga wagons, each drawn by four or six horses, laden with a precious cargo of humanity and household goods Planters and the well to-do usually took with them slaves and herds of cattle and sheep.

Large landowners dominated the scene in Louisiana, too. Timothy Flint describes the area below Baton Rouge along the river as follows: 21

In the whole distance to New Orleans, plantation touches plantation Noble houses, massive sugar houses, neat summer-houses, and numerous black villages succeeded each other in such a way, that the whole distance has the appearance of continued village. The houses are airy and neat, some of them splendid Among the noblest of the plantations is that of General Hampton.

Turner describes the movement of population into the Gulf states in a manner which recalls the realities of the westward migration: the little man was being pushed aside and the rich and influential were reaping the rich rewards in that area. He states: 22

But while this population of log-cabin pioneers was entering the Gulf plains, caravans of slave-holding planters were advancing from the seaboard to the occupation of the cotton lands of the same region. As the free farmers of the interior had been replaced in upland country of the south by the slave-holding planters, so now the frontiersmen of the southwest were pushed back from the more fertile lands into the pin hills and barrens. Not only was the pioneer unable to refuse the higher price which was offered him for his

clearing, but, in the competitive bidding of the public land sales, the wealthier planter secured the desirable soils Little by little, therefore, the old pioneer life tended to retreat to the less desirable lands, leaving the slave-holder in possession of the rich "buck-shot" soils

By the side of the picture of the advance of the pioneer farmer, bearing his household goods in his canvas-covered wagon to his new home across the Ohio, must therefore be placed the picture of the southern planter crossing through the forests of western Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi Valley, in his family carriage, with servants, packs of hunting-dogs, and a train of slaves, their nightly camp-fires lighting up the wilderness where so recently the Indian hunter had held possession.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 442 - 443.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 443.

20. Carman, *op. cit.*, p. 513.

21. Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (Boston, 1826) pp. 299 - 300; see also Coman, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 - 21.

22. Frederick Jackson Turner, *Rise of the New West*, (New York, 1906) pp. 91 - 91.

The Turner thesis of open opportunity, then, must be restricted to the states other than those in the South! Being a pioneer, as such, was no guarantee against the forces of social and economic inequality and against the lack of opportunity. In the great migrations westward all the classes were represented.

There is abundant evidence, also, as shown in Appendix III, that such states as Iowa, for instance, were heavily populated by middle class elements who purchased the rich land and built up the towns. Iowa was populated largely in the decade between 1850 and 1860, receiving most of her immigrants from the states immediately to the east, 23 largely farmers equipped and furnished by the surplus of farmsteads in the neighboring older states. Professionals and businessmen came from New England and the Middle Atlantic States. However, there was obviously more uniformity in the size of farms and the social standing of the settlers in a new territory such as Iowa than in the older ones of Kentucky and Tennessee. In Iowa the first settlers were usually persons with middle class means and equipment. No stories are told of persons trudging to Iowa on foot to squat on small clearings in the hills. The country was surveyed, marked off, and sold in regular fashion in sections and quarter sections. The towns grew more rapidly than in Kentucky, for instance, and the homes were rapidly erected with capital imported from the east. A History of the People of Iowa relates stories of communities built up by well-to-do people, most of them well educated and . . . of approved moral character. Among them were farmers, merchants, craftsmen of all kinds, teachers . . . " 24

Much light has been shed upon the types of migrants who settled most of the "better" sections of the West by Danhof. He emphasizes the fact that the largest parts of the agricultural West were settled by prosperous farm families. "The agricultural population moving westward did so in large part because of the possibility of selling its eastern property and transferring the necessary capital to the West." 25

Danhof lists 31 estimates made by contemporary writers (1850 - 1860) in farm journals as to the cost of farm making in California, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Texas, and Wisconsin. The average estimate for the cost of setting up a farm in those regions was over two thousand dollars, apart from the costs of migration. 26 His study is a complete denial of the Turner thesis that the West offered open opportunity to the poverty-stricken of the eastern states.

Ohio was settled by elements similar to those of both Kentucky, in some respects, and to Iowa in others. In the biographies of prominent persons given in Appendix III, there are more signs of early class differences in Ohio than in Iowa, but fewer than the records of Kentucky reveal. In other words, the more likely one is to find that the early settlers were neither aristocrats nor poverty-stricken, but middle class in status. Few pioneers who could not afford relatively expensive equipment, for instance, were able to trek across the plains and mountains to settle the state of Oregon. Fremont described a caravan, with herds of cattle grazing about, as having "an air of civilized comfort, that made a rare sight for the traveler in such a remote wilderness." 27

The Mormon movement might or might not have been typical of the westward expansion beyond the Mississippi and above the Platte, but certainly more exact information about them is available than about the settlers of Montana, for instance. Of the Mormons there were five early migrations, and the record reveals that the earliest was made up of the rich settlers and the last was composed of the poor. The first migration of Mormons consisted of 1553 persons.

23. See the Federal Census of 1860. 24. Cyrenus Cole, *A History of the People of Iowa* (Cedar Rapids, 1921) pp. 228 - 229.

25. Clarence H. Danhof, "Farm-making Costs and the 'Safety-Valve': 1850 - 1860," in the *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. XLIX, June, 1941, p. 359.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 327.

27. Coman, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 158.

With them they took" 2,213 cattle, 124 horses, 887 cows, 358 sheep . . . " 28 The prescribed outfit for a family of five was one wagon, three yokes of cattle, two cows, two steers, three sheep, one thousand pounds of flour, twenty pounds of sugar, a tent and bedding, seeds, farming tools, and a rifle, equipment adequate for a long journey.

The first caravan passed successfully across the mountains. The last, composed of 1,300 poor souls of the "hand-cart brigade" suffered miserably, many perishing in the wintry blasts which swept down upon them. The first groups took up the best sites and sections in the Beehive colony.

The emigration of Mormon converts from Liverpool to Salt Lake offers a case study in the nature of the American Dream. One reads: 29

The fourth and fifth decades of the nineteenth century proved an epoch of misery and unrest, when the poor of every land were seeking escape from political and industrial oppression . . . The wretched operatives of Manchester . . . miners . . . struggling artisans . . . land-less peasants . . . the superfluous population . . . thousands accepted the Mormon faith and prepared to migrate to the promised land . . .

Such is the setting. America was offering, in Utah, a great opportunity to the poor, wretched, oppressed. Such is the "build up." But alas! Of those who came to America, 30

By far the greater number were farmers and mechanics of the better class who had the means to remove to the land of opportunity . . . The amount of luggage brought to the docks by Mormon passengers was a common complaint of ships' captains, who avowed that the vessel lay an inch deeper in the water on this account.

Thus the under-privileged were left behind by persons with over-heavy baggage.

However, many parts of the West received a goodly share of lower class elements; the West was settled by types other than the gentry of Kentucky, the planters of the southwest and the middle classes of the north.

The westward movement of the lower classes. There were poor pioneers; they tended to settle marginal lands and to receive marginal opportunities. That there were so many in so many sections of the West is itself proof that they were the descendants of the poor and wretched of the East, because by simple mathematics the upper and middle classes could not have produced so many unsuccessful progeny, even if a large portion of them were utter failures; they did not have so many children. There is little to show that the lower classes of the West were made up of the third generation of "shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves."

The West was not a paradise for those who had nothing -- it dealt with such stinging rebukes that many who walked westward also walked back again. The West offered great opportunities to those with excess baggage, to those with fat fast horses, with beautiful furniture, with commercial and professional training. To the poor the West was not infrequently a mirage of undying fountains of sweet water. It was a chance to live roughly, rudely, and to suffer much. But it was hardly a place where the upper and middle classes did not have and keep their advantage. It is true, also, that most of the workers and small farmers and renters made "a fair living" as long as employment and farm prices held out; it is likewise true that the condition of some of the poor in the southern states, in the Great Lakes region, and in the mountains rapidly became worse with the passing of time. They found themselves stranded on cut-over, eroded, and otherwise marginal land, especially in Missouri, Arkansas, Colorado, western Kansas, the Dakotas, and northern Wisconsin and Michigan.

That the lower classes moved westward, sometimes in advance of the "civilized" elements, sometimes simultaneously with the upper and middle classes, sometimes as "follow uppers" in the building of railroads, towns, and in occupying marginal lands, cannot be questioned. It is not true, however, that the poor backwoodsman, who had not title to the land and who continuously "hit for the tall timber," was always followed by middle class elements. Another type of lower class farmer also moved westward alongside those of higher status, settling on marginal farms.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 185 - 186.

30. *Loc. cit.*

The poor whites came with their "betters" in the main westward migration, just as some had gone before and more were to follow afterwards. "The poor classes traveled on foot, sometimes carrying their entire effects in a cart drawn by themselves." 31 "Some traveled by stagecoach or wagon, others on horseback, and not a few on foot," says Carman, and he quotes Birbeck's description, written in 1817, which included the statement that "often the back of the poor pilgrim bears all his effects, and his wife follows, naked-footed, bending under the hopes of the family." 32

The extent of the poverty of these frontiersmen, the very persons who were within striking distance of, but without access to, the riches of large virgin tracts, and their inability because of lack of experience and training to act the part of the economic man, is shown in the following: 33

It was estimated that the cost of a farm of three hundred and twenty acres at the edge of the prairie in Illinois, at this time, would be divided as follows: for one hundred and sixty acres of prairie, two hundred dollars; for fencing it into four forty-acre fields, with rail-fences, one hundred and sixty dollars But the mass of the early settlers were too poor to afford such an outlay, and were either squatters within a little clearing, or owners of eighty acres

. . . Dirt and squalor were too frequently found in the squatter's cabin, and education and the refinements of life were denied to him. Often shirtless and indolent . . . With his rifle he eked out his sustenance . . .

Whichever group one studies -- whether the original squatters or those who followed alongside the caravans "afootback" -- the impression is always the same. Often barefoot, always lacking in education, this part of the population lived in such a situation that even the resources of giant oaks, clear streams, tall grass, gentle rains, and rich earth could not extricate them, especially that part which had been born and raised to the third and fourth generations under these conditions of poverty and isolation.

Roosevelt, in writing of this portion of the population in Kentucky, first points to the sharp contrasts on the frontier (in contrast to those writers who see in the frontier a place of social and economic uniformity), and then says: 34

. . . there was also a large influx of people of people drawn from the worst immigrants that perhaps ever were brought to America -- the mass of convict servants, redemptioners, and the like, who formed such an excessively undesirable substratum to the otherwise excellent population of the tide-water regions of Virginia and the Carolinas. Many of the southern crackers or poor whites spring from this class, which also in the backwoods gave birth to generations of violent and hardened criminals, and to an even greater number of shiftless, lazy, cowardly cumberers of the earth's surface.

The great Bull-Mooser was in a fever heat, perhaps, when he wrote the foregoing, because the objective truth is that there are brave and cowardly men in every class. But the fact that the poor whites of Virginia also moved into Kentucky and took their ways of life with them stands out clearly to those, like Roosevelt, who have delved deeply into the realities of the westward movement.

From the beginnings of the seaboard settlements to the latest census, in the hamlets and cities of this land, there have always been large numbers of poorly housed, poorly clothed, and poorly fed Americans. This was true at the time of the settlement of the West. The poor whites of the Virginia highlands, with their "shallow complexions, ragged clothing . . ." 35 pushed on as far as Texas 36

with furniture of the simplest kind, generally made on the spot out of materials at hand. A few boards with the supports roughly put together, constituted the household tables The female part of the community performed nearly all the household duties; and refined as were the wives of many immigrants, they were not exempt from severe toil unless they held slaves.

* * *

In the public mind, based on sketchy information, the westward migration has usually been conceived of as a one-way movement. No mention is made to the counter-flow. Except for the return of sourdoughs from

Alaska, one does not usually think of the frontier as being so exacting and painful, so lacking in opportunity, as to have caused many persons to resettle in the east.

31. Turner, op. cit. (22), p. 80.

32. Carman, op. cit., p. 512.

33. Turner, op. cit. (22), pp. 86 and 88.

34. Quoted from Theodore Roosevelt in Franklin Henry Giddings, *The Principles of Sociology* (New York, 1903) pp. 128 - 129.

35. Philip Alexander Bruce, *The Rise of the New South* (Philadelphia, 1905) p. 427.

36. Bancroft, op. cit., p. 392.

This phase of the "westward" movement caught the eye of one of the epoch's best historians: 37

There are no means of procuring similar figures for the number of immigrants who went over the Wilderness Road; but probably there were not half as many as went down the Ohio. Perhaps from ten to twenty thousand people a year came into Kentucky during the period immediately succeeding the close of the Revolution; but the net gain to the population was much less, because there was always a smaller, but almost equally steady counter-flow of men, who, having failed as pioneers, were struggling wearily back toward their deserted Eastern homes.

* * *

Anyone who has lived a well ordered life, taking advantage of educational and other opportunities, is inclined to be irritated by the fact that many of the trappers, fur traders, and frontiersmen did not take full advantage of their chances to save a modest fortune and set themselves up in respectable circumstances. Roosevelt, in a passage quoted above, poured out his wrath upon the indolence, laziness, and cowardliness of the "excessively undesirable" elements on the frontier. Theoretically, their knowledge of the terrain should have given the trappers especially, an advantage in the selection of settlement sites. This, logically enough, would lead one to believe that sheer priority, plus a knowledge of the soils, plus physical stamina, should have enabled these men to make their success "stick," especially since they had in many instances earned thousands of dollars in the fur trade.

But here enter some of the intangibles of social class. Could these men lay the foundations of respectability? That they could not rise to the opportunities of abundant cheap land is shown in the following: 38

The trappers and traders were dying out quite as rapidly as the beaver. Exposure, drink, and the hostility of the Indians were destroying them one by one. Their wages were spent in the carouses that disgraced the rendezvous and the trading posts. Few had accumulated enough property to return to the civilized world " . . . so that of all the adventurers engaged, for half a century past, in the fur trade of that licentious quarter, few, very few indeed, ever left it with even a bare competency."

Gunnison, in 1857, wrote that "these trappers have made a thousand fortunes for eastern man, and by their improvidence have nothing for themselves." 39

* * *

Evidence of a preponderance of lower class elements early in the Ozarks is shown in the following statement by Schoolcraft, first written in 1819: 40

When a season of hunting arrives, the ordinary labors of a man about the house and cornfield devolve upon the women, whose condition in such a state of society may readily be imagined. They, in fact, pursue a similar course of life with the savages; having embraced their love of ease, and their contempt for agricultural pursuits

Concerning this same region at this same time one writer states: 41

Arkansas was the veritable frontier. Some fifteen hundred hunters and trappers, unaccustomed to restraint, degenerate in habits and morals, supported a miserable existence in the back country, while the town population was largely composed of renegades and fugitives from justice who sought escape from civil authority.

The foregoing is another way of saying that the pioneers were not all taking advantage of their "open opportunities." Arkansas was, as is, chiefly afflicted by the social backgrounds of its settlers. The lay of the land and other factors caused that state to be one of those not chosen by the middle class elements for settlement, as were Oregon and Iowa, for instance.

The economic interpretation that the West was so rich that it made new and higher class men out of lower class elements should be modified to include the following important qualifications (1) all of the West was not rich in resources, and (2) a pleasant climate and rich resources do not, of themselves, give the population the insight and ambition to use their opportunities.

37. Roosevelt, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

38. Coman, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 370.

39. John W. Gunnison, *The Mormons* (Philadelphia, 1857) p. 151.

40. Quoted in Coman, *op. cit.* (3), p. 32.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 34 - 35.

Timothy Flint, in remarking about the people of the pine woods of Louisiana, says: 42

Nothing can be easier than subsistence in the pine woods. There being little call for labor, the inhabitants labor little, and are content with indolence, health, and poverty.

One finds the pioneers of Missouri, far from being the romantic type, alluded to in the same derogatory terms as those in Arkansas. Coman writes: 43

The pioneers of the westward migration in Missouri, as the Arkansas, were mere "squatters," -- worn out trappers fain to eke out an existence for themselves and their half-breed families by desultory farming, luckless traders . . . refugees and renegades . . . Such a man did not buy land, but put up a temporary shelter in a location where wood, water, and pasturage were abundant . . . Since his only wealth was in horses, cattle, and swine, he lost nothing by chance of habitat.

* * *

One phase of American class history of utmost significance is the question of squatters' rights. It has frequently been intimated, or so stated outright, that the squatter sold his preemption rights for a tidy sum, moved further westward and became an owner in his own name. But it is known that, in general, the cries of speculators were always audible (the pocketbooks of economic royalists are always wired to a public address system); but the distant rumbling of a thousand dispossessed squatters was also heard, even if not quickly or effectively heeded. The squatters' plight in the early nineteenth century was in this respect similar to that of the sharecroppers in the twentieth.

Benton spent most of his life trying to modify those practices which assured the squatter of practically no rights. Not until 1821 was the system of credit sales abandoned, "but the practice of offering the land at auction was still maintained, with the result that men with ready money secured the more desirable tracts, and squatters were often ousted from holdings to which their labor have given augmented value." 44

Wertenbaker refers to the descendants of dispossessed squatters as "wretched people" who still exist "in the mountains of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, exhibiting their ignorance, their disregard for law, their laziness and even in their dialect the lowness of their origin." 45 And it is also true that other descendants travelled on west to Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and, of late, to California. They were the poor who made up a part of the westward movement of peoples.

Squatting is an old, long, and painful phase of American history. It had troubled the proprietors in earliest times. Between 1745 and 1755, for instance, plots broke out in New Jersey; "large numbers of squatters" questioned the rules of law and order. 46

* * *

Tax burdens, also, served to keep the poor man down and to permit the speculators and men of capital to suffer fewer hindrances in the race for opportunity, at least in Tennessee. ". . . through the influence of the land speculators, all lands except town lots were taxed alike, so that the men who had obtained possession of the best tracts shifted to other shoulders much of their own proper burden." 47

Another aspect of the westward migration of the poor of the east is the now largely discredited theory that industrial labor, especially in times of unemployment, had unusual opportunities in the West. Even Turner's estimate of four hundred dollars necessary "to purchase eighty acres in Illinois," along with the minimum quantity of tools, plus the cost of making the trip, were beyond the resources of most of the wage earners of the east. Even as late as 1855 labor from the New England states was conspicuously absent from the settlement of Iowa, as has been seen. Although the northern worker was not suffering from the competition of slaves, as were the poor whites of the South, neither were they earning such sums as would have allowed enough savings for migration. "IN 1849 . . . the average worker [in the industrial north] received \$247 a year" 48

42. Flint, *op. cit.*, pp. 329 - 330.

43. Coman, *op. cit.* (3), pp. 39 - 40.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

45. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia* (Charlottesville, 1910) p. 179.

46. Evarts Boutell Greene, *The Foundations of American Nationality* (New York, 1922) p. 283.

47. Roosevelt, *op. cit.*, p. 400.

48. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The Fouding of American Civilization, The Middle Colonies* (New York, 1938) p. 21.

When one recalls that families were large at that time, and that it has always been customary for wage earners to spend their daily wage and to accumulate little "capital," one can estimate the difficulties in the way of leaving city life for the frontier. Danhof states explicitly in summary of his heavily documented study on farm-making costs and the "safety-valve" that eastern "mechanics themselves participated in the migration only on a small scale." 49 The labor battalions which characterized the development of transportation and city building in the West were the exploited Irish and southeastern immigrants whose fate was not a happy one.

Of course, a certain number of regular laborers shared in the development of the earlier West. In the cattle country they were cow-hands, called cowboys in later fiction. In the Cotton Belt they were black slaves. In the lumber industry there were many woodsmen and mill-hands. And there were silver, gold, and coal miners in the hills. But no mention of these groups reminds one of equality in social relations in the West, or of advancement into high places. Only in the smaller towns, so long as plumbers and carpenters were few and building materials were cheap, was it quite common to see these types of workers living in some of the better houses, a phenomenon that excited great enthusiasm among those who described the passing events.

It is one thing to see a situation in which there are no "disgusting army of paupers, not even beggars," as one observer put it; it is quite another thing to find those who do the work of the world sitting in the seats of dignity and respectability. In fact, since social distinctions are both ubiquitous and relative, it is impossible that any large percentage of persons rose to significantly higher social status. From an institutional point of view they did not.

The Scotch-Irish. The so-called proof of excellent opportunity in America frequently hinges upon the success of persons of "obscure" backgrounds, especially the Scotch-Irish. Who were these commoners who had made up the bulk of the north Irish population? Did they come to America as indentured servants? Did these people who filtered down into the mountains of East Tennessee and later emigrated westward, carrying their Presbyterianism with them, furnishing much religious, political, and economic leadership wherever they went, come from the servant classes? Or were they the same types of people as the Pilgrims and Puritans? Did they have educational backgrounds? Was it their nationality or their class that enabled them to "rise?"

Ford, who made an extensive study of the Scotch-Irish, shows that they did not come over as servants. He quotes the correspondence between two prominent Connecticut citizens in 1718 to this effect: ". . . and likewise pray tell him he is much out of the way to think that these Irish are servants. They are generally men of estates, and come over hither for no reason but upon encouragement sent from hence upon notice given that they should have so many acres of land given them gratis and settle our frontiers as a barrier against the Indians." 50 This same writer, in another place says: "There are none to be sold; have all paid their passages sterling in Ireland." In leaving Ulster they had "brought testimonials of their good standing in the places where they lived." 51

49. Danhof, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

50. Henry James Ford, *The Scotch-Irish in America* (Princeton, 1915) pp. 222 - 223.

51. *Loc. cit.*

The story of Ulster is the story of small enterprise, of a cultural atmosphere not greatly different from the most vigorous parts of New England at its height. When English law threatened the very existence of these families, they did not fail to make effective use of their habits of enterprise, their training and education. This is the social class explanation of their successes in this country.

Tenants become owners. Many twists can be given to the story of the westward movement, to make it appear different from what it really was. One is to reiterate the notion that conditions of equality existed on the frontier. Another is to fail to take full notice of the westward journeys of the southern poor whites and their continued plight. Still another is to infer that squatters received either title or adequate compensation, as a regular practice. A more pernicious one is to infer or state that all the people who settled the West rose in social status. There is still another. It lends credence to the theory that at one stage the West was open to young men who were willing to start as farm-laborers, become farm tenants, and then farm owners. The statistics on this question allowed for varied interpretation. Sorokin states: 52

W. S. Spillman's study of 2,112 Midwestern farm owners shows that 20 per cent of them started their career as farm boys and passed successively the stages of hired laborer and tenant before becoming farm owners; 13 per cent started as farm boys, became hired men and, finally, farm owners; 32 per cent passed the stages of farm boys and tenants before becoming farm owners. And only 24 per cent passed directly from the stage of farm boy on the home farm to the level of farm owner. Somewhat similar results are given by other investigations.

In interpreting these figures several points must be made: (1) it is remarkable that 34 per cent of the farm owners did not ever have to work away from home for wages or become temporary tenants, a very common practice among farm boys; (2) probably most of the sixty-odd per cent of future farm owners who did work away from home for wages were the sons of farm owners; (3) no social class mobility is necessarily demonstrated, even in the cases of boys who also were tenants for a time; (4) no proof is given here that there were good chances of becoming owners for all persons who began as farm laborers or even for those who later became tenants. Every boy who works for wages is not necessarily a part of the "agricultural proletariat." Nor is every tenant necessarily a part of the share-cropping or migrating tenant class. The fact that land was available for the younger generation did not make it free from the possibility of being snatched up, even by the device of temporary tenantry, by the aggressive and energetic sons of farmers who could equip and subsidize their offspring in their efforts to attain solid, dependable, and respectable middle class lives.

It is nowadays evident that fewer tenants become owners. From this it must be concluded among other things: (1) that agriculture is a non-profitable enterprise, (2) that sons of prosperous farmers are taking up other careers, and (3) that the word tenant now has more social class meaning than it formerly had when some tenants were evidently sons of prosperous farm owners.

The Polish Peasant. The story of later immigrants who were lured to the land of opportunity by advertising and agents is documented in the famous work of Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*. There is no occasion to cover that ground here. Few people seriously believe that the later immigrants of low backgrounds have had unlimited opportunities in America. However, the following excerpt from the life of one of those immigrants is reproduced here for the sake of the record: 53

In the stockyards we were working less and less Fifty men were dismissed, among them myself. I received \$9.00 for the last week. Now I search for work in the morning It would really be better if I had died long ago, for I have no hope of getting work It is awfully difficult to get work without protection, because of the terrible crisis brought by European war I cannot even now take a walk with my wife, for she has not even shoes to put on her feet, but wears my old shoes. And she must bear all this through me, for I brought her to this. And only sometimes tears flowing from her eyes show what is going on in her heart She suffers for me, like a slave, and nobody cares for poor people Thus I have improved my lot in this America which our immigrants adore!

Conclusion. A survey of the westward movement shows that there were considerable and significant social class stability and continuity. Workers who moved westward found work, but there was and now is no

significant difference between the working classes of the West and those of the east. Middle class farmers in the West prospered for two generations because of the cheapness of the land and the richness of the soil, but they were, for the most part, what their forefathers had been: middle class farmers. The educated, well-to-do, and upper classes which transferred their sphere of activity from east to West found in that region abundant opportunity at cheap rates. They took advantage of it.

Certainly, few sections of the West were socially or economically egalitarian; neither did the West beat all down to one level nor draw all up to one level. The town of Winfield, Kansas, for instance, was settled by representatives of rich and fashionable eastern families, as well as by marginal families and those in between.

The American Dream is a figment of the imagination -- a masterpiece in distorted fact. It is truly a schoolbook fiction.

52. Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York, 1927) p. 443.

53. William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant, In Europe and America*, vol. III (Boston, 1919) pp. 399 - 400.

CHAPTER XIII

HYPOTHESIS, THEORIES, AND STATISTICS ON SOCIAL MOBILITY

The concept of widespread social circulation of social class fluidity may be emphasized, defended, or propagated. Or it may be doubted, denied, and attacked. The foregoing critical survey of history has led to the conclusion that during almost all of human history there has been no appreciable amount of social class mobility. This is, of course, a belief, but one is in a stronger position if he says that he believes than if he says he knows, "for if we set on the assumption that we know, there is a chance we may be wrong . . ." 1 as Fairchild has logically explained.

Many students and writers have reflected upon and pondered over this theme, and it is appropriate that the conclusions and statistics of other authorities be reviewed here.

Throughout the foregoing many citations and extensive comments about the theoretical aspects of social mobility have been given. Some of these authorities have seen much mobility and opportunity for individual advancement on the social scale, others little, at each step.

To bring the attention of the reader a series of generalized interpretations and statistical analyses touching upon social mobility either as a universal phenomenon or as limited in space and time is the purpose of the present chapter.

Generalized interpretations. All social theorists are inclined to commit themselves to a belief or disbelief in the opportunities for advancement in the societies they describe. It is a mathematical certainty that where there is social ascent, there must also be social descent, although it has been characteristic of some writers to commit the sin of omission, inferring, instead, that the upper classes receive large numbers from beneath but without stating that they release somewhat corresponding numbers to the classes below them. A part of this confusion, in the United States at least, came about as a result of the construction of hundreds of thousands of box-like frame houses which gave the superficial impression that almost all of the population of some towns had attained middle class affiliation. The same conclusion arises from the almost universal use of the modern automobile: to some families it is one of many sources of display and pleasure, to others it is almost the only one.

Extreme social mobility, as a generalized interpretation, has been asserted by several writers, among them the chief publicizers of the American Dream. Others have taken a similar stand with regard to European societies. Sorokin, for instance, says: 2

Whether we take the richest families or the prominent families which occupied the upper classes of European societies at the beginning of the nineteenth century, we find that their offspring now either do not exist, or are degraded, or compose only quite an insignificant part of the total of the upper classes. The composition of the occupational, financial, and political aristocracy now changes probably with a greater rapidity than one century ago. During the last 60 or 80 years, European societies have been "digging" their upper strata in an extensive proportion from the middle classes. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, we see that they have gone still deeper and begun to dig from the classes of the proletariat and peasantry.

This statement is typical of one kind of generalized interpretation -- it belongs to the school of thought which sees much degradation on the part of older family lines and much circulation of the elite. This same author, as has been shown, reported the extermination of the eighteenth century mobility in a wave of revolutions at the end of that century.

North, unlike Sorokin, gives an interpretation that leans toward a belief in the fixity of social classes. Hereditary privileges are evident in the social processes; upon these the social ranks are built. In this connection he says: 3

Individuals have always, as individuals, shown themselves stronger than the prevailing system, and have broken through it . . . But it is the system that we have been describing, and these exceptions have been negligible in comparison with the millions who have conformed to it.

This thought that individuals have, albeit infrequently, risen in spite of the prevailing social order can find its counterpart in the strength of individuals and families to maintain their effectiveness even after the social order which had always handed privileges to them on a silver platter gives way. That is to say, when the lower classes dispossess the upper classes, they destroy the old order, but this same "strength of the individual" causes many of the dispossessed to maintain their status, even in a modified form and under new rules of transmitted privilege. There is, then, social class percolation at all times; there is also social class rigidity even in times of upheaval and apparent social chaos.

Another of North's penetrating generalizations concerns the tendency of social classes to become rigid, through the nature of family life: 4

Social differences once established tend to become more or less permanent. The status, the occupation, the culture of the father are found clinging to his children, and his children's children. The influences that created the differences may long since cease to operate, while the distinctions themselves are handed down successive lines from one generation to another.

But this is not merely in the handing down of property that the institution of the family tends to perpetuate social differences. The family is the instrument of society through which the advantages of wealth or the disadvantages of its lack are felt during the training period of the child; and it is also the agency which furnished the principal part of the mental environment for the most plastic period of the person's life. Thus not only are differences in the advantages which come from wealth present in family life, but differences in the whole mental and moral acquisitions of the parents are necessarily transmitted through the home life. The parents' financial resources and their habits, their points of view, their types of reactions to established situations -- all constitute the medium in which the child acquires the foundation of his mental and moral life. For this reason the status, the mind, the character, the occupational trend of the parent all are woven into the very fiber of the child's life.

1. Henry Pratt Fairchild, *The Foundations of Social Life* (New York, 1927) p. 149.
2. Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York, 1927) p. 496.
3. C. C. North, *Social differentiation* (New York, 1926) p. 225.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 254 and 256.

Cooley is quoted in the same vein: 5

Loyalty to family becomes synonymous with loyalty to class, and membership in one of the "best" families is a sine qua non of association with the members of the same class. On the other hand, in young societies or in those where social change is taking place rapidly, one's family name is taken little account of. But even under these conditions the natural consequences of social heredity through the family work their course.

In his extensive historical review of the social classes of ancient and modern times Fahlbeck, too, lays the emphasis upon social class rigidity as a general principle: 6

Der Sklave erzeugt Sklaven, die Nachkommen des Häuptlings bilden den hohen Adel. Die persönliche Eigenschaft der Geburt wird so an und für sich zu einer Ursache sozialer Unterschiede . . . Man ist zu niedrigen oder zu hohem Stande und überhaupt zu seinem Gewerbe und seiner Lebensstellung von vornherein schol infolge der Herkunft bestimmt.

A recent volume by Ogburn and Nimkoff likewise takes a stand as to whether or not there have been appreciable degrees of social class mobility. They would be classes as among the critics of the American Dream in its pristine form. They state: 7

It is, however, important for the reader to observe that even the most rigid social structure shows some mobility, that is, movement up and down the social ladder . . . Equally important is the fact that even in the most mobile of stratified societies, most individuals remain forever in the class of their birth. This can be shown, for example, by an examination of the statistics and occupations, marriages, and the like for several generations of the population.

Concerning the United States, where there has reputedly been much mobility, these same authors say: 8

The reader naturally has a special interest in the social structure of the United States and wishes to know what it shows in regard to social classes. Despite the democratic shibboleth that "all men are created free and equal," classes do exist in the United States. To stress the fact that half of all the presidents of the United States were of humble birth * is only to emphasize the dramatic exceptions to a rule and not the rule itself. The rule is that the overwhelming majority of individuals remain in the classes into which they are born.

It is doubtless true not only in the present but since the interpretation of social institutions that "the idea that opportunities are open equally to all individuals of equal ability must be regarded as fantasy." 9

Over against the foregoing generalizations that have, for the most part, emphasized the stability of the social classes can be placed the following statements that emphasize social class mobility: 10

The great majority, if not all, of the present wealthiest families [of Europe and America] sprang up during the last two centuries, or even the last two decades. All the rich families of previous times have disappeared and sunk into poverty again. This means that after a period of rising they have undergone one of impoverishment.

In contrast to the North theory of social class stability, which coincides with the findings of the present writer, Sorokin states:

As a result, the composition of each class is fluid, changeable, and unstable, at least in part . . . On an insignificant part of each economic class remains in the same class during many generations. Such cases strongly suggest that people who are poor or rich during five or more generations are in the place proper to their innate qualities.

Another student of social ascent and descent is also impressed by the generalization that this phenomenon is universal. Nothaas quotes the old proverb: "Der Geldsack und der Bettelsack hängen nie länger also 100

Jahre vor einer Tür," and also comments that this span has been "cut down as the examples of war profiteers and the victim of the inflation have demonstrated." 12

One of the least realistic, perhaps, of all the statements on the chances of social mobility is found in a recent sociological text: 13

The higher ranks of entrepreneurs and members of professions occupy, as was noted in a description of the Lower North Side of Chicago, the upper rungs of the community's social ladder. Even members of the semi-skilled group fix their eyes on these same upper rungs, not for themselves usually but for their children.

If by "semi-skilled workers" factory hands, stockyard employees, and truck drivers are meant, it is altogether likely that such thoughts are beyond the range of their career plans, even for their children, on the whole. These groups are least career conscious, attend least to the homework, education and career interests of their children. They are the type which put their children to work and which marry their daughters away from the family board into a kitchen of their own, where they can not only cook, but also eat, wash, and sit. A suggestion of the kind stated above, if made to groups of automobile workers in Detroit, would create a loud guffaw. The notion that their eyes were glued on a hotel apartment in the Detroit-Cadillac for their children would come within the bounds of reason only if coupled with the hopes for the honeymoons of their children, or some similar occasion such as an overnight party. Of all the gray faces this present writer has seen in the early morning gates of the Packard factory, and alongside whom he worked for months, not one let pass his lips the thought of so rearing his children that they would some day join the Dodges and Fords along the river above Belle Isle. Has not the worker burned his fingers many times trying to carry through reasonable plans and modest hopes, only to lose his refrigerator, his car, or his frame house? One of the high hopes of the semi-skilled is to hold his job until his youngest is twelve years old.

In concluding this statement about the generalized interpretations, the following points should be made: (1) Those who believe that in certain periods of human history the classes were closed, correspondingly believe that in other times there has been great social mobility. (2) Those who see the great majority of the population remaining in the class of their birth are more realistic, in that they do not confuse the hopes of rising with the actualities of social class. (3) The moral lesson that those who work hard and save their pennies rise to great heights smacks of advertising campaigns of commercial and savings banks and efficiency experts. (4) The notion that all of ability rise lends moral justification to the social inequalities by inferring that those who have not risen are lacking in ability, a source of considerable frustration among persons in their late twenties who are "getting nowhere fast."

5. Quoted by *ibid.*, p. 257.

6. Pontus Fahlbeck, *Die Klassen und die Gesellschaft* (Jena, 1922) p. 106.

7. William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Sociology* (Boston, 1940) p. 317.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 320.

* P. Sorokin, *The Monarchs and the Rulers*.

9. Ogburn and Nimkoff, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

10. Sorokin, *op. cit.* (2), p. 27.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 478 - 9.

12. J. Nothaas, *Social Ascent and Descent in Germany*, tr. S. (New York, 1938) p. 1.

13. Carl A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology* (New York, 1929) p. 100.

Statistical studies in social ascent and descent. Within the last three decades those social scientists who have adopted the statistical approach to social phenomena have tried to come to grips with the realities of social class rigidity and mobility by the use of that method of research. Much as the other chief aspects of social class continuity, stability, and circulation have been treated in detail, it is now proper that the reader be given a digest, explanation, and criticism of a fair number of these statistical studies.

It is obvious that the social classes, as defined and so far as possible adhered to in this thesis, are not quantitatively calculable. Estimates of their numbers, even in local situations, would not come up to the requirements of strict statistical standards. Therefore, in order to have categories that are self-exclusive, statisticians have made use of lists of famous persons, occupational groupings, income groupings, and political officeholders. These are a hundredfold more easily placed within statistical norms than are the associative groups of kindred social types, differentiated from each other according to their rank on the social ladder.

The statistical method has not served to enlighten the whole subject matter of social class but instead only a part of it. Statistics have perforce limited the data to such matters as are numerically calculable without answering the questions of interchange between the less tangible and more exclusive social class groups. Statistical studies in this field fail to come to grips with human feelings and prejudices (vanity, pride, and honor) which are quite as much at the heart of social class formation and maintenance as are money, occupation, and political office.

For example, as a part of the general subject of social mobility, Sorokin uses the following objective criteria: 14

If, for instance, one individual in one year climbed from the position of a man with yearly income of \$500 to a position with an income with \$50,000, while another man in the same person succeeded in increasing his income only from \$500 to \$1,000, in the first case the intensity of the economic climbing would be fifty times greater than in the second case.

It is, of course, clear that the rise in income of the one man is fifty times greater than in the other, but the significance of this difference in income is to be found in the intangibles of social class. If the first man were a stake grubber, he might waste his fortune in three nights. If he were of a high family and had merely passed from an allowance to a position in a bank, his social position would likewise not be greatly affected. One must know much, much more about these men than their changes in income. Gangsters have mobile incomes but relatively immobile status.

Nothaas, in his statistical studies of social ascent and descent does not pause to define social rank or social status. He set up statistical categories, the upper stratum of which includes professionals and artists and all the political leaders, as well as the rich and the aristocrats. 15 But there are artists and artists, many kinds of professionals, and the political leaders include a motley assemblage of intellectuals, aristocrats, churchmen, and a few ex-workers.

Geiger, who has perhaps worked most assiduously with the perplexities of social class in terms of statistical categories, finally comes to the following conclusion: 16

Neither strata (Schichten) in general nor classes in particular are calculable quantities, like all abstract quantities, and as such they escape quantification and numbers; also where classes include persons whose behavior or other psychological characteristics are alike (according to Max Weber, Mombert, and others) statistics have no direct access or application to them. The people could be counted but for lack of trustworthy and objectively usable characteristics, it is not determinable which people are to be counted.

Mombert, who first came to grips with the complexities of social class terminology and the difficulties of interpreting statistical studies, became early convinced that "the manner of present day class formation does not lend the talented and capable up the social ladder and does not take place in the form of a selective process which chooses out the best." 17 Mombert, unlike Geiger, early committed himself to the principle that class relationships and changes could be statistically determined. "If we know still today little about

these questions, it is coincident with the fact that social statistics among us are still very little developed . . .
" 18

However, as we shall see, Mombert complains of the very statistical studies from which we awaited so much. Sombart's division of the population into the four classes, Junkers, bourgeoisie, lower middle class, and proletariat, is dismissed by Mombert as inadequate for statistical purposes. Likewise is Lange's division of the classes into independents, salaried employees, and workers passed by. 19 The sons of a peasant (an independent) can become a civil servant (a salaried employee) without losing class standing, Mombert says, and the son of a skilled worker can become a small merchant or independent craftsman without necessarily rising in status. This is very important because it is frequently seen that changes in occupation are confused with changes in social standing.

One of the earliest statistical studies in social mobility was made by Abelsdorf in 1900, entitled: "Beiträge zur Sozialstatistik der deutschen Buchdrucker." In 4374 cases the occupation of the father could be verified: 50 fathers of printers were academically trained civil servants, clerics, officers, supervisors of foresters, and members of the liberal professions. In 76 cases the fathers were factory owners or managers. "In these 186 (out of 4374) cases one can speak of a clear cut social ascent . . ." 20 At the other extreme were "the 392 cases in which the fathers were day laborers or unskilled workers." In itself, on its face value, this study reveals very insignificant degrees of social mobility. Mombert, in explaining the data, adds the comment that not only the fathers should be known but also the "occupations of the grandfathers." 21 A study by Bernay into changes in occupations among the workers of the Gladbach textile mills shows that out of 2372 workers, 169 were descended from persons of higher positions. To these belonged foremen, artists, teachers, bureaucrats, business employees, inn keepers, and white collar workers. Mombert (who summarizes these studies, themselves almost altogether inaccessible in New York) comments that "not even in each of these cases is there evidence of social mobility." 22 It should be noted that the percentage of mobility, if all the cases were accepted on their face value, is quite insignificant.

14. Sorokin, op. cit. (2), p. 136.

15. Nothaas, op. cit., p. 5.

16. Theodor Geiger, *Die Soziale Schichtung des Deutschen Volkes* (Stuttgart, 1932) p. 12; translation ours.

17. Paul Mombert, "Die Tatsachen der Klassenbildung," in *Schmollers Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, etc.*, vol. 44 (Munich, 1920) p. 1042; translation ours.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 1044 - 5; translation ours. 19. *Ibid.*, p. 1047.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 1048.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 1049.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 1051 - 52.

Jourdan, in a dissertation in 1918 concerning social class changes, shows that workers descended from store-keepers, civil servants, or free occupations to the following degrees: male workers, 4.9 per cent of the fathers, 4.1 per cent of the grandfathers. 23 More than 95 per cent of the workers in this study descended from workers.

Syrup reveals in another study that out of 329 children of workers who were themselves employed, one was a priest, one a teacher, one a city employee, and one an innkeeper. These are the children of steel mill employees. 15 were white collar employees, chiefly in the steel industry, and 16 had become employees of independent "Handwerker." 24 This is more social class continuity than one would usually associate with the capitalist system in its flush days.

Schalt, in 1920, published a study of statistics taken from the rolls of a trade school in Freiburg. Warning is given that not all those attending would become independent "Handwerker." The parents of the 1547 apprentices are classified as follows: independent "Handwerker," 353; unskilled workers, 249; skilled workers, 224; farmers, 176; lower civil servants, 162; salesmen and inn-keepers, 122; middle civil servants, 46; free occupations (Berufe), 15; widows, pensioners, 122. 25 Judging from the data given, only 61 of these students came from classes above those of the "Handwerker."

A statistical study, made in 1907, concerns 2943 workers in nine large Berlin factories. 26 Of these nearly three thousand workers the following occupations of their fathers were reported: professions, 8; merchants, 52; enterprisers, 61; pensioners, 10; teachers, 16; civil servants and other officials, 215; inn-keepers, 77. These figures, although not conclusive with regard to social class mobility, indicate the most circulation among the German studies reported by Mombert.

It is noteworthy, in dealing with the statistics of social mobility, that the descent of, for instance, ten per cent in the middle classes, because of economic circumstances, moral or intellectual inadequacy, or other misfortunes, would leave room for a rise of only about three per cent among the lower classes, they being far greater in number than the middle classes.

* * *

Among the middle and upper classes statistical data are more limited in quantity. One finds considerable rigidity and social class continuity, despite changes in occupations, among the technicians studied by Jacket, 13 per cent came from independent craftsmen, 20.5 per cent from independent merchants, 7.3 per cent from farmers, none from the free professions, 30 per cent came from civil servants and other officials, 16 per cent from salaried employees, 8 per cent from workers, and 5.5 per cent from other occupations. 27 This indicates the tenacity of the lower middle class in permitting so few to intrude from beneath. Not all technicians are on one and the same social or economic level, of course.

Social class theory is expounded by one statistician, who studied the composition of white collar employees, in the following generalization: "The class position of a single salaried employee is determined by his ancestry, his education, and his place in the company itself." 28 This statement is elaborated by Mombert, who shows the priority of social class backgrounds over the occupational position: 29

Between the class background and the class position there exists a close relationship. The connecting link is, above all, the type of education and training on which depends the amount of income that again plays an important role in the feeling of class membership and class position.

One study of the backgrounds of persons in the upper classes concerns 479 cases of Prussian State and local officials of higher rank. Data are given about the grandfathers as well as the fathers. In many cases no ascent or descent on the social scale could be ascertained. Those considered by Mombert as demonstrating social ascent are: 30

	Fathers	Grandfathers
Intermediate federal, state, and local officials	34	3
Lower federal, state and local officials	14	3
Teachers without academic training	20	17
Craftsmen	19	44
Workers	1	2

The foregoing table shows that the higher one goes within the middle class the greater is the mobility from within the middle class. These figures do not show significant rising out of the lower classes, but they do show movement from low to middle class occupations and positions.

23. Ibid., p. 1052.

24. Ibid., p. 1053.

25. Loc. cit.

26. Loc. cit.

27. Ibid., p. 1054.

28. Quoted by Ibid., p. 1055; translation ours.

29. Ibid., p. 1056; translation ours.

30. Loc. cit.

The famous Maass study into the backgrounds of German intellectual leaders revealed that of 4421, born since the year 1700, 635 stemmed the "lower classes of the population, whereas 3151 came from the upper classes." 31 Among these 635 were some whose greatness was only recognized posthumously, which means that their fame came after their social class position had been laid to rest without even the benefit of reputation. Artists offered a considerable number of those stemming from the lower classes, as did churchmen. The latter had been fortunate in receiving an education from the church. 32

It was possible for Maass to point out clearly that in those occupations where a certain talent was requisite, especially in the cases of artists and scientists, the participation of the lower classes is much greater than where, in the cases of military and governmental leaders, the environmental conditions play a special role.

Conrad, Eulenburg, and Rienhardt have all written studies about the social classes that contribute to the make up of German student bodies. Of 3000-odd students between 1871 and 1914 only 79 came from the working classes. Of these 60 studied theology. 33

In the schools of higher learning in Prussia and Baden, out of the 6000-odd students studied, 16 fell into the category of workers' children.

Of 2185 instructors in the schools of higher learning, 52 had fathers who were craftsmen (not wage earners), and 90 descended from lower officials. The rest were teachers (sometimes on a lower professional level) or were of equal standing with their children. 34

The extent to which education was monopolized by the upper classes throughout the centuries in rural England is clearly indicated in the following: 35

Winchester College was not officially founded until 1382. During approximately 500 years following, no son of Crawley's soil became a "scholar" in that College. Some may actually have attended but they were most likely to be the sons of the persons -- following the establishment of Protestantism. Now, this school is only five miles away from Crawley. Clearly physical proximity is ineffective in the face of social custom and economic condition.

The Chapman-Marquis study into the recruiting of the employing classes from the ranks of the wage earners in the English cotton industry during the first decade of this century deserves special mention. Its statistics, if unquestioned, leave the impression of most extraordinary social mobility. Sorokin accepts the figures at their face value, 36 but Mombert states that "they are not particularly trustworthy." 37

Chapman and Marquis start out with the premise: "It is, therefore, in the interests of labour, and of the community as a whole, to encourage vertical mobility, providing that vertical mobility can be sensibly affected without the putting out of Titanic efforts." 38

The figures show that in the different branches of the industry 76, 63, 84, and 13 per cent of the managing directors started as operatives or at the same salary. Similarly, 42 per cent of the managers and 67 per cent of the assistant managers also "started at the bottom" as operatives or at similar salaries. 39

These statistics lead to the following conclusion: "Universally we found abundant indication, if not rigid proof, that there exists a free channel of no insignificant dimensions through which the directing classes are continually being recruited from the wage-earning classes." 40 Reaching back into history, these authors asset: 41

It is beyond question that in the early days of the factory system the movement of workpeople against gravity, so to speak, was common. Indeed, trade depressions were actually attributed to the ease with which workpeople, indifferently supplied with capital, could thrust themselves into the ranks of employers.

Where they received this bit of interesting economic history, no indication is given. It is not found in the recognized texts covering that era.

The statistical error, which Mombert suspected and Sorokin overlooked altogether, is revealed in the failure of the authors, in sending out their questionnaire, to distinguish between workers and those "persons who had enjoyed the advantages of middle class education and position and had started at the bottom to gain experience . . . 42 (Even the great Thyssen "began his career as a common laborer," although he had been educated as an engineer.) Statistically, it would have been more correct to have asked question pertaining to the social class standing of the fathers and grandfathers of these men, not the place in the factory where they first worked.

Statistics are subject to abuse as well as to use. For instance, to divide the population into the following economic classes is indeed unrealistic: those with incomes of less than \$500 per annum, those with incomes between \$500 and \$3,000, those with more than \$3,000. 43 Sorokin, 43a find that there was a mobility rate of 15.8 per cent within a generation in the income group "\$500 to \$3,000," 8 per cent falling and 7 per cent rising. In other words, if the father earned \$400 per year and the son earns \$600, this is a case of moving from one "class" into another.

Another instance of unrealism in social class statistics is shown in the cases of occupational classifications for women employed as white-collar workers. "It must be pointed out that in these statistics the social classification of women who before marriage were gainfully employed has been made on the basis of their occupational activity and not their family origin." 44 That is to say that when one of the secretaries at New York University, known to this researcher, marries the Wall Street lawyer to whom she is engaged, her social classification will be that of a secretary, without mention of the Westchester home in which she lives or of her friends who are listed in the Social Register.

31. Ibid., p. 1057.

32. Ibid., p. 1058; translation ours.

33. Ibid., p. 1059.

34. Ibid., p. 1060.

35. N. S. and E. C. Gras, *The Economic and Social History of an English Village, A.D. 909 - 1928* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930) p. 149. 36. Sorokin, op. cit. (2), p. 444.

37. Mombert, op. cit. p. 1061.

38. S. J. Chapman and F. J. Marquis, *The Recruiting of the Employing Classes from the Ranks of the Wage Earners of the English Cotton Industry,*" in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, vol. LXXV (February, 1912) p. 294.

39. Loc. cit.

40. Ibid., p. 299.

41. Loc. cit.

42.

43. Sorokin, op. cit. (2), p. 463.

43a. Ibid., p. 472.

44. Nothaas, op. cit., p. 14; translation ours.

After surveying many studies in occupational and social percolation, Nothaas reaches the following conclusion: 45

Manual workers have a relatively large share in the formation of the employed middle strata. On an average, they contribute between ten and twenty per cent, the proportion being considerably higher among saleswomen.

This observation is based on the assumption that white-collar workers are in the middle class, a presupposition of doubtful validity today. There is, nonetheless, a distinction between manual and non-manual employees, as Fairchild has pointed out: "As a single example of the prevalence of vanity over the economic motive, consider how young men flock into the white collar jobs at a fraction of the pay they could receive in less esteemed occupations." 46 The difficulties of distinction here are, however, clearly recognized by Nothaas. He states: 47

In the case of female descendants of the working class, social ascent is affected by their entering the (salaried) employee occupations. These women become salaried employees at a relatively early age, that is to say, after a comparatively short training period. In view of the present situation of the employees, the "rise" is rather questionable.

In this latter statement Nothaas clearly qualifies the former generalization.

According to Cooley's study only 2 out of 71 of the world's most prominent philosophers, poets, and historians came from the working class. "Out of 217 of the most eminent women of all countries and of all times . . . only 4 came from the labor class." 48

Further evidence of social class rigidity is shown, in that in all German universities and schools of engineering, in the winter semester of 1928 - 29 only 2.2 per cent of the students were from the working classes. 49

Clarke's study into the social class antecedents of American men of letters quotes Odin's study in France: 50

The results of this study show that French children brought up in economic security were forty to fifty times as likely to become men of letters as were those brought up in poverty. Odin also found out that, with very few exceptions, the authors brought up in poverty had enjoyed good educational advantages. In the few exceptional cases recorded, he showed they had possessed special advantages that had offset the lack of formal education.

Writing of American authors, Clarke states: 51

It is apparent that birth into one of the so-called higher social classes gave the literary aspirant exceptional opportunity. In many cases the parents themselves were well educated, and simple association with them was an education in itself. At any rate, such birth secured a relatively easy entrance into educational and educated circles, and must have been of great advantage in beginning a literary career.

Visher's study into the places of birth and occupations of fathers of subjects in Who's Who reveals the following statistics: 52

The fathers of 70 per cent of these persons (18,400 in number) belonged to the professional and business classes, 23.4 per cent were farmers, 6.3 per cent were skilled or semi-skilled laborers, and only 0.4 per cent were unskilled laborers.

According to the proportion of the population in 1870, the professional men had 2400 chances of seeing his son in Who's Who, the business man 600, the farmer 70, the skilled or semi-skilled worker 30, and the unskilled worker one chance. 53

Riemer's study into the social origins of economic leaders, made in 1930, is one of the few statistical studies which have attempted to evaluate social class mobility and rigidity. However, Riemer makes the obvious mistake of putting the middle and lower classes into one category. Among the leading German landowners and renters none came from the middle or lower strata. 15 per cent of the large industrialists, large merchants, businessmen, publishers, and bankers came from that dual category. 54 This shows some mobility among the middle economic classes, as has been pointed out above.

Riemer, like Sorokin, sometimes comes to the conclusion that there is much social mobility, and then, after reviewing other figures and theories, he reverses himself. However, his summary with regard to the chances of working classes entering the middle classes seems to be based on sound principles. He states: 55

A sociological analysis of the chances of ascent and of the sharp de-limitations of the different social strata discloses a peculiar and thought-provoking view of the present social structure. If we have not delay here with the working man's chances of advancement, the reason is not to be found exclusively in the limitation of the present article to the most essential problems. The attitude of the laborer towards his occupation is not the same as that of the business man, the civil servant, the master-artisan, or the intellectual. All these groups are characterized by the common endeavor to improve their economic and social status by demonstrating special ability in their chosen work. Conditions suffer when we study the manual worker. The usual road of promotion that the competent and dependable worker travels leads to the position of foreman. Then and there, after he has entered the petty bourgeoisie, upward mobility comes to a sudden stop . . . A steady movement of individuals from one social stratum to another is, therefore, characteristic only of a limited social sphere, namely, that of the middle classes in their broadest sense.

This is to be contrasted with the dream of rising to live in the Gold Coast area, as was cited above from Dawson and Gettys, as they write of the "skilled and semi-skilled workers."

Whether one takes the statistics of special studies of occupational and economic groups, or the theories of writers like North and Cooley, the more impressive figures and theories come out of the same place -- there is no overwhelming degree of social class mobility, no social class circulation of unlimited possibilities such as have been described by some. The modern world does not, in this sphere, differ so radically from the medieval, and vice versa, as might have been supposed.

45. Loc. cit.

46. Fairchild, op. cit., p. 00.

47. Nothaas, op. cit., p. 28.

48. Noted in Sorokin, op. cit. (2), p. 290.

49. Nothaas, op. cit., p. 28.

50. E. L. Clarke, *American Men of Letters, Their Nature and Nurture* (New York, 1916) p. 73.

51. Loc. cit.

52. S. S. Visher, "A Study of the Type, of the Place of Birth, and of the Occupation of Fathers of Subjects of Sketches in Who's Who in America," in the *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 30 (March, 1925) p. 551.

53. Loc. cit.

54. S. Riemer, *Upward Mobility and Social Stratification*, translated by S. Lissance (New York, 1937) p. 11.

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 34 - 35.

Downward Circulation. There are three oft-neglected aspects of social class mobility: (1) the tendency of classes to perpetuate themselves through the institution of the family; (2) the relative smallness of each class as over against the class immediately beneath it, thus "minimizing the probability of getting into it"; 56 and (3) the competition the "extra sons," if any, of the upper classes afford to the ambitious climbers of the lower classes. This latter aspect is best termed the downward circulation of persons who must adjust themselves to a position one or more rungs on the social ladder below that of their parents. These persons seek to stabilize their "fall" at the first possible level; their immediate relatives and friends assist them in their efforts at stabilization.

There have been centuries wherein the upper classes have borne many children, and because of their superior environment, they were able to keep a greater proportion of their offspring alive than was true of the lower classes. One recalls the malaria plagues in Louisiana and Virginia which took such a large toll of human life among the working classes but which was avoided by those who moved to the healthy highlands for the season. Wertebaker says that "It must be remembered that the mortality among the servants in the tobacco fields in the early days of the colony was extremely heavy." 57

If the following figures describe the differences in infant mortality in the modern world, one can imagine that in other times the significance of environment must have been tremendous.

	Infant Mortality and Income
Under 450	167
450 - 549	106
550 - 649	117
650 - 849	108
850 - 1049	83
1050 - 1249	64
1250 and over	59

These rates apply to seven cities studied by the Children's Bureau. 58

Mention is made here of downward circulation because it is a phase of social class theory pertaining to social mobility which is often neglected. The fact that the upper classes, especially in Roman and modern American times, sometimes fail to reproduce their kind, thus allowing for a certain amount of inevitable social class mobility upward, is very well known. But it would seem that in other periods of human history, especially among the middle classes of the last three centuries in America and Europe, there has been a sufficient increase in numbers to fairly shut out competition from the lower classes.

Ont the question as to which is the more favorable for social improvement, a situation in which the upper classes rear more children and force competition upon those immediately beneath them, or a situation in which the upper classes fail to reproduce their numbers, thus facilitating vertical social mobility, all other things being equal, it would seem reasonable to argue that the better choice would like definitely with the former proposition. It is a healthier condition when the gentry send their fourth sons into the crafts than when the alumni of Vassar cannot reproduce the student body. Kuczynaki quotes Ammon as saying that the most significant factor affecting the different social classes was "the dying out in the educated and middle classes." 59 That was the end of the last century. However, even as late as that, Kuczynaki was able to show that although the crude birth rates among the poor were higher, the number of children raised to maturity showed no such disparity. 60

The question of downward circulation in former times should be noted by social theory today for one reason, at least: The modern world has shifted from a situation in which there were "extra" upper class sons to one in which there are too few. This factor, mingled in with other forms of intense competition, occasioned by universal education, war, and revolutions, contributes greatly to the confusion of the realm of social class alignments. For instance, in the United States the following groups have recently been known to multiply rapidly: the poor whites of the South and Southwest, the Mexicans, the French-

Canadians, the families on relief, farm laborers generally, and the poor in general. Statistics according to occupational groupings reveal the following: 61

Thus, in the United States between 1900 and 1930, the size of the family decreased ten per cent among the professional groups, six per cent among the proprietary classes, five per cent among the clerical, three per cent among the skilled and semi-skilled, one per cent among the unskilled and farm owners; and it increased five per cent among farm renters and thirteen per cent among farm laborers.

If the history of America were rewritten in terms of this factor alone, the story might read something like this: The colonial period was one of high reproduction rates among the upper classes, therefore checking social class mobility. The nineteenth century was a period in which many sons of the middle classes could move westward and almost all achieve a status similar to that of the parents. The twentieth century is one of greater mobility because of the sharp decline in respectable class reproduction.

The élite. The current discussion about the circulation of the elite and the theories appertaining thereto deserve special consideration in this chapter. In reviewing the opinions of Pareto and others Sims makes the following statements: 62

Class circulation is always slowly at work changing the governing elite. The transformation goes on like the flow of a river . . .

Thus revolutions are precipitated when the "circulation of the elite" fails, causing an accumulation of superior elements in the subject class and a glut of inferior elements in the ruling class.

56. Ibid., p. 11

57. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia* (Princeton, 1922) p. 80.

58. Cited in Ogburn and Nimkoff, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

59. R. Kuczynaki, *Der Zug nach der Stadt* (Stuttgart, 1897) p. 145; translation ours.

60. Ibid., pp. 150 and 153.

61. Constantine Panunzio, *Major Social Institutions* (New York, 1939) p. 422.

62. Newell LeRoy Sims, *The Problem of Social Change* (New York, 1939) pp. 385 - 6.

Sorokin likewise finds a key to the problem of the causes for revolutions. From his statement it would appear dangerous for the upper classes to have too many children: 63

Somewhat different in form, but similar in substance, are the results of an overproduction of the elite in the mobile society. In this case the process runs approximately as follows: the overproduced prospective elite cannot find the corresponding high positions. For this reason, the unlucky fellows are dissatisfied and try to start their own "elevating" organization. As this organization cannot find a privileged place under the existing regime, it has to be critical, undermining, opposing, radical, revolutionary. The "petty ambitions" of these elite, being unsatisfied under existing conditions, seek outlet in social reconstruction or revolution.

Pareto, according to MacIver, "maintains that the fall of élites is due to their decline in relative numbers and to their decay in quality." 64 Sorokin, then, believes there are too many qualified elite; Pareto believes there are too few to maintain their power.

Moses, predecessor of Pareto, believes that "a ruling class is the more prone to fall into errors of this kind, the more closed it is, actually if not legally, to elements rising from the lower classes."65

Many of the abstract theories about elites and revolutions seem to be fantastic fabrications. A glance at the record shows the following:

The happiest days of Japanese history were the five centuries under a hereditary nobility. It was modern inventions, not the circulation of the elite, which brought Japan to her present plight. No present day shifting of political constellations (introduction of elements from beneath) can forestall the dangers that beset Japan. Her difficulties do not come from the pressures from her subject classes but from a series of complications known as a militarist-nationalist system burdened by an increase in the population beyond the limits of her resources.

Egypt bred brother to sister to keep the family lines intact. Few dynasties have lasted longer than some of those in Egypt. Few social systems have kept their lower class talents better shaded. Yet there were no revolutions in the modern sense.

If holding the lid on tight promotes revolution, then Montezuma and the great Inca were assassinated by a disgruntled mob of fairly prosperous but socially and politically unrecognized Indians.

Participation in the role of leadership by the intelligent and more talented members of the lower classes, and therefore maximum circulation of the elite, as in the German Republic with its proportional representation and its twenty-five political parties, may be said to be the shortest route to revolution. Political steam does not necessarily decrease its pressure under such circumstances; it may tend to increase in geometric proportion to the confusion created by the absence of stable classes.

Rome, for instance, was built, it spread and conquered, by one of the most closed aristocracies known to history; nor did the dictatorial system of elevating commoners from among the soldiers prevent the decline of Roman civilization. Greece, too, when political participation by the franchise system was introduced, succumbed to fratricidal strife.

The European nobility gave way, in so far as it did, not because of inability or decadence as such, but because of changes in the instruments of production with which the merchant aristocrats and later manufacturing groups were more familiar. It gave way because world changes, far beyond the control of leading men, engulfed Europe. The nobility failed in Germany in 1918; the Kaiser fled; the elite circulated; Bruning and Stresseman failed, too. Hitler will fail. MacDonald, Briand, Poincare, Daladier, Blum, and Chamberlain also failed. Trotsky, Roehm, and Radek went down. Stalin's future, or that of his associates, is not assured. The German Republic, the French Republic, the Italian Empire, the British Empire, the Japanese Empire -- none of these were or are likely to be saved from disintegration by the jockeying of political or social leader. Il Duche's hair grows white, while neither he nor all his advisers can extricate Italy from her dilemma. Roosevelt pads his mattress with promissory notes and postpones the day when this rich nation can balance its peacetime budget, much less its war budget. It is altogether probable that

future presidents, whether workers, aristocrats, or professors will be able to make this nation "click" as it once did.

There come periods in history when no theory of the elite suffices to explain why the world or the nation "cannot be held in check." The revolutions and the torment, since about 1848, are not attributable to class decadence -- they are consequences of maladies greater than the greatest leaders (each in his own nation) can handle. This present world will be a "hot potato" for whoever has to assume charge of its varied parts, whether they be old or new elite. No promotion of social class circulation will have a salutary effect; no chaining of men in their places, after the plan of early Fascism, will cure the deep-seated maladies in civilization. There is, of course, as will be explained in detail later, a great difference between a society that respects its social class structure, and one that seeks to shake it to its foundations.

Conclusion. Theories about social class circulation are fascinating sources of speculation. Statistics of social class ascent and descent are subject to fanciful and thoughtful interpretation. It has been the purpose of this chapter to cover these two phases of social class. It will be the object of the supplements to add to the studies already made in the field of social class research three by the present writer.

63. Sorokin, *op. cit.* (2), p. 199.

64. R. M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology* (New York, 1937) p. 182.

65. G. Mosca, *The Ruling Class* (New York, 1939) p. 119.

A Statistical Study of Prominent Marriages

In addition to the survey of some of the most important statistical studies made in the field of social class by other researchers, the following investigation is presented. All the news items relating to marriages found in the Sunday editions of the New York Times during the year 1938 were clipped. Some very short items might have escaped notice, but it was the intention to catch every one. In all, more than 600 items were clipped, many of which were too short to give any information beyond the names and places of the weddings.

However, some short clippings contained genealogical data indicating that two long lines of well-known families were marrying. The problem, then, was to reduce the number of clippings without handpicking them. The only suitable device found was to confine the study to the longest clippings. By using it, the researcher hoped to obtain (1) information about the most important marriages, since the length of space given to weddings indicates something of the Time's evaluation of the importance of the parties concerned, and (2) clippings which would give enough data to be subject to statistical treatment.

By choosing the longest clippings, the study was limited to exactly 100 weddings, involving 200 persons. The social class data desired was:

1. Nationality backgrounds.
2. Religious backgrounds.
3. Number of residences.
4. Places of permanent residence.
5. Occupations of ancestors and subjects.
6. Length of residence of subjects or ancestors in America.
7. Number of prominent family lines mentioned.
8. Kinds and amounts of education.
9. Kinds of clubs and organizations.

Data was not given on all of these items in sufficient quantity to allow for incorporation in statistical forms. For instance, except for the names, little evidence was given as to the nationality backgrounds of the participants in the ceremonies. The names, however, judging from their linguistic origins, were predominantly British.

The same was true of the religious backgrounds. The names of the churches indicated a preponderance of Protestant Episcopal services, but this was not often specifically stated in so many words.

The number of residences run from one to four, with a liberal sprinkling of two's. However, the data were too infrequently given to allow for statistical tabulation.

The occupations of ancestors proved interesting, indicating a considerable number of prominent business men, with a heavy showing of political, military, and religious leaders. These, of course, are not self-excluding categories. Data on clubs and organizations were scanty, and there were so many types and kinds given that classification proved to be impossible. Length of residence in America is rarely revealed.

On two points, however, society editors were careful to put in their accounts the facts. These were: 1. Prominent ancestors and 2. The kinds and amounts of education.

From the former one gets the impression that persons socially prominent today receive part of their recognition because of the prominence of their ancestors, in some cases even of relatively remote forebears. From the latter one can see that exclusiveness in educational institutions is one of the hallmarks of high social class in the United States. The figures follow:

1. Of the 100 longest newspaper articles pertaining to weddings that took place in 1938, as printed in the Sunday editions of the New York Times, 97 persons were referred to as having illustrious ancestors. Of these (97) persons whose prominent ancestors were mentioned, there was an average of 2.6 such ancestors

named and referred to as prominent. Ancestors were not mentioned for the other 103 persons, but since their eminence was not stressed, it was impossible to determine how many of them might, on careful scrutiny, deserve also to be listed among important persons of their times.

2. In order to tabulate the educational backgrounds of the subjects, the following scale was set up, ranging from 1 to 5, as follows:

1. Private school, finishing school, or fashionable college.
2. Private school or other college.
3. Public school and college.
4. Public school.
5. Business school.

For the 200 persons in all the weddings data were given for 126. The mean average of these was 1.2. Only four persons were listed in category three (public school and college). In the second category nineteen persons were listed; whereas 102 were classified in the first category. None were listed under the last two headings.

The importance of a private school education in the making of social class standing is indicated in the value placed upon it by the parents or by the fact that such is the custom among those of social importance.

Conclusion. The customs of the middle and upper classes, and their sense of values, are revealed in the society columns of the daily press. They may be revealed directly or in a roundabout fashion. The society editors must have a keen sense of what is important to the various middle and upper class groups. Travel, weddings, social gatherings, and charitable endeavors are sources of the news which must not be neglected by the editors. Again, the substance of the news stories covering these topics must conform to the sense of values and mention the information deemed appropriate by the subjects. In this way the middle and upper classes "spread themselves" before the public eye in a manner suitable to their own sense of advertising.

From the foregoing study of some of these newspaper accounts of socially important events it is clear that the upper classes do not parade their religious preferences before the world. But they are proud of and eager to maintain prominent ancestors and private schooling.

The first three clippings, as they lay where they fell, contained the following indicative words:

"Hundreds of colonists at reception . . . great-grandfather, John Carter Brown . . ."

". . . great-granddaughter of Hiram Sibley, first president of the Western Union . . ."

"A wedding uniting two families long prominent in Connecticut . . ."

Social Class in Smaller Places

In an effort to determine what factors enter into the making of social status in smaller communities, the questionnaire found on the preceding page was mailed to the society editors of a large number of daily and weekly newspapers in twenty states. Replies were received from the following towns, plus a few the names of which were obscure on the envelopes:

Struthers, Ohio	Mt. Airy, N.C.
Bryan, Ohio	Bennington, Vt.
Del Rio, Texas	De Soto, Missouri
Hillsdale, Michigan	Lancaster, N.Y.
Sedro Woolley, Washington	Weston, W. Va.
Mission, Texas	Greeneville, Tenn.
Cadiz, Ohio	Bluffton, Ohio
Garden City, New York	Whitefall, N.Y.
Williston, N.D.	Drexel Hill, Pa.
Quakertown, Pa.	Yankton, S.D.
Lewiston, Pa.	Nazareth, Pa.
Hudson Falls, N.Y.	Landon, N.D.
Canisteo, N.Y.	Council Grove, Kansas
Rice Lake, Wis.	Farmville, Va.
Springfield, Vt.	Lewisburg, W. Va.
Rock Hill, S.C	Wellboro, Pa.
Marysville, Kansas	Norman, Okla.
Hoisington, Kansas	Chickasha, Okla.
Fredonia, Kansas	Ramsey, New Jersey
Manassas, Va.	Grants Pass, Oregon
North Platte, Nebraska	Madill, Oklahoma

From the denominational backgrounds of the leading families in these communities given in the replies the following was compiled:

Presbyterian	55
Episcopalian	31
Methodist	28
Roman Catholic	16
Mixed Protestant	12
Congregational	11
Baptist	6
Lutheran	6
Others	16

The preponderance of "English" and "Scottish" religious backgrounds indicated above for the upper classes in smaller places tends to show (1) a preponderance of those religious groups in the population, in which case it shows nothing about social class, (2) the advantage of certain families, of these denominations, have over others because of their longer residence in America, since those of these denominations came with the earlier migrations to America, or (3) that families of higher standing prefer to be identified with these churches, in which case the basis of their belief would have to be that other families already high in standing were in these denominations as a matter of family custom. In communities which are neither overwhelmingly Episcopalian nor Presbyterian, which is usually the rule, one would be inclined to conclude that these data indicate that those family lines which were formerly conservative, successful, and exclusive are still so and are still identified with the same church organizations as their ancestors. This is especially true of the Episcopalians, who, as a rule form a small proportion of the total populations of smaller places, but some of whose members may almost always be reckoned among the better or best families of the towns. However, the survey did not prove anything conclusive about the relationship between religion and upper class standing in smaller places.

The nationality backgrounds of families of higher status were given as follows:

English	67
Mixed British	22
Mixed Northern European	22
German	22
Mixed British-Irish	14
Irish	7
Scottish, Dutch, French, each:	3
Others	12

It would seem, from the foregoing, that these communities have not received the impact of the new immigration, that is, of those proportions of it which have habitually carried higher social standing with them. The new immigration which has come to these towns, in other words, did not have or have not attained high status. The foregoing figures indicate that those who came earlier either came with higher status or attained it through the advantages of priority. One must conclude that if there had been much such social mobility, those of English background could not have retained their status for long. More infiltration would have been evident in that case, because few American towns are populated overwhelmingly with persons of English stock.

The occupations of the heads of the leading families in these communities were given as follows:

Manufacturers	29
Lawyers	24
Bankers	23
Merchants	15
Realtors	12
Publishers	10
Educators	8
Physicians	6
Wholesalers and investors, each	5
Insurance agents	4
Politicians, ranchers, clergymen, and druggists, each	3
All others	25

These figures show (1) that persons of high standing go into certain occupations, by choice, or (2) that their families have pointed and trained them in these directions, or (3) that their work has contributed to their high standing. The sample is, again, too small to be conclusive, but it is very indicative of the occupations of leading American families -- this is a bourgeois world.

Information concerning economic rank (wealth) in the various communities was given thus:

Upper (indefinite)	47
Middle (indefinite)	23
Lower (indefinite)	9
Richest (definite)	27
Second Richest	14
Third Richest	9
Fourth Richest	6
Fifth Richest	5
Sixth Richest	3
Seventh Richest	2
Eighth to Tenth Richest	5
Fifteenth to Thirtieth Richest	11

These figures would tend to substantiate the theory that the ups and downs of wealth are more rapid than are the shifts in social standing. More than one third of the first families were below fifth place in economic rank, according to these data.

Concerning the achievements of relatives, it was found that of the 160 families, about whom data were given, 48 could claim a relative of distinction, according to strict standards of evaluation set up by the researcher.

With regard to the drift in economic rank, over the past decades, it was found that 60 per cent of those on which reports were given were rising, 22 per cent were remaining stationary, and 18 per cent were falling. This may, of course, show that the rich get richer. It may also show that the present upper classes are composed in part of families which were formerly less well off.

Priority as a social class factor was shown in that 61 per cent of those on whom data were given could claim descent from a pioneer in the community. There is a slight element of social class rigidity revealed in this figure.

The degree of social class rigidity in this country is indicated in the following percentages. The leaders of these communities belonged to the following classes in the communities from which they or their ancestors came:

Highest per cent:	10
Upper	34
Middle	44
Lower	8
Lowest	2

Since these people, although leaders in their respective communities, would still be classified as "middle class" by most small town editors, it is not surprising that they or their ancestors were considered to a large degree to have been in the middle class in the places from which they came. The striking fact in the foregoing figures is that 90 per cent of the families belonged to classes above the lower class in the communities from which they came. This is another answer to the efficacy of the American Dream; it was not a reality in the lives of those of the lower and lowest classes as they moved westward.

Sixty replies attempted to give the social standing of the family lines in Europe at the time of migration to America. They showed the following percentages:

Highest per cent:	5
Upper	28
Middle	44
Lower	16
Lowest	7

These figures reveal the conviction of the editors that those of high standing today come from families of high standing of long ago. Few of these replies indicate belief in or evidence of social class mobility of large proportions.

The occupations of ancestors were, so far as data were given, preponderantly agricultural: 55 were so listed. The professions were mentioned 17 times. Business accounted for 19. The crafts and other forms of labor were mentioned only 5 times.

The overwhelming degree to which the leaders in towns today are of the older immigration was shown in that 87 per cent of those on which reports were given were declared to have stemmed from ancestors whose immigration to this country took place before 1850.

As was shown in the survey of newspaper clippings, education is highly indicative of upper class affiliation. Even in places where private schooling is in most cases quite exceptional and rare, 27 persons were reported as having attended preparatory schools; whereas 138 had completed a public school course. Only 5 had not completed high school.

By using a scale from one to ten for education beyond high school and by ranking the types of schools according to their social class standing, as is commonly accepted, it was found that the wives of present-day families attained an average of 7.1. The "men of the house" averaged 8.1, which indicates that many obtained higher education in the more fashionable colleges. The widespread custom of attending college has been a part of the mores of the upper classes for a sufficiently long period to include most of the leaders of today.

Conclusion. Alone, these statistics do not prove anything conclusively, as is true of all statistical data about social class phenomena. They do show, however, that there is such a thing as social classes in this country and that the leading families did not, to any great degree if at all, "start from scratch." They have descended from family lines of some length and importance.

Editorial comment on social class. One of the best parts of this study cannot be put into statistical tables. It is to be found in the comments written by the editors about their communities. In the following paragraphs a few of these comments are reproduced. Much wisdom and no small amount of prejudice is to be noted in the ideas of the editors or society editors of newspapers in small places.

One correspondent in a town not far from New York City writes: "These municipalities are, I may say, being taken over by a new type of population.... (See pages 885, 886, 887, 888 of the "white" text.)

CHAPTER XIV

PART I

HEREDITY AND SOCIAL STATUS

The mechanisms of biological heredity are the subject of heated controversy. In social science the argument has revolved around environment versus heredity. In the special field of social class the bone of contention is whether or not biological superiority expresses itself in high social status. Are social class rigidities attributable to the inheritance of superior and inferior abilities on the respective social class levels? Is social mobility a result of the rising of biologically superior persons and the falling of those born with low inherent talents?

Divergent opinions about heredity and social status. Before taking a definite position with regard to the question of the influence of hereditary factors upon the social class structure, it is proper that one should make a survey of some of the opinions of authorities in this field.

One writer states that "there is an increasing tendency for each person's born qualities to determine the point he will reach on the occupational scale." 1 Lennes goes on to state: 2

The lowest class will be stabilized most rapidly, so that those born in it tend to lack those elements which will enable them to rise to higher points in the scale. From time to time this class will receive recruits from upper classes, misfits and culls, who fail to maintain their position in the classes where they were born.

Otto Ammon heartily defends the notion of biological superiority among the higher classes. He writes that "the average ability among the higher classes is more favorable (günstig) than among the lower," and that "this difference rests upon a hereditary base." 3

Havelock Ellis says: "The small upper stratum is of high quality, the large lower stratum of poor quality, and with a tendency to feeble-mindedness." 4 Ellis paraphrases Carr-Saunders in support of this idea to the effect that upward social mobility removes only a few individuals from the lower stratum, "while among those who thus climb, even though they do not sink back, regression to the mean is even in operation so that they do not greatly enrich in the end the class they have climbed to." 5 But Ellis also generalizes to the effect that "taken altogether" it would seem that "the differences between social classes may mainly be explained by environmental influences." 6 This double explanation, first the hereditary and then the environmental, of the existence and maintenance of social classes is common to several authorities who have written on this subject. They may be said to be positive in both directions at once.

Sorokin writes extensively about the connection between social status and inherent ability. Like Ellis, his remarks favor both schools of thought, first the exponents of heredity and then the environmentalists. In one place he states: 7

These data show a rather close correlation between social status and intelligence. Unskilled and semi-skilled labor have a very inferior and low average intelligence; skilled labor groups are principally in the group of "high average" intelligence; superior and very superior intelligence are only among high professional and high business classes.

But, like Havelock Ellis, Sorokin also expresses belief in the environmentalist theory of social stratification. He writes: 8

Hence, the general conclusion is that a great many differences -- physical, mental, moral, social and in behavior -- among different social classes are due to the heterogeneity of environmental factors among which they are born, grow, live, and work.

1. N. J. Lennes, *Whither Democracy, Does Equalizing Opportunity Create Hereditary Social Classes?* (New York, 1927) p. 252. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 272.
3. Otto Ammon, "Die Gesellschaftsordnung und ihre Natürlichen Grundlagen," in Fr. Mann's *Paedagogisches Magazin*, Heft 1175 (Langensalza, 1928) p. 14; translation ours.
4. Havelock Ellis, *The Dance of Life* (Boston, 1923) p. 285.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 286.
6. *Loc. cit.*
7. Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York, 1927) p. 294.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 322.

By introducing the idea of "inborn rulers and great thinkers," Sorokin expresses the belief that Henry Ford, Carnegie, Edison, Lincoln, Gregory, Hildebrand, Napoleon, Septimus Severus, "and tens of thousands of others . . . have risen because they happened to be considerably dissimilar from their parents" 9 He goes on to say that "millions of failures from the upper strata, who have been put down, are again victims of their dissimilarity from their parents. Were they quite similar to their fathers, such 'rising' or 'sinking' would not take place in many cases." 10 But Sorokin does not show how he was able to ascertain the fact that Severus and Gregory were dissimilar to their parents. Furthermore, to introduce the idea that hereditary qualities radically different from their source can account for "inborn genius" is to use the theory of hereditary mechanisms against itself.

Sorokin, however, is not thoroughly committed to his environmentalist position or to his use of heredity and the vagaries in hereditary transmission. He concludes: 11

My answer to the question is positive. Aside from the problem, whether the result is due to heredity or to environment, the higher social classes, on the whole, are more intelligent than the lower ones . . . the social and mental distributions of individuals within a given society are positively correlated.

This theory of a correlation between intelligence and other inborn qualities of an hereditary nature on the one hand and social standing and leadership on the other is the basic principle of Sorokin's writings about genius and social mobility. As was seen in an earlier chapter, this writer believes also that if a family retains its wealth or poverty for five generations, the economic condition reflects the innate qualities of the family's ability.

Sims, in his recent work, comes to a quite different conclusion. He states clearly: 12

Selective fecundity among the social classes is devoid of the great significance the eugenists attribute to it. Their arguments are at bottom fallacious. Such selection is no index whatever to social change. Merely because the "upper crust" does not reproduce its numbers, it does not follow that there will be a dearth of talent in the next generation . . . it makes little or no difference from the standpoint of heredity what class produces the next generation.

Thorndike, who has made careful studies in this field, does not agree with Sorokin that only among the higher profession is superior intelligence to be found. He states: "Taking the measurements as they stand, the 75 percentile unskilled labor is up to the level of the . . . 25 percentile mechanical engineer." 13 That is to say, the uppermost quarter of unskilled workers are as intelligent as the lowest quarter of mechanical engineers, who are, reputedly, among the professionals of high test intelligence. Thorndike further states: 14

The 75 percentile receiving or shipping clerk is at the level of the average accountant or civil engineer. The 75 percentile receiving or shipping clerk is at the level of the 25 percentile physician. This variability would be reduced by longer and repeated tests It would still imply that there were in the occupations, supposed to give little opportunity for the use of intellect, a very large number of gifted men and consequently a large unused surplus of intellect.

From the foregoing it is possible to conclude that the ratio of clergymen to unskilled workers, on the basis of test intelligence, in Who's Who should be no more than 6 to 1 rather than 2400 to 1. And better testing might reduce even that ratio.

Simmel believes that there is abundant material among the common people for all tasks. He refers to the correctness (tiefe Recht) of the old German proverb: "Wem Gott ein Amt gibt, gibt er auch den Verstand dazu." The author goes on to say that the Verstand necessary for the execution of higher positions "is present in many persons." 15 In another place he says: 16

There are always more persons who are qualified for superior positions than there are superior positions. Among the ordinary workers of a factory there are certainly very many who could just as well be manager or entrepreneur; among the rank and file of the army very many

9. Ibid., p. 366.

10. Loc. cit.

11. Ibid., p. 281.

12. Newell LeRoy Sims, *The Problem of Social Change* (New York, 1939) p. 117.

13. Quoted in Rudolph Pitner, *Intelligence Testing* (New York, 1923) p. 370.

14. Loc. cit.

15. Georg Simmel, *Soziologie* (Munich, 1923) p. 184.

16. Ibid., p. 183; translation ours.

Mosca says: 17

Among all the factors that figure in social superiority, intellectual superiority is the one with which heredity has least to do That is why hereditary aristocracies have never defended their rule on the basis of their superiority alone, but rather on the basis of their superiority in character and wealth.

Mombert is of the following opinion: 18

Socialist theory has always emphasized the abundance of human talent among the whole people, whereas the individualistic and liberal philosophy has taught that men are naturally unequal and that the class structure of present day society is nothing other than a consequence of an expression of these differences in talents and abilities among the people.

Ward admits the inferiority of the lower classes, but he explains this environmentally, as follows: 19

A certain kind of inferiority of the lower classes to the upper is admitted. There is physical inferiority and there is inferiority in intelligence. This last is not the same as intellectual inferiority. Their physical inferiority is due entirely to the conditions of existence Their unequal intelligence has nothing to do with their capacity for intelligence We see therefore that both kinds of inferiority of lower classes are extraneous and artificial, not inherent and natural.

Spann makes the penetrating remark that "the sum total of innate capacity is not determinable in certain groups, contrariwise their external ways of life are [determinable]." 20

Spencer intimates hereditary differences caused by environmental conditions in the following quotation: 21

There arise between rulers and ruled unlikenesses of bodily activity and skill. Occupied, as those of higher rank commonly are, in the chase when not occupied in war, they have a lifelong discipline of a kind conducive to various physical superiorities; while, contrariwise, those occupied in agriculture, in carrying burdens, and in other drudgeries, partially lose that agility and address they naturally had. Class predominance is thus further facilitated.

This statement could be interpreted in terms of each generalization, in which case it would be entirely environmental in spirit.

The idea that aristocratic manners and habits can actually be transmitted through the germ plasm is expressed in the following statement: 22

Thus the alleged blue-blood had an easier task in its breeding of a "germ plasm" which easily developed such traits as good manners, high culture and the ability to lead in all social affairs -- traits combined in a remarkable degree in the first families of Virginia.

Sims is among the most consistent critics of the notion of hereditary transmission of social class superiority through qualities inherent in the genes. He says: 23

The trouble with the eugenists from Calton town is that they have failed to observe that genius is as much a matter of social environment as it is of the genes The loins of humanity are full of genius and it is probably born at a fairly uniform rate in every considerable population, but it does not get uniform recognition nor come to the fore with any regularity.

It would seem, to the present writer, difficult to prove that successful men who rise are of greater innate ability than many of those they leave behind. Religious functionaries, for instance, differ from common men, not so much in their innate qualities of physical and intellectual superiority as in their social contacts, family morale, and education. These bear fruit in the next generation of far greater social value than the qualities transmitted through the genes.

Sir Francis Galton. The name most closely associated with the relation of "good blood" to social status of the higher orders is that of Galton. It would seem appropriate to attempt to give a social interpretation to the data to which he attaches so much biological significance. Did he show that family lines remain consistently high in standing because of their genes (that specific type of hereditary mechanism was unknown to him at that time) or because of their advantages in respect to conditioning, training, and education? It is said that: 24

Francis Galton studied 107 of the most prominent British scientists of the nineteenth century. Out of 107 scientists, 9 belonged to the nobility; 52 to the liberal professions; 43 to the British class of bankers, large merchants and manufacturers; 2 to the class of farmers; and one to the labor and artisan class.

17. Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class*, ed. and rev. by Arthur Livingston (New York, 1939) p. 63.
18. Paul Mombert, "Die Tatsachen der Klassenbildung," in *Schmollers Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, etc.*, vol. 44 (Munich, 1920) pp. 1042 - 1043; translation ours.
19. Lester P. Ward, "Social Classes in the Light of Modern Sociological Theory," in the *American Journal of Sociology* (March, 1908) vol. XIII, pp. 623 - 624.
20. Othmar Spann, *Gesellschaftslehre* (Leipzig, 1923) p. 249; translation ours.
21. Taken from Gunner Landtman, *The Origin of the Inequality of the Social Classes* (Chicago, 1938) p. 303.
22. Arthur W. Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family*, vol. I (Cleveland, 1917) p. 221, quoting Davenport, *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics*.
23. Sims, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
24. Sorokin, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

Taken on its face value, this is excellent proof of social class rigidity. A theory about the purity of the blood streams and the fine inherited qualities of the upper classes must remain only a theory, because, as Thorndike has shown, the upper classes have no monopoly on intellectual superiority; and, as the sports records show, they do not monopolize physical prowess and health. Galton's study, then, proved merely that privilege and prestige is generally monopolized by the upper classes. Galton himself states: 25

These facts . . . lead to certain important conclusions. They show, for example, that a considerable proportion of the noteworthy members spring from comparatively few families.

If Galton had stopped there, his data and his conclusions would have enjoyed more consistency than was the case after much verbiage about "thoroughbred stock" had been added.

The social class aspect of Galton's research is shown in this conclusion: "A considerably larger proportion would be noteworthy in the higher classes of society, but a far smaller one in the lower . . ." 26

Any one of Galton's case histories reads like a social pedigree. For instance, there is the case of J. S. Haldane, university lecturer and medical researcher for the government: 27

His paternal grandfather was in the East India naval service and later a preacher. The latter's brother "sold his estate" to give his fortune to missionary work. He also wrote several theological treatises. The paternal uncle of J. S. Haldane was "Bart., M.D. F.R.S., etc." The brother of J. S. Haldane was P. C., M.P. LL.D., "a distinguished politician," and author. Their sister was a reformer, educator, and translator of note. Their first cousin was the Bishop of Argyll. Another first cousin was a Lieutenant Colonel, D.S.O., and author. The great-great uncle of J. S. Haldane was the Earl of Eldon, famous Lord Chancellor of England. The latter's brother was the Baron Howell and the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty. Another great uncle was the Viscount Duncan; whereas another great-great uncle was Sir Ralph Abercomby, a General, and the latter's brother was likewise a General and Governor of Bombay.

J. S. Haldane, his brother, and his sister are to be accounted for in terms of the rigidity of the social classes. As children, they had every reason to hope to become persons of some importance. Their family history reads much like that of the Gordons of Virginia.

The same is true of the case of Sir Francis L. McClintock, whose ancestors had for centuries been the monopolizers of high posts in Ireland, and of the Stracheys, whose seat of prestige and power was customarily in India. In reading these and other cases one has the feeling that most persons concerned were not outstanding in talent. They were judges, business men, lesser noblemen. The McClintocks had many sinecures in Ireland, the Stracheys in India. (As Cicero once said: "The nobles have honors thrust on them even in their sleep.") One is dealing here not with genius in the "Napoleonic" sense, but with privileged classes who, in England, usually write something and are mentioned in the dispatches.

Galton and Schuster find that "21 of 38 sons have followed the same pursuits as their parents . . ." 28 Like father, like son, even to the very occupations themselves.

In his famous work, *Hereditary Genius*, Galton explains the means whereby the relatively few prominent barristers of lower class homes were able to rise. Those "of humble parentage . . . attracted notice as boys . . . and were thereafter sent to a good school." 29 This is an environmentalist explanation of the success of certain men, not the biological.

To see the extent to which the upper class families of England intermarried, one needs only look at the genealogical charts of the Montagu and North families 30 and at the case history of the Hydes. 31 These contain over three score names, each a dignitary or married to one. A perusal of these family charts gives one the impression that the inner circle for generations could command the higher offices and honors.

Galton lists the Prime Ministers since the accession of George III, not a single one of whom was not related to some other honorable person, and all were of good family, influential and socially prominent.

25. Francis Galton and Edgar Schuster, *Noteworthy Families* (London, 1906) p. 1x.

26. *Ibid.*, p. xii.

27. Adapted from *Ibid.*, pp. 28 - 30.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

29. Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius* (New York, 1870) p. 56.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

Other studies. Woods made a study similar to that of Galton. He found that the forty-six Americans in the Hall of Fame have from 500 to 1,000 times as many distinguished relatives as the ordinary person. This shows clearly that even the famous and eminent descend from or are related to those in positions of prestige, honor, and dignity. This close interrelationship between honored families strongly suggests that there is an upper class in America, whose sons have been the heroes in every hour of crisis.

On the other side of the controversy is the study of inventive genius and the manner in which publicity and national propaganda have built up certain "great men" as "first" inventors. Ogburn's Social Change removes all doubt as to the lack of a biological explanation for this kind of eminence -- there have been far too many simultaneous inventions for one any longer to look for inventions in the brain flashes of supermen.

Some day a comprehensive study is likely to show the purely ethereal nature of the word "genius" itself. Edison is no genius in Japan, nor is Lincoln in the South, nor is Hitler in Warsaw. Genius is perhaps as much a matter of being born at the right place at the right time and of having a good publicity agent as it is of having genes arranged in a particular series.

The story of the Edwards family (the story itself now has a history) deserves mention for the manner in which social science must be on its guard against the unrealistic imputations regarding cause and effect. Of Elizabeth Tuttle it is boldly stated: "The evil trait was in her blood, for one of her sisters murdered her own son,, and a brother murdered his own sister." 32

One line of Elizabeth Tuttle's descendants included a son who received an MA. at Harvard, and a grandson named Jonathan, whose descendants included presidents of Union College, Hamilton College, Yale College, Amherst College, a general in the Civil War, a present of Yale University, the founder and warden of the Columbia Law School, the wife of Eli Whitney, etc. 33 Other descendants of Elizabeth Tuttle included two presidents of the United States and the wife of a president. Other illustrious persons descended from Elizabeth Tuttle, but two 34

have been purposely omitted from the foregoing catalogue, because they inherited also the defects of Elizabeth's character. These two were Pierrepont Edwards . . . acute jurist, eccentric, and licentious; and Aaron Burr . . . Here the lack of control of the six-impulse in the germ plasm of this wonderful woman has reappeared with imagination and other talents in certain of her descendants.

One wonders if the vagaries of Elizabeth Tuttle's germ plasm were still carrying on their pernicious influence in causing Grant to love hard liquor and Cleveland to forget propriety and produce an illegitimate child -- they were also descendants of this same "wonderful woman." And what of all the sins that are to be committed by all the descendants for two more centuries to come? The whole story is beginning to appear ludicrous. It does show two things, however: (1) that there was much intermarriage among the "educated fringe" of early America; (2) that there are ghosts in many closets. It has long since been pointed out that if all the descendants of Jonathan Edwards were brought before the footlights and the microphone, they would present a scene of heterogenous talents. More social rigidity is proved in the selected cases offered in the usual accounts of the Edwards family than is shown about the wonders of vagaries of germ plasms.

A study of the modern political scientist, Harold J. Laski, of the backgrounds of the 306 persons who held cabinet posts in Britain between 1801 and 1924 is on a different level of understanding and interpretation from those of Galton, Woods, and Davenport. Laski says: 35

For the purposes, therefore, of this study the category [aristocracy] has been defined as containing those cabinet ministers who have been the sons of men possessing hereditary titles. On this definition, Sir Robert Peel was an aristocrat, and Lord Brougham was not; the first Lord Selborne was not an aristocrat, while his son, the second Lord Selborne, was. It follows that the tables below are to some extent weighted against the aristocracy; for there are men who belong to ancient families, like Mr. Chichester Fortescue and Sir William Harcourt, who are excluded from that class.

32. Herbert Woodrow, *Brightness and Dullness in Children* (Philadelphia, 1923) p. 248.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

35. Quoted in Norman L. Hill and Harold W. Stoke, *The Background of European Governments* (New York, 1935) pp. 47 - 49.

In the period from 1801 to 1924, 306 persons held cabinet offices. Table I gives the salient particulars about them:

Table I	Number
Sons of nobility	182
Sons of other parents	124
Educated at Oxford	118
Educated at Cambridge	81
Educated at Eton	83
Educated at Harrow	36
Educated at other Public Schools	53
Educated at other Universities	26
Lawyers	42
Soldiers and Sailors	8
Business men	23
Civil Servants	3
Men of Letters and Journalists	9
Trade Unionists	8

The interest of this table is considerable. Nearly sixty per cent of Cabinet ministers were born of immediately aristocratic parentage; sixty-five per cent were either at Oxford or Cambridge Thirty per cent only were dependent upon their own effort for a livelihood It is noticeable that very few civil servants have ever attained the eminence of cabinet rank; and that, thus far, the number of trade unionists is very small. Had this analysis, indeed, ended in 1905, it would have contained the name of no working man.

Broadly speaking, the aristocracy with which we are concerned consists of a thousand families, but the actual number from which cabinet ministers have been drawn is much smaller. The Cecil family and its relatives, for example, have contributed six cabinet ministers to the total; the House of Grey five; the House of Stanley four; four families have three cabinet ministers each, and twenty-seven families two each. Among commoners, not unnaturally, no such persistent attainment of office exists. Two Gladstones, three Chamberlains, two Harcourts and two Balfours exhaust the list. The explanation, of course, is largely personal and economic. A considerable section of the English aristocracy enters Parliament at an early age; and they are thus able to take advantage both of family prestige and freedom from material care.

Social class transmission. It is exceedingly doubtful that the mechanisms of biological heredity can account for the retention of high social status or for the more spectacular instances of social mobility as well as can the mechanisms of social contacts, social class endogamy, special training, education, and general home atmosphere. The following account of an engagement in a recent newspaper does not call to mind notions of genetics but does remind one strongly of the nature of social class rigidity.

June Rossbach, grandniece of Gov. Lehman will be married next month to Jonathan Brewster Bingham, son of Hiram Bingham, former United States Senator from Connecticut

Miss Rossbach, now a senior at Barnard College, attended Rosemary Hall, Greenwich Conn., and Vassar College.

Mr. Bingham is a graduate of Groton School, Yale University and Yale Law School

The seventh son of Senator Bingham, he was the sixth to attend Yale.

His mother is Mrs. Henry Gregor of Salem, Conn., and Miami, Fla. He is a descendant of Elder Brewster, one of the founders of Plymouth Colony, and a great-grandson of Charles Tiffany.

The recent death of Mr. William D. Vanderbilt called up a list of names of those related to her or associated with her during her lifetime. In the New York Times the following persons, among others, were mentioned in that announcement: 36

Princess Murat, Mrs. Lillie Harriman Havemeyer, Oliver Harriman, William C. Whitney, Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, O. H. P. Belmont, William H. Vanderbilt, Mrs. William Astor, Ogden L. Mills, Sir

Paul Dukes, Miss Anne Morgan, Miss Elizabeth Marbury, the Duchess of Marlborough, William D. Vanderbilt, Jr., Harold Stirling Vanderbilt.

This is the nature of social class. These persons, as the English nobility, are of varied talents, but they stick together and their descendants receive from them much more than mere human form; they receive social class itself, directly.

The rule of social life is not that the intelligent associate with the intelligent but rather that social class associates with social class: 37

Gladys Jenkins found a correlation of plus 0.82 between the socio-economic status of the families of children and that of the families of their friends. The correlation was not significantly influenced by proximity of home, since only 25 per cent of the children stated that they had made their friends in the home neighborhood. Her subjects were 280 boys and girls representing a cross section of the junior high schools of Riverside, California.

Concerning Bossard's study in proximity, wherein people marry in their own neighborhoods in Philadelphia, Folsom remarks: "It must be remembered, however, that geographic proximity in cities usually means also social similarity." 38

Cooley summarizes the social class explanation (here contrasted with the genetic) of high standing in terms of "inherited associations, opportunities, and culture." He states: 39

On every side we may see that differences arise, and that they tend to be perpetuated through inherited associations, opportunities, and culture. The endeavor to secure for one's children whatever desirable thing one has gained for oneself is a perennial source of caste, and this endeavor flows from human nature and the moral unity of the family [If man has] a good handicraft, he wishes his boys to learn it. And so with the less tangible goods -- education, culture, religious and moral ideas -- there is no good parent but desires his children to have more than the common inheritance of what is best in these things.

Conclusion. Modern theory can safely be said to have veered far from the easy "blood theory" of social stratification, and from the still more mystical theory of "he had in him what his parents didn't; he was born different, born to rise." The idea that there is much social class continuity of a hereditary nature, however, has never been well stated as a substitute for the genetic theory of heredity popularized by Galton and Davenport.

36. New York Times, April 21, 1940.

37. Joseph Kirk Folsom, *The Family*, section entitled "Social Classes are Largely Endogamous" (New York, 1934) pp. 446 - 447.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 447.

39. Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York, 1909) pp. 211 - 212.

PART II

EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL CLASSES

One of the most persistent theories about social stratification and social mobility accompanied the spread of education among the masses during the last century, to wit: The classes receive different amounts of education -- in order to create conditions of equal opportunity, schools and colleges should be built for all the younger generation. If every there was to come about the development of the latent talents among the masses, it would have to be through the route of an extensive program of mass education. That was the theory. At least, a program of universal public education was instituted.

What has been the effect upon the social class structure, formerly so strongly buttressed by wide differences in literacy among the different social classes? Certainly the "hope" of achieving a position equivalent of their efforts and abilities has been instilled in great numbers of school children whose parents lost out in the struggle of life.

In the foregoing chapter it was seen that education, per se, did not affect the German hierarchy of classes, because only elementary and practical education were within the reach of the lower orders. One sees this, in that only three per cent of the university students had working class parents during the Republic. How small must have been their percentage of all the children of the working classes!

The same may be said of the American eastern seaboard where college education has been for centuries available, in general, only to the middle and upper classes, until recent years when city colleges, teachers colleges, and junior colleges sprang up. In some parts of the West higher education has been relatively more available. However, in America at the present time not one child in ten who enters school finishes a standard college course, and there is a close relationship between these figures and the proportion of the middle and upper classes to the commonalty. So long as these figures stand, it is illogical to argue that higher education is reaching the masses. It is true that some children of the lower classes get college degrees, but it is likewise true that these degrees are frequently of little social class consequence because (1) of the reputations of the colleges which grant the greater proportion of them, and because (2) the frequent need by the graduate of immediate employment condemns him to take the first opening he can find, a procedure not conducive to obtaining a good start on a career.

It is certainly true that many who have hitched their wagon to the star of higher education have failed to reach their objectives. Geiger says that 25 years ago the heruntergekommenen Akademiker were looked upon with pity and embarrassment; whereas today he "has become a typical figure of academic fate . . . the 'proletarianization of the academic class' is not the correct term; the class as such is not proletarianized . . . " 40 Lawyers on WPA do not indicate a decline in the status of all lawyers. They indicate that some persons have passed the Bar only to find themselves barred, for want of clientele or entrance into a large firm. Sons of the higher classes who become lawyers do not often encounter such bad luck. The social forces are with them.

Ideas and opinions. With regard to the relationship of education to social stratification there are many and varied opinions. Someone has optimistically written that "the distinctive thing about this country is that, so far as the educational system is concerned, the gateway to the higher callings is as wide open to the working class child as to every other." In slang, this would be called "laying it on thick."

Goblot generalizes to the effect that "there is a higher class, the bourgeoisie, and a lower class, the common people, and the most obvious difference between them is a difference in education." 41 This is true, but it is more clearly defined as a social phenomenon in France than in North America.

40. Theodor Geiger, *Die Soziale Schichtung des Deutschen Volkes* (Stuttgart, 1932) p. 101; translation ours.

41. Edmond Goblet, "Les classes de la societe," in *Revue d'Economie Politique*, vol. 13 (Paris, 1899) p. 34; translation ours.

Sorokin is of the opinion that "in societies where 'the schools' are accessible to all members, the school system represents a 'social elevator' moving from the very bottom of a society to its top." 42 This same writer also believes that 43

. . . a graduate with a brilliant university record is easily promoted and given a responsible position, regardless of his origin or family Social promotion of a great many prominent men in present democracies has been made essentially through the channels of the school machinery . . . in spite of their humble origin The comparative easiness of social climbing through the school channel is understood now by a great many people.

One is forced to wonder if Sorokin is familiar with the careers of graduates of many American municipal and black colleges. It is not yet clearly established that a brilliant college record is a substitute for or a strong competitor of prior social standing in the struggle of life. Even so, under their conditions of life, it is exceedingly rare that a person of proletarian upbringing is able to receive the necessary background and carry through a program at a high level of achievement.

Mombert believes that of late the educational system contributes to the selective process by fitting more persons to compete. Vocational guidance, vocational tests, intelligence tests, special schools for the most brilliant pupils, etc., are named as instrumentalities promoting circulation. 44 These programs would have more effectiveness than they now have, however, if the school authorities could place students with high aptitudes. Finding and identifying a superior student is one thing -- seeing him through, into a position with a future, is another. Job finding is one field where the factor of prior high status is of greatest value and where low status is a great handicap.

A heated controversy is now going on as to whether, in a democracy, all pupils should be given the same kind of education, as has been largely the custom heretofore, or whether the German principle of vocational training should be more definitely established. If the schools inaugurate a program of training in the skills, a boy's fate will be largely scaled at the age of eleven when he take up his intensive practical course. The working classes will become, theoretically, more sharply divided from the middle classes with the passing of time. There are educators who believe that more good than harm would result, because (1) a general liberal education might qualify everyone to take higher training in colleges, but it would not guarantee that the masses could attain that goal even though given the necessary background; and (2) a practical program of vocational training might prevent many persons from feelings of frustration, the obvious result of having learned nothing in school which qualifies them to fit into any particular field.

A small high school known to the writer graduated about thirty pupils every year; they had all been given a general academic course, the only one available. Only two or three were able to attend college. For them the course was the proper one. But the other pupils became housewives, without benefit of training in domestic science, and farmers, automobile mechanics, and so forth, without any special training.

In sum, it might be stated as a general principle that the introduction of more vocational courses in secondary schools would not stratify the society to such an extreme as would be socially disadvantageous -- nor would the retention and extension of academic training for the masses, according to Hutchins' theory, result in putting the wherewithal to climb in the hands of the more brilliant pupils. Vocational training for the children of the great masses might tend to strengthen the social class structure, but it would not thereby make living less pleasant, secure, and enjoyable for them. It would dissipate much of the disillusionment caused by the unreality of the American Dream.

42. Sorokin, op. cit., p. 169.

43. Ibid., pp. 170 - 171.

44. Mombert, op. cit., p. 1043.

Data on the extent to which young Americans are not able to take advantage of educational facilities are revealing. North observes that "a very large part of the children of the lower paid families leave the elementary grades before the work is completed" 45

Sorokin offers some interesting figures in this regard. Although he has said that the educational system is a ladder which facilitates social class mobility, in viewing these data he states: 46

. . . contrary to the common opinion, universal education and instruction leads not so much to an obliteration of mental and social differences as to their increase. The school . . . open to everybody . . . is a machinery of the "aristocratization" and stratification of society . . .

(Since lack of education for the masses makes, obviously, as in colonial times, for social stratification, it would appear that come what will, there must be social class rigidity! However, a free educational system could hardly make for more aristocratization and stratification of society than the lack of such facilities.)

The figures, quoted from Ayres as of 1913, show that out of every 1,000 children who enter the first grade, there are: 47

723	in the second grade
692	in the third grade
640	in the fourth grade
552	in the fifth grade
462	in the sixth grade
368	in the seventh grade
263	in the eighth grade
189	in the first grade of the high school
123	in the second grade of the high school
81	in the third grade of the high school
56	in the fourth grade of the high school

In 1910 there were 24 million children between the ages of 5 and 17; 17 million were enrolled in school; the average attendance was 12 million. Today the situation has improved, but not so much as one might imagine. In 1936 there were 36 million between 5 and 17; 25 million were enrolled in school; the average attendance was 22 million. 48 In other words, 50 per cent of those who should have been in school were there in 1910; in 1936, 61 per cent were attending.

The American Youth Commission published a report in 1939 which showed that of "75 million adults, 36 million did not finish elementary school. Probably half of that number failed to finish the fourth grade." 49

When the whole story of American education is written it will probably show that great advantages have consistently been enjoyed by the upper and middle classes, that too much faith has been placed in the educational system as a means of social selection, and that no significant equalization of opportunity has resulted. Many members of the upper and middle classes have begun to feel considerable competition in the struggle for the salaried positions in large business enterprises, but they will have their family traditions, contacts, ivy-walled campuses, fraternities, and clubs. The lower classes suffer for lack of adequate housing, training, work, and habits of planning. They quit school. Lester F. Ward's dream for America has never come true.

Conclusion. It must be obvious that so long as higher education is denied the masses, no noticeable social mobility can result from education. Furthermore, when and if the bachelor's degree becomes as commonplace as the high school diploma was twenty years ago [1921], and thereby gets into the hands of great numbers of the lower classes, its value (especially if received from colleges which cater to the lower classes) will tend to decline. It will then become a matter of what college one attends; or competition will be on the next level, the graduate level of professional or highly specialized academic training. For the position of teacher, even in some places where she must take over extra responsibilities in her community and care for the children in activities for a longer day, and where the remuneration is hardly "middle class,"

the master's degree is demanded before the position is granted. This eliminates all who could barely afford to finish their college course or who lacked the moral stamina to carry on. There is always some way of preventing the lower classes from engaging in open competition with the higher ones, except in times of social way and revolution.

45. Cecil Clare North, *Social Differentiation* (Chapel Hill, 1926) p. 264.

46. Sorokin, *op. cit.*, pp. 189 - 190.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

48. *World's Almanac*, 1939.

49. *New York Post*, December 4, 1939.

CHAPTER XV

PART I

THE MIDDLE CLASS

The importance of the middle classes in society has been generally recognized. They are frequently referred to in terms of "the backbone of society, the custodian of virtues." Mosca, for instance, states: 1

Historians so far -- following an opinion prevailing in the public at large -- have especially stressed the achievements of the supreme heads of states . . . and occasionally, too, the merits of the lower strata in the pyramid, of the masses, who in their toil and often their blood have supplied the supreme heads with the material means required for accomplishing the things they accomplished. If this new perception of the importance of the ruling class is to gain a hold, we must, without denying the great importance of what has been done at the vertex and at the base of the pyramid, show that, except for the influence of the intermediate social strata, neither of the others could have accomplished very much of any significance and permanence

This paper is chiefly concerned, not with the value of the middle class to society, but with the question of the extent to which they serve or act as a hindrance to social mobility.

The barriers between the middle class and their superiors and inferiors. Sometimes the upward mobility of families is described, in theory, from proletarian levels into the middle classes, thence upward into the higher classes. This "constant flow of social percolation" is more hypothetical than real. The theory upon which descriptions of this kind are based does not take sufficient cognizance of the types and size of barriers between the middle classes and those above and below them. Although Sorokin in several places refers to the manner in which modern societies "dig" to the bottom of the social pyramid for their leaders, when thinking more specifically of the lower strata, he says that "the sterility of the proletariat is witnessed also by the fact that its leaders even in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as a general rule, have been the individuals from the upper and middle classes." 8

Many writers are exceedingly sensitive to the differences between the middle classes and the aristocracy. Even the highest bourgeoisie elements are contrasted with the nobility as if the former were peddlars and the latter cousins of the king. This distinction has been emphasized to the point where the "lower and middle" classes are frequently thrown together into one category, as if they belonged together in contrast to the upper classes. Now it so happens that in the modern western world there always and everywhere has been a close affinity between the upper middle and the highest class; and far beyond the extent to which it has been commonly recognized, the middle classes are to be clearly distinguished from the lower, proletarianized sections of the population. Family habits and attitudes toward careers differ from class to class, as has been noted, but the differences are greater between the lower and the middle classes than between the latter and the upper classes. This has been true since the establishment of the rich and powerful merchant guilds, and especially true since the coming of colonialism and commercialism.

Divergence in habit patterns is illustrated in the following, written about the early immigrants to Texas: 3

A large portion of the settlers at this time was composed of illiterate men, drawn from the class in industrious husbandmen whose tastes and avocations precluded the acquirement of an education. But, nevertheless, among the early immigrants into Texas were many highly cultured persons.

1. Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class*, ed. and rev. by Arthur Livingston (New York, 1939) p. 337.
2. Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York, 1926) p. 291.
3. H. H. Bancroft, *The Works of*, vol. XVI (San Francisco, 1889) p. 393.

The barrier and the chances of getting hold of the good things in life, as between the middle and lower classes, is indicated in a general way by the following facts: After the long depression, just passed, when times improved, the sons and daughters in middle class homes who had been incidental helpers in stores and on farms or who had been idle were early in the recovery sufficiently numerous, sufficiently trained and polished, and with sufficient contacts to fill up whatever new jobs appeared, and they left almost as many people on relief and on the WPA as before. These less fortunate groups, then, did not share early in the recovery. On January 26, 1940, the WPA 4

Issued the findings of a nation-wide survey of what happened to the 775,000 WPA workers fired last July and August under the eighteen months dismissal clause. It showed that of each 100 dismissed workers: only thirteen had jobs by November, half of them at wages below WPA's security levels.

Those who interpret American history in terms of workers rising into the middle classes by way of retailing often forget the percentage of bankrupt stores, into which many workers have put the last of their savings only to see them disappear. Without much previous experience and family tradition it is not often easy to engage successfully in retailing. Shumpeter warns that when a small enterpriser over-reaches himself, he encounters disaster. It is not always possible to weather the storm. 5 Gumplowicz is more explicit: 6

The member of the middle class is educated in "business" traditions. Trade, commerce, and business profit are his ideals from childhood Seldom can the peasant, bound to the soil . . . think of leaving his hereditary pursuit. As a rule he is unable to conceive of such a thing.

The same may be said, in general, of other toilers. But even if they get the idea, they have much, much difficulty in realizing their dream.

It is among the business classes, not among the craftsmen, that the chief resistance to the notion of a stratified society is to be found. "Commercial life," says Fahlbeck, "is naturally an enemy of a highly stratified society (Ständegesellschaft) . . . The crafts, which work for the nearby market, find themselves at home in the Ständegesellschaft and do not attempt to break its narrow limits." 7 It is entirely possible that many middle class persons interest themselves in breaking down the social class structures on the basis of compulsions motivated by their own feelings of anathema against any barrier to mobility. It becomes clearer upon reflection and after investigation that most of the actual mobility that exists is within the middle class themselves, and most of the theories about the chances and opportunities emanate from that same background of hope and experience. In sum, the barrier between the lower and the middle classes, created by both groups but especially by middle class competition for all good things, is higher and more difficult to cross than many middle class persons imagine.

The habits, planning, child care, zeal, and alertness developed in the middle classes (but not among the lower classes) need only some more polish, time, wealth, and a slightly different type of education -- mostly quantitative elements -- to qualify them for the higher classes in any modern community. But the differences between the proletarians and the middle classes is qualitative, as will be seen. Lair describes the backgrounds of middle class persons in these words: 8

The man -- as well as the woman -- of the middle classes has behind him one generation or more which belonged to the same class as he or she. These ancestors had acquired some means, more or less considerable but sufficient at least to provide for their children, even at the price of certain sacrifices, a secondary if not a university education All will have the very legitimate ambition to reach the higher runs of the social ladder. A minority of them will succeed

The nature of the barrier between the middle and lower classes and the advantages naturally belonging to the former are intimated and described, respectively, by Cooley: 9

Wealth, the most obvious and tangible source of caste [meaning class], is transmissible . . . [and] is convertible not only into material goods but, if the holder has a little tact and sense, into other and finer advantages -- educational opportunities, business and professional openings, travel and intercourse with

people of refinement and culture . . . that it does, as a rule, perpetuate the more conventional sort of superiority is undeniable.

4. New York Post, January 26, 1940.

5. Joseph Schumpeter, "Die Sozialen Klassen in Ethnischhomogenen Milieu," in the Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik (Tübingen, 1927) pp. 19 - 20.

6. Ludwig Gumplowicz, The Outlines of Sociology (Philadelphia, 1899) pp. 164 - 165.

7. Pontus E. Fahlbeck, Die Klassen und die Gesellschaft (Jena, 1922) p. 204.

8. Maurice Lair, "Le peril des classes moyennes en France," in the Revue Economique Internationale, 15th year, vol. II (April - June, 1923) pp. 44 - 45; translation ours.

9. Charles Horton Cooley, Social Organization (New York, 1909) pp. 212 - 213.

And such intangible advantages as culture, manners, good associations, and the like, whether associated with wealth or not, are practically heritable, since they are chiefly derived by children from a social environment determined by the personality and standing of their parents.

Indeed, irrespective of any intention toward or from inheritance, there is a strong drift toward it due to mere familiarity. It is commonly the line of least resistance.

Over and against this description of the hereditary advantages of the middle and upper classes can be set the bitter description of a part of the lower classes. Giddings is quoted as believing: 10

We are told incessantly that unskilled labor creates the wealth of the world. It would be nearer the truth to say that large classes of unskilled labor hardly create their own subsistence. The laborers that have no adaptiveness, that bring no new ideas to their work, that have no suspicion of the next best thing to turn to in an emergency, might better be identified with the dependent classes

Whatever may be the potential and innate qualities and talents of the great masses of laborers the world over, their conditions of life and the competition offered to any of their number who seek to rise preclude their contributing anything more than a trickle to the "stream of social mobility."

The foregoing statements regarding the lack of opportunity on the part of the lower classes are a summary of much of the data and many of the opinions heretofore expressed in this thesis.. But there are new factors and aspects in the situation which need to be developed. Chief among these are the matter of race and nationality.

Racial and nationality factors in regard to class barriers. It is quite misleading to keep one's eye on nationality and racial aspects of society when dealing with social class. For instance, an Italian or Mexican family is prominent, fashionable, successful. Surely this is another case of a "poor hard working family which has moved upward on the social scale." Not necessarily! There are in every Italian, Polish, and Mexican community many or at least some strong, educated, and well established families. The same is true of black, Chinese, German, French, and Jewish communities.

The phenomenal success of many Jewish families is often misinterpreted. Some persons think they are biologically superior to other peoples. But this has never been substantiated. A social class interpretation of their situation is more convincing. It so happens, everywhere, that many middle class habits are developed in the market place. It is a fountain-head of practical, purposeful experience. If times are hard, as they have sometimes been for many Jewish families for several generations, poverty may be found among people whose essential habit patterns are sound according to middle class standards. Education is stressed; demoralization caused by excesses in drink and in sexual life is prevented by training and conditioning; hard and unceasing work and talk sharpen business acumen. All that is lacking is a fertile soil in which these habits can bring forth material and cultural fruits. To persons reared in the ways of business under conditions of economic strangulation, as in Eastern Europe, America is the land of opportunity. However, both in Europe and in America, about one half, to judge by rule of thumb, of the Jewish population is proletarian. They work for others and enjoy the same precarious existence as most of the rest of the working populations.

Gessner, in his book, *Some of my Best Friends are Jews*, describes the working conditions in factories in Poland. When many of the Jewish workers and owners migrated to Palestine, the workers still worked, and the employers still employed.

The "percentage of middle class habits" among Jews, as over against other parts of the population, seems to be somewhat higher, thus accounting most likely for their admittedly greater mobility from the poorer into the middle class residential sections of New York City, for instance. Objective data on these habits is furnished by Sombart. 11 He reports that in the province of Baden from 1895 and 1903 the incomes of Protestants rose from 100 to 146.2 on an index. Incomes of Jews rose from 100 to 144.5. However, during the same period the total capital accumulation rose as follows: for Protestants from 100 to 128.3 on the index; for Jews from 100 to 138.2, indicating greater thrift and probably more middle class inhibitions and training.

10. Quoted in Sorokin, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

11. Werner Sombart, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* (Leipzig, 1911) p. 383.

German Jews in America are referred to as having "business sagacity" and as raising large sums of money to help the poor. 12 Actually, as is becoming more and more recognized among Jews in New York, the difference between German and eastern European Jews is merely one of having arrived in this country earlier, having come with more capital, and having lived under the advantages of a more progressive country for a longer period of time.

The greatest social class difference between Jews and Italians in New York, since both start with a handicap based on prejudice, is that the former have a larger percentage of middle class family backgrounds among them, the latter a lower percentage. The percentage of Italians who arrived in America with middle class backgrounds is quite small. To get a picture of a well-balanced social class pyramid among Italians one must go to Italy or to Argentina.

Max Weber's theory of a tie-up between Protestant psychology and the development of capitalism 12 has been in large part discredited, because it has been shown that the middle classes, the townsmen and those sections of Europe which were already turning rapidly toward commerce, became Protestant. Not that the Protestants became the business classes, but that the business classes became Protestant.

So it is with many Jews. They are in business because their ancestors were, not because they are or are not descended from Jews. Jewish workers are workers largely because they have proletarian backgrounds. The same is true of other parts of the population.

Roosevelt, in reporting the failures of families on the frontier, attributes these failures to their nationality rather than to their backgrounds. In writing about early Kentucky, he states: 14

Among the foreign-born immigrants success depended in part upon race; a contemporary Kentucky observer estimated that of twelve families of each nationality, nine German, seven Scottish, and four Irish prospered, while the others failed.

But what were the social class backgrounds of the Irish and of the Germans? (The Scottish have been described above.) The failure of eight Irish families out of twelve in early Kentucky might be explained by the following facts, even though they describe a slightly later period: 15

By the 1840's, however, the vast stream of Irish immigration had got well under way. Uncouth, often half wild, and accustomed to an extremely low standard of living, these poor creatures, willing to work for a pittance

The Beards also describe the Irish in similar terms: "Literally driven from home by starvation, the peasants of Ireland swarmed to America Coming without capital, often with nothing better than rags on their backs" 16

In contrast, Wertenbaker has written the following description of the early German immigrants: 17

Not all German immigrants were peasants; many were skilled craftsmen. Of 1838 new arrivals at Philadelphia in . . . 1709, 56 were bakers, 87 masons, 124 carpenters, 68 shoemakers, 99 tailors, 29 butchers, 45 millers, 14 tanners, 7 stocking weavers, 82 coopers, 13 saddlers, 2 glass blowers, 3 hatters, 8 lime-burners, 2 engravers, 3 brick makers, 2 silversmiths, 48 blacksmiths, 3 potters, 6 turners.

But what of the habits of the German peasants themselves? The same author elsewhere states: 18

Although the German could not duplicate in his new home the system of the old, his knowledge of agriculture was of inestimable value to him. His infallible judgement in picking the most fertile soil is no doubt explained by his long acquaintance with the Rhine valley loess. It is said that he was guided by the trees, taking it for granted that where the growth was luxuriant and tall, the soil must be fertile. In clearing the land, his training in thrift and hard work made him scorn the slovenly method of girdling the trees and leaving them to die. He chopped down the trees, split the large limbs and trunks into firewood or fence rails, and grubbed up the underbrush and saplings.

Thus it is known that something deeper and more fundamental than nationality was at root of success and failure on the frontier.

Again, during the latest immigration from Europe, those fleeing from the devastation and ravages of World War II (even though many of them have lost all their capital) constitute a capable type of middle and upper class immigrants whose backgrounds are already showing themselves in the manner in which many have established themselves on a respectable footing.

The bureaucrats. There are middle class families today whose general "tone" is quite different from that of the openly competitive middle class type. Their wagon is not hitched to a star. It is jerked along life's road step by step from H to I to J to M, and there it stops. They are the bureaucrats. Seniority and selective examinations are their gods. "In such careers, Karl Mannheim has said, one receives at each step a neat package of prestige and power whose contents are known in advance. Security is at a maximum and enterprise at a minimum." 19

In corporations, schools, and governmental service this type has grown year by year. The true story of their place in history will have to be written in another century, long after their security and protection have either crystallized or have given way to a more vigorous, perhaps more ruthless, form of personal and family competition.

However, it must not be assumed that this bureaucracy, with its hierarchy of relatively secure berths, built up by a series of objective examinations, has been the open sesame of persons from the lower classes. Mosca states: 20

Though a bureaucracy may be legally open to all social classes, in fact it will always be recruited from the middle class For one thing . . . [they] find it easier to secure the education that is required of them, and in their family background they develop a practical sense of the best ways of getting started in the bureaucratic career and of advancing in it.

If there ever was a time when a large number of respectable positions were theoretically within the reach of the lower classes, that time is in America today [1941]. Literacy, army training, adult education, colleges, and an increase in the number of relatively fair and open public examinations for secure positions are offering the lower classes greater chances by far than did the lesser educational opportunities and career offerings of earlier decades. With short hours of work, all that is needed, apparently, is the willingness to persist. Instead of ambition, according to the Thompson formula, there is a spirit of defeatism among the high school graduates. On the other hand, what a bedlam there would be if the lower classes had middle class habits!

12. S. Dingel, "The Jews," in *Immigrant Backgrounds*, edited by Henry Pratt Fairchild (New York, 1927) p. 127.

13. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, translated by Talcott Parsons (London, 1930) p. 35.

14. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. II (New York, 1917) p. 36.

15. James Truslow Adams, et al., *New England's Prospect* (New York, 1933) pp. 10 - 11.

16. Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, vol. I (New York, 1927) pp. 642.

17. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The Founding of American Civilization, The Middle Colonies* (New York, 1938) p. 281.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

19. Robert E. Park, editor, *An Outline of the Principles of Sociology* (New York, 1939) p. 329.

20. Mosca, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

PART II

WAR AND TOTALITARIAN INFLUENCES ON SOCIAL CLASS

When a civilization disintegrates or when a whole social system and all the normal groupings of society are uprooted, the social class structure, a part of the whole, goes down with the rest. The one thing that the social classes cannot withstand is the disorganization of consensus-built community institutions. The old social class system in Russia did not withstand sovietization; the German social class structure was gravely weakened by Nazism. In such times and under such circumstances, there is always a considerable amount of social class mobility. Keen analysis of modern trends, also in the United States, points not to the rigid establishment of the social classes but to the disintegration of older social class structures.

The destruction of social systems by totalitarians. Emil Lederer believes that dictatorships destroy the whole social system, and with it the social classes. He says: 21

Dictatorship, therefore is bound to destroy society: society has always been a stratified structure with different interests and ideas. This period of dictatorship is a new epoch in history in which all the potentialities of a destructive mass-movement are turned into a political system.

This idea is further explained in the following passage: 22

Thus fascism destroys society as history has known it, and aims at melting it down to a crowd. In order to transform the whole population into a crowd . . . fascism must level down the social structure, destroy any seed of grouping, stamp out free speech . . . in fact fascism must go even farther, it must destroy the family, terrorize thinking and speech even there.

These statements go to the very heart of the matter: family control over children has been taken over by the state, social groups have been disbanded, among which were all the cliques which constitute the molecules of the social classes, especially with regard to their canons of respectability and exclusiveness. Storm troopers smash into every home, especially into those where something hidden might be found. Much as the formation of castes among southern blacks is prevented by the interference of white groups, so is the formation of classes difficult in a country where every family is spied upon, even by its own members.

With the dismemberment of social groups, and their artificial formation into politically dominated "civil battalions," there can be few social class rigidities, in the usual sense of the term. The social class structure cannot maintain itself upright; it slumps under the impact of the dictator's corps of loyal party members. Of course, sons of workers cannot immediately become experienced professionals, but neither can the professions maintain their dignity when relegated to the discard, as were the lawyers, or forced to work for the dictatorship, as were the physicians and university professors. Furthermore, for years in countries ruled by dictators, there has been little surplus left over for the middle and upper classes to use in displaying themselves, in travelling, and in propagating its own brand of art, education, and architecture.

Most serious, perhaps, is the exiling and destruction of some of the most valuable elements in the society -- families whose intellectual and cultural backgrounds gave so much to the countries whose new rulers turned upon them with a vengeance.

Exiled and crushed middle and upper classes. The exiling and destroying of certain families and groups in the modern world and similar events in ancient Greece constitute a parallel not to be overlooked. "So long as the freedom of Greece lasted, the revolutions brought with them mass murders and exilings . . . One contemplates what a large amount of intellectual power was destroyed in these suicidal struggles!"

21. Emil Lederer, *State of the Masses, The Threat of Classless Society* (New York, 1940) p. 18.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 72 - 73.

23. Otto Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, vol. I (Berlin, 1921) p. 279; translation ours.

The driving out of power and control of the intellectual elements was forecast by Pareto, who is reported as believing: "In certain historical periods the ruling intelligent elements (die herrschenden Schlaun) are pushed aside by the unscrupulous men of force (Gewaltmenschen)." 24

Hitler's policy of uprooting and displacing not only liberal intellectuals but also aristocrats and wealthy persons was clearly stated in his Danzig speech of October, 1939, in which he said: 25

In that country [Poland] there ruled a minority of aristocratic or non-aristocratic owners of vast estates and wealthy intellectuals to whom, under the most favorable circumstances, their own Polish compatriots were nothing but mass manpower.

His party followers, even in his own country, but especially in occupied territory, seek to displace as many of these elements as is feasible and to place themselves in their stead.

Walter Lippmann expresses the belief that the Soviet did the same kind of purging; "as we have seen in Austria, Czechoslovakia and in both halves of Poland, these conquerors do not merely occupy the territory of their victims; they deliberately exterminate the leaders of the vanquished nation." 26 Lippmann goes on to say:

When they take possession of a country, they systematically kill, imprison and exile the political, economic, intellectual and religious leaders in order to deprive the peasants and workers and small merchants of any organized leadership around which they can rally.

Under dictatorships, when the class structure has been driven asunder, new troubles beset the governing clique. Men begin to struggle ruthlessly against each other for power; they are jealous and suspicious of each other. They spy on each other, even within the "solid party," and they engage in counter-espionage against their colleagues. No social class considerations, no intermarriage of families, no tradition of administrative poise, guide them. They lust after each other's positions. In the long run, so long as prestige is personalized, so long as there are only rulers and no ruling classes, there must be more purges, a growth of fear, retaliation, stagnation, inefficiency. The German universities under Adolph Hitler (ne Schickelgruber) are a case in point.

A hierarchy of dictators, each in his own realm, large or small from the Führer down to the man who spies on the local block, is not a hierarchy of social classes. Force becomes the only means of creating order; there is none of the oil of deference which greases the social structure and lets it enjoy custom-built law and order, as in England.

Sombart, in his dotage, imagines that new groups will come to replace the old ones. He says: 27

In the order or rank, which will count in the future, the military (not the Olympic champions!) will stand on the top, and in the last place will be business. Within the economic system agriculture will take the first place.

In Germany the military leaders have always received the highest honors, but the idea of destroying the prestige of commercialism and industrialism is indeed a far-fetched notion for a nation like Germany. Furthermore, only a decline in centralized political control could enable even the hereditary peasants to build up again, by consensus, their natural leaders.

What has happened in Italy, Germany, the Soviet Union, and especially in the Axis-occupied countries, has been taking place in Spain. Morrison, the Harvard historian, writes that "Spanish Loyalists, whose only crime was to be on the losing side, are being executed daily." 28 One must infer that these were leaders, intellectuals, and other important personages, along with some suspected members of the lower orders.

Spengler, who is usually thought of as an exponent of fascism, had serious misgivings about its effect upon the middle and upper classes. He writes: 29

Mussolini's creative idea was grand, and it has had an international effect: it revealed a possible form for the combating of Bolshevism. But this form arose out of intimidating the enemy and is therefore full of dangers: revolution from below, organized and participated in for the greater part by men from below; an armed party-militia, paralleled in Caesar's Rome by the bands of Clodius and Milo; the tendency to subordinate intellectual and economic leadership . . . to disregard other's property, to confuse the conceptions of nation and mass

24. Leopold Max Walter von Wiese und Kaiserwaldau, "Vilfredo Pareto als Soziologe," in *Zeitschrift für National-ökonomie*, vol. 7 (Vienna, 1936) p. 442; translation ours.

25. *New York World Telegram*, October 6, 1939.

26. Walter Lippmann, "Today and Tomorrow," in the *New York Herald Tribune*, December 5, 1939.

27. Werner Sombart, *Deutscher Sozialismus* (Berlin, 1934) p. 229; translation ours. 28. *New York Post*, December 1, 1939.

29. Oswald Spengler, *The Hour of Decision* (New York, 1934) p. 187.

Is it not possible that the persecution of Jews and the driving out of dissenters will have a similar effect upon parts of Europe which this same policy had upon the Spanish civilization in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, or the effect caused by the proscriptions and banishment in ancient Greece and Rome? Only the future can tell, but from the point of view of an outsider, more harm is being done to society than good.

But will not the effect be greater opportunity for the many born into the lower classes? For once in human history large numbers of the lower orders, if loyal and ruthless, can become powerful over their fellows. However, the social cost of their "social mobility" has not yet been calculated. Furthermore, it is not yet certain (1) that the system will prevail, or (2) that such percolation upward will continue after another generation, in which case the era of "opening opportunity" will close again. classlessness, as a social system, is exceedingly hard to envisage even though once set up as an ideal. It might not be able to create enough social stability to permit the carrying on of civilized life.

War. The present era of human history is characterized more by war than by fascism. As has been noted, war is frequently credited with the power to create, through conquest, a new social class structure. It was not until World War I that authorities generally came to realize that war is often the destroyer of social class structures. World War II is rapidly confirming that belief. The impending social revolution, even the one now in progress in the air raid shelters of London, may strike down the barriers of social prestige and inherited social honor upon which the social classes are based.

War's consequences are many and varied, not the least of which is its effect upon the social classes. The chances of rising above the status into which one is born, for many draftees for instance, may today be quite similar to those in primitive times when "perhaps the most usual means of elevation from one class to another is prowess in war." 30 Total war brings with it mass mobilization and "trained" officers; it increases compulsory regulations in civil life with regard to business and professional activities; it increases the army of civil servants and gives them much power. Spencer believes that war brings about "a return towards that coercive discipline which pervades the whole social life where the militant type is predominant." 31

The disciplines of total war necessarily undermine privileges, as in an earlier age when "war was a great leveler. When a man rode at another brandishing a heavy iron mace, any feeling of social superiority had a tendency to disappear" 32 Today this same tendency is at work in conscription, in the turning of estates into home gardens and orphanages, in the life of the shelters, and by the general regulations affecting all alike. It is especially felt in the persecutions of the middle and upper classes by the conqueror.

War results in inflation and in the destruction of wealth, in the abandonment and loss of homes, in the lack of privacy in personal and family affairs, in the breaking down of deference and prestige forms. Ultimately it leaves the upper and middle classes with none of the means of associative forms and rituals with which they can maintain their close family relationships. It undermines both the material and psychological base upon which their status depends. It exposes them to all the hates, brutalities, distempers, and mass psychoses that only war can create. Deference for respectability gives way to envy of and hate for the respectable.

In Britain working men are learning to fly planes, an honor long retained by the upper classes, and Eton has given up its Toppers. "There are queer little indices of revolutionary change which strike deeper than the storming of Bastilles and the executions of kings." 33

30. Gunnar Landtman, *The Origin of the Inequality of the Social Classes* (Chicago, 1938) p. 308.

31. Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*, vol. I (New York, 1880) p. 587.

32. Paul Van Dyke, *The Story of France* (New York, 1928) p. 73.

33. M. Samuel, "British Social Barriers Broken Down," *New York Post*, October 19, 1939.

When war comes in the front door, totalitarianism seeps through the walls and fills the air. The best of observers say that the French people themselves are tired of the very idea of democracy. They do not follow Petain's feudal notions; their revolutionary fervor and desire to destroy the corrupt leadership which betrayed them is evident on every hand. They want the old order of social distinctions destroyed. Events move in that same direction throughout most of Europe. It is ripe for totalitarian, although definitely not for German rule. War has disrupted normal relationships to the point where men trample over each other in a vicious, cutthroat, classless fashion in reaching for power, and the older bourgeois, liberal, and feudal groups have lost the respect of the masses, who now send their sons into the socio-political melee. Rulers and henchmen, not middle and upper classes, are destined to take over during and at the close of this war.

Ross has well stated: 34

Karl Marx's doctrine of economic determinism . . . needs to be rounded out with a doctrine of martial determinism which shall show how much the relations of classes, societies, peoples, races, and cultures have been influenced by the development of the technique of war.

Spengler strikes deep with the bitter words: 35

But how much can be destroyed or leveled down in the final stages of world anarchy! So much, indeed, that in certain white nations there will be no material left from which Caesar could create . . . his army . . . and his State.

(By anarchy Spengler means the war which, as he and Ross both predicted in dire terms, now besets the world, and by material he means effective human beings.)

Hardly any other short passage on the effect of war upon the respectable classes can rival the following remarks made by a sand hiller about a formerly rich planter shortly after the Civil War: 36

He swore he could drink all the blood as would be spilled in the war; but long befo' Sherman come his oldest gal and was a ploughin' corn with the bull, and his wife a bobbin' fur cat-fish in the cypress swamp.

Social class in militarized democracies. It has already been stated that the processes of social class disintegration are active in Britain as well as in the totalitarian states. In general, the same thing may be said of every country whose place in world affairs has placed upon it the label: "Great Power." The chief interests of these nations are not domestic social welfare but foreign war. Whether this situation is self-imposed or a consequence of outside pressures is irrelevant -- the result is seen in the difference in the management of social affairs between a non-militarized social state, as in Sweden, and a highly militarized world power, as in Japan [in 1941).

In highly centralized militaristic states power gravitates to the hands of a few, and the people are used as pawns. In a social-democratic and pacifist state the processes of consensus and amelioration, the strengthening of the lower orders and the steady but non-violent diminution of excessive exploitation by other classes go steadily forward. Under military discipline, however, all the classes feel the brunt of the military clique and must pay heavily for its ambitions. There is a vast difference, from the social class point of view, between a state which respects the life and existence of the different classes and which promotes a social organization based on custom-made associative groupings and one which seeks to break the position and influence of every autonomous grouping and to bend all groups to meet the demands of military necessity. In the latter, much as under fascism, decrees and terror are used in the place of pressure of neighbors, appeals to tradition, a sense of social honor and prestige -- in order to keep the society functioning.

A militaristic state must crush the organs of labor -- a small and non-militarized nation may use the persistent efforts of other classes to hold the demands of labor within reason but without resorting to the violent terror of disbanding them or of subjugating them completely to the will of a government which is above and outside of the free organizations of society. It is for this reason among others that social scientists hope that nationalist and militarist states will give way to a federation of peaceful cultures. Under

conditions of peace, and only under these conditions, can the different levels of human society hope to find themselves and their future secure from the bitter ravages of dislocation and destruction.

The question is raised, how to prevent the government from being an instrument used against all the classes and against the class hierarchy. Where all groups may easily become pressure groups in a society and where so much is at stake for each that no consensus is possible with regard to the social welfare, the situation is dark indeed. Where labor groups, farmer lobbies, ex-soldiers' organizations, the aged, the poor, the employers and owners, and the war lords all press for their own demands, even representative government becomes paralyzed. But under a system of one-man rule the whole resources of the nation and its course of action are subject to whim. In the former case the society is torn, as was Germany, with civil dissent and conflict. In the latter case the dictator is most likely to use all the people for grandiose schemes of national expansion. The United States at this time is torn between these two dilemmas, and either road is not likely to be an easy one. Particularly true is the thought that the relationships between the various classes are likely to become less smooth and more harsh. Envy replaces deference.

The United States, with all its great wealth, has not worked out a means of maintaining modern civilization, of building up strong social relations, of balancing internal pressures, of stabilizing the social classes. Great dislocations and social reverberations are certainly in the offing. The United States is, after all, the greatest world power.

34. Edward Alsworth Ross, *The Social Trend* (New York, 1922) p. 214.

35. Spengler, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

36. Taken from Arthur W. Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family*, vol. II (Cleveland, 1918) p. 373.

PART III

ARE SOCIAL CLASSES A GOOD THING?

A social class structure, as over against a utopia of equals, would be an object of derision. But a social class system, as over against an atomized and centrally regimented society, would appear in a much more favorable light. The modern world does not face the first alternative. Speculation must be confined to the latter dilemma. However, even this is not a free choice. Destiny, i.e., historical trends, has indicated that the lot of modern man is and will be heavily loaded on the side of discipline, ruthlessness, and disrespect for old forms of status, prestige, and honor.

Many social scientists have expressed themselves for or against the idea of a social class hierarchy. Are hereditary social classes desirable?

Opinions in favor of a system of social classes. Lederer, whose long and illustrious career was devoted to this and allied studies, comes to the following conclusions in favor of the social classes. In one place he says: ". . . the social classes and their impact cannot be overlooked in the development of our civilization, be it in ethics, science or art." 37 More positively, he states that "stratification is necessary to the existence of society. An unstratified society would become either a religious community or emotionally driven masses The idea of classlessness or of an unstratified society is empty" 38

Lederer spent much of his life defending socialism, and at the very end he found a formula for socialism in respect to the social classes. He asks: "But again, what of socialism? Such a system, though leading to planned production, would not destroy the classes, would not merge them into a classless society." 39 The workers hold tenaciously to the ideal of a classless society, "but the workers also will realize sooner or later that to abolish the classes or social groups altogether means the destruction of society." 40

Decades before the present era of insecurity in personal and world affairs Cooley formulated a theory of the social values preserved in the class structure. He wrote at a time when many Americans were denying the existence of classes and dreading the thought of their possible establishment and at a time when many intellectual leaders in Europe were clamoring for the creation of a classless society. Cooley writes: 41

We may say of this differentiation, speaking generally, that it is useful. The various functions of life require special influences and organization, and without some class spirit, some specialty in traditions and standards, nothing is well performed I have already tried to show that our own society suffers considerably from a lack of adequate group differentiation in its higher mental activities.

After describing the manner in which regard for ancestry is growing in the settled parts of the United States, Cooley says: 42

In some ways this greater recognition of descent is wholesome. A sense of being part of a kindred, or bearing the honor of a continuing group as well as of a perishing individual, tends to make one a better man; and from this point of view our somewhat disintegrated society might well have more of it.

Cooley believes that if open opportunity leads to "confused competition" the result may be worse than that of "order, even if the latter rests upon artificial principle." This great sociologist then makes what might be considered an appeal for the existence of hereditary classes: 43

Thus it is said with some truth -- and this is perhaps the most considerable argument for caste in modern position, like the English aristocracy, makes a permanent vice, and that it is well to preserve such traditions even at the cost of a somewhat exclusive order to contain and cherish them. De Tocqueville, himself imbued with the best traditions of the old French aristocracy, held this view, and ascribed the lack of intellectual distinction in the America of his day largely to the fact that there was no class "in which the taste for intellectual fortune and leisure, and by which the labors of the intellect are held in honor."

37. Lederer, op. cit., p. 140.
38. Ibid., p. 142.
39. Ibid., p. 159.
40. Ibid., p. 212.
41. Cooley, op. cit., pp. 209 - 210.
42. Ibid., p. 232.
43. Ibid., pp. 234 - 235.

Sumner is known for his sardonic remarks about the classes and for his justification of the class system. He believes that classes have societal value and form a hierarchy of such values. 44 Two of his most striking statements read: 45

Masses of men who are on a substantial equality with each other never can be anything but hopeless savages Masses of men who are approximately equal are in time exterminated or enslaved.

Spengler, as is well known, has decided opinions about the value of classes to society. One of his statements follows: 46

The more perfectly a nation represents, shows the true stamp and style of, its culture . . . the richer its organic disposition by status and rank, and the more genuine the respect of distances between ranks, from the strong-rooted peasantry to the urban patriciate. Here the high level of form, tradition, training, and custom, innate superiority in the ruling families, circles, and personalities signify the life, the destiny of the whole

Elsewhere Spengler says that "it is a piece of intellectual stupidity to want to substitute something else for the social structure that has grown up through the centuries and is fortified by tradition." 47

Landtman believes that social equality reigns among peoples in the "lowest degree of culture" and that differentiation of rank appertains "to a somewhat higher degree of evolution." 48

Gonnard believes that classes are inevitable, that the same tastes, habits, manners, and diversions cannot be pressed upon a people. He goes on to say: 49

The class system is a natural fact, like the family or the nation. To dream of a classless society is to dream of a society not only of equals but also of identical people

Gonnard makes his appeal for a class system in these terms: 50

On the one hand, the hierarchy of classes, with the variety of benefits or prerogatives enjoyed by each, may create conditions conducive to a spirit of emulation, arousing individual ambitions which offer a goal to initiative. Thus individuals will work and use their wits to rise in that hierarchy The classes will also, at certain times and under certain conditions, constitute an element of order and stability.

Gerould shows a negative attitude toward the abolition of classes in these words: "Not the devil himself can destroy natural hierarchies or assemble all classes into one, but he can simplify ruthlessly." 51

Durkheim argues for both classes and class rigidity: 52

. . . in order for morality to remain constant, that is to say, in order for the individual to remain attached to the group with a force equal to that of yesterday, the ties which bind him to it must become stronger and more numerous In short, since the division of labor becomes the chief source of social solidarity, it becomes, at the same time, the foundation of the moral order.

Gumplowicz belongs to those who look upon the classes as natural and inevitable: 53

Sociology is coming to recognize that there would be no rulers if there were no servants; no priests if there were no believers; no traders if they could find no buyers. The phenomenon of class building can be referred to a universal law: each want produces its own means of satisfaction.

Opinions against a system of social classes. Few social scientists have committed themselves in favor of a classless society. Some, of course, doubt the advisability of giving special economic or political prerogatives to any small part of the population. For instance, Gillette and Reinhardt write: 54

No Separate Leadership Class. Some would solve the problem of democracy by seeking to establish a separate leadership class. This is chimerical and impractical for two reasons. First, leadership arises out of the body of the people and does not run in classes Therefore there can be no such thing as general leadership or a general, separate, independent leadership class. Fortunately we call to leadership anyone from any class who manifests this ability.

MacIver argues for "merit standards" rather than class privileges in selecting leaders. He also casts aspersions upon some class habits, notably the fetish of "respectability." He states: 55

A further serious penalty of a system which limits the evocation of intrinsic merit is that it establishes other than merit standards, and therefore false standards, in the privileged class "Good form," the conventions and shibboleths of the prestige group, is apt to assume an importance superior to character In the middle classes particularly "respectability" is apt to become a fetish. It becomes the measure, for example, of a "good marriage," and it sets standards in the choice of mates that ignore the primary qualifications of eugenic fitness as well as considerations of personal compatibility.

44. William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1907) p. 41.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

46. Spengler, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

48. Landtman, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 and 4.

49. R. Gonnard, "Quelques considérations sur les classes," in the *Revue Economique Internationale*, 17th year, vol. II, April 10, 1925, pp. 91 - 92; translation ours.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 83; translation ours.

51. K. P. Gerould, "The Flight of the Genteel," *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 152, February, 1926, p. 310.

52. Emil Durkheim, *On the Division of Labor in Society*, tr. George Simpson (New York, 1933) pp. 400 - 401.

53. Gumpłowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

54. John M. Gillette and James M. Reinhart, *Current Social Problems* (New York, 1937) p. 767.

55. R. M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology* (New York, 1937) p. 180.

Class considerations in marriage are, of course, family considerations, as over against personal ones. Purely personal compatibility is not a thoroughly sound basis for marriage. As for strictly eugenic mating, it must be left to the future or to the laboratory. Furthermore, practical considerations might lead one to argue for classes as the best method of handling both marriage and character.

No one can compare with Ross as an open enemy of stratification. He denounces the class system in very certain terms: 56

Stratification is a veritable social disease which slows down the natural sifting of human beings, hampers the rise of the talented and the descent of dullards, discourages the masses, checks the flow of sympathy and ends in semi-paralysis, perhaps the break-up, of the society.

Conclusion. The question -- are the social classes a good thing? -- may be purely academic and unimportant. Indeed it can be wondered that in modern mobile urban life, in times of depressions, wars, and revolutions, there is any way in which the social classes can solidify their relative prestige levels at all. If cities are so constructed that they destroy the essential elements of community life, then the social classes and their stabilizing influences are already in the process of disintegration; families are becoming "individualized." In war the people become enslaved to military necessity. In revolutions they become terrorized.

Ideally considered, within the limits of social realities, classes may be considered desirable, but the problem is not one of trying to erect artificial barriers. Rather it is a question of how to arrange the mechanics of living and working so that people will live in smaller groups, where they may know each other and associate without governmental interference into their custom-built groupings.

Social classes are probably a value where they have a chance to live and function, especially in the recreational life of man. But "classes," mere aggregations of organizations for the exercise of power and to demand privileges, especially in large and rich countries, are a potential danger to the social order. In large cities trade unions are sometimes predatory, organized, machines, not gild brothers. Whereas politically organized groups form lobbies, the social organizations that make up the social classes follow hobbies. It is unfortunate, indeed, that the free associations of the social classes have to give way because of the excesses of the organized pressure groups; that is to say, fall into the control of dictators.

A social class structure may be ruined by governmental policies abroad and at home; it can be undermined by economic conditions and housing arrangements; and it can be disturbed by an educational policy that leads to frustration. The great question before modern society is how to come to an era of social and international peace. Those who cry for the abolition of the social classes are probably desirous of establishing a dictatorship, under which all associative groupings would be liquidated by the "government party." That would usher in an era of personal inequalities and social disintegration. In contrast, the social classes are much to be preferred, even cherished.

56. Edward Alsworth Ross, *The Outlines of Sociology* (New York, 1933) p. 283.

APPENDIX I

THE DISTRIBUTION OF PROPERTIES IN NORTH IRELAND

Social class position translates itself into economic goods. This is well illustrated in the following lists; taken from Henry Jones Ford, *The Scotch-Irish in America* (Princeton, 1915). The first list contains the names of those who had hoped to share in the "Irish booty." The second list shows the final allotments to Dukes, Earls, Lords, Knights, many of whom had not even troubled to make early application.

Ford gives the following account, under the heading:

THE SCOTTISH UNDERTAKERS

The first list of Scottish applicants for Ulster allotments was completed by September 14, 1609. The following is the list as given in volume VIII of the official edition of the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland:

Adamson, James, brother of Mr. William Adamson of Graycrook (Craigcrook): surety, Andrew Heriot of Ravelston: 2,000 acres.

Aitchinson, Harry, in Edinburgh: surety, Mr. James Cunningham of Mountgrennan: 2,000 acres.

Alexander, Robert, son of Christopher Alexander, burgess of Stirling: surety, said his father: 1,000 acres.

Anderson, James, portioner of Little Govan: surety, John Allison, burgess there.

Bellenden, John, son of the late justice-clerk, Sir Lewis Bellenden: surety, Sir George Livingston of Ogilface: 2,000 acres.

Bellenden, William, also son of the late Sir Lewis Bellenden: surety, Mr. John Hart, younger, in the Canongate: 2,000 acres.

Borthwick, David, chamberlain of Newbattle: surety, George Thorbrand, burgess of Edinburgh: 2,000 acres.

Brown, John, in Gorgie Mill: surety, Harry Aikman, in Brume house: 2,000 acres.

Carmichael, David, son of James Carmichael of Pottishaw: surety, Mr. John Ross, burgess of Glasgow: 1,000 acres.

Colquhoun, Mr. Malcolm, burgess of Glasgow: surety, Alexander Colquhoun of Luss: 2,000 acres.

Cranstoun, Nathaniel, son of Mr. Michael Cranstoun, minister of Cramond: surety, Robert Wardlaw in Edinburgh: 1,500 acres.

Coutts, Robert, of Corswoods: surety, John Coutts, skinner, burgess of Edinburgh: 1,000 acres.

Crawford, Daniel, goldsmith in Edinburgh: surety, George Crawford, goldsmith there: 1,000 acres.

Crawford, David, son of Andrew Crawford of Bedlair: surety, Robert Montgomery of Kirktown: 2,000 acres.

Crawford, James, goldsmith, burgess of Edinburgh: surety, Archibald Hamilton of Bairfute: 2,000 acres.

Crawford, Robert, of Possil: surety, John Montgomery of Cokilbie: 2,000 acres.

Crichton, Abraham, brother of Thomas Crichton of Brunstone: surety, said Crichton of Brunstone: 2,000 acres.

Crichton, Thomas, of Brunstone: surety, Mr. James Cunningham of Mountgrennan: 2,000 acres.

Cunningham, Alexander, of Powton: surety, George Murray of Broughton: 2,000 acres.

Cunningham, John, of Raws: surety, James Guildlet in Strabrock: 2,000 acres.

Dalrymple, James, brother of Dalrymple of Stair: surety, George Crawford, younger of Auchincorse: 2,000 acres.

Douglass, George, of Shiell: surety, Douglass of Pumpherston: 2,000 acres.

Douglass, James of Clappertoun: surety, George Douglass of Shiell: 1,000 acres.

Douglas, William, son of Joseph Douglas of Pumpherston: surety, his said father: 2,000 acres.

Dunbar, Alexander, of Egirness: surety, XX George Murray of Broughton: 2,000 acres.

Dunbar, John, of Avach, surety, David Lindsay, Keeper of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh: 2,000 acres.

Finlayson, Mr. John, heir apparent of Killeith: surety, John Dunbar of Avach: 2,000 acres.

Forres, John, in Dirleton: surety, Walter Ker of Cocklemill: 2,000 acres.

Forster, William, in Leith: surety, John Forster in Edinburgh, 1,000 acres.

Fowler, William, merchant-burgess in Edinburgh: surety, James Inglis, skinner, burgess of Edinburgh: 2,000 acres.

Guidlet, James, in Strabrock: surety, John Cunningham of Raws: 2,000 acres.

Hamilton, Claud, of Creichness: surety, Archibald Hamilton of Bairfute: 2,000 acres.

Hamilton, George, of East Binnie: surety, Mr. Edward Marshall, clerk of commissary of Edinburgh: 2,000 acres.

Hamilton, Robert, of Stanshouse: 2,000 acres.

Hamilton, Robert, son of the late Gilbert Hamilton: surety, Gavin Hamilton of Raploch: 2,000 acres.

Hepburn, Alexander, of Bangla: surety, Sir Robert Hepburn of Alderstonn: 2,000 acres.

Home, Robert, of Blackhills: surety, Mr. John Home of Swansheill: 2,000 acres.

Inglis, Thomas, younger of Auldiston: surety, James, Lord Torpphichen: 1,000 acres.

Irving, Robert, at the mill of Cowie: surety, Edward Johnston, younger, merchant in Edinburgh: 2,000 acres.

Johnstone, John, bailif of Water of Leith: surety, Daniel Couttsin Dalry Mill: 2,000 acres.

Ker, Walter, of Cocklemill: surety, John Forres in Dirleton: 1,500 acres.

Lauder, Alexander, son of William Lauder of Bellhaven: surety, his said father: 2,000 acres.

Lindsay, Mr. Jerome, in Leith: surety, David Lindsay, keeper of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh: 2,000 acres.

Lindsay, Mr. Robert, in Leith: surety, George Smilholm in Leith: 2,000 acres.

Livingston, Sir George, of Ogilface: surety, John Crawford of Bearcrofts: 2,000 acres.

Lockhart, Stephen, of Wicketshaw: surety, Thomas Weir of Kirkton: 2,000 acres.

McClellan, Robert, of Grogrie: surety, George Murray of Broughton: 2,000 acres.

McCulloch, James, of Drummorell: surety, George Murray of Broughton: 2,000 acres.

McGill, M. Samuel, Burgess of Glasgow: surety, Robert Gray, brother of Patrick, Lord Gray: 2,000 acres.

Mac Walter, Parlane, of Auchinvennell: surety, Alexander Colquhoun of Luss: 2,000 acres.

Marjoribanks, Thomas, son of Thomas Marjoribanks of Ratho: surety, John Marjoribanks, apparent of Ratho: 2,000 acres.

Meldrum, John, brother of the Laird of Seggie: surety, Ramsay of Balmonth: 2,000 acres.

Melville, James, son of John Melville of Raith: surety, James Melville of Fodinche: 2,000 acres.

Montgomery, Robert, of Kirkton: surety, Robert Crawford of Possill: 2,000 acres.

Mowbray, William, son of John Mowbray of Groftangry: surety, his said father: 2,000 acres.

Mure, James, portioner of Both-Kenner: surety, Cuthbert Cunningham, provost of Dumbarton: 2,000 acres.

Murray, George, of Broughton: surety, Alexander Dunbar of Egirness: 2,000 acres.

Orrock, Captain David: surety, Lorch Ochiltree: 2,000 acres.

Pont, Mr. Timothy, minister: surety, Alexander Borthwick of Nether Laich: 2,000 acres.

Purves, Thomas, in Bald: surety, John Purves, cordiner in Edinburgh: 1,000 acres.

Ramsay, Alexander, brother of Thomas Ramsay of Balmonth: surety, Meldrum of Seggie: 2,000 acres.

Ross, Mr. John, burgess of Glasgow: surety, James Carmichael of Pottishaw: 1,500 acres.

Smailholm, George, in Laith: surety, Mr. Robert Lindsay in Leith: 2,000 acres.

Steward, Harry, of Barskimming: surety, Lord Ochiltree: 2,000 acres.

Stewart, James, of Rossyth: surety, William Stewart of Dunduff: 2,000 acres.

Stewart, Robert, Uncle of Lord Ochiltree: surety, said Lord Ochiltree: 2,000 acres.

Stewart, Robert, of Robertstoun: surety, William Stewart of Dunduff: 2,000 acres.

Stewart, William, of Dunduff: surety, Lord Ochiltree: 2,000 acres.

Tarbet, James, servitor to the Earl of Dunfermline: surety, Thomas Inglis, younger of Auldiston: 1,000 acres.

Thorbrand, Alexander, son of George Thorbrand, burgess of Edinburgh: surety, his said father: 1,500 acres.

Watson, John, portioner of Saughton: surety, James Crawford, goldsmith, burgess of Edinburgh: 2,000 acres.

Weir, Thomas, of Kirkton: surety, Stephen Lockhart of Wicketshaw: 2,000 acres.

Wilkie, John, burgess of Edinburgh: surety, James Murray, burgess there: 2,000 acres.

Wood, Andrew, brother of John Wood of Galstoun: surety, his said brother: 2,000 acres.

THE SECOND LIST

The Scottish Undertakers who were actually granted allotments in Ulster were those on the list made up in 1610 by the King and his English Privy Council sitting in London. The following schedule is taken from vol. IX of the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland:

UNDERTAKERS FOR 3,000 ACRES EACH

Ludovic Stewart, Duke of Lennox
James Hamilton, Earl of Abercorn
Esme Stewart, Lord D'Aubigny, brother of the Duke of Lennox.
Michael Balfour, Lord of Burley.
Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree.

UNDERTAKERS FOR 2,000 ACRES EACH

John Clapen
Sir James Cunningham, of Glengarnock
Sir James Douglas
Sir Alexander Hamilton
Sir Claud Hamilton
Sir John Home
Sir Robert MacLellan, of Bomby.

UNDERTAKERS FOR 1,500 ACRES EACH

Balfour, Younger of Montquhany
Sir Thomas Boyd
William Fowler
James Haig
Robert Hamilton
Sir Robert Hepburn, late Lieutenant of the King's Guard in Scotland.
George Murray, of Broughton
William Stewart, brother of Lord Garlies
Sir John Wishart of Pitarro

UNDERTAKERS FOR 1,000 ACRES EACH

Henry Aitchinson
Alexander Auchmutie
John Auchmutie
William Baillie
John Brown
Crawford, of Liefnoreis
John Graig
Alexander Cunningham, of Powton
Cuthbert Cunningham
James Cunningham
John Cunningham, of Granfield
Sir John Drummond, of Bordland
Alexander Dunbar
John Dunbar
James Gibb
Sir Claud Hamilton
Claud Hamilton
George Hamilton
Alexander Hume
William Lauder

Barnard Lindsay
John Lindsay
Robert Lindsay
Alexander Macaulay, of Durling
James MacCullough
Sir Patrick M'kie
Money Penny, of Kinkell
John Ralston,
George Smailholm
John Stewart
Robert Stewart, of Haltoun
Robert Stewart of Robertoun
Sir Walter Stewart, of Minto
William Stewart of Dunduff
James Trail
Patrick Vaus

APPENDIX II

SOCIAL FACTORS IN RISE OF THE BLACKS

So much attention has been paid to the intermixture of white and black blood as a factor in accounting for the success of certain blacks that the researcher looked at all the biographical sketches contained in Carter G. Woodson's *Negro Makers of History* (Washington, 1928) to ascertain whether other, non-biographical, factors might not go far toward explaining even the outstanding blacks.

In what class was he born? What special or atypical consideration did he receive from persons of high status? The following data were discovered, as condensed:

John Williams, freed in 1708. His son, Francis, was sent to elementary school by the Duke of Montague, then living in Jamaica. "He then sent him to an English grammar school and Cambridge University." He became a school master.

"Some blacks, trained by pious persons, preached to audiences of the white race. Among these was Jacob Bishop . . . near the close of the eighteenth century he was made pastor of the first Baptist church (white) of Portsmouth, Virginia."

"Richard Allen, the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church . . . born a slave . . . sold with his family to a planter living near Dover, Delaware . . . in 1777 he was converted and began his career as a minister three years later. Struck with the force of his preaching, his master permitted him . . . " Master was converted, freed slaves; Bishop Asbury gave him assignments to preach. Later founded separate church.

"James Derham. Became a physician while a slave, trained by Dr. George West, a surgeon in the sixteenth British regiment during the Revolution." Later, free, he had a \$3000 practice in New Orleans.

"Phyllis Wheatley was a slave of a Boston family that gave her every opportunity for improvement . . . unusual advancement in Latin and history." She wrote verse. Her masters gave her a chance.

"Benjamin Banneker, free mother, slave father, never in bondage. "At that time, a black of this class had many of the privileges accorded to white men." Endicotes -- well known, "supplied him with books." Made first American clock. Jefferson put him on commission to survey and lay out Washington, D.C.

Prince Hall, born in Barbados -- mother free, of French descent. He became father of black Masonry. (Is not freedom more important than racial admixture?)

One of first insurrectionists was Denmark Vesey, "a well educated black man."

Henry Boyd was "a freedman who by extra labor saved enough money to purchase himself and moved to Cincinnati." Invented a corded bed . . . hired 25 employees.

"Robert Gordon, the other enterprising black man in Cincinnati . . . was born a slave of a rich yachtsman in Richmond, Virginia. His master placed him in charge of a coal yard. He managed it so faithfully that his owner gave him all the slack resulting from the handling of coal. By selling this to local manufacturers, he accumulated thousands of dollars . . . " He speculated in coal . . . invested in bonds, dabbled in real estate.

(Period of 1840 - 60, anti-slave notherners) "Among the first of these black spokesmen to appear was Dr. James McGune Smith. He was a distinguished graduate in medicine of the University of Glasgow and for years a practitioner in the City of New York."

"Another of these orators was Henry Highland Garnet, the son of a kidnapped African chief . . . He became a popular preacher and lecturer."

J. W. C. Pennington. "Noted contemporary writer . . . born a slave in Maryland . . . unadulterated black blood . . . no opportunity for early education, but after his release from bondage . . . became a preacher . . . made trips to Europe."

"Another forceful black leader of that day, Samuel R. Ward, was aided by Gerrit Smith in obtaining a liberal education . . . preacher."

Josiah Henson "original Uncle Tom . . . both shoulder blades broken . . . by Maryland planter . . . escape to Canada . . . underground railway . . . one of founders of British-American Manual Labor Institute . . . business man in Canada. Received by Queen Victoria."

Alexander Crummel "liberally educated at Cambridge University, England" Later went to Africa . . . then a preacher in Washington, D.C.

William Wells Brown, mother of a slave, father white slave holder . . . associated with Elijah P. Lovejoy Underground railway Lecturer for American Anti-Slavery Society. Visited France. Journalist and writer.

John B. Russwurm -- first black graduate of college in United States. (Bowdoin). In 1827 began to publish "Freedom's Journal," first black newspaper.

"John Chavis, and educator. One of the first talented blacks of long ago. (born 1763) of North Carolina. Chavis was a free man of note . . . full-blooded black . . . early attracted attention of his white neighbors who sent him to Princeton 'to see if a black would take a collegiate education.' His rapid advancement under Dr. Witherspoon 'soon convinced his friends that the experiment would issue favorably.' " Became a minister and teacher.

George M. Horton, the poet, born a slave in 1797 -- learned to read by learning hymns, then, "A brighter day dawned for him when he was moved to Chapel Hill, N.C. and made janitor of the State University." Students became interested in his poems -- made several volumes published. Died 1865 in Philadelphia.

Charles > Reason, born 1818. Parents fled revolution of 1793 in Haiti. "Knowing the value of education, his parents provided early for his instruction" Chosen instructor at 14 Poet and educator in Philadelphia.

James Madison Bell. Born in 1826 in Ohio. Learned plastering, studied nights, wrote poems. Was closely associated with John Brown.

Frances Ellen Watkins Harper. Born free in Baltimore in 1825. "She was first instructed by her uncle . . . who was both a minister and teacher of free blacks." Became teacher, active in Anti-Slavery . . . wrote poems.

Edwin M. Bannister, painter, orphan at early age, painted and drew -- moved to Boston, won some renown.

Edmonia Lewis, mixed Indian-black, orphaned among Indians. "Came out of wilderness and obtained an education at Oberlin College." Garrison heard of her, introduced her to Brackett, a Boston sculptor -- later, after she had learned the art, she studied in London.

Robert Morris, lawyer. "From an errand boy in the office of Ellis Gray Loring of Boston, in 1837, Robert Morris, by patient private study under this gentleman, became a lawyer of high character and influence."

George B. Vashon, attended school in Pittsburgh, graduated from Oberlin. "He then read law with Walter Forward and was admitted to the bar in 1847."

John S. Rock, teacher, physician, dentist, was born in Salem, New Jersey, in 1825. "His parents, though not well-to-do, kept him at school till he was 18. He taught school . . . during these years he had access to the large libraries of Sharp and Gibbon" Became a dentist, doctor and lawyer. Justice of peace in Boston.

Ira Aldridge, distinguished Shakespearian actor . . . "Aldridge's father was a native of Senegal in Africa. His forefathers were princes of a tribe . . . father a refugee from the distributed conditions of a tribe . . . Ira, the son, was apprenticed as a ship carpenter. He was placed at school and later sent to Schenectady College" (Father moved to England because of racial prejudice.) "Ira next entered the University of Glasgow . . . During these years he had come under the influence of the great actor Edmund Kean."

Charles Lenox Remond, a well-educated black man, probably the most prominent black man in the country prior to 1850.

From the above a person must conclude that even among famous or notorious persons the social causes of their success are evident. These biographies are very sketchy and insufficient, but they give a taste of what can be revealed by biographies concerning social class.

APPENDIX III

Part I

CASE HISTORIES OF VIRGINIANS

The material to be presented in this appendix is intended to fill the gap between the Old South and the twentieth century. It will trace family lines as they come down to the present from the heyday of the plantation era.

This material is not subject to statistical breakdown. The variables are too great, and interpretation would play too great a part in making the necessary classification. These biographical sketches, pared down to the bone of social class factors (unfortunately one frequently has only occupational categories as guides), are given in brief detail for the interpretation of the reader. At the end of each case there is a short evaluation which is, however, based on a full reading and careful study of all the biographical data. At the close of the appendix there will be a general estimate of trends.

Given a person of some social prestige, what was the status of his father and mother and of their families? What of his brothers and sisters and children and wife? In a word, how much social mobility, how much climbing and falling, how much social rigidity, can be found by studying these family lines? From considering many cases one gets a general impression, an impression of much or of little social class rigidity. The reader will decide whether the data justify the conclusions.

Beginning with the first biographical sketch and continuing through most of volume IV of the History of Virginia (the first volume of biographical data), choosing each tenth name, the data were summarized, as follows in the next pages. The six-volume work from which these data were taken was published by the American Historical Society, New York and Chicago, in 1924. The material, therefore, was gathered shortly after the World War. The year of birth of each subject is included in order to relate his actions and his times.

The researcher corresponded with the American Historical Society to ascertain by what means persons qualified themselves for inclusion among the biographical sketches. The Society explained that anyone who wised his biography, of that of his parent or spouse, included, and who would obligate himself to the extent of purchasing a set of the volumes, was so privileged. And from the thousands of persons included, one must realize that hundreds of people of quite ordinary standing, to say the least, chose to have their family history revealed. The net result was that one was able to determine from the nature of things emphasized, from the content of the data given, which families now belong, or earlier belonged, to the leading citizenry, and which are to be adjudged less imposing social status. Therefore, if an ancient and honorable family has now descended to the status of "farmer with 15 acres of orchard," we know that there has been circulation downward. Similarly if a man of renown, a trustee of his church, a member of a city council, who send his children to "prep" and finishing schools, descended from a "farmer who owned no slaves," then we know that we are dealing with a case of social ascent. It is a good thing, therefore, that many kinds of persons included themselves in the biographical sketches to follow:

Armistead C. Gordon (p. 3): born at "Edgeworth," Albermarle county 1855; educated at Charlottesville Institute and the U. of Vir., honorary Doctor of Laws, honorary LL.D.; leading attorney and author; president of the state and bar association, mayor of Staunton, city attorney, commonwealth attorney, president of the local chamber of commerce; high social standing.

family: father: graduate of University of Virginia; editor, lawyer, died young.

father's father: General William Fitzhugh Gordon.

mother's father: justice of Virginia supreme court.

great-grandfather: state constitutional convention, 1776.

brother: Vir. state senate, assistant district attorney; corporation lawyer.

Evaluation: A descendant of several distinguished lines of Virginians carries on the tradition of status and honor. High degree of social class rigidity.

Mary Johnston (p. 9): born 1870: distinguished writer and liberal; notable in achievement; national fame. Privately tutored, finishing school.

family: father: lawyer, major, railway president.
father's father: minister in small towns.

Evaluation: Father ranks above grandfather. Subject given aristocratic education, turned attention to writing and organization. High achievement status.

Albert Hudgins Hill (p. 14): born 1866; sup't. of Richmond public schools; member of social clubs; recipient of honors, nationally known in education.

family: father: accountant, major, board of deacons; status, upper middle class.
mother: Virginia Byrd Hill.
wife: daughter of city treasurer of Lynchburg.

Evaluation: Information available pertains chiefly to professional activities of subject; father definitely of honored and respectable status.

George R. B. Michie (pp. 19 and 30): born 1870; bank president at Staunton; editor; private school and college training; associated with leading persons.

family: father: editor, attorney, "man of influence."
father's father: writer, lawyer, "ablest Michie."
mother: Virginia Bedinger Michie.
father's grandmother: Dorothy Johnson, sister of C. Johnson, who sat with Madison and Jefferson on U. of Virginia's board of visitors.

Evaluation: A perfect example of prominent Virginia family no broken, beaten back, or "destroyed" by the War between the States; an instance of social class continuity, par excellence.

Stuart Bowe (p. 25); born 1874; private schooling, Richmond College and the U. of Vir.; lawyer; member of prominent clubs; status high.

family: father: leading real estate broker at Richmond; wealthy.
father's father: planter and country gentleman.
father's mother: "Mary Ursalla Ellis, a descendant of John Pleasants of 'Curles' and Richard Cooke of 'Bremo'."
father's father: planter and country gentleman.
brothers and sisters: two died young; one married an attorney; three succeeded to real estate business; one a "tobacconist"; one a widow of Col. Hodges, U.S.A.; one a graduate of Johns Hopkins and now a doctor.

Evaluation: A planter family turns toward business and become successful in real estate; some marry well; two take up professions. On the "tobacconist" is shrouded in mystery.

Francis C. Fitzhugh (p. 29): born 1838 a middle class merchant of nominal and respectable standing.

family: mother: "great debt to good mother for her teaching and influence."
distant ancestors: the planter, lawyer, burgess, high-sheriff family of Fitzhughs.

Evaluation: This descendant was a man of modest means and status. He did not retain the same standing as his more distant forebears, neither did he take his place among the "shirtsleeves."

Paul Brandon Barringer (pp. 34 - 35): born 1857; private schooling and university training, M.D., noted physician and educator; status very high.

family: father: General Rufus, U. of N.C., lawyer.

father's father: General Paul, politician, industrialist.

mother's father: educator, founder of Davidson college.

father's brother: 25 on Int'l court of appeals, Alexandria.

mother's sisters: wives of Stonewall Jackson, General D. H. Hill, and N.C. supreme court justice Avery.

sons: three served as officers in U.S.A. (two captains and one lieut.), one on Hoover relief administration.

daughters: two nurses in war service -- no further data.

Evaluation: One of Virginia's leading personages comes of two lines of illustrious citizens. There is no evidence of social mobility here.

Richard Hewlett Smith (pp. 41 - 42): born 1859; private schooling, financier, pillar of society.

family: father: banker, engineer, university training, deacon.

mother's father: "personal friend of Lafayette."

mother: Margaret Strother "member of old and distinguished family."

mother's father: cashier and treasurer.

brothers: one Rear Admiral William Strother Smith, '80; one honor graduate of Vir. military institute, d. at 23.

mother's brother: professor at U. of Vir., and founder of Strother university school.

Evaluation: two families, both of upper middle class, at least, combine to establish a family, all the sons of which achieved similar status. Only the slightest fluctuation visible here.

Benjamin L. Dillard (p. 47): born 1857; private schooling and U. of Maryland leading surgeon and citizen of Scottsville.

family: father: Republican postmaster; "once largest taxpayer in county." Merchant.

mother: privately tutored.

brothers and sisters: one minister, one lawyer, one doctor, one wife of doctor, two unmarried daughters, one wife of person of unknown occupation.

Evaluation: Father middle class merchant of grade school education. His status is relatively high, locally, in economic life and political office. The subject himself was given a good education, and his brothers and sisters were correspondingly successful.

Charles V. Meredith (p. 51): born 1850; private schooling and B.L., active in clubs, etc.; status high.

family: father: "eminent lawyer," B.A. and M.A., circuit court judge.

father's father: planter and lawyer.

brothers: one lieutenant, one attorney, three died young, one graduate of U. of Vir., and lawyer.

sisters: one widow of attorney, one wife of governor of S.C.

children: one wife of manufacturer, one wife of banker, one graduate of U. of Vir., lawyer and lieutenant in World War.

Evaluation: What becomes of a planter family? This one did not "fall."

Hon. John W. Fishburne (p. 55): born ca. 1870; private schools, U. of Vir.; legislator, judge. Status high.

family: father: lieutenant, lawyer, banker, B.A. and M.A., trustee of W. and L. University.

father's father: merchant, scholar, educator, president of Washington College.

mother's father: prominent businessman in Charlottesville.

father's brother: professor at Washington College, married sister of wife of Stonewall Jackson.

father's sister: married Professor C. P. Estill.

Evaluation: The upper middle class predominates here. There is much evidence of social class continuity.

Henley H. Hankins (p. 61); born 1865; meager education, once a worker in factories, grocer, then feed and grain store; once president of the local chamber of commerce; status, middle class.

family: father: captain in Civil War, planter with 1200 acres and many slaves; impoverished by war.

father's father: planter.

brother: middle class merchant.

Evaluation: Subject was an infant as the war ended; it spoiled his chances of inheriting the old plantation; it set him on his own resources; he did not remain a worker long; his "come-back" was "normal." The result of the severe blow the war dealt was to reduce the family's status from rank one to rank two, not to four. This is the second case, so far, to show any serious dislocation in class affiliation for any cause.

Alfred M. Pullen (p. 67): born 1882; public school, high school, and C.P.A Head of "leading accounting firm in Richmond"; high professional standing.

family: father: minister in small towns, graduate of Vir. Poly. Inst.

father's father: farmer who owned no slaves.

father's brother: farmer.

father's sister: sup't. in mill.

wife: high school graduate.

sisters and brothers: one city employee, one stationary engineer, one accountant, one wife of a "railroad man," one wife of station agent and telegraph operator, one sec'y-treas. of an auto supply company.

Evaluation: Subject's chief interest professional: he pushed ahead in this field. Continuity is noticeable among the others mentioned more than in the case of subject himself. His own case may be ranked as one of upward mobility, provided his social contacts, place of residence, and children's education correspond with his material and professional success.

Hon. Charles A. Johnston (p. 73): born 1859; tutored by father; prominent layman in state; many years state treasurer; member of many lodges.

family: father: minister and teacher; middle class.

father's father: planter.

father's mother: daughter of John Nash, state legislator and magistrate.

distant cousin: General J. J. Johnston.

uncles: one minister, one circuit court judge.

wife: graduate of a "female college"; middle class background.

half-brothers and sisters: two surgeons, two "soldiers," one wife of a retail merchant.

daughter: graduate of Hollins College, wife of manufacturing agent at Bluefield.

Evaluation: Little in the data reveals marked shifting in social status, provided the father's standing is rated according to his social power. Throughout the whole family similarity of status is evident.

Miss Fanny L. Webb (p. 79): born ca. 1875; educated at home; local historian (Franklin, Virginia); founder and principal of the Euphradian Institute.

family: father: captain in Civil War.

father's father: industrialist; estab. first cotton mill in N.C.

mother's family: lived on same plantation since king made grant to maternal grandfather's great grandfather. The Webbs have retained and lived on part of the old estate.

Evaluation: Noticeable are: initiative and enterprise are never lacking -- consistency in holding homestead many generations.

Karl Sigismund Blackwell (pp. 84 - 84): born 1879; tutored, public schools, academy, college, A.M., M.D., specialist, associate professor of medicine at Medical Coll. of Vir.; member of many clubs; high status.

Family: father: clergyman and chaplain, A.M., DD., large churches, influence.

wife: daughter of vice-president of a Richmond savings bank.

brothers: one president of Randolph-Macon Coll., one principal of Norfolk Academy, one professor of English in the Coll. for Women, one (young) instructor at St. Christopher's school.

Evaluation: Here a whole family of boys moves into positions becoming to the sons of a distinguished and educated clergyman. Young men seeking to rise face this kind of "monopoly" or "competition," whichever one wishes to call it.

Walter F. Delany (p. 91): born 1868; attended private school, public schools, and the Mechanics Inst. of Vir. Was machinist to age of 42; now manufacturers' agent. "The very comfortable residence he lives in is his own property."

Family: father: blacksmith.

brothers and sisters: one plumbing and steam fitting contractor, one wife of a steam fitter, one machinist, one steam fitter.

daughters: one high school graduate who works in a life insurance office, one wife of a "member of a real estate firm," one lives at home.

Evaluation: Subject belongs to the less influential of the middle class, an improvement over his earlier years, perhaps. The family as a whole shows much rigidity.

Hon. Berkley Dickensen Adams (p. 98): born 1875; private and public schools and college; farmer, merchant, legislator, state commissions and boards; upper middle class status.

Family: father: farmer, lumberman, owner of bottling works.

father's father: captain in Confederate army, farmer.

mother's father: Col. Dickensen, captain in Civil War, brother of state legislator.

wife: daughter of merchant and sup't of quarries.

brothers: three farmers; one farmer, merchant, and lumberman; one with father in bottling business.

children: one law student at W. and L. Univ.; one ass't manager of subject's 1250-acre farm (the same one which had come down from the ancestors); three now attending school.

Evaluation: Subject added politics to the multiple interests of his father; successful committeeman. He received perhaps the best schooling of all the boys. The total family pattern is consistent.

Claude C. Coleman (p. 106): born 1879; a surgeon, major in army, man of note. He gives no ancestral data. He married Julia Langhorne Cone, daughter of Mrs. Archibald Pleasants Cone of Richmond, indicating a mixture of some of the older planter families with newer professional elements.

Henry C. Riely (pp. 112 - 113): born 1874: tutor and university training, lawyer, clubs. Dignified, conservative type; status high.

Family: father: lawyer, lieutenant colonel in Civil War; AB. at W. and L.

father's father: farmer, grandson of pioneer.

father's mother: daughter of Colonel Jos. Gratham.

mother: "member of old and well-known Vir. family. Her great-grandfather was a colonel in the Rev. and received large land patents."

wife: daughter of Dr. Evans, physician; was educated in private schools.

Evaluation: No change of status between father's house and son's. Subject, his father, his mother, his wife -- all belong close together in social standing.

M. B. Staples (p. 120): born 1868; (very short account of subject given) public school education; started as retail grocer in 1892; now wholesale grocer. "\$60,000 capitalization, three outside salesmen, a 2-storey building, 56 x 105." Son now president of company. Father was a farmer.

Evaluation: Insufficient information. However, one notices that son take his place as father's successor.

Norman Call (p. 125): born 1880; public schools and Mechanics Institute; at seventeen was stenographer and clerk in (small) railway office, became sec'y to the president of the road; is now vice-president of the company. Belongs to several clubs, lodges, etc.

Family: father: co-founder of Watt-Call Plow Company.

father's father: "ship-builder and owner," physician by profession.

mother: Sally E. Watt, descendant of James Watt.

wife: daughter of a prominent clergyman who was a college president; herself a graduate of Sullins.

brothers: one business executive in Atlanta, one president of a Richmond bank, one a graduate of Medical College of Vir., now practicing in Richmond, one assistant treasurer of railway, one traffic manager of tobacco corporation.

father's brother: "prominent physician and surgeon."

one ancestor: brother-in-law of Chief Justice Marshall.

Evaluation: Vice-president of railway started as stenographer and clerk in company. But when one contemplates his father, his uncle, his brothers, there is nothing unusual in finding him in the upper middle class. Subject's marriage was also favorable.

John J. Owen (p. 133): born 1859; private and public schools, agricultural college; one-time senator and representative; new ass't commissioner of agriculture of Vir.

Family: father: physician and landowner, Jefferson Medical College.
father's father: "at one time owned extensive plantations and operated them with slaves."
wife: daughter of tobacconist and farmer, public school and Wales Institute at Rockfish.
sisters: one widow of gov't civil engineer, one wife of farmer.
children: one employee of tobacco company, one manages father's farm, one wife of farmer.

Evaluation: A puzzling case. Subject "escaped" from agriculture by the political route, but his children are back on the land. Subject proves that the Civil War did not dislocate all families.

A. Murat Willis (p. 139): born 1879; public and private schools, business college, medical school, M.D.; president and co-founder of Johnston-Willis hospital, Richmond; lieutenant-commander in U.S.N.

Family: father: post-war plantation owner and manager. Vir. Mil. Academy, course not completed because of outbreak of war.
other ancestors: not mentioned.
brothers: one attorney, one surgeon.

Evaluation: Little data on background given, presumption is that (1) either these brothers stemmed from people of status, or (2) the parents ran an exceptionally well-organized household.

John Hopkins Hall, Jr. (p. 145): born 1878; high school, active in trade unions and lodges, 21 years a draftsman in U.S. navy yard, trade union official, passed Bar. Now commissioner of labor of Vir.

Family: father: managed china store, later owned transfer business.
father's father: farmer.
wife: descendant of Chief Justice Marshall.
brother: a real estate man in Norfolk.

Evaluation: A case of ascent and a case of descent. Through study and connections a draftsman becomes commissioner of labor for state. Such posts frequently fall to trade union officials, of course, and these, in that environment, were usually one-time workers or active workers. The case of descent is found in that the wife, albeit through the female line, descended from Marshall. How did it happen that a person of such lineage married a draftsman? At least she chose an ambitious one! Did she contribute to his advancement?

Thomas Gray Haddon (p. 152): born 1884; high school graduate; stenographer for commonwealth, attorney general; studied law; vice-president of a beverage company; several years on city council; lawyer, state legislator; lodges. Labeled "self-made."

Family: father: "extensive agriculturalist"; retired at Richmond at age 47.
father's father: planter, "accumulating a gratifyingly large estate."
brothers: one sup't of tobacco plant, one machinist.
son: student at McGuire's University School, Richmond.

Evaluation: It appears that the old planter family was solid and successful. Subject's father seems, perhaps through ill health, to have given up agriculture and to have left his sons to their own resources. Subject returned to the level of the ancestors; brothers seem to have found levels below that of subject. The source of disorganization seems to have been either the war or the health of the father or the transition from agriculture to the city.

James Waddell Gordon (pp. 159 - 160): born 1869; public and private schools, law degree; went into father's business; lawyer, prominent in public affairs; labeled "self-made."

Family: father: merchant, founder of metal jobbing business.

father's father: merchant at Richmond, succeeded by his sons.

father's father's father: owner of large estate known as Gordonville, Va.

mother: granddaughter of a colonel; great granddaughter of Rev. James Waddell.

brothers and sisters: one physician, one "connected with a railway company," one attorney, one vice-president of a bank, one sec'y of father's business, one broker, one unmarried.

children: one graduate of Collegiate School for girls, one youngster.

Evaluation: there seems to be little grounds to call subject "self-made." All the other children seem to have raised to the same or a similar level.

Murray Mason McGuire (pp. 165 - 166): born 1872; educated in father's famous school and U. of Vir.; lawyer, clubs. Status high.

family: father: educated at Episcopal High School and U. of Vir., foremost educator, founder and head of McGuire's University School at Richmond.

father's father: Episcopal minister, army chaplain.

father's mother: M. Garnett of "Elmwood in Essex."

mother: Clara Mason, daughter of captain in U.S.N. and great-granddaughter of George Mason.

mother's mother's father: John Forsyth, U.S. Senator, Gov. of Georgia, and twice U.S. Sec'y of State.

father's father's father: first supreme court justice of Miss. Territory, educated at William and Mary.

wife: "Miss Mary Van Benthuisen, daughter of Capt. Jefferson Davis and Cornelia C. Van Benthuisen."

sister: married Episcopal clergyman.

brother: now principal of father's school and active member of exclusive organization, "Society of the Cincinnati."

Evaluation: This is not a good family tree to put in a plot about shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves.

Alfred Taylor Pitt (p. 172): born 1894; public and private schools, Richmond Academy, lawyer, member of exclusive clubs.

Family: father: religious editor, clergyman, BA., D.L., DD.

father's father: M.D.

brothers and sister: one M.D., one wife of ass't rector of St. George's Episcopal, NYC., one office manager, one lieutenant now teacher in a private school.

Evaluation: Subject and his brothers are still young men. There is nothing here that looks remotely like social mobility.

Thomas M. Kennerly (pp. 186 - 187): born 1875; educated at William and Mary, taught two years, travelling salesman, bank teller, now president of Fidelity Loan and Savings Co., Richmond; "occupies a foremost position among Virginia's men of affairs."

Family: father: captain, large slaveholder, lived all his life at Greenway Court.

father's father: clergyman, "never accepted a salary . . . from his own means built several churches."

father's mother: inherited Greenway Court from her parents.

sisters: one widow of city engineer of Roanoke, one owns and operates Greenway Court, one a name.

Evaluation: As a young man subject traveled and worked (for experience?) in Chicago, New York, and Newport News. When he settled down, he carried on the reputation of leadership held by his forebears.

Noah R. Crist (p. 193): born 1867; high school, attended state normal school, taught ten years; worked in several businesses; cashier of Bank of Dayton (Vir.) since its opening in 1906; high mark of deposits in bank \$175,000; loyal churchman, active in town "drives."

Family: father: no schooling to speak of, blacksmith, grist mill operator.

father's father: farmer and blacksmith, grist mill operator.

several relatives: mentioned by name only.

Evaluation: The cashier in a bank in a small town got his start through his opportunity to teach. There is, of course, some movement upward because of the possibility of contacts open to subject that were not open to forefathers.

Raymond R. Richardson (p. 200): born 1889; public schools, graduate of military academy, U. of Nevada, school of mines three years, engineer; U. of Vir. legal training; army engineering corps; now prominent attorney in Henrico County, "particularly at Raymond."

Family: father: a 49er, struck gold, owner first large lumber mills in California, large mining interests, active lodge man.

mother: niece of a delegate to convention which nominated Lincoln and builder of the first railway to Michigan.

brothers: mining engineer and "successful business man" in Nevada, one railroad and general contractor.

Evaluation: Subject, his father, and his brothers seem to have been consistent in their interest and success in engineering and building; even subject's great uncle was a pioneer and builder, too. There is nothing here to indicate social mobility. Of course,, there are no data beyond the parents, looking backward.

Philip H. Cogbill (p. 206): born 1892; private tutor at home. Randolph-Macon Academy and College, Richmond College, and Washington and Lee law course; clubs, church organist, young and unmarried; well-known young attorney in Richmond.

Family: father: lawyer, "One of the ablest attorneys in Chesterfield County." Virginia state senator, clerk of court.

father's father: clerk of court, captain in war, killed at Gettysburg.

brothers and sisters: one married to deputy clerk of court, one employee in bank, one attorney who was lieutenant in World War, one lawyer, one in Randolph-Macon College.

Evaluation: Family characterized by legal interests. The general family pattern is consistent.

Thomas Neill Barnett (p. 212): born 1891; high school and medical college, M.D., war surgeon, lodges, one club. Richmond.

Family: father: Vir. Mil. Institute, after war "successful farmer," politics; was for 27 years chairman of the board of supervisors of Clarke County.

father's father: "A man of wealth and importance . . . operated large plantation with his slaves."

brother: farmer and merchant.

sister: wife of farmer.

Evaluation: A middle class doctor comes of solid, if not illustrious family. Civil War was a setback for father, but son has recovered more successfully than have his brother and sister.

aul Williamson Howle (p. 219): born 1874; Davis Military Academy, William and Mary, College of Medicine at Richmond; M.D., specialist, teacher at Medical College of Virginia; Episcopalian, two clubs.

Family: father: planter, retired in 1914.

father's father: "extensive planter, a large landholder and owner of many slaves."

father's mother: descendant of member of first assembly of Virginia.

half-sister: wife of prominent Richmond clergyman.

children: one student at Episcopal high school, one pupil at Randolph-Talcott School.

Evaluation: Man with consuming professional interests. Nothing here to indicate social mobility. Another example of planter class turning professional.

Robert Eden Peyton, Jr. (pp. 224 - 225): born 1873; private schools, Richmond college and the U. of Vir.; prominent Richmond lawyer; prominent in bar association; vestryman in Episcopal church; two clubs; status high.

Family: father: planter, justice of peace, Episcopalian.

father's father: doctor, physician, planter, slaveholder.

father's mother: Ann Lee Jones, whose father was associate of Daniel Webster and whose mother was a daughter of Charles Lee, attorney general under Washington and son of Richard Henry Lee, the signer.

mother's father: major in Civil War.

father's father's father: a physician and extensive planter.

father's father's mother: daughter of an Episcopalian clergyman who was chaplain of one of colonial governors of Maryland.

Evaluation: Data given shows general tie-up among many families, and accounts for success of subject. Further evidence is shown in that subject served in Spanish-American War under General Fitzhugh Lee. There seems to be no end to the Fitzhughs and the Lees! Civil War seems to have struck father a hard blow -- son recovered.

Major Rutherford H. Spessard (p. 232): born 1886; public schools, Vir. Military Institute; captain in U.S.A., action in France, became major, now asst. supt. of Vir. state penitentiary; social affairs, clubs, etc.

Family: father: "leading and successful merchant" and president of Farmers and Merchants bank of Craig county; member of state legislature 1901 - 1913.

father's father: merchant at Union, W. Vir.

brothers: one cashier of Equitable life insurance, Norfolk; one student at Hampton-Sidney College.

wife: A.B., also active socially

Evaluation: A merchant has son who is a merchant -- banker has son who is given military training and is successful. Nothing unexpected here.

Isaac J. Marcuse (p. 238): born 1867; businessman, once president of the Richmond Chamber of Commerce; no other data about his childhood, family, or background.

Sally Randolph Carter (p. 245): born ?; "carefully educated under private teachers"; taught at Edge Hill School, later she and her sister established the St. Timothy's school for girls and conducted it for thirty years; with her sister she owns "Redlands," an old plantation of 900 acres, once the property of their ancestor, John Carter of Shirley, oldest son of "King" Carter.

Family: father: owner of Redlands, planter.

father's father: same.

father's mother: daughter of Col. John Coles of Eniscorthy.
brother: a clergyman.

Evaluation: In one person two great family names are combined; the record of subject is definitely worthy of such a background.

Samuel A. Wilkins (p. 250): born 1882; public school, Professor Hottel's school at Edinburg; farmer, stock dealer; solid businessman in small town.

Family: father: country school, farmer, elder in local church.
father's father: farmer and grain raiser, soldier.
wife: daughter of a farmer.
brothers and sisters: one farmer and orchardist, one farmer, one wife, one "Charles E. of Madison district."

Evaluation: There is nothing amiss here; subject is perhaps better situated than some of the other members of his family, however.

Lewis Williams (p. 256) born: 1868; common school education, learned miller's trade from his father; has part interest in (new) mill, part interest in 600 acre farm; was deputy sheriff; church worker. Small town.

Family: father: public schools, carpenter, millwright, 8 years sheriff, soldier in Civil War, started a small mill.
wife: educated in public schools; taught a few years.

Evaluation: Sheriff begets deputy sheriff, miller begets miller; public school training is characteristic. No jump.

S. Henton Swank (p. 262): born 1854; public schools, normal school; homesteader in Arkansas; merchant in several small towns in Vir.; retired at Singer Glen as owner of 1500 tree apple orchard.

Family: father: farmer.

brothers and sisters: names, except one who married a storekeeper.

sons: soldiers in World War.

Evaluation: "Soldiers" does not mean "officers" lower middle class status characterizes family, although persons unaccounted for could be of different (lower) standing.

Whitfield L. Mauzy (p. 270): born 1873; public school and high school; clerk in mercantile house; assisted in founding mercantile house; 1920 became president of Stonewall bank at McGaheysville, Vir.

Family: father: Mossy Creek academy, farmer, commission business, merchant in small town.

father's father: "extensive land owner at one time . . .," merchant.

children: one lawyer, one student at Wash. and Lee, four youngsters.

Evaluation: Merchant, merchant-farmer, merchant-banker, student-lawyer: that is the line of development. Solid citizens of small communities.

Robert Emory Blackwell (p. 276): born 1854; Phi Beta Kappa, A.M., studied at Leipzig, taught at Washington and Lee, LL.D., president of Randolph-Macon college now twenty years.

Family: father: clergyman, chaplain in Civil War, twice president of Randolph-Macon college.

father's father: planter, owner of "Clifton."

father's father's father: lieutenant in Revolution, planter.

wife: daughter of a president of Randolph-Macon college.

Evaluation: planters became professionals. Status similar.

George G. Snarr (p. 281): born 1889; public school and high school, Maryland Medical College; city health officer. Prominent young professional man of Harrisonburg."

Family: father: county road commissioner, county commissioner of revenue.

father's father: immigrant from Germany, cabinet maker, carpenter.

mother: daughter of veterinarian and farmer.

wife: school teacher, graduate of Cornell.

brothers and sisters: two wives, one doctor, one miller, one travelling salesman.

Evaluation: Young professional man in small town. Father seems to have improved status over that of grandfather.

William C. Hoover (p. 287): born 1870; public schools and Bridgewater College; farmer, dairyman, bank director (Rockingham county), butcher.

Family: father: large landowner.

father's father: same.

father's father's father: received grant of 1100 acres from George III. This land is still held by the family.

son: active partner and manager of father's enterprises.

Evaluation: Like father, like son.

Harry A. Funkhouser (p. 293): born 1885; private school, the Massnutten Academy, inherited father's 120-acre farm, active in some farm and other local organizations.

Family: father: rural schools, "served in Civil War," farmer.

father's father: farmer, sheriff.

wife: former school teacher.

children: one wife, one high school teacher, one name, one "connected with Cadillac Auto Co., Detroit," one student.

Evaluation: Same farm for three generations. A middle-class family throughout.

Hiram W. Bertram (p. 300): born 1868; free schools, high school, Roanoke College, Univ. of Vir.; nine years member of city (Harrisonburg) council, was city attorney, has published and farming interests.

Family: father's father's father: received from George III a grant.

father's father: lived all his life in one house, same farm.

father: lived all his life on same farm, also a merchant, then postmaster, taught for a time in the free schools.

brother: merchant.

wife: daughter of a farmer-merchant, one time sheriff.

son: Ph.D. in science, now law student at Yale.

Evaluation: For generations the family were agriculturalists. Subject's father started the transition. Now law (and at a higher level of status) holds their attention.

William Jeter Phillips (p. 307): born 1879; public school, one year at Margaret Academy, B.S. and M.S. from Virginia Poly. Institute, one year at Univ. of Illinois. Entomology, federal employee, charge of field laboratory. Scientific interests.

Family: father: "prominent farmer."

Evaluation: No other data about family background. No reference to "self-made."

Reese L. Cover (p. 313): born 1885; public schools, Randolph-Macon and William and Lee -- did not graduate. Superintendent of tannery.

Family: father's father: farmer, founded small tannery.

father: inherited tannery, took sons into partnership, acquired new plant.

brothers and sisters: one retired -- was a student, one miller -- was a student, one in fire insurance -- attended college, one died while attending college. None graduated.

Evaluation: Tanners for three generations. All of last generation started college; none finished.

Thomas J. Robinson (p. 319): farmer until 23 years old; attended college at Burneville, N.C., special health course at Johns Hopkins, school teacher and salesman, now federal employee in public health work, manages sanitarium.

Family: father: farmer.

mother: grew up on farm.

wife: high school graduate.

Evaluation: No further data. Civil service replaces agriculture. Some evidence of rising here.

Charles T. O'Neill (p. 323): born 1891; public schools and U. of Richmond (B.S.); orchardist (120 acres); vice-president of bank in Charlottesville; county board of education; Sunday school supt.

Family: father: cigar manufacturer in Richmond, later merchant in small town and fruit grower.

brothers and sisters: one fruit-grower, two wives, one mining engineer.

Evaluation: Prominent man had middle-class father.

Russell Bargamin (p. 327): born 1876; high school and Richmond College of Law (B.L.); lawyer seven years, then orchardist, was on county Democratic committee, trustee of church; now one of owners and general managers of Crozet Cooperage company.

Family: father: attended Richmond College, businessman in Richmond.

son: student in Augusta military academy.

Evaluation: Son, father, and grandfather all bear the mark of respectability.

Captain H. Clay Michie (p. 333): born 1842; student at U. of Vir. when war broke out; became captain; became farmer (600 acres); once owned 3,000 acres in Alabama.

Family: father: extensive planter and slaveholder, influential, high sheriff, presiding justice.

father's father: presiding justice, whose father was high sheriff and presiding justice.

children: one wife of doctor, four names, one M.D., lieutenant-colonel in U.S.A.

Evaluation: The Civil War did not wreck this planter family. One wishes to know that those who are merely named do and how they live.

Gilbert Eugene Pence (p. 338): born 1883; local schools, Massanutten Academy, Washington and Lee, LL.B., lawyer, county attorney, major of Woodstock four years, sec'y of local church council.

Family: line of descent of family estate (farm): Conrad Penz, John Pence, Jonas Pence, William A. Pence, and Gilbert E. Pence.

father: common schools, farmer of old estate (size not mentioned).

wife: graduate of Randolph-Macon, church organist, was teacher.

Evaluation: Family of farmers, presumably neither planters nor small farmers, transfers its interest, in the case of one descendant, at least, to law and town politics.

J. Fulton Williams (p. 345): born 1872; tutored by father, U. of Baltimore medical department, M.D.; two lodges.

Family: father: educated by his father, Hampden-Sidney College, M.D., large practice, "patrician," elected twice to legislature, brother of a physician. His three sons were doctors.

father's father: doctor, graduate of a medical college in England, brother-in-law of Dr. J. Fulton.

Evaluation: Seven doctors in the house.

Carl Coleston Boyer (p. 353): born 1887; public schools, Massanutten Academy, Washington and Lee (AB.); high school principal, city council, church board, two lodges, sec'y of Boyer (his brother's) Grocery Company of Woodstock.

Family: father: farmer, merchant (member of son's firm).

father's father: farmer, little education, operator of furnace.

father's mother: daughter of a "squire," large landowner.

father's brothers: farmers and millers.

wife: graduate of college and conservatory of music.

Evaluation: There is evidence of social class mobility in the case of subject and his brother. Paternal grandmother was "somebody."

Charles W. Newman (p. 358): born 1886; public schools, student at V.M.I. and business school at Poughkeepsie, N.Y.; seed grower, live stock raiser, leading farmer. Inherited farm.

Family: farmer: common school, deputy sheriff, farmer

father's father: farmer.

sister: married son of Judge Allen of Woodstock.

Evaluation: Three generations of farmers. Slight increase in education.

James Payne Carroll (p. 363): born 1869; public school; clerk in grocery store, then dry goods, then hardware, traveling salesman, founder of Charlottesville Hardware company, well-known business man, Ford agency.

Family: father: various business interests, grist-mill, lead mining, pillar of Methodist church.
mother's father: a Perkins, "old Virginia family."
brother: clergyman in Charlottesville Methodist Church.

Evaluation: There is evidence of social mobility, both of subject and his brother.

Andrew Cornelius Clements (p. 369): born 1879; public school, Spanish-American war as sergeant; navy yard 12 years; auto business 5 years; now sheriff of Arlington county; member of four lodges.

Family: father: merchant tailor, civil war soldier.
father's father: merchant tailor, painter and decorator.
wife: daughter of a blacksmith.
brothers and sisters: one messenger for Western Union, one deputy U.S. Marshall, one wife of baker, one wife of orderly to the President of the United States.

Evaluation: Three of the brothers are all in the business of guarding others! One brother stands out, another lags behind. There is more rigidity than mobility in the whole picture.

Joseph Carson Adkerson (p. 373): born 1892; high school, worked for mining corporations, consultant and manager; now independent operator of manganese mines; several professional societies and two lodges.

Family: immediate family background entirely lacking.
Father listed as a staunch Presbyterian: nothing more.
ancestors: one colonel in colonial army; one Penn, a signer; Kit Carson "a relative"; another colonel.

Evaluation: Immediate family data lacking -- may indicate social mobility. Earlier background of several branches of family sprinkled with some elements of respectability.

John C. Turpin (p. 378): born 1842; public school; soldier and prisoner in Civil War; now owns and operates a 175-acres improved farm; stockholder in local bank; trustee in Baptist church.

Family: father: common school, "large landed estate" which he owned.
mother: common school.
son: farmer and school trustee.
daughters: three wives.

Evaluation: No evidence of any social mobility here, unless by hard work subject has made financial progress. Who are his sons-in-law?

William Herman Surber (p. 381): born 1890; lieutenant in World War, worked for Int'l Harvester Co. and Michie Publishers; organized his own printing and publishing firm at Charlottesville.

Family: father: entered railroading; deputy county treasurer.
father's mother: practicing physician.
mother's father: colonel in Confederate army, whose four brothers were, respectively, colonel, major, colonel, and lieutenant in Confederate army.

Evaluation: A balanced family -- social class continuity that Civil War affected temporarily.

William C. Painter (p. 385): born 1872; private schooling at home, public school; horse dealer, then Ford dealer; small town; "effective citizen of community." Owns part of grandfather's estate.

Family: father: country school, called "Captain," but went through war as a private; for many years county supervisor.

father's father: "belonged to the prominent land-owning and slave-holding class of the Valley of Virginia."

mother: daughter of a captain, "likewise a prominent land owner and slave holder."

wife: daughter of a clergyman.

brothers and sisters: one widow, one wife, two names, one Ford dealer in small town, one auto dealer in small town, one farmer, one in secret service of a railway, one on "section service" of a railway.

Evaluation: Plantation class goes into auto dealing and railroading. Level of life suffered because of transition caused by war. Not all brothers and sisters came up to same level.

Robley M. Perrow (p. 392): born 1861; attended Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College; ran plantation; entered business; "no man is rated higher than he" in Lynchburg; "one of leading business men . . . of Campbell county. Two lodges.

Family: father: doctor, U. of Vir., and Jefferson School of Medicine; operated extensive plantation and owned many slaves.

mother's father: large land and slave owner.

wife: daughter of a doctor.

brothers and sisters: "all well educated -- Dr. Perrow believed in higher education for his children." One realtor and broker, one died young, one name.

Evaluation: Another plantation family that went into professions and business successfully.

Edward E. Yoder (398): born 1879; president of Barker-Jennings Hardware company, "one of most important business concerns in Lynchburg."

Family: father: Freedman's bureau; executive head of local public school system for blacks (Lynchburg are) from 1870 - 1905.

father's father: prosperous farmer in Penn.

Evaluation: No other data given. Father, grandfather, and subject were all "of some importance."

Albert S. and William Henry Nowlin (p. 404): born 1878; common school education, wholesale coal business; "progressive business men of the city of Lynchburg."

Family: father: colonel, prosperous merchant at Oakville, improved farm.

father's father: captain.

Evaluation: Family is said to have descended from an indentured servant, James Nowland, who married the daughter of the planter to who he was indentured. Except for the relatives whose work is not given, there is no sign of social mobility.

William Alexander Baker (p. 411): born ca. 1890; Shenandoah Valley Academy, Episcopal High School, and Washington and Lee University; first lieutenant in World War; president of Baker and Company, Inc., a wholesale grocery house "founded in 1785 and which has passed successively from father to son." President of city council, clubs, lodges, director: lives in "fine old residence built by Hessian prisoners during Revolution."

Family: father: AB. from U. of Vir., president of Shen. Valley National Bank, president of Virginia woolen mills, chocolate business.

brothers: one connected with chocolate business in New York City; one in chocolate business at Winchester; one theatre manager and in chocolate and grocery business.

Evaluation: Overwhelming evidence of social class rigidity.

William Harvey Nickels (p. 417): born 1878; public schools, Shoemaker College, student at Roanoke College, Washington and Lee Law School; mayor of Gates City, stockholder, owns "a good home and three other dwellings." Leading lawyer of Gates City.

Family: father: private in Civil War; taught school; farmer.

father's father: thousand acres, merchant, town names Nichelsville.

mother's father: colonel, at one time owned 96 slaves.

mother's mother: direct descendant of George Mason.

great-grandfather: acquired a large amount of land, used slave labor.

Evaluation: Civil War seems to have dislocated father, but son is "on top."

Sidney Smith Gresham (p. 423): born 1875; Norfolk Male Academy, one year at Vir. Poly. Institute; 8 years deputy county treasurer, 4 years county commissioner of revenue; vestryman, farmer, merchant, chairman of county board of education, president of realtor corporation, confectionary business.

Family: father: Sergeant, wholesale commission merchant, established firm of Gresham and Sons; Episcopal vestryman and Sunday School superintendent.

children: one with B.B. from state normal, one student at Vir. Poly. Inst.

Evaluation: Subject and father very much alike in status; subject is versatile!

Robert E. Whitehead (p. 427): born 1873; public schools, William and Mary; taught three years; Medical College of Virginia, president of county medical association and councillor of Virginia State Medical Society; public health officer; also operates Kempsville Cash Store.

Family: father: House of Delegates, 1883 - 1884, chairman of school board, steward at Methodist church, one lodge.

son: ensign of U.S.N., graduate of Annapolis.

Evaluation: Professional son stands somewhat higher than farmer-politician father, but father was a person of some importance.

George W. Layman (p. 433): born ca. 1868; home schools, Ashland College, Bridgewater College; has been merchant, farmer, and banker; postmaster of Troutville.

Family: father: school teacher, then farmer, "accumulated many acres."

father's father: farmer.

mother's father: born in log cabin; erected good brick house, son of pioneer who ran a transportation business (overland) to Lynchburg.

children: one was two years at Washington and Lee, forester; one married a doctor; one married a name.

Evaluation: A versatile family; all had some education; perhaps there is some evidence of higher status here.

Nathaniel Albert Nicholson (p. 438): born 1881; public schools, Randolph-Macon Academy, Univ. Coll. of Medicine; M.D., "chiefly rural practice," county food administrator during war; three lodges.

Family: father: clerk of county court, county treasurer, editor of a newspaper, minister of Methodist church, pastorates in five counties.

Evaluation: the father was a public servant and pastor, the son a doctor.

Rufus G. Claudle (p. 442): born 1873; two years at U. of N.C., one year at U. of Texas, fraternity; oil operator, sec'y-treas. of oil company; editor of "Industrial News." Real estate owner.

Family: father: merchant and farmer and pioneer in Texas.
father's father: colonel, Baptist clergyman, "wide circuit."
brothers: one rancher and cattleman in Oklahoma; one ranch owner in Oklahoma.

Evaluation: Father, who pioneered, perhaps suffered a setback. Sons "stage a comeback."

Junius Earle Dunford p. 178): born 1892; public schools, college preparatory, college, law school, enthusiastic fraternity man; active socially; lawyer in Richmond; captain in World War.

Family: father: clergyman, college graduate, MA., president of Clinton College; professor in seminary.
father's father: killed in Civil War.
mother's father: planter.
brother and sister: sports editor of Greenville Daily News, wife of clergyman who is professor of seminary in Brazil.

Evaluation: This father gave his sons and daughters a good start.

Conclusion

The biographies condensed here are those of every tenth person listed in a large part of volume IV of the History of Virginia. The other biographical sketches of this and the succeeding volume, which we have condensed, have not been reproduced here because they are "more of the same thing."

It seems that the important people in all communities, both large and small, strongly tend to come from those ancestors who were, in their day, important. Those in the larger cities who have received special recognition, and therefore stand higher in the whole state, are more likely to have descended from the FFV. Leading citizens in small towns are more likely to have small town (merchant-farmer-county-job) backgrounds.

Much of the "flavor" of each biography is lost in condensation, but from studying the biographical sketches, one can ascertain whether the family rated highly or not. Of course, the inadequacy of information about some of the forefathers leaves one to conjecture as to their respective positions. The status of the immediate parents was usually evident.

When one remembers that anyone who had the means to purchase a set of these volumes could have his biography included in this series, one wonders that so few of the persons written up show signs of being "self-made," and also that so few persons on what is a relatively low level can boast of illustrious fathers and grandfathers. Often one notices that when the war dislocated a parent from his normal groove the son took up again where the grandparents had left off.

There is much truth in the theory that even in Virginia, which suffered the Civil War, and which has had to make such severe readjustments, there is overwhelming evidence of social class rigidity and continuity; there is little indication of disintegrating family status or of significant upstartism.

Part II

IOWA

As in the case of Virginia the researcher gives here, as a part of his study of the social class factors of the Westward Movement, a sampling of biographies from one of the "egalitarian" states, where there never has been a true aristocracy and where scenes of widespread poverty are rare.

But Iowa has her leading families, and they have their forebears. Who are these people? Who were their ancestors?

Following the same plan used in the Virginia study, the researcher presents a condensed version of representative biographical data about Iowans and evaluations of the status and mobility factors involved.

These data are taken from Volume III of A narrative History of the People of Iowa, written by E. R. Harlan: Iowa Biography, by a special staff of writers of the American Historical Society published in Chicago, 1931. As before, every tenth biography has been chosen.

Case Studies

Henry Wallace, (p. 3): born 1836; rural school, a small college in Noble county, Geneva Hall, Jefferson College; taught one year; Theoretical Seminary at Allegheny, Monmouth Theological Seminary; minister in large towns; took up farming because of health; writer on farm subjects; agricultural experimentalist; editor of two farm journals; sat on state and federal commissions.

Family: father: "came over from County Antrim in the North of Ireland."

wife: daughter of a colonel.

sons: one editor of farm journal in St. Paul; one partner-successor to father's enterprises and national figure in Boy Scout and 4-H movements; one secretary of agriculture under Harding, co-editor of journals, agriculturalist.

grandsons: one Henry A. Wallace; one secretary of Wallace enterprises.

Evaluation: The essential data about the subject's background is missing, but one knows who the Vice-President's forebears were! There is an aristocracy of "effective leadership," if not one of "exclusive swank."

Lewis Worthington Smith p. 11): born 1886; local schools, Beloit Academy, Fairfield College (Ph.B.), Univ. of Nebraska, Cotner College (MA.); taught in high schools and colleges; professor of English, Drake University since 1902; poet and writer of note (long bibliography); professional fraternities; clubs.

Family: "Mr. Smith represents a long line of American ancestors, representing business, the professions, and military life."

father: merchant and farmer, sergeant.

father: merchant and farmer, sergeant.

father's brother: clergyman and author of a volume of poems.

mother: daughter of a Conn. manufacturer.

mother's mother: daughter of clergyman and poet, descendant of prominent colonial family.

wife: writer, poet, dramatist, president of Iowa Press and Authors Club, 1919 - 1920; daughter of cattle-breeder and rancher.

daughter: AB., MA., assistant-secretary of National Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church.

Evaluation: This professor did not grow up in a sod house.

Hendrik Peter Scholte (p. 19): born 1805; "liberally educated"; took over father's factory, sold factory; resumed education, Univ. of Leyden, Doctor of Theology; clergyman, editor of church periodical; president of an emigration association; purchased a settler's claim "and all his belongings, acquired title to 18,000

acres of land for settlement"; one of founders of Central College; attorney, editor and publisher; dealer in farm implements; Republican convention of 1860.

Family: father: box manufacturer in Amsterdam.

mother: daughter of a broker.

wife: daughter of sugar refiner "to whom his father sold his cases."

daughter: mother of three sons, all of whom are listed in Who's Who: one Ph.B., president of Bankers Life Insurance Company, philanthropist, club man, civic leader; one president of the Equitable Life Insurance Company, clubs, welfare, churchman.

son-in-law: banker.

Evaluation: Pioneer had a good start; his daughter married well; her sons are among the socially most prominent people in Iowa.

James Augustus Howe (p. 28): born 1865; common schools, high school, Drake University (B.L.), lawyer, Republican county committee chairman, county attorney, district judge eight years; writer on probate law; lodge man.

Family: father: farmer all his life.

father's father: farmer and blacksmith.

mother's father: farmer.

brother: farmer and fruit-grower.

wife: daughter of farmer who became realtor and investor.

son: graduate of Culver Military Academy, commissioned officer in the World War; lawyer. Wife graduate of Iowa State U.

Evaluation: What kind of farms the ancestors had is not given. Through education and politics, subject doubtless rose above those who remained in agriculture. Subject's son, now partner of father, had a place in life cut out for him.

George A. Morrell p. 36): born 1900; public schools, preparatory school, Dartmouth College (BS.); college trustee (at age 30); clubs; associated with father's business.

Family: father: president of packing company, president of local chamber of commerce (small town); chairman of local Red Cross.

mother's father: graduate of Harvard, pioneer, president of a drug company in Iowa; president of local board of education.

wife: national president of P.E.O. Sisterhood, graduate of Ferry Hall at Lake Forest, Ill.

nephew: student at Dartmouth.

Evaluation: Father came to America from England when the Morrell packing company moved its base of operations from that country to this one. At the age of 24 the father was ass't manager of the company. From there on the story tells itself.

Fred W. Fitch (p. 41): born 1870; only a common school education; bound out at age of 8; coal miner; dray wagon, head of fleet of 70 dray wagons; studied medicine under a private doctor; inventor of Fitch's Ideal Hair Tonic and Dandruff Remover; president of corporation; lodge man, golf.

Family: father: physician, educated in an eastern medical college, first college trained doctor in county.

mother's father: pioneer in territory.

children: one son is travelling representative of the Fitch product; one daughter is wife of vice-president of the same company; another daughter is wife of the assistant secretary and accountant of the company; another son is a graduate of the University of California.

Evaluation: This enterprise seems to be a strictly family affair. Subject came up the hard way -- after father took AWOL. He rose in that he started and ran a large business. He recovered his place among the "effective elements" without, probably, the active help of his father.

Byron F. Fast (p. 48): born 1851; country schools; self-supporting at 14; farm tenant; business course in banking; rose in local bank (Villisca, Iowa) from teller to president; head of another bank at Nodaway, Iowa.

Family: grandfathers: both early pioneers.

father: died in Civil War, was "an industrious and thrifty citizen who made a success of farming and accumulated 450 acres of land and much personal property." He was "well educated and held the office of justice of the peace"

daughters: one educated at Ward-Belmont School for Girls, Univ. of Wisc., and a finishing school; one educated at U. of Nebr. and now a teacher.

Evaluation: One wonders what happened to those two banks when the depression hit Iowa. It is clear that this banker had a middle class father and two middle class daughters.

Roy T. Will (p. 55): born 1875; public schools, graduate dental dep't of the U. of Iowa, president of district dental society; owner of three farms, churchman, husband of the president of the Ladies Aid Society; lodge member; lives and practices at Red Oak, Iowa.

Family: father: private in Civil War; hardware and leather store.

mother's father: clergyman.

brothers and sisters: one a life insurance man in Oregon; one the wife of a civil engineer and general manager of a small railway in Oregon; and a name.

wife: daughter of banker in Red Oak, educated at Lasell Seminary in Mass.

children: one BS. and B.E. now with the AT&T; one graduate of U. of Wisc. and teacher; and two youngsters.

Evaluation: There is much social class continuity here.

Forrest Brisbane Spaulding (p. 65): born 1892; "received the advantages of three fine old educational institutions -- Philips Exeter Academy, Williston Academy, and Trinity School in N.Y. City; finished library school at N.Y. Public Library; lodge man, club man, Episcopalian; member of the Council of and American Library Association; called on library mission to Peru.

Family: no background data given except that his forebears "were concerned with the activities both the Cavaliers of Virginia and the Puritans of New England."

Evaluation: Subject's education is only direct indication one has of parental status and attitudes.

David W. Kimberley (p. 72): born 1878; public schools, high school, business college in Chicago; engaged in "agricultural and civic affairs of Scott County"; member of state legislature fourteen years "without any pecuniary profit to himself." Member of many lodges.

Family: no data.

Evaluation: Subject a politician. Parents lived in S.D. during the mining era; returned to Iowa when subject was a child. That is all the data given.

William W. Bowen, M.D. (p. 79): born 1869; public schools, University of Iowa, post-graduate work in Berlin; surgeon, president of county medical society; church member. Ft. Dodge, Iowa.

Family: father: locomotive (wood-burning) engineer, farmer, grist mill operator.

father's father: farmer.

brother: lawyer in Los Angeles.

children: one with immigration bureau of the U.S. department of the interior and former member of board of trustees of the Iowa State historical society; another is the wife of a professor at Northwestern.

Evaluation: A capable and established surgeon has risen above the status of his ancestors. His brother also rose, presumably. His children are his equals.

Robert Evans, M.D. (p. 91): born 1857; public schools; five years a teacher; Detroit College of Medicine, physician and surgeon at Ft. Dodge, Iowa; K. of C.

Family: father: "successful farmer."

father's father: farmer.

mother's father: government employee in Ireland.

Evaluation: A middle class doctor descended from a line of Irish farmers. His position is obviously more public than theirs was, and probably higher. In the Middle West there are, of course, many doctors who do not rank with the most prominent farmers in the county.

Edgar N. Zinn (p. 98): born 1886; public schools, high school, graduate of school of pharmacy, Chicago College of Medicine, one year post-graduate work after practicing in two towns; lodge member, bowling, golf.

Family: father: sash and door business.

grandparents: immigrants.

brother: a dentist.

wife: graduate of a business school and ass't cashier in bank before marriage.

daughter: now at U. of Wis.

Evaluation: There are indications that subject lives better and associates with persons of higher status than did his father; there is no proof of this, however.

Wiley John Steckel (p. 104): born 1862; public schools; at age 14 became a member of banking and real estate firm; president of the Exchange Bank; honored and influential citizen of Bloomfield, Iowa.

Family: father: "large influence in civic affairs. He became one of the leading members of the bar of Davis County . . . "; newspaper editor; county superintendent of schools; delegate from Iowa to Paris exhibition of 1878.

Evaluation: Subject was not self-made; he was prefabricated.

John E. Mulroney (p. 110): born 1896; public schools, one year at college; enlisted in Rainbow division, corporal, U. of Iowa, B.L., lawyer, county attorney; clubs.

Family: father: realtor, "prominent businessman"; delegate to Democratic convention of 1896.

father's father: gold rusher, founder of the First National Bank at Ft. Dodge, vice president of same.

sister: wife of a high school teacher.

wife: daughter of a leading attorney of Ft. Dodge.

Maurice Taylor (p. 117): born 1904; public school, high school, employee of Standard Oil, deputy county clerk, county clerk.

Family: father: manager of the Iowa and Nebraska Light and Power company's branch at Dunlap, Iowa.
father's father: forty years agent of an insurance company, cousin and playmate of Rutherford B. Hayes.

sister and brother: wife of a doctor; employee in U.P. office at Omaha.

Evaluation: This young man had both a father and a grandfather.

Albert Kirby Gifford (p. 127): born 1876; high school, U. of Western Ontario; learned trade of jeweler and watchmaker; medical school, M.D. Two lodges.

Family: father: MA. at Toronto; Ph.D. at Northwestern; prominent clergyman in Montreal, Ottawa, etc.
father's brothers: one has AB., Litt.D., Ph.D.; one is associated with a dry goods company; one is a clergyman of note in Canada.

father's mother: sister of a governor of Minnesota.

brothers: two: both "professional men."

wife: graduate of Woman's College of Hamilton, Ont.

son: BA. and BS.

Evaluation: Family's status is one of high degree. Much social class continuity.

W. C. Strock (p. 134): born 1873; high school, Drake University (B.L.), lawyer, one of the more prominent attorneys in Des Moines, was once city solicitor; Episcopalian; once president of local bar association.

Family: father: operated flour mills.

mother's father: farmer, saw mill operator, flour mill operator, owner and operator of a general store. Built and operated first water works at Sterling, Iowa.

uncle: dean of law school, Drake University and distinguished lawyer, mentor of subject.

wife: daughter of a banker and manufacturer.

children: one a wife of a business man; one graduate of Smith College, one a high school student.

Evaluation: Subject may possibly have received more of a boost from his uncle than from his parents, who lived in a small town.

Dr. Arthur J. Oliver (p. 141): born 1870; district schools; Drake University, Rush Medical College; doctor at Muscatine, Iowa; member of several lodges.

Family: father: a teacher in New York State, then connected with lumber companies in Iowa, then farmer, a first sergeant in Civil War.

Conclusion

The data given above are more complete for each case than those given for Virginians. This is necessary in order to give a better view of each situation.

Several things are noticeable: (1) More of the Iowans than of the Virginians were of nineteenth immigration. (2) Iowans gave more information about themselves, less about their ancestors. (3) Almost all Iowans of importance belonged to several lodges, or seemed so.

With regard to the social class aspect, particularly the factor of rising, one can conjecture the following:

(1) Farmers' sons have gone into the professions and industry. Agriculture has remained stable, more or less; other fields have boomed; therefore, many sons of farmers have been swept upward with the growth of towns. But which farmers gave their sons this start? Iowans are not as careful to tell the exact size and importance of grandfathers' farms as are Virginians. Some of these farmers must have started with less, some with more, world goods, training, and so forth.

(2) Once successful, families seem to stabilize. by using the proper schools and their own businesses, they place their children several notches above the common herd.

(3) More people "with social class" went to Iowa than one might superficially imagine. And they did not settle down to swilling pigs.

(4) If there were ever a period when social mobility "ceased" in Iowa, it was earlier than the present century, as is often presumed. It happened as soon as early rising land values laid a fabulous sum in their owners' hands.

(5) The cases cited here give a person the impression (a) that families are units in the social class sense, (b) that most instances of success can be accounted for in ancestral terms, (c) that exact data about the backgrounds of pioneers are woefully lacking, and (d) that there are some cases of social class percolation.

Part III

OHIO

A four-volume set of Ohio history books was published in 1937 under the editorial direction of Simeon D. Fess. One of these volumes, the supplementary one, is similar to the biographical volumes that dealt with Virginia and Iowa. But another, by buying a set of the books, could get his biography listed here! A selective process had pared down the list of all possible names in Ohio history to about 300. These, then, are the recognized leaders of the state, in the past and in the present. This material is similar to that in the Dictionary of American Biography, but it is less complete regarding ancestors.

Who were these selected leading personages in Ohio? How was the frontier, in this pivotal state, receiving newcomers? Were lowly persons allowed to rise to the top? Did Ohio rear its own leaders in the wilderness or on the back roads -- or were they cradled and nurtured in a more favorable atmosphere?

One must bear in mind that if even many of these leaders had humble origins there was not opportunity for all or even many other persons of like backgrounds. (The front-page headlines of history can carry only a certain number of names, and no more.)

Again, as they are written up in the volume, the researcher took every tenth name and made a digest of the social class factors in the biography. Sometimes he made a statement of evaluation. Sometimes not.

The Three Hundred

David Zeisberger (p. 7): born 1721; left in Saxony "to finish his education" when his parents came to Georgia; immigrated at about age 17; at 20 he journeyed on foot to Penn.; missionary among Indians.

Family: followers of John Huss.
children: none.

Evaluation: Data inadequate. Boy was given an education. "He showed extraordinary facility in learning languages"

Charles Willing Byrd (p. 23): born ca. 1760; "educated for the law"; appointed by John Adams as secretary of Northwest United States district judge in Ohio."

Family: father: third William Byrd of the famous Virginia family of "Westover"; colonel; land speculator, "dissipated must of his estate."
wife: sister of wife of Nathaniel Massie, very prominent in early Ohio affairs.

Peter Hitchcock (p. 44): born 1781; graduated from Yale College; admitted to Conn. bar, 1803; state legislator in Ohio, speaker of the state senate; 28 years justice of the Ohio Supreme Court. "Peter Hitchcock was the first teacher of an academy started . . . in 1806."

Evaluation: No background given except that subject graduated from Yale and started his career in Ohio as a teacher in an academy -- which signified certain interests, attitudes, and backgrounds.

Edward Dominic Fenwick (p. 58): born 1768; was sent to Belgium to attend college; Dominican Order; first bishop of Cincinnati; founder of school which became St. Francis Xavier College.

Family: ". . . a wealthy family of planters" in Maryland.

Evaluation: Pioneer churchman had had a Kinderstube.

James Gillspie Birney (p. 74): born 1792; educated at home, Transylvania College, Priestly Seminary, Princeton; studied law in the office of father of G. M. Dallas (later Vice-President); planter; slave holder; leader in politics; abolitionist in Cincinnati, editor, candidate for President of the Liberty Party in 1840.

Family: "On both sides he represented families of wealth and social prominence in Kentucky; they were slaveholders in practice . . ." Subject was given "several household slaves" as a wedding gift."
wife: daughter of a United States district judge.

Evaluation: One must believe subject came from a "good family."

Otway Curry (p. 88): born 1804); common school education, learned carpentry, worked; became farmer; state representative; editor and publisher; studied law, practiced and edited in small town. One of his poems was in McGuffey's.

Family: father: colonel in the Revolution.

Evaluation: Poetic and versatile son had, at least, a military father.

Leonard Case (p. 102): born 1786; learned alphabet from an itinerant school master; pioneer labor on father's 200 acre farm; crippled himself; mastered reading and writing; court clerk; title searcher; cashier of first bank in Cleveland; founded "city beautiful"; made fortune in real estate.

Family: father: "acquired" 200 acres of frontier land; soldier in Rev.
son: graduated from Yale, lawyer, philanthropist.

Evaluation: Subject's father must have been a hard-working pioneer; subject's son "got off to a good start."

David Harpster (p. 111): born 1810; common school education; "purchaser of land in Pitt township. Through hard work he acquired 700 acres; stock raiser, Ohio's "wool king"; founded a village and a bank.

Evaluation: no other data available.

William Dennison (p. 151): born 1815; graduated with honors from Miami Univ.; studied law under "one of Ohio's distinguished lawyers"; attorney; president of a small railway and of a bank; state senate; governor; permanent chairman of Republican convention of 1864; postmaster general; etc.

Family: "His father was founder of the Dennison House, one of the pioneer hotels of Cincinnati."

Humphrey Howe Leavitt (p. 123): born 1796; "attended school, was admitted to the bar"; attorney; state legislator; three terms in Congress; United State district judge.

Evaluation: no data except that family moved from Connecticut to Ohio and "established a home."

Rutherford Burchard Hayes (p. 177): born 1822; common school training, studied the classics, attended an academy, a preparatory school, Kenyon College, A.M., Harvard, LL.B.; city solicitor of Cincinnati, etc. Nineteenth President.

Family: "His father had died in July, 1822, leaving the mother in moderate circumstances."

Evaluation: Subject was sent to schools.

George A. Custer (p. 192): born 1839; district school, and an academy; West Point; major-general; Indian fighter; made "last stand."

Family: grandfather: a Hessian soldier.
father: blacksmith by trade.

Evaluation: As is sometimes the case of men who gain military success, or other fame, they may have started out as unpolished stones. The social class implications are not always clear. Custer certainly cut a wider swath than his ancestors.

John Beatty (p. 221): born 1828; education in district schools; partner in organization of a bank; treasurer of his village; lieutenant colonel of Third Ohio Infantry; banker and businessman.

Family: grandfather built "first brick house in the Firelands."

Harvey Rice (p. 246): born 1800; Williams College; teacher of classics in and principal of an academy in Cleveland; studied law with Reuben Wood (late governor); a public school and a public library in Cleveland have been named after him; educator, legislator, historian.

Family: subject's mother died when he was four; father placed him in homes; he claims to have brought himself up and put himself through school. A case of a self-made man.

Morrison R. Waite (p. 254): born 1816; graduate of Yale, read law with his father; legislator; Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

Family: father: Yale graduate, associate justice of the supreme court of errors of Connecticut and afterwards "unanimously chosen by the legislature as chief justice."

Henry B. Payne (p. 268): born 1810; graduated from Hamilton College, studied law; nursed Stephen Douglas, his friend; became one of Cleveland's wealthiest citizens "by the successful management of his own affairs and the estate inherited by his wife." Nominee for governor; Congressman, United States Senate.

Family: "His father was instrumental in founding Hamilton Theological Seminary."

Calvin Stewart Rice (p. 281): born 1845; educated by "scholarly instruction of his father"; preparatory academy, college graduate; teacher; captain in army, promoted to lieutenant colonel; law school; attorney; railway promoter, United States senator; chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Family: father: Presbyterian minister.

Frank Harris Hitchcock (p. 294): born 1869 in Ohio; attended school in Boston, graduated from Harvard; government offices in dep't of agriculture and commerce. Managed Taft's campaign in 1908; postmaster general; managed Hughes' campaign in 1916.

Family: father: minister of Congregational church.

William T. Spear (p. 311): born 1834; common school and Dana's Latin School; learned printing trade; proof reader; graduate of Harvard Law School; Ohio Supreme Court for 27 years.

Family: father: judge in Pennsylvania.

Frederick Funston (p. 333): born 1865; studied at K.U.; newspaper reporter; explored Alaska for the dep't of agriculture; Spanish-American war colonel and brigadier general; major general in command of U.S. forces on the Mexican border..

Family: father: in early life a teacher; attended Marietta College; served in both houses of the Kansas Legislature; represented a district of Kansas in Congress.

Lawrence Maxwell (p. 342): born 1853; graduated U. of Michigan and Cincinnati Law College; successful lawyer, partner of Rufus King and Nicholas Longworth; solicitor general of the United States; law professor.

Family: American citizens residing in Glasgow Scotland, when son was born.

Ambrose Swasey (p. 350); born 1846; public schools; honorary degrees from the U. of P., U. of Calif.; French Legion of Honor; president of American Society of Mechanical Engineers; many honors.

Family: no data. Obviously a man of remarkable technical aptitudes.

Tom Liftin Johnson (p. 360): born 1854; irregular schooling; clerk; financial backing from the du Ponts; street railway magnate; inventor; came under influence of Henry George; Congressman; mayor of Cleveland, then "best governed city in America."

Family: "His parents represented the educated and prosperous class of southern planters." (Kentucky)
father: captain in Confederacy; war impoverished family.

William Howard Taft (p. 377): "Was the only American to serve his country at the head of both the executive and judicial departments of the Government."

Family: father: Secretary of War and attorney general in Grant's cabinet.
son: Senator from Ohio.

James Rudolph Garfield (p. 395): born 1865; Williams College, Columbia Law School; U.S. civil service commissioner; secretary of the interior under Theodore Roosevelt.

Family: father: graduate of Williams, President.

brother: graduate of Williams and president of Williams from 1908 to 1934.

Conclusion

Although the inadequacy of data about the ancestors of influential early Ohioans confuses the issue somewhat, one has the feeling that some famous Ohioans have descended from pioneer-hard-working families.

Certain it is, however, that far more than half of the foregoing illustrious careers started from solid middle or upper class family backgrounds.

True, also, is the thought that in those families known to everyone, and which have contributed several generations of illustrious persons, the factors of social class rigidity are obvious.

CHAPTER XVI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The chief points developed in this thesis are closely allied to each other in thought. Through the whole there runs a stream of ideas dealing with the nature of the social classes, the mechanisms of their formation and perpetuation, and the extent of and types of social class rigidity and mobility. The general theme is based on the theory that the barriers to social ascent and descent are in normal times more effective, as social institutions, than are the channels of mobility.

The chief points developed are:

The social classes are composed of social cliques or associative groups of families that consider themselves equal in status. Social transmission early puts the social class stamp upon all persons and this largely conditions their occupational choices and opportunity chances.

Castes are not social status groups; they are forms of social organization, largely peculiar to India, which function in civilization much as tribes do among primitives. They are clannish rather than cliquish. Nor are races or parts of races, as such, castes.

A survey of human history reveals that social status hierarchies are characteristic of almost all societies and that most people have lived in the social class into which they were born.

The mechanisms by which classes maintain their prestige are both ingenious and multifarious. When one mechanism gives way under the pressure of the times, others are found to accomplish a similar result.

The reforms of Greece, especially the democratic practice of voting public bonuses, did not lead to social equality or to opportunity for the lower classes.

The political reforms of Rome were significant only to the aristocratic and prosperous plebeians. As for the remainder of the plebs, nothing was done to improve their lot from the inception of Rome to the division of the Empire. At no time did mere wealth "corrupt" the aristocratic spirit of Rome, even in the hour of greatest despair for the old aristocratic families.

The decrees of Diocletian and his successors were devised as a means of maintaining production, of obtaining social security, and of repairing the imperial budget. They froze the social class structure as a means of preventing the disintegration of economic and social life.

The social class pyramid of Gallo-Rome and of early France was not determined by conquest, as stated in the familiar theory of Gumpłowicz, Oppenheimer, Sorokin, etc. It was determined by the mechanisms of social class continuity and social class rigidity.. The same holds true in England after the first repercussions of the Norman Conquest had passed.

The feudal system allowed the better peasants to rise into the yeoman class. The early masters soon monopolized the crafts for their own class, and the early merchants laid the foundations of a commercial aristocracy and of later capitalism. The latter grew sufficiently powerful in some countries to displace the craftsmen, to disorganize agricultural life, and to create industrial slums.

When the feudal structure fell, the families which had formed its leadership did not "crash" in the same proportion as did the system; nor did the workers rise to greater dignity during that period.

The American Dream has nine lives. It was a part of Penn's propaganda; it was immortalized in the slogan: "Go West, young man." It has been incorporated into many textbooks and was a part of the last presidential campaign. It is a fiction stronger than truth.

Colonial society was conceived in an atmosphere of stratification and it became increasingly more hierarchical. The towns established in most western states were soon duplicates of towns on the seaboard.

The frontier was settled by classes. The War Between the States destroyed the plantation economy, but it did not uproot a great proportion of the planter families.

Social stratification is indicated, if not confirmed, by most of the statistical studies made of occupational and social shifting.

The genealogical data unearthed by Galton and others confirm the theory of social class rigidity.

The idea of social mobility should be attributed largely to middle class ideology and experience. The "old middle class" is characterized by its competitive spirit, its family-career planning, its habits, its initiative. It has always been a barrier between the proletariat and greater opportunity.

The social class structures of all the great powers are showing signs of disintegration. The modern world is characterized by total war [1941], a condition which ultimately calls for the abolition of standards of exclusiveness, canons of respectability and reputability. Whether or not modern civilization can recruit its social and political leadership from schools and party organizations instead of from the families of the middle and upper social classes is one of the greatest puzzles of modern social theory.

The consensus of opinion seems to be that the social classes belong to society and are indispensable to a smooth, functional social system.

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