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MEREDITH: CULTURE AND POWER
IN A COLLEGE COMMUNITY

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

LEO ARTHUR DESPRES, B.A., A.M.

The Ohio State University
1960

Approved by:

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PREFACE

This study examines the culture and power system of a Midwestern college community. The project was undertaken as one of a number of different studies being conducted as part of the research program of The Columbus Psychiatric Institute and Hospital, Columbus, Ohio. While the Institute provided the funds necessary to conduct this study, it is in no way responsible for the design of the research and the results reported here. The writer wishes to express his gratitude to Dr. Ralph Patterson, Director of the Columbus Psychiatric Institute and Hospital, and to Dr. Benjamin Pasamanick, Director of the Institute's Research Division, for their continued interest in the project.

As is the case with most studies of this kind, the efforts of many individuals have contributed to the final results. A special debt is owed to Professor Erika Bourguignon who so willingly contributed much of her time to advising the writer on the many details of the study. The writer also wishes to thank Professors Simon Dinitz and Roscoe Hinkle of The Ohio State University. They contributed much to the methodological and theoretical aspects of the study.

Many of the theoretical ideas which have gone into this study grew out of the writer's association, as a student, with Professor John W. Bennett of Washington University, St. Louis, and Professor
Kurt H. Wolff of Brandeis University. The writer appreciates their contribution to his theoretical approach.

While conducting research in Meredith, valuable assistance was received from Professor Fred G. Burke of Syracuse University and from Professor Butler A. Jones of Grantham College. Professor Burke was a constant source of information on local government. Professor Jones was particularly helpful in getting the study under way in Meredith.

The data collected in Meredith could not have been obtained without the aid of field assistants. The writer wishes to thank Professor William Heald of Grantham College, and, and Richard Dawson, Millard Cann, and Lowell Fleischer for the fine work they did in collecting data.

Finally, the entire success of the study depended upon the wonderful cooperation received from many, many people in Meredith. The writer wishes to thank the people of Meredith for their cooperation, with full awareness that the results of the study can not help but be offensive to some of those who were most helpful.

Leo A. Despres

The Columbus Psychiatric Institute and Hospital
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PART ONE

THEORY AND METHODS
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the structure and organization of power in Meredith, a midwestern community with a population of approximately 11,000 people. This study has two objectives. First, it attempts to describe the process by which individuals in Meredith go about controlling the actions of other individuals in matters that affect the social order which exists in the community. Second, it attempts to describe this process in terms of a theoretical framework which is somewhat different from those that are often used in studies of power in American society. This theoretical framework, it is suggested, may be able to explain, in part, why different observers disagree about the kinds of power systems existing in American society. The application of the concepts employed in this framework to data collected in Meredith is offered as a test of their utility. Before presenting the theory used in the study of Meredith in greater detail, and before describing the methods and techniques employed in the collection of data, it is worth while elaborating the two objectives of the study. The substantive objective will be considered first.

The Substantive Purpose of the Study

The community of Meredith, like any community, is the locus of much activity. As one enters the community, he observes individuals
interacting with one another in numerous and complex ways. He sees them moving about goods and exchanging services of diverse kinds. And he notices that as individuals move about goods and exchange services, they also move about other individuals. This activity makes it quite obvious that there exists in Meredith a social order that depends upon the expectations individuals have concerning what other individuals will do in particular kinds of situations. Such expectations, it seems safe to say, are based on decisions that have been made in the past and which seem to excite little conversation as individuals go about their everyday affairs. Thus, in the broadest sense, the maintenance of order is achieved by almost every individual by virtue of the social knowledge he has accumulated and by virtue of the social habits he has acquired. As individuals go about the business of maintaining this order, they are seldom conscious of their doing so and infrequently, if ever, does anyone inquire into the nature of that order and how it came to be what it is.

At the same time, there exist in Meredith some individuals who make decisions in private and public spheres that have various effects on the social order that other individuals maintain. These decisions, in one way or another, are capable of preventing changes in the old order or establishing changes which will create a new but seldom an entirely different order. Such decisions, fundamentally, involve the articulation of goals and their implementation. They involve the assignment of roles with some degree of assurance that these roles will be played in order to secure the ends which are being sought.
In other words, the process by which decisions that affect the social order existing in Meredith are made, in addition to the means by which these decisions are implemented, is a power process: for it involves the ability of individuals to control the actions of other individuals. The nature and characteristics of decision-making processes of this kind has much to do with the kind of community in which one lives. To the extent that Meredith is one community among many in a larger society, it is, in some ways, like other communities and it will, to some extent, reveal something of the character of the larger society. This, in itself, makes it worth while to ask what kind of life people in Meredith must live as a consequence of the decisions made by certain individuals among them.

A second reason exists in justication of the substantive purpose of this study. In recent years numerous observers of the American scene have become concerned about the preservation of political democracy in America.\(^1\) If the many definitions of political democracy are divested of their various ideological connotations and ideals, political democracy can be taken to mean the existence of alternative choices of policy and the availability of the decision-making process by which policy is made to the general public.\(^2\) Some observers have maintained, and not without evidence, that the means of power in American society have become concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer people and that the decisions made by these people are no longer influenced by the majority of citizens. More fearfully, some observers suggest that the majority of American citizens no longer display a political frame
of reference, that they no longer state their needs, their hopes, their
desires, in political terms. Americans are becoming, it is claimed,
apathetic and indifferent to the political process.

As certain life circumstances predispose individuals to join the
ranks of the apathetic and the politically indifferent, as these ranks
swell, it is thought that political democracy declines: for the politi-
cally indifferent not only do not make choices, but they are indiffer-
ent to the choices being made. As a group, they are privatized and as
their numbers increase, the political process becomes atrophied. It is
true that these problems seem to be a long way from Meredith. It is
also true that Washington is a long way from Meredith. However, be-
tween Washington and Meredith there are numerous Merediths, and if
political democracy is not maintained in these communities, what as-
surance is there that it will be maintained in Washington? If people
are unaccustomed to influencing decisions in minor affairs, will they
know how to influence decisions in great affairs? It seems worth while,
then, to know about the political life of Meredith and to know about
the political life of other communities as well.

The Theoretical Objective of the Study

Generally, two theories have been employed to explain the system
of power characteristic of American society. The first theory may be
called the elite theory of power. It maintains that there exists in
American society a relatively small group of individuals who, because
they control the major means of power, make decisions which profoundly
affect the lives of ordinary people who are not to influence these
decisions. This theory has been employed by a number of very capable
observers of the American scene. Outstanding among them have been
C. Wright Mills, James Burnham, and Joseph A. Schumpeter. Mills is
often considered the leading exponent of the elite theory as providing
a model for the system of power characteristic of America today.

A second theory which has been used to explain the system of
power in American society might be called, after Carl J. Friedrich,
the pluralist theory. Three outstanding exponents of this theory are
Harold Laski, David Riesman, and Max Lerner. The pluralist theory
maintains that there is no power elite in American society, no ruling
class, no domination by Wall Street, by labor leaders, or by any other
single group. The power situation is amorphous. American society has
substituted for elite leadership, in the words of David Riesman,

... a series of groups, each of which has struggled
for and finally attained a power to stop things conceivably
inimical to its interests and, within far narrower limits,
to start things ... Within the veto groups, there is,
of course, the same struggle of antagonistic cooperators
for top places ... Among the veto groups competition
is monopolistic; rules of fairness and fellowship dictate
how far one can go.

Taken as a whole, these veto groups do not represent a single power
elite because they are not, as Meisel might say, characterized by the
three C's: group consciousness, coherence, and conspiracy. Riesman
specifies one further characteristic of this type of power system
which is important because it has to do with the problem of leaders
and followers. He states:
These veto groups are neither leader-groups nor led-
groups. The only leaders of national scope left in the
United States today are those who can placate the veto
groups. The only followers left in the United States
today are those unorganized and sometimes disorganized
unfortunates who have not yet invented their group.\textsuperscript{10}

Both of these theories have been employed, explicitly or im-
plicitly, in studies of community power. Although Floyd Hunter does
not use the term elite, his study of power structure in Regional City
is counted among those in support of the elite theory of power.\textsuperscript{11} In
his study, Hunter substantiates the proposition that

\textellipsis the "men of independent decisions" are a rea-
tively small group. The "executors of policy" may run
into the hundreds. This pattern of a relatively small
decision-making group working through a larger under-
structure is a reality, and if data were available, the
total personnel involved in a major community project
might possibly form a pyramid of power, but the con-
stituency of the pyramid would change according to the
project being acted upon.\textsuperscript{12}

Since the publication of Hunter's work on Regional City, there
have been several community studies which tend to support the elite
theory of power. Pellegrin and Coates, in their study of Bigtown,
suggest that the executives of absentee-owned corporations tend to
function as a power elite.\textsuperscript{13} In a study of another community, Agger
and Ostrom suggest that the top leadership group, the elite, were
informally organized as a card-playing club.\textsuperscript{14}

There have also been community studies which seem to lend
support to the pluralist theory of power. One such study was con-
ducted in New Haven by Nelson W. Polsby. Rejecting the panel of judges
technique used by Hunter and others to locate leaders, Polsby focused
on three "issue areas" within the community. Only two triple-issue
leaders emerged in the study of New Haven. Polsby concluded:

In none of the three issue-areas could we detect the
faintest hint of what Hunter described for Regional
City, the Lynds for Middletown, and Warner for Jonesville—
namely, the more or less covert determination of community
policies by a politically homogeneous economic and social
elite. 15

Another study which appears to lend support to the pluralist theory
was conducted by William H. Form and William V. D'Antonio. Form and
D'Antonio compared an American community, El Paso, with a Mexican
community, C. Juarez. They conclude:

Even though data suggest considerable integration
between economic and political influentialss and in-
stitutions in El Paso, they do not support a simple
model of community power structure in the decision-
making process . . . (Such) a model of community
power structure ignores the power potential of
citizens and other organized groups in the community.
An adequate theory must relate the social structure
of the influentialss to that of the broader community. 16

Both the pluralist theory and the elite theory have been em-
ployed to explain systems of power characteristic of specific American
communities. This, it seems, suggests one of three possible interpre-
tations. First, because the theories contradict one another, one or
the other of the two theories is wrong. Second, both theories may be
correct because both represent different points of view which can not
be accepted as either/or propositions and because both systems of power
may actually exist in different places depending, of course, upon one's
point of view. Or, third, both theories may inadequately account for
different aspects of a system of power.
The first of these possibilities may be rejected because there appears to be as much evidence in support of the elite theory as there is in support of the pluralist theory. Furthermore, while the possibility can be entertained that different systems of power may be found to exist in different communities, it is difficult to accept the proposition that two different systems of power are characteristic of American society in general. The second and third possible interpretations are related. If these two systems of power exist in different communities in American society, then both theories seem to provide an inadequate explanation of these systems because they fail to relate one system to the other and account for the difference. Assuming that this is the case, and it will be suggested here that it is, then some modification of the elite and pluralist theories may provide an explanation for the different types of power systems that have been described for particular communities in American society. To determine this constitutes the theoretical purpose of the study of Meredith.

The theoretical framework used in the study of Meredith is defined in Chapter II. This framework is based on a consideration of some of the assumptions of the elite and pluralist theories which, it is believed, tend to leave a number of relationships in a system of power relatively unexplored. Before turning to Chapter II, however, these assumptions will be analyzed in order to delineate more clearly the problems which tend to be associated with the use of these theories and the reasons some modifications are believed to be necessary. Assumptions associated with the elite theory will be considered first.
Some Assumptions of the Elite Theory of Power

The elite theory maintains that there exists a relatively small group of individuals who, by virtue of the position they occupy, make decisions which affect a relatively large group of people (the non-elite). The non-elite, by virtue of the positions they occupy, do not have access to the making of these decisions. While the accessibility of the elite to the non-elite is, in part, a function of the kind of power structure existing in a society, it must be recognized that it is also, in part, a function of the way in which power is exercised by those who control it.

The elite theory is primarily a structural theory. It presents an analysis of the power system in structural terms, e.g., in terms of the relationships individuals have to one another by virtue of the positions they occupy relative to the means of power. Since the accessibility of the elite to the non-elite can not be determined from the distribution of power alone, the elite theory makes an assumption concerning the use of power. It tends to assume that the means of power are the same as their use. Back of this assumption is a further assumption that those who control the means of power are almost always those who exercise power and, more specifically, that they generally exercise power in such a way as to prevent the non-elite from having access to it. For example, Mills states:

... the power elite of America has no ideology and feels the need of none ... (we can readily understand) ... why its rule is naked of ideas, its manipulation without attempted justification.
Having made the assumption that the elite, because of the power it controls, will use that power in a way in which to prevent the non-elite from participating in the selection of the elite, still another assumption must be made. It has to be assumed that the elite has almost unlimited access to the non-elite. In other words, the non-elite must be sufficiently detached from groups capable of dissent in order that they may be easily influenced by the elite. Otherwise, the non-elite through membership in strong groups may provide opposition. There would then exist the possibility that power exercised at the top of the social pyramid could so affect conditions at the middle and bottom that positions at the top would no longer represent formidable means of power. Should this possibility exist, one could question whether or not the elite really is the power group which the elite theory claims it to be.

The end result of this chain of assumptions is that the elite theory, as it is presently used, presents a closed system. The distribution of the means of power is taken as evidence for the maintenance (i.e., the exercise or use) of the system and the elite is, in effect, a self-perpetuating group. For example, Meisel says of Mills' power elite, it is "The Elite to End All Elites." The model this theory provides is only one of many possible models for a system of power. Moreover, this model is one that is characteristic of only one type of society, the totalitarian society.

Such a model severely limits the analysis of power systems, particularly the power systems of other types of societies. The possibility has to be considered that there may exist an elite or
elites in societies other than those which are totalitarian. Kornhauser, in a recent work, suggests the existence of elites in at least four types of societies: (1) the communal society, (2) the pluralist society, (3) the mass society, and (4) the totalitarian society. He defines each of these in terms of the relationship existing between the elites and the non-elites. For example, he states:

Communal society requires inaccessible elites and unavailable non-elites if it is to sustain its traditional structure . . . . Elites are inaccessible in that the elements and standards are selected and fixed by traditional ascription. Non-elites are unavailable in that people are firmly bound by kinship and community . . . . Totalitarian society requires an inaccessible elite and an available population if it is to sustain a system of total control from above . . . . The elite is inaccessible in that elements are selected and fixed through co-optation, by virtue of a monopoly over the means of coercion and persuasion in the hands of those at the apex of the structure. The population is available in that its members lack all those independent social formations that could serve as a basis of resistance to the elite.20

The pluralist society is one in which there exists accessible elites and unavailable non-elites. The diverse attachments of the non-elite makes it difficult to manipulate them in a pluralist society. In a mass society, on the other hand, there exists accessible elites and available non-elites and mass behavior is a function of a paucity of independent groups.21

The means of power, then, must be distinguished from their use. This distinction has long been recognized by pluralistic theorists. Robert M. MacIver, for example, states:
What is more powerful than power? But if we think in these terms . . . we shall misapprehend the nature of social power. Throughout we insist that social power is in the last resort derivative, not inherent in the groups or individuals who direct, control, or coerce other groups or individuals. The power a man has is the power he disposes; it is not intrinsically his own. He cannot command unless another obeys . . . We are prone to confuse power with the means, agencies or instruments of power. But power resides in the social disposition of these means, depends upon the rights and obligations developed in a society.  

In order to avoid the assumption that the means of power are the same as their use, it is necessary to distinguish between the structure of power and the organization of power. These terms will be defined more precisely in the following chapter. It suffices to note here that the organization of power will vary considerably depending upon the kind of access that elites and non-elites have to one another. However, this variation can neither be determined from the structure of power alone nor from the organization of power alone. The structure of power simply directs attention to the position occupied by individuals with respect to the means of power; it does not suggest when or how these positions are used. The organization of power, on the other hand, directs attention to the working rules which define how the means of power are coordinated, for what ends they are coordinated, whom the coordinators represent when they exercise power, and who will be compensated by the exercise of power. These working rules are principles of organization. They can not be determined from the distribution of power alone. They must, in part, be determined from the observation of specific activities which involve the use of power.
There exists, then a functional relationship between the structure and organization of power, and the nature of this relationship largely determines the kind of power system with which one is confronted. Furthermore, the nature of this relationship itself will depend, to some extent, upon the kind of culture one finds in the unit under investigation. When the relationship existing between culture, power structure, and the organization of power is understood, the characteristics of a total system of power emerge more clearly.

These considerations resulted in some surprising findings in the study of Meredith. For example, as will be shown, a relatively simple culture which does not provide the basis for a wide variety of special interest groups among the members of the upper class, but which does provide the basis for strong attachments to independent groups among the lower classes, tends to promote the formation of a single dominating elite. Such a culture existed in Meredith between 1850 and 1900. On the other hand, a more complex culture which segregates the members of the upper class into special interest groups, but which provides little or no basis for strong attachments to independent groups among the lower classes, tends to promote the formation of separate elites or veto groups which, by virtue of the class values they share, do not necessarily compete with one another. It will also be shown that an elite-dominated power structure need not involve an autocratic use of power while a power structure dominated by veto groups of the same social class can promote an autocratic use of power. Relationships of this nature have remained relatively unexplored in studies
of power that have employed the structural framework of the elite theory.

Assumptions of the Pluralist Theory of Power

The pluralist theory of power maintains that there exists in a community or society a series of power groups. Each of these groups represents different and competing interests. As these groups compete with one another, they maintain a system of checks and balances which prevents any one group from emerging as a dominant elite for any great length of time. Individuals not represented by one or more of these groups are not without power, but, for the time, they are individuals who feel no need to organize a veto group of their own. Lerner states:

This (the pluralist equilibrium principle) is illustrated by the relative absence of class struggle in America. Actually the power of the contending classes, both of business and of labor, has been greater than in most European countries which have shown more class conflict. But Americans have perforce learned the arts of balancing their classes in the equilibrium as they have learned to balance their sections. This is true not only of the economy but of the society as a whole.

The terms used in the statement of the pluralist theory vary somewhat from author to author, but the idea of checks and balances, competing interest groups, countervailing power, competing veto groups, or the absence of a single dominating elite, tends to be included in most statements of the theory. Note, for example, MacIver's explanation as to why democracy is possible:

One (reason) is the increased diversity of economic interests in an industrial society, creating clashes and conflicts of power that prevent any wholly united front. The other, of still greater significance, is the rise of new power formations with the organization of hitherto subjected groups and classes. A third condition is the remarkable differentiation and proliferation of
groups—not economic alone, but religious, cultural, ethnic, and so forth, in all kinds of combination and variation—that characterize modern large-scale society.25

The pluralist theory may be contrasted with the elite theory in a number of ways. For example, the former suggests that situations tend to create elites while the latter tends to suggest that elites create situations. In this, the pluralist theory implies a distinction between the means of power and the use of these means because it is in specific situations that the means of power are used (e.g., in situations where one veto group is competing with another). The chief means of power is implied to be organization based on a commonality of interests. Organization is stimulated by a situation which creates an awareness on the part of individuals that they share a common interest. Another way of stating this is that the pluralist theory tends to be conceptualized in functional terms while the elite theory tends to be conceptualized in structural terms. The former focuses on how power is wielded in society, the latter on the nature of its distribution.

The two theories may also be contrasted in terms of the assumptions they make. The pluralist theory, stated in functional terms, makes structural assumptions. The elite theory is stated in structural terms and makes functional assumptions. The functional assumptions of the elite theory have been described above. The structural assumptions of the pluralist theory clearly emerge in the statements quoted above from Lerner and from MacIver. It is these structural assumptions which elite theorists have criticized. For example, C. Wright Mills states:
Back of the theory of checks and balances as the mode of political decision there is the class theory, well-known since Aristotle and held in firm view by the eighteenth century Founding Fathers, that the state is, or ought to be, a system of checks and balances because the society is a balance of classes, and that society is a balance because its pivot and its stabilizer is the strong and independent middle class.  

If the assumption is made that American society (and the American community) is a middle class society, then the distribution of the means of power is unilateral. With no upper class of any significance and with no great and impoverished lower class, theoretically, everyone has an equal amount of power. There will, then, exist a plurality of independent, relatively equal, conflicting groups. This structural assumption permits David Riesman to conclude:

Power in America seems to me situational and mercurial; it resists attempts to locate it the way a molecule, under the Heisenberg principle, resists attempts simultaneously to locate it and time its velocity.  

The problem of power, in terms of the pluralist theory, is reduced to the manner of its organization in specific situations. This is just the opposite of the elite theory which reduces the problem of power to its distribution.

While the pluralist theory implies a distinction between the means of power and their use, this distinction is clouded by the assumption that the distribution of power is balanced. The crucial test of this theory is whether or not, when the distribution of power is considered in terms of its cultural setting, there exists only a middle class and, if there do exist other classes, is the middle class an independent class? If an independent middle class does exist as a pivotal
wheel about which the power system revolves, it can be expected that the attitudes of this class with respect to power will be different from those of the upper and lower classes. Otherwise, they are not independent attitudes and they will not necessarily provide a basis for dissent and balance in the system. Until the assumption of equilibrium is tested, the possibility has to be considered that the distribution of power is such that the most expressive and effective veto groups are upper class veto groups. The possibility also has to be entertained that the organization of power by upper class veto groups is such that lower and/or middle class veto groups are unable to organize formidable opposition in the power system. Should this be the case, contrary to the pluralist position, there would exist a ruling class and it is unlikely that the veto groups existant in this class will compete with one another.

The Research Problem: Summarized

In light of the above considerations, a theoretical framework was constructed which, it is believed, avoids the functional assumptions made by the elite theory and the structural assumptions made by the pluralist theory. Briefly, this framework attempts to combine both of these theories within the context of a general cultural analysis. In doing so, it seeks to maintain a clear distinction between the means of power and their use by conceptually and methodologically differentiating the structure of power and the organization of power. The functional relationship existing between the structure and the organization of power is then considered in terms of the kind of culture
exhibited by the way of life characteristic of the community as a whole. The community of Meredith was then studied in order to determine the utility of such a theoretical framework in studies of community power systems.

The substantive purpose of this study seeks to describe the process in Meredith by which individuals go about controlling the actions of others in matters which affect the kind of social order existing in the community. In terms of this objective, two questions were posed to guide and direct the collection of data. First, what are the characteristics of the structure and organization of power in Meredith? More specifically, in terms of the decision-making process, how are goals selected which affect the entire community, who selects these goals, what means are employed to achieve them, and to what extent are the individuals involved responsible to the community as a whole? Second, what is the political character of the community which results from this decision-making process? In other words, is Meredith dominated by a single elite or by many elites, and is the nature of this domination such that the political process is democratic or autocratic?

The theoretical purpose of this study derives from the consideration of the elite and pluralist theories of power presented above. Two theoretical questions were asked in order to guide and direct the collection of data. First, what is the relationship between community culture and power structure? More specifically, how does the way of life characteristic of the community as a whole affect the distribution of the means of power? Second, what is the relationship between
community power structure and the organization of power? That is, what does the distribution of the means of power have to do with the way in which these means are coordinated when individuals seek to influence decisions which affect the entire community? Having presented the questions which this study seeks to answer, it is now possible to turn to a definition of the concepts used and a description of the methods and techniques employed in the collection of data.

Notes


2 This definition seems to include the essential characteristics that are usually associated with the concept of political democracy. It is much the same definition used by Joseph A. Schumpeter in his Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942), p. 269. Another definition which comes close to the one used here may be found in H. B. Mayo's Democracy and Marxism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 256. For a comparison of the criteria emphasized in this definition with the criteria employed to delineate a totalitarian system, see Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski's Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), pp. 9-10.

3 For example, see C. Wright Mills' White Collar: The American Middle Classes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951).

Robert A. Dahl refers to the works of Mills and Hunter as those which "... more than any others in the social sciences of the last few years have sought to interpret complex political systems essentially as instances of a ruling elite." See Dahl's article, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. LII, No. 2, 1958, p. 466.


*op. cit.*, p. 247.

These are the three characteristics which Meisel associated with a true elite. See James H. Meisel's *The Myth of the Ruling Class* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1958), p. 4.

*op. cit.*, p. 247.
11 That Hunter's study is counted in support of the elite theory is suggested in Dahl's article, op. cit., p. 466.

12 Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953), p. 65. The writer is aware that numerous community studies preceding Hunter's touched upon power structure. The major focus of these studies, however, was not power structure but the community taken as a total social system. Excluding studies of bureaucracy as a system of power, there are, to the writer's knowledge, no empirical studies of power structure reported in the literature prior to that made by Hunter and reported in 1953.


17 This is the thesis presented by C. Wright Mills in his The Power Elite, op. cit., pp. 1-29 and Note No. 6, p. 366-377.

18 Ibid., p. 342.


21 Ibid., pp. 40-41.


CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The first part of this chapter will be devoted to a description of the theoretical frame of reference derived from the consideration of the elite and pluralist theories presented in the previous chapter. The second part of the chapter will present a description of the methods and techniques used in the collection of data in Meredith. Theory and methods are similar to a scaffolding used in the construction of a building. Without the scaffolding the building could not be constructed. After the building is constructed the scaffolding is no longer needed. In order not to confuse the scaffolding with the finished product, theory and methods will be discussed in considerable detail in this chapter. Their discussion will be minimized in the chapters to follow.

Definition of Concepts

Culture

In the previous chapter the question was posed: What is the relationship between community culture and the system of power existing in the community? The statement of this question presents the thesis that the system of power existing in Meredith is, in part, a function of the social, technological, and physical environmental potentials available to individuals in the setting in which they are observed. Environmental potentials limit what man can do at any given time and
usually influence what man will do at some future time. Societies without industries, for example, are not dominated by industrial elites. Simple hunting and gathering societies tend to be nomadic and their power systems are not dominated by political bureaucrats. Numerous studies made by anthropologists suggest the importance of considering the relationship between culture and the kinds of social systems or sub-systems (e.g., the power system, the economic system, the kinship system, et cetera) characteristic of communities and societies. These studies suggest that a community or a society must be considered, in part at least, as a cultural or a historico-geographic unit.

However, historico-geographic concerns have, traditionally, played but a minor role in structural-functional studies. Evon Z. Vogt has recently stated that in his opinion the integration of the structural-functional approach of British social anthropologists with the traditional American interest in culture process and history is one of the key methodological and theoretical problems of the day. Vogt gives as one of the reasons for a lack of progress in this integration:

We know a great deal about how to conceptualize in a structural-functional analysis, but we do not have the necessary concepts of process, nor the conceptual tools for significantly linking the two approaches.

Briefly, it may be said that the many recent attempts to reconcile the cultural and structural-functional approaches have involved some sort of redefinition of the culture concept so as to make it fit the more behavioral context from which structural-functional analysis derives. Parsons and Shils, for example, introduce the
concept, culture, into their theoretical system by redefining it as that part of the social system which has to do with the meanings and symbols in terms of which interaction takes place. Vogt also, it seems, would define culture with emphasis on the value dimension. Marion Levy, attempting to formulate much the same kind of theory, defines culture as the forms of interaction apart from interaction itself and suggests that a cultural analysis is, essentially, a static analysis. Some British anthropologists, E. R. Leach for example, go so far as to reduce culture completely to the symbolic level and define it as the "form or the dress" of the social situation which is but a product of and an accident of history.

Unless one makes a fetish of definitions, it is difficult to understand much of this confusion and lack of agreement among anthropologists in regard to what is meant by the concept, "culture." The purpose here is not to resolve this lack of agreement even if the possibility be conceded that it is capable of being resolved. There is nothing sacred about definitions. Their primary function is communication. They are stated in order to make clear what is intended when a concept is used to refer to certain observable phenomena.

To return to the matter of historico-geographic concerns, Duncan Strong has pointed out that North American anthropology is fundamentally based on a "metaphysic of history." The central concept of American anthropology is culture. Culture is an historical concept which derives from the recognition that man is an historical animal by virtue of his ability to speak and to hand down his acquired
knowledge. It was presumably this ability of man which led Edward B. Tylor to define culture as "... that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."\(^9\) As Strong notes, Tylor was historically minded and his definition of culture, with unlimited variants and refinements, still holds its ground.\(^10\)

As the term culture will be used in this study, the essentials of Tylor's definition will be maintained. Culture will be used to refer to the way of life characteristic of a community considered as an historico-geographic unit. The power system will be considered as an aspect of culture which functions to maintain some sort of order and which varies in its content and form from time to time and from community to community. The problem with which certain aspects of this study will be concerned is to determine how the content and form of the power system in Meredith is affected by other aspects of Meredith's culture. For example, what does the economic life of the community have to do with the kind of power system existing in Meredith? Or, what does the structure of local government have to do with the kind of power system existing in Meredith? Underlying the question raised concerning the relationship existing between community culture and the community power system is the more general theoretical question: What does the specific historical content of the community's culture have to do with the system by which decisions are made that affect the social order of the community?\(^11\)
In order to determine the relationship existing between culture as a whole and the power system in particular, it was necessary to compare the culture and power system characteristic of Meredith today with that characteristic of Meredith at some time in its past. Methodologically, this required the use of historical techniques and the collection of historical data. While the community's history was considered from the time it was founded, the period 1850-1900 was selected for comparison with the contemporary culture and power system of the community. This period represented a stage in the community's history following the period of settlement and preceding a transition period leading to its present condition.

**Power**

Power is a term which is commonly used in a number of different fields of intellectual endeavor. Perhaps its most frequent use has been in the field of political science. By 1938, however, the concept was given broader application by Bertrand Russell, who claims that the desire for power is the basic human desire. In his book, *Power, A New Social Analysis*, Russell states:

> In the course of this book I shall be concerned to prove that the fundamental concept in social science is Power, in the same sense in which Energy is the fundamental concept in physics.

Long before Russell had taken the concept out of the specific context of political science, Max Weber had defined it within a sociological context:
... the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests.

While there has been some variation on the words used by Weber, the fundamental idea conveyed in his definition is included in most definitions of power. This idea is that power is the ability to control the actions of others.

The ability to control the actions of other individuals has often been confused with the actual control of the actions of other individuals. As is implied by Weber's term "probability," power is not the actual control of the actions of others, but the potential to do so. While this distinction may appear to be semantic, it is analytically useful. The differentiation is, essentially, one which considers the social attributes from which power derives apart from their exercise as coercion or authority. It is important and useful to maintain the distinction because the possession of coercive advantage neither implies that it will be used nor does it permit one to assume the form it will take when it is used. Furthermore, those factors which determine the distribution of the means of power are not necessarily the same factors which will determine the organizational form power will take when it is used.

According to this distinction, the means of coercion and the means of authority are both means of power. Coercion and authority differ primarily in their organizational form. Coercion involves an illegitimate or non-sanctioned use of the means of power. Authority
involves a sanctioned or legitimate use of the means of power. Legitimacy, as Weber states, refers to the culturally established belief in the "right" of an individual or group to exercise the power they wield regardless of the basis on which that "right" rests. Or, in MacIver's words, authority is

\[ \ldots \text{the established right, within any social order, to determine policies, to pronounce judgments on relevant issues, and to settle controversies, or, more broadly, to act as leader or guide to other men.} \]

To suggest that power is the ability to control the actions of others, and to differentiate the means of power from their use, is not to imply that so long as power is held "ideally," those over whom it is held are powerless. Rather, it is to recognize that virtually everyone has some ability to control the actions of some individuals and to raise the question as to how this ability is distributed in a particular community or society. Similarly, to define power as the ability to control rather than the actual control of the actions of others is not to imply that once power is exercised it disappears. Rather, it is to suggest that power is a latent factor which is present in all social behavior and to raise the question concerning how and under what conditions this latent factor becomes manifest.

As Bierstedt notes, the means of power (or the instruments of power) are of many kinds. They may include

\[ \ldots \text{money, property, prestige, knowledge, competence, deceit, fraud, secrecy, and, of course, all the things usually included under the term "natural resources." There are also supernatural resources in the case of religious associations which, as agencies of a celestial government, apply supernatural sanctions as instruments of control.} \]
The means of power, in other words, include whatever attributes of social relationships, material and immaterial, which, in terms of the existing culture, are considered scarce and desirable and that serve to place individuals in a superordinate-subordinate context. Such attributes vary from time to time and from place to place. MacIver illustrates this point as follows:

One large category of means (of power) is property. But the power that derives from property varies according to the type of prevailing culture with its over-all myth of authority. Under the Hindu caste system property does not convey so much power as it does in a capitalist society. Unless one can presume to have a fairly accurate and complete knowledge of the culture existing in a community or society, it can not be readily assumed which social attributes grant power and which do not. Because of what is known about American society in general, it could be assumed in this study that certain social attributes such as the ownership and control of investment and productive property, membership in political organizations, and participation in various kinds of institutions and associations, grant a certain amount of power to individuals and groups. However, the possibility had to be entertained that other social attributes might also convey power in Meredith. The problem, then, became one of investigating the distribution of the means of power in terms of a structure sufficiently inclusive so that it could be assumed that most, if not all, of the conceivable means of power would be considered. Social class is believed to be such a structure. It is believed that an individual's social class position
is an index of the power he has relative to other individuals by virtue of what he owns, what he earns, what he knows, the occupation he practices, the groups he belongs to, in a word, the way of life he leads. Social class will be more specifically defined below. It suffices here to note that the social class structure in Meredith was taken as an index of the distribution of the means of power.

Structure and Organization

Florian Znaniecki once stated that a critic of sociology could hardly find a better way of arousing scepticism about its scientific status than by collecting the definitions given by sociologists of social organization. The same observation might also be made of the concept of social structure. As often as not, the term, social structure, is used synonymously with the concept, social organization.

For example, Kroeber states:

... the term social structure ... is tending to replace "social organization" without appearing to add either content or emphasis of meaning.

Claude Levi-Strauss has gone so far as to suggest:

... the main interest of social-structure studies seems to be that they give the anthropologist hope that thanks to the formalization of his problems, he may borrow methods and types of solutions from disciplines which have gone far ahead of his own in that direction.

In recent years a number of social scientists have found it necessary, for different reasons and in different terms, to differentiate social structure from social organization. For example, Leach states:
When the anthropologist attempts to describe a social system he necessarily describes only a model of the social reality . . . . The different parts of the model system therefore necessarily form a coherent whole—it is a system in equilibrium. But this does not imply that the social reality forms a coherent whole; on the contrary the reality situation is in most cases full of inconsistencies; and it is precisely these inconsistencies which can provide us with an understanding of the processes of social change.24

Leach proceeds to differentiate the formal structure of a system, the model constructed by the anthropologist, and the real structure of the system, the structure of the system as it actually exists. Hsu struggles with a similar distinction in order to introduce the idea of process and cultural content into structural-functional analysis.25 Vogt also finds it necessary to introduce processual concepts to supplement structural analysis. He states:

One of the principal reasons we have had difficulty conceptualizing process with the same clarity we have achieved in the analysis of structure is that we have tended to operate either explicitly or implicitly with a premise about the nature of human society and culture that defeats us from the outset. We have assumed that social and cultural systems tend to maintain equilibrium unless (a) they are either "hit" by some force from the outside, or (b) develop some strain within the system which disturbs the equilibrium.26

Similarly, Firth states:

Social organization has usually been taken as a synonym for social structure. In my view it is time to distinguish between them. The more one thinks of the structure of a society in abstract terms, as a group of relations or of ideal patterns, the more necessary it is to think separately of social organization in terms of concrete activity.27

When a concept has associated with it numerous meanings, some of which converge on particular points and some of which do not, the
social analyst may justify his adoption of a definition in one or both of two fundamental ways. First, he may justify it as providing logical coherence within the larger framework of some general theory, or, second, he may justify it because the definition emphasizes those distinctions to which he wishes to call attention with respect to some particular problem. Since this study proposes a general theory of power systems, both justifications for the definition of structure which is used will be adopted. As suggested in the previous chapter, the terms structure and organization will be used to call attention to different aspects of a system of power. These aspects are the means of power on the one hand, and the use of these means on the other.

In differentiating structure from organization, the theoretical work of Raymond Firth and social anthropologists affiliated with the London School of Economics will be heavily relied upon. Fundamental to Firth's conceptual framework is the idea that social structure is concerned with the ordered relations of parts to a whole. He defines structure as follows:

The essence of this concept is those social relations which seem to be of critical importance for the behavior of members of the society, so that if such relations were not in operation, the society could not be said to exist in that form.

Firth, of course, applies this definition to a social unit which he calls society. In this study the unit of investigation is neither a total society nor a total community; it is a sub-system within a community. However, the essentials of Firth's definition are of a
sufficient level of generality to make them applicable to sub-systems as well as total systems.

There is still another aspect of social structure that Firth writes of and which does not clearly emerge from the above definition. He states:

There is no doubt that for any society to work effectively, and to have what may be called a coherent structure, its members must have some idea of what to expect. Without some pattern of expectations and a scheme of ideas about what they think other people ought to do, they would not be able to order their lives.\(^30\)

In this statement, Firth does not seem to differentiate two phenomena which are clearly distinguishable: (1) ideas concerning what individuals expect others to do, and (2) ideas concerning what individuals believe others ought to do. These are not essentially the same. While one might want to distinguish between these two different sets of ideas for some purposes, in this study such a distinction is not made. The reason for this is that both sets of ideas have in common the expression of evaluative beliefs which exist in conjunction with a pattern of social relations that is of critical importance to the unit under study. Taken together, these evaluative beliefs are social ideologies. As such, they must be included in any structural model which the observer constructs from the social reality he observes.\(^31\)

The precise role which such ideologies play in a total system can not be assumed but must be determined from an analysis of their relationship to other aspects of the system. Ideology will be more specifically defined later.
In summary, the concept, structure, as it will be used throughout this study, will refer to two aspects of the power system. First, it will refer to that pattern of social relationships which must be maintained if the power system is to continue to exist in the form in which it is described. More specifically, it is assumed that the pattern of social relationships critical to the maintenance of a system of power in any particular form is to be found in the distribution of the means of power which support the relationships existing between individuals and groups in the decision-making process. In other words, the relationship of individuals to the means of power expresses their relationship to one another in the power structure, and the distribution of the means of power that exists at any given time can be taken as the power structure. The second aspect of a system of power to which the term structure will refer is the evaluative beliefs expressed by individuals who occupy different positions in their relationship to the means of power.

A structural analysis of power presents a static picture of the power system. It shows how the ability of individuals to control the actions of others is distributed in the community. It also describes the ideologies related to that ability. It does not describe how this ability is actually exercised or used to influence decisions in the community. It fails, in other words, to present the organizational aspect of power except in so far as the structure of power is requisite to its organization. Organization, on the other hand, usually implies getting things done by planned action. It denotes the arrangement of
action in sequences leading to some specified end. In this process of getting something done, advantage may be taken of existing structural principles, or within limits, variant procedures may be adopted. Firth states:

This involves the exercise of choice, the making of decisions. As such, this rests on personal evaluations, which are the translation of general ends of group range into terms which are significant for the individual.\(^3^2\)

Thus, organization has a reference to concrete activity; structure does not. Organization has a directional aspect which is manifest by the choice of ends significant to individuals or groups. Structure has no directional aspect except in so far as one may be imputed to it (as is often the case) by the social analyst. Organization involves a time factor in that activities occur at specific times and specific places. Structure also involves a time factor, but it involves a much broader one in that it tends to exist continuously through time. With respect to organization, when the ends pursued are achieved, the activities directed toward their achievement tend to cease. A group is organized to promote a tax levy; when the levy is passed, the group dissipates. A group is organized to raise funds; when the funds are raised the group breaks up. The reason formal associations, organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce, exist through time is because there tends to be a constant redefinition of ends which can not be achieved in a relatively short period of time. Labor unions, which are conflict organizations, constantly seek new ends, new benefits for members, to justify their existence to those who belong.
As Firth suggests, organization demands elements of representation and responsibility. Group decisions are always decisions made by individuals and there must exist mechanisms whereby specific individuals are given the authority to make decisions. There also must exist mechanisms whereby decision-makers are held accountable for the decisions they make. Also involved is the question of compensation. Who is compensated by the achievement of specific ends? Is it only the decision-makers or do there exist mechanisms which insure that others will also be compensated?

What does this mean in terms of the analysis of a system of power? As is suggested in the previous chapter, to avoid the functional assumptions made by the elite theory of power and the structural assumptions made by the pluralist theory, a distinction has to be made between the means of power and their use. The distinction made is similar to that between structure and organization. The structure of power refers to a pattern of social relationships, expressed in terms of the distribution of the means of power, and believed to be critical to the existence of a power system in the form in which the system is described. The organization of power refers to how these relationships are coordinated and brought to bear upon decisions and activities designed to achieve specific ends. The structure of power tends to exist through time. The organization of power may change from situation to situation. The relationship existing between the structure and organization of power is functional and the nature of this relation-
ship will largely depend upon the kind of culture characteristic of the setting in which the power system is investigated.

These distinctions permit the researcher to define power systems operationally and to differentiate those dominated by an elite from those characterized by competing interest groups. In terms of the theoretical framework used here, an elite-dominated power system can be said to exist when the following conditions are empirically met: (1) when the distribution of the means of power is such that they are monopolized by a relatively small group of individuals, and (2) when decisions critical to the existing social order can not be made without this group participating in the organization of power. Similarly, a pluralistic system of power may be defined as one which meets the following empirical conditions: (1) when the distribution of the means of power is such that it serves to divide individuals into relatively independent interest groups, and (2) when decisions critical to the social order can not be made without the participation of some of these groups, but they do not require the participation of any particular group.

These conceptual distinctions permit the researcher to consider analytically the various relationships existing between separate, but related, parts of a total system of power. They also permit a differentiation between structural principles and organizational principles. Thus, structural principles refer to the ways in which the means of power come to be distributed in the community. In order to specify the structural principles of a power system, one must answer the
question: What must be done to maintain the existing distribution of power? It is necessary then to examine both the cultural setting and the organization of power and to ascertain what changes in these conditions would result in a change in the power structure.

Organizational principles, on the other hand, refer to the ways in which the means of power are organized in order to achieve specific ends. Firth has developed four analytical principles which are useful in the analysis of techniques employed in the organization of power. These are (1) the principle of coordination, (2) the principle of foresight, (3) the principle of responsibility, and (4) the principle of compensation.36

The principle of coordination derives from a basic lack of correspondence between the means of power and their use. Certain means of power may be more relevant to the achievement of certain ends than others. The organization of power requires that these means be coordinated so as to make them relevant to the end or ends sought in specific situations. The principle of foresight derives from the need to transform uncertainties in human action into probabilities that ends will be achieved. Hence, foresight requires the recognition and recruitment of those individuals who may best promote a given activity and an avoidance of those individuals who may obstruct the achievement of the ends toward which the activity is directed. The principle of responsibility derives from the recognition that individuals and not groups make decisions. There must exist mechanisms by which these individuals assume responsibility and are held accountable for the
decisions they make. Finally, the principle of compensation, as Firth suggests, derives from the social price an individual must pay for participating in an activity. When an individual participates in an activity, he gives of his time, perhaps even his money, and he usually expects some compensation. This compensation may be paid in money, goods and services, prestige or recognition, or in some other way. The principle of compensation directs attention to who gets what for what when power is exercised.

Social Class

As was suggested earlier, any social element, material or immaterial, which, in terms of the existing culture, is considered scarce and desirable, and that serves to relate individuals in a superordinate-subordinate fashion, can be considered an instrument of power. Since an exhaustive list of the possible means of power is difficult to conceive for the culture of any given community, it was assumed, for purposes of this study, that an individual's social class position represents as good an index as any other of the power he has by virtue of what he owns, the positions he occupies in the community, what he knows, the associations to which he belongs, the prestige he commands, et cetera. The concept, social class, therefore, will be systematically employed in the analysis of the power structure.

There have been many disagreements as to what constitutes a system of social classes. Many American sociologists, confronted by a society in which the prevailing democratic ideals reject the idea of
existing social classes, have employed a theory of stratification that is, implicitly or explicitly, based on the idea that differential status may be thought of as positions along a continuum. Based on the cluster of ranks or ratings along such a continuum, two, three and even five and six class theories have been conceptualized as characterizing American society. The continuum theory holds that there are no sharp lines of demarcation which set off one class from another. This permits techniques of measurement to be employed. Robert and Helen Lynd's study of Middletown illustrates one of the simplest applications of the continuum theory. Even though the Lynds employed a rough two-class conception of stratification, they gave full recognition to a continuum. With reference to the business and working classes, the Lynds state:

There is naturally, too, a twilight belt in which some members of the two groups overlap or merge.\textsuperscript{37}

A much more complicated application of the continuum theory is illustrated in Warner and Lunt's study of Yankee City.\textsuperscript{38}

Perhaps one of the most sophisticated statements of the continuum theory of stratification is Joseph A. Kahl's outline of what he calls the variable theory. Kahl defines prestige, occupation, possessions, interaction, class consciousness, and value orientations as the six major variables of social class in America. Each variable may be operationally defined and measured. When combined, they form a conceptual scheme which can then be employed to describe the social realities of stratification. To the extent that these variables, when
measured, converge into distinct patterns, social classes are said to exist. Since these patterns are inferences drawn by the observer, classes are ideal-type constructs; they are, according to Kahl,

... complex hypotheses about the interrelations among variables; they are guides to research and frameworks for synthesizing the results of research.

This statement by Kahl points to a problem which has loomed large in discussions of social class. That problem is the discrepancy between social class as a working construct for the observer and social class as a dynamic social reality culturally recognized in American life. The question which arises is whether or not social class has as much significance for the observed as it does for the observer. Kroeber raised the question with respect to the findings of what he called the "Yankee City school of social anthropology." Kroeber asks:

It is of course possible to slice any population into three or six levels; the question is: How far will these levels represent natural segregations, distinctions, existing de facto in the society or culture?

Walter Goldschmidt has provided one possible answer to this question with respect to American society. He claims that whether or not the American social system is to be viewed as a class system depends as much upon definition as upon reality. After reviewing the findings reported in much of the stratification literature, Goldschmidt concludes:

The empirical evidence of status distinctions is overwhelming, but the efforts of categorization are the results of an imposed frame of reference.
Of course, this argument can be turned around. One could also conclude that Goldschmidt's observations are the result of imposing a different frame of reference.

Without belaboring this problem, it seems legitimate to inquire as to whether or not divisions exist in a community that are hierarchically arranged and which are relatively segregated in their activities by virtue of the kind of social life existing in these divisions. It also seems legitimate to inquire as to whether or not these divisions display relative cultural uniformity with respect to their styles of life. To the extent that any American community is but a unit which participates in a larger society, whatever social divisions exist in the community are bound to share certain cultural characteristics. This does not preclude the possibility, however, that their styles of life are noticeably different. One group may vacation in Florida while another vacations at home. The first group may own most of what there is to own in the community while the other group owns very little. In so far as these differences are uniformly integrated, to the extent that the social activities of these divisions are segregated from one another and hierarchically arranged, the concept social class is useful for a synthesis of these differences. Such a synthesis, of course, would represent the observer's point of view.

The question as to whether or not the members of these divisions tend to "think" in terms of social class can be considered as involving political and ideological considerations which can not be settled by definitions. The political consideration is: Do these divisions see
themselves as competing with one another for advantage in the power structure? The ideological consideration is: Do these divisions express beliefs in terms of group alignment? The important question, it seems, is not whether social classes exist or do not exist because of the presence or absence of political and ideological commitments. Rather, the important question is, what is the relationship between relatively segregated divisions in the community and the expression of political and ideological commitments?

For purposes of this study, a social class system is defined as "a system of social inequality featuring two or more qualitatively distinct orders of people, ranked as superior or inferior, with relative ease of mobility between these orders."\(^{13}\) A social class is defined as a division in the community, ranked as inferior or superior to other divisions, and displaying a relatively uniform style of life. The problem as to who recognizes these divisions, the observer or the observed, was settled methodologically so that the divisions were recognized by both the observer and the observed. The methodological approach to the study of social classes in Meredith began with the analysis of interview material collected from various people in the community during the early stages of the study. It was noted from this material that certain geographically segregated divisions were recognized and, in terms of comments on these divisions, ranked as inferior or superior by informants. It was also noticed that these divisions were associated with ecological areas in the community. These areas were then used as sample areas and questionnaires containing the
usual class criteria were administered to samples drawn from each area. When it was found that the different divisions recognized by informants also differed significantly on objective criteria, it was concluded that social classes existed in the community that could be recognized not only by the observer, but also by informants who live in the community. Such classes, it is believed, represent a social and cultural reality in Meredith.

**Ideology**

A final concept which will be systematically employed in this study is ideology. This term has been defined in a number of different ways. In philosophy, ideology is often used to refer to a theory of the origin of ideas. Colloquially, the term is used to imply visionary theorizing. In political science, the term is often taken to mean an official body of doctrine which is professed by some political group or class. In a more sociological context, Karl Marx used the term to refer to systematized illusions by which the ruling class justified dominance of the ruled classes.

Karl Mannheim used the term ideology to refer to a false or irrational system of ideas or beliefs. In doing so, he opposed ideology to science. Talcott Parsons, in his use of the term ideology, includes both the empirical and the evaluative in the same context and distinguishes between ideology, science, philosophy, and religion. He states:
Where the primary reference is empirical we may speak of ideology . . . when the primary reference is non-empirical (but still evaluative) we . . . may speak of religious ideas.\textsuperscript{47}

In other words, for Parsons, ideology represents a system of evaluative ideas which have to do with the observable world.

The various connotations of these definitions convey the fundamental meaning that an ideology is a system of evaluative ideas and/or beliefs characteristic of a collectivity. When such a system of ideas is used to organize a collectivity with a political purpose, it is usually called a political ideology. For the purpose of this study, the term will be used to refer to a system of evaluative beliefs. The concern will be only with those aspects of ideology which relate to the structure of power and which, by their relationship to the structure of power, have consequences for the way in which power is organized to influence decisions affecting the existing social order.

More specifically, the interest here is in whether or not an ideology is, to use Marx's term, one of alienation. Alienation, according to Marx, is a condition characteristic of men who have been removed or separated from their natural environment and from the potentialities of their natural selves. False consciousness is the consciousness of individuals in a state of alienation. False consciousness, Marx suggested, involves a system of beliefs (an ideology) by which individuals project their natural powers outside of themselves upon some external being such as God or the state. It is, in other words, a false conception of their actual condition.\textsuperscript{48} It will be
necessary to modify Marx's concept of alienation. As Meyer has sug-
gested, Marx's scheme of things begins with a conception of a golden
age in which man lived as a noble savage in a blissful state of nature.
As a result of the separation of man from the means of production, man
becomes alienated from himself and from the natural state in which he
once lived. In this context, Marx assumes that there is a functional
relationship between man's separation from the means of production and
man's inability to use his natural powers: alienated man, in other
words, can not even define reality.

In this study, the concept alienation will not be so broadly
construed nor will it be derived from the assumption that alienated
man can not define reality. The term alienation, for purposes of this
study, will be used generically to refer to individuals who are
objectively separated from the means of power. Entertaining the possi-
sibility that such individuals may or may not have a correct conscious-
ness of this separation (as indicated on a scale designed to measure
the perception of their ability to control events), the concepts,
alienation and false consciousness will be combined in order to con-
struct a typology describing the relationships existing between various
groups and the structure of power. This modification of Marx's con-
ceptual framework permits recognition of the possibilities: (1) that
there may exist different types of alienated individuals, (2) such
persons may behave quite differently from one another because they
display different types of consciousness of this alienated condition.
It is believed that this modification also puts Marx's assumption
pertaining to the functional relationship between false consciousness and separation from the means of power (or the means of production) to an empirical test.

As the concept, power structure, has been defined in this chapter, it includes two aspects of a system of power; (1) it expresses the objective relationship individuals have to the means of power, and (2) it includes the evaluative beliefs these individuals express concerning various aspects of power. If political alienation can be defined as the objective separation of individuals from the means of power, then it appears legitimate to define ideological alienation as the attitudinal separation of individuals from the means of power. In terms of these definitions, a group may express false consciousness in one of two ways; (1) it may express an ideological detachment from the power structure when, in fact, it is not objectively separated from the means of power, or (2) it may express an ideological attachment to the power structure when, in fact, it is objectively separated from the means of power. The relationship of ideology to the means of power yields a fourfold classification of the types of relationship which groups may have to the power structure. These may be depicted in the following paradigm.
FIGURE 1
RELATIONSHIP TO THE POWER STRUCTURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Objective Attachment to the Means of Power</th>
<th>Objective Separation from Means of Power</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ideological Attachment to the Means of Power</td>
<td>Non-alienated +</td>
<td>Alienated II +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideological Separation from the Means of Power</td>
<td>Alienated III +</td>
<td>Alienated IV +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is shown in Figure 1, groups may be alienated from the power structure in one of three ways. They may, in terms of their ideology, be attached to the means of power while, at the same time, being objectively separated from the means of power (Type II). For want of a better term, this type of alienation will be called disjunctive alienation. Disjunctive implies separation or disunion with, in a physical or material sense, while not implying that the separation is associated with an ideology of detachment. A second form of individuals' alienation from the power structure involves their objective attachment to, but ideological separation from the means of power (Type III). This type of alienation is characterized by a "pseudo quality." It seems to involve a spurious attitude with respect to existing reality. For this reason, Type III will be called pseudo alienation. Pseudo alienation was not found to exist in Meredith. A third type of individuals' alienation from the power structure entails their objective and ideological separation from the means of power. This type of
alienation (Type IV) will be called privatized alienation. Privatized denotes a withdrawal or retirement from the political world.  

This conceptual framework is extremely useful in that it permits an empirical investigation of characteristics that have been attributed to power systems by numerous social theorists. It also permits the empirical investigation of the consequences these types of relationships to the power structure have for the organization of power. Later in the study these types are employed as independent variables and related to political participation as one index of the organization of power in the community. The political participation of various groups in the power structure was found to vary with the type of relationship these groups had to the power structure.

On the basis of a review of the literature and discussions with other social scientists, five dimensions of ideology were selected for investigation in this study. These dimensions may be listed as follows:

1. **Normlessness**: defined as the degree to which individuals in the power structure believe that their economic and political environment is, or is not, regulated by well-defined norms or rules.

2. **Powerlessness**: defined as the degree to which individuals in the power structure believe that they have, or do not have, control over their economic and political environment. This dimension is used as an index of the psychological detachment of individuals from the means of power.

3. **Status Aspirations**: defined as the degree to which individuals in the power structure express a desire for occupational mobility. It was assumed that an individual's status aspirations is one possible index of a desire for more power.
4. **Class Consciousness**: defined as the degree to which individuals in the power structure express a belief in the existence of class symbols in the community.

5. **Governmental Dependency**: defined as the degree to which individuals in the power structure believe that governmental institutions rather than the family or voluntary groups ought to be responsible for the solution of such problems as housing, health, education, censorship, care of the aged, and care of the mentally retarded.

Taken together, these five dimensions are considered to involve a system of evaluative beliefs related to the distribution of the means of power and having consequences for the organization of power. Since these dimensions involved the use of measuring techniques they could not, of course, be used in the historical part of the study.

The first two concepts, normlessness and powerlessness, derive from Melvin Seeman's identification of what he considers to be five key components of alienation. The scales used to measure these two factors were borrowed from the empirical work of Arthur Neal. The concept status aspiration is taken from the scale developed by Leonard Riesman to measure that factor and relate it to social class.

Class consciousness has been associated with the concept social class since the time of Karl Marx. A scale was developed specifically to measure this factor during the course of the study. The idea of government dependency as an aspect of the power structure derives from a consideration of the changing role of government in the welfare state. A scale was developed to measure this factor during the course of the study.
Before turning to the description of the methods and techniques used for the collection of data in Meredith, it is worth while to summarize the characteristics of the theoretical approach that has been developed here.

The Theoretical Approach: Summarized

The theoretical frame of reference which is used in this study derives from a consideration of the limitations of the two major theories that have been used in studies of power, the elite theory and the pluralist theory. In the previous chapter, it is suggested that the elite theory focuses on the distribution of power and tends to make assumptions concerning the organization of power. The pluralist theory focuses on the organization of power and tends to make assumptions concerning the distribution of power. A major difficulty with both theories is that they fail to maintain systematically a distinction between the means of power and their use.

The theoretical frame of reference which has been described here seeks to combine the advantages of both these theories within the context of a general cultural analysis while, at the same time, avoiding their limitations. In order to do this, it has been necessary to define certain concepts and indicate how they will be used in this study.

In defining the term, culture, the essentials to Tylor's traditional definition have been maintained. The concept, culture, will be used to refer to the way of life characteristic of Meredith as an historico-geographic unit. Methodologically, in order to determine
the effect of culture on the power system, Meredith, as it exists today, is compared, as far as is possible, with Meredith as it existed between 1850 and 1900.

For purposes of this study, power has been defined as the ability of an individual or group to control the actions of other individuals or groups. A system of community power has been defined as a culturally determined pattern of social action by which decisions are made in order to maintain or change the social order existing in Meredith. Throughout this study the means of power will be differentiated from their use. The means of power are defined as those social attributes, material or immaterial, which, in terms of the existing culture, are considered scarce and desirable and which serve to place individuals or groups in a superordinate-subordinate relationship.

The distribution of the means of power and the evaluative beliefs associated with that distribution is defined as the power structure. The term, structure, is taken to refer to a pattern of social relationships which is critical to the existence of a system of social action in the form in which such a system is described. Because of what is known about American culture, certain social attributes are assumed to convey power. These are the ownership of investment and productive property, participation in institutions which are critical to the community's social and economic life, and political associations such as local government and political parties. In addition to these, it is assumed that the distribution of social class membership is an index of the distribution of other possible means of power.
Ideology is considered to be a second aspect of the power structure. Ideology is defined as a system of evaluative beliefs. In this study those beliefs which are assumed to be critical to a system of power are measured by the use of five scales. These scales are (1) normlessness, (2) powerlessness, (3) status aspirations, (4) class consciousness, and (5) government dependency. A group's objective relationship to the means of power (as measured by the group's class position) is combined with its expressed ideological relationship to the means of power (as measured by the powerlessness scale) for the purpose of developing a typology of alienation. The different types of alienation are taken to be structural types in that they express the relationship existing between any particular group and the means of power, both in terms of the power such a group objectively controls and in terms of the beliefs such a group expresses concerning the power it has. Individuals who are objectively and ideologically attached to the power structure are considered to be non-alienated. Those objectively attached but ideologically separated from the means of power are referred to as the pseudo-alienated. Individuals objectively separated but ideologically attached to the means of power are referred to as the disjunctively alienated. Finally, those who are both ideologically and objectively separated from the means of power are referred to as the privately alienated.

These four types are compared with one another in terms of two dependent variables; (1) political participation (measured by voting and non-voting) and taken as one index of the organization of power,
and (2) participation in activities leading to decisions which, in one way or another, affect the social order existing in the community. Because of the use of the scales, this aspect of the analysis can not apply to the historical period except in so far as certain inferences can be drawn from historical data.

The power structure is defined in terms of the distribution of the means of power and the beliefs associated with this distribution. The organization of power, however, is defined in terms of the way in which the means of power are coordinated so as to influence decisions which affect the social order existing in the community. Four analytical principles are employed to describe the organization of power. These are (1) the principle of coordination, (2) the principle of foresight, (3) the principle of responsibility, and (4) the principle of compensation.

The structure of power is classified in terms of four types of alienation. The organization of power, however, is classified in terms of two organizational types. These organizational types are coercion and authority. If the organization of power is legitimate and based upon the established right of individuals to exercise the power they control in the manner in which it is exercised, power is said to be organized authoritatively. If, on the other hand, power is exercised illegitimately, its organization is said to be coercive rather than authoritative. Whether or not power is exercised legitimately or illegitimately in activities which affect the social order is determined from the way in which the four organizational principles are
applied. When, in making decisions which affect the community, these principles are applied so as to exclude the community from having access, either by influence or by election, to the decision-making process, the organization of power is considered to be coercive and not authoritative.

In terms of these concepts, then, the various characteristics of a system of power are considered in relationship to the culture prevailing in the community. An elite dominated power system is one which must meet the following empirical conditions; (1) the distribution of the means of power must be such that they are monopolized by a relatively small group of individuals, and (2) decisions critical to the existing social order cannot be made without this group participating in the decision-making process. On the other hand, a pluralistic system of power is one which meets the following empirical conditions; (1) the distribution of the means of power is such that it serves to divide individuals into relatively independent interest groups, and (2) decisions critical to the social order cannot be made without the participation of some of these groups, but they do not require the participation of any particular group.

In terms of this approach, either of these two types of power systems may involve either the use of coercion or the use of authority. The organizational form which power takes will largely depend upon the prevailing culture and the relationships existing between groups and the power structure. It will also depend upon the kind of decisions that have to be made and the organizational principles employed when they are
made. There will exist, in other words, a functional relationship between the structure and organization of power and the nature of this relationship will largely depend upon the way of life characteristic of the community.

**Methods of Organizing the Research**

The selection of Meredith as the community in which to conduct this study was wholly determined by the circumstances under which the study received financial support. Major financial support for the project was graciously provided by the Social Research Division of the Columbus Psychiatric Institute and Hospital. While the Institute was in no way responsible for the research problem and the final design of the research, it did impose limitations as to the community selected for study.

The project was undertaken as one of a number of different studies being conducted in the Institute's research program. It was desirable that the community selected for this study be accessible to the facilities provided by the Institute in order that the basic background data collected could be eventually integrated with other studies and provide the basis for the development of longitudinal projects in the same community. This required that the community be located in the general area of the Institute.

The methodological approach to the study was eclectic. It employed techniques developed in anthropology, sociology, and social psychology. Any technique capable of getting the necessary kind of
data was considered. The overall method was designed to gather five kinds of data in the community. These may be listed as follows:

1. Historical data in order to reconstruct, as far as possible, the culture and power system existing in the community during the latter half of the nineteenth century. This provided material with which comparisons could be made between two different periods in the community's history.

2. Data on the contemporary distribution of the means of power and the ideologies associated with this distribution. Much of this data concerned the social class system existing in Meredith.

3. Observational data on various social, civic, and political associations in the community in order to determine their position in the power structure and their role in the organization of power.

4. Interview data concerning specific situations which had involved the organization of power in the community in order to determine the conditions which provoked these situations and the principles in terms of which the means of power were organized in each situation.

5. Economic data on industries, their captains, and other members of industrial organizations (including the college) in order to determine their position in the power structure and the roles they played in the organization of power in the community.

Techniques employed in order to obtain these data included historical research, the questionnaire, measurement scales, participant observation, and unstructured interviews. These will be described, step by step, as they were employed in the study of Meredith's culture and power system.

The Collection of Historical Data

There exist in Meredith documents which are kept by various offices and organizations because they form a part of their operations.
Such documents include recorded histories, newspapers, and public records. Most of the historical data collected on the community were taken from such sources. One may approach these records with the state of mind of the ethnographer; if so, almost everything may ultimately be of value and, therefore, all of them must be read with great care and with the recording of copious notes. One may also approach this kind of material from the point of view of the historian who is interested only in a certain topic. Both of these approaches were employed in the collection of historical material; the approach depended upon the document under study.

In general, the ethnographic approach was employed only when studying well-organized documents such as public records or written histories. These were carefully read with the point of view that anything might be of value. The approach of the historian was employed when studying documents such as newspapers. These were scanned with specific topics in mind. These topics included politics, economics, and biographical material on community leaders. Any political or economic event reported which offered a clue to the structure and organization of power in Meredith between 1850 and 1959 was recorded. This material was then classified according to a list of informational categories which had been developed prior to its gathering.

Limitations existed as to the systematic documents available for study. Only two documentary histories on Coos County, the county in which Meredith is the seat, were available. One of these two historical works was published in 1908 and it was almost a second edition of
the earlier of the two works. Almost all of the public records of the community for the period before 1936 were lost when City Hall was destroyed by fire. In addition to the two documentary histories, the major focus of the historical research was on newspapers. The News, Meredith's oldest newspaper, made available a complete file of its editions published between 1850 and 1959. The News is a conservative Republican daily that has been owned and published by members of the same family since its founding in 1820. The Globe, a liberal and, at times, a left wing Democratic daily, was published between the years 1866 and 1931. Almost a complete file of its editions was available. Whenever possible, notes taken from material published in the News were checked for interpretation against material published in the Globe.  

A third kind of systematic document available for study consisted of the recorded minutes of the city council between 1936 and 1959. These were thoroughly searched for information of power structure and organization.

The Community Survey

The community survey was designed to obtain data on the social class system in the community in order to investigate the distribution of the means of power for the whole community. It was also designed to obtain data on the ideologies related to the distribution of the means of power. While the method of participant observation has proved useful to anthropologists who study communities with small populations
and homogeneous cultures, it is difficult to apply this technique in communities of the size of Meredith. The community of 11,000 is not necessarily homogeneous. Most communities of this size in the United States have never been self-sufficient in providing for most of the activities and needs of the people in them, and any one unit of personal observation can hardly be said to represent the whole community. It was believed that the community survey, used in conjunction with other techniques, would permit retaining something of the anthropological approach, while, at the same time, systematically surveying the data necessary to outline the community's power structure in such a way that sample bias would not seriously affect the accuracy of the findings.

The survey employed two different techniques: (1) the questionnaire and (2) measurement scales. The questionnaire consisted of fifty-two background questions designed to obtain information on the means of power, class divisions existing in the community, and their characteristic styles of life. In addition to the usual background information contained on questionnaires, questions were included to elicit information such as the frequency of church attendance, property ownership, group memberships, spatial mobility patterns, recreation patterns, family and kinship patterns, voting behavior, and consumption of mass media. The questionnaire was administered by an interviewer who was not allowed to show it to the informant since the informant's full name and address were recorded for the purpose of follow-up interviews.60
The second part of the survey instrument consisted of five paper and pencil scales and eight ranking or rating questions dealing with national and local political and economic issues. The paper and pencil scales were designed to measure the five dimensions of ideology described earlier in this chapter. Altogether, these scales consisted of fifty-five items, some of which were dropped later because they did not prove to be scalable. All of the scales employed the technique of scalogram analysis developed by Louis Guttman. Each of the five scales were pre-tested employing a random sample of ninety-seven people selected from the population of Meredith.

The community survey was conducted using a random sample of 650 individuals of the age of twenty-one or over. The following sample procedure was used in selecting interviewees. Enlarged general location maps of the city were obtained. An assistant was assigned the task of making a complete survey of all household units in the city, indicating these units on the general location maps. For sampling purposes, the community was divided into four sample areas: (1) the Northwest, (2) the Southwest, (3) the Eastside, and (4) a residual area which is referred to as the Middle area. These areas are shown in Figure 2.
FIGURE 2
THE CITY OF MEREDITH
Sample Areas
Three months prior to drawing a sample for the community, preliminary interviews were obtained from various people in the community and historical research was being conducted. The sample areas were derived from an analysis of these data. Historical data indicated that tensions had always existed between groups inhabiting the area located east of the Baker River and groups inhabiting the area west of the river. The Eastside had been settled by Irish and German Catholics who had migrated there from Ireland and South Germany about the middle of the nineteenth century. Preliminary interviews indicated that the Eastside was still considered to be inhabited by people who differ from those living on the Westside. These differences will be described in greater detail later in the study. It suffices to note here that the Eastside was designated as a sample area. Historical data also indicated that the Southwest area had been inhabited, for more than a hundred years, by Negroes who had settled there before the Civil War. Today whites also live in this area but since it is the only area in the community where Negroes live, it was designated as a second sample area. The old families of high status, families of ministers, college professors, professionals of other types, and prominent businessmen had always lived in the Northwest area. In the absence of evidence that this pattern had changed, the Northwest was designated as a third sample area. The Middle area, something of a zone of transition, was determined by mapping out the other three areas of the community by directly observing the kinds of residences located in them and by noting the occupations of residents listed in the city directory.
After each of the household units had been indicated on the general location maps, each unit was given a sample number. Employing a table of random numbers, 100 units were drawn from each of the four areas and the consecutive order of their drawing was recorded. In order to prevent introducing a bias in the selection of the individual to be interviewed in each household, it was decided that every adult living in each of the households had to be interviewed. With the exception of the Southwest area, an upper limit of 150 people was set for each area. An additional fifty interviews were obtained in the Southwest area in order to provide a special sample to conduct studies on Negroes at a later date. These fifty interviews are not included in the analysis presented here.

The random order of the sample was maintained by interviewing the members of each household in the order in which the household was drawn in the sample. This procedure provided a random sample for each of the four areas in order to conduct an analysis of the data by areas. It also provided the random basis for drawing from the area samples proportionate area samples so that distributions could be obtained for the entire community. Both of these samples will appear in later chapters. One will be called the area sample (N=600). The other will be called the community sample (N=297).

The success of any sampling technique, of course, depends upon the number of rejects that occur in administering the instruments. As rejects increase in number, the random sample may be biased in unknown directions. With respect to this difficulty, the survey was
successful. In only three cases were interviewers unable to obtain at least one interview in the households drawn. This comprised six individual rejections since two adults lived in each of the three households. In addition to these six rejects, only five other rejections occurred during the entire survey. In other words, of the 650 people drawn in consecutive random order for interviewing purposes, only eleven refused to take the questionnaire and the scales. Four of these rejects occurred in the Southwest area, three in the Eastside area, and four in the Middle area. The survey data, therefore, are highly representative of the community taken by sample area, or taken as a whole.

Collection of Data on Local Government

While the survey was being conducted in the community, it was decided that local government was as good a place as any to begin the study of the organization of power. During the survey, the author conducted observations on local government and interviewed, without interview schedules, various public officials in the community. For a period of six months, meetings of the city council were attended and copious notes were taken on the policies formulated by city officials and the manner in which these policies were implemented. Notes were also taken on issues which city officials attempted to avoid, or which they discussed only in the privacy of private offices or of small informal gatherings in the local coffee shops. The records of local government for the period 1936-1959 were studied intensively in conjunction with these interviews in order to check informants and to
uncover situations which clearly involved an effort to organize power in the community. From this material, a fairly accurate list of individuals, in and out of government, who controlled certain means of power in the community was compiled. Included on the list were individuals who not only controlled certain means of power and had used them, but also individuals who had the ability to control the actions of others but had not done so for one reason or another.

In all of this material, several incidents (some occurring over a period of two or three years) that clearly involved the organization of power were uncovered. Some of these incidents involved local government and some did not. The names of the individuals involved, either directly or indirectly, in these situations were recorded. These incidents then became the object of intensive case studies. Every attempt was made to reconstruct the history of these situations before proceeding with interviews designed to obtain data on the organization of power in each of the situations.

**Interviews on the Organization of Power**

The situations which involved the use of power in the community were used as points of departure in interviews with individuals whose names appeared on the lists which were compiled. This list included the names of public officials, bankers, lawyers, businessmen, realtors, college professors, and administrative officials at Grantham College. It also included the names of several industrialists. Interviews were obtained from most of these people. One of the objectives of these
interviews was to get people to talk about who ran the community, how, and by what methods. Another objective was to get their explanations as to how power had been organized in each of the situations that had been uncovered in government records and from preliminary interviews. A third objective was to seek out other possible incidents which might have involved the organization of power in the community. A final objective was to check the statements of one individual involved in one or more of these situations against the statements of others.

Interviews of this kind are difficult to conduct. Individuals who organize power in a community are often reluctant to talk about it or the methods they use. Often unknown for their use of power, they prefer to remain that way. More often than not, their actions being private but having public consequences, they are anxious to give reasons and justifications for their actions. Consequently, the approach to these interviews was similar to that which would be taken by a newspaper man trying to uncover a story. Contacts were used to establish relationships with informants. After relationships were established, the approach was informal and unstructured. Notes were seldom taken during an interview. Every attempt was made to minimize the fact that the individual was being interviewed at all. In the simplest terms possible, the procedure was to obtain whatever information could be obtained from the informant and return to the field office to record the material. Accuracy was sought by compiling a large number of interviews and checking one against the other. Some individuals were interviewed two and three times in order to check
whether or not they would tell the same story twice. A total of sixty such interviews, more than a thousand pages of material, were compiled during the course of the study.

The Industrial Survey

During the course of the study it became evident that industrialists not only occupied a prominent position in Meredith's power structure, but they also played prominent roles in the organization of power, particularly in certain kinds of situations. This led to a search for still other kinds of data. It involved gathering objective information on the local industries, the men who ran them, and the community activities of these men. This included the presidents of industries, members of their boards of directors, their middle executives and, in some cases, workers employed in their plants. Two techniques were employed to obtain these data.

The first technique involved asking for information from various officials at the factory offices. Officials were asked to list their officers, major stockholders, annual payrolls, and describe company policy with respect to the community. In some cases these individuals were not permitted to reveal much of the information requested. The second approach resulted when access was obtained to data compiled on these industries by the research division of one of the large national labor unions. Data obtained from this source permitted a cross-check on information volunteered by industrialists living in the community. Information of this kind was compiled on all of Meredith's largest industries, including Grantham College.
And so the inquiry was pursued. All the techniques employed proved to open doors to important sources of data. Often the researchers were confronted by suspicion, particularly in the more intensive interview work, but suspicion usually offered new leads. As one lead led to another, the picture of the culture and power system characteristic of Meredith emerged.

The following chapters will attempt to describe Meredith's culture and power system. The two chapters of Part II will be devoted to the description and analysis of the culture and power system that existed in Meredith during the period 1850 to 1900. Part III of the study will do the same for the contemporary period. Part III consists of five chapters. The first of these presents the cultural changes that have occurred in Meredith since 1900. The next two chapters describe the power structure; first, in terms of local governmental institutions, the ownership of productive and investment property, and participation in community associations; and, second, in terms of the social class system. The last two chapters of Part III present the organization of power in terms of case studies of situations which involved the making of decisions that, in one way or another, have consequences for the social order existing in Meredith. The final section of the study, Part IV, will present a summary of the findings and the implications they are believed to have for a theory of power.
Notes


7 Leslie A. White has recently attempted to dissolve the disagreement among anthropologists as to what is meant by the concept, culture. He succeeds, however, in only adding another definition to those that are already available. See White's article, "The Concept Culture," American Anthropologist, Vol. 61, No. 2, 1959, pp. 227-251.

This definition appears in many places. The quotation here is taken from the article by Leslie A. White, op. cit., p. 227.


The significance of this question or questions similar to it has been expressed in a recent article by Francis L. K. Hsu. Hsu notes that the concepts structure and function, as they have been used, ignore the content of social relationships. This makes it difficult to raise a whole series of important theoretical questions. For example, how are similar structures supported in different cultures? Or, why are different structures found in similar cultures? Hsu suggests that the concept content is one which deals with "... a part of the reality which is legitimately covered neither by structure nor by function." It would seem that Hsu is raising a question pertaining to the historical and, therefore, cultural context of structures and functions. It is difficult to understand the need for the term content when the concept culture has traditionally been used to refer to historical content. See Francis L. K. Hsu's "Structure, Function, Content, and Process," American Anthropologist, Vol. 61, No. 5, 1959, pp. 790-805.

It is noteworthy, for example, that the concept does not appear as a special term of analysis in the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences. There, it is discussed under the headings, "Power, Industrial," and "Power, Political." In his discussion of political power, Hermann Heller states: "The distinction between political power and other forms of social power with which it is organically integrated can be determined only by a consideration of the relation of political power to the politics of the state..." Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, edited by Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933), Vol. XII, p. 301.


For example, R. M. MacIver defines power as "... the capacity in any relationship to command the service or the compliance of others." See MacIver's The Web of Government (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 82. Mannheim states: "Power is present whenever and wherever pressures operate on the individual to induce desired conduct." See Karl Mannheim's Freedom, Power, and Democratic
Marion Levy defines power as "... the ability to exercise authority and control over the actions of others." See Marion J. Levy, Jr., op. cit., p. 333. Floyd Hunter defines power as "... the acts of men going about the business of moving other men to act ..." See Floyd Hunter, op. cit., pp. 2-3.


For example, Broom and Selznick, in discussing social organization, state: "Another source of order is social organization, the patterned relations of individuals and groups. Here the emphasis is on bonds and connections, on the ties that weld people together into cohesive groups..." To illustrate different uses of the term, on the same page, Broom and Selznick state: "Like any other large social structure, a university is made up of many groups, each playing its own part in the university community... Knowing the group structure of the student body is important to anyone who has to deal with it in a practical way." Thus, structure and organization are used synonymously. See Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick's Sociology (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1955), p. 11.


Ibid., pp. 527-528.


Ibid., pp. 30-31.

The idea that the concept structure is a model which the observer constructs to describe the social reality he has observed is developed in the article by Claude Levi-Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 525-531.

*op. cit.*, p. 36.

Ibid., p. 38.

Hsu, for example, differentiates between an organizational change and a structural change. Structural changes imply a large-scale shift in the pattern of activities whereas organizational changes involve only minor shifts. Hsu borrows the distinction from Firth. However, Hsu, employing the term content to refer to what Firth means by organization (and what others seem to mean by culture), does not see the need for Firth's concept of organization. *op. cit.*, pp. 800-801.

To illustrate the distinction between structure and organization, Firth applies it to the analysis of Tikopia, a Polynesian village which he studied and reported in 1936. It is clear from Firth's illustration that structural principles are, so to speak, culture-bound. For example, in terms of Tikopian culture, important structural principles involved the division of the community into two geographic units, the existence of clan and kinship divisions, the existence of lineages, et cetera. Such units served to define the
more critical aspects of social relationships in Tikopia. In a
different community, one could expect to find different structural
principles. For example, in a community which has a culture in terms
of which clans and lineages are not important, one can expect that
they will not serve as the basis for social differentiation. Struc-
tural principles, then, must be determined in terms of the cultural
setting of the unit under study. Because of this there has not been
developed in the social sciences any universal structural models.
This is not the case, however, with organization. Organization in-
volves activity and activity considered in terms of a means-end
scheme permits the derivation of analytical categories. Firth's
principles of organization (i.e., coordination, foresight, respon-
sibility, and compensation), unlike his structural principles (i.e.,
clans, lineages, et cetera) can be applied to the analysis of organ-
ization with respect to different systems (e.g., kinship, political,
economic, et cetera) in different cultures. Conceptually, Firth's
organizational principles seem to be of a similar level of general-
ization as Levy's functional requisites. See Firth, op. cit., pp.
53 ff. Also see Levy, op. cit., p. 151.


37 Robert and Helen Lynd, Middletown, (New York: Harcourt, Brace

38 William L. Warner and Paul Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern
Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941). See also Warner's
Social Class in America (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949)
It is appropriate to note that when the Yankee City volumes first
appeared, Warner was believed to have a discrete conception of social
classes. See John F. Cuber and William F. Kenkel's analysis of
Warner's conception of social class in their Social Stratification in
The United States (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954),
pp. 108-131, and pp. 304-305.

39 Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York:

40 Ibid., p. 13.

41 A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology (New York: Harcourt, Brace and

42 Walter Goldschmidt, "Social Class and the Dynamics of Status in
43This definition has been adopted from Frank Lynch's "Social Class in a Bikol Town," Research Series, No. 1, Philippine Studies Program, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1959, p. 6.


48Karl Marx, op. cit., pp. 167-177. Also see Bottomore and Rubel's comment on Marx in their introduction, pp. 4-5 and 27. For an article which relates Marx's conception of alienation to contemporary conceptions, see Melvin Seeman's "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, No. 6, 1959, pp. 783-791.


50These definitions come very close to Max Weber's conception of political alienation. See H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (editors), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 77-82. See also the editors' comments on Weber's conception of alienation, p. 50.

51It may be suggested that this type of alienation involves characteristics very much similar to those which Seeman found to be displayed by intellectuals. See Melvin Seeman's article "The Intellectual and The Language of Minorities," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXIV, No. 1, 1958, pp. 25-35.

52The term private has been adopted from the context in which it was used by C. Wright Mills in his The Sociological Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 5. The meaning intended by the use of the term is simply the withdrawal of individuals from the activity of public and political life to the activity of private and
personal life. The writer wishes to note here that he is not completely satisfied with the terms that he has used to designate these different types of alienation. The terms used were employed because they seem to be more descriptive of the different conditions as well as the different consequences of alienation which will be described in Chapters VII, VIII, and IX. It should be noted, however, that disjunctive alienation and pseudo alienation both entail a "pseudo" quality; both express a separation of the subjective from the objective. Since pseudo alienation was not found to exist in Meredith, the consequences of this type with respect to the political process were not fully known and, therefore, could not be used to draw a sharper distinction or similarity between the two types. The distinction made between pseudo alienation and disjunctive alienation is entirely based upon a hypothesis which remains to be tested.

Professor Roscoe Hinkle has suggested alternative terms which may be more appropriate than those used in the text. Respectively, in place of disjunctive alienation, pseudo alienation, and privatized alienation, Professor Hinkle has suggested the use of the terms "Ideological Attachment-Instrumental Detachment," "Ideological Detachment-Instrumental Attachment," and "Ideological Detachment-Instrumental Detachment."

The writer wishes to express his gratitude to Professors John W. Bennett, Melvin Seeman, Fred G. Burke, and Butler A. Jones, and to Arthur Neal, for the advice and contributions they made to the selection of these five dimensions of ideology to be measured in this study.


Professor Fred G. Burke, a political scientist, was extremely helpful in conceptualizing the instrument to measure government dependency.

Reference to the titles and authors of these works can not be given without revealing the identity of the community under study. Consequently, whenever a quotation is taken from these works, the reference will be given as Anonymous.
The News and the Globe are pseudonyms given for the actual newspapers in order not to reveal the identity of the community under study.

The questionnaire and scales are produced in Appendix I.


Each of the five scales yielded the following reproducibility percentages on the designated number of items: (a) status aspiration scale, nine items (85.11%); (b) class consciousness scale, eight items (89.20%); (c) government dependency scale, seven items (87.78%); (d) normlessness scale, nine items (88.40%); (e) powerlessness scale, eight items (85.90%). The sample on which these scales were pre-tested was not homogeneous. It included Negroes and whites, Protestants and Catholics, and males and females. The age range represented was from twenty-one to eighty-one. The income of interviewees ranged from two to ten thousand a year. In terms of education, the group ranged from grade school graduates to college professors. Occupation ranged from unskilled to professional. The sample, therefore, was thought to have provided a fairly rigid test for unidimensionality of scale. Since unidimensionality is a form of internal consistency, it provides an index as to the reliability of the scales. In the case of each of the five scales, reproducibility percentages reported could have been increased by dropping one or more of the items included. It was decided, however, that any reproducibility over 85 per cent would be sacrificed, if necessary, in favor of preserving the content of items for further studies.

A household unit was defined as any room or set of rooms which served as the living quarters for one or more individuals. For example, a room which served an individual as a permanent residence, even though it was located in a hotel, was included. Similarly, twenty-three rooms which served as the permanent residence for twenty-three individuals living in a home for the aged were also included. Nurses' homes, trailer courts, et cetera, were also included. They were excluded only when such units were occupied by college students who were not residents of Meredith.
PART TWO

CULTURE AND POWER IN MEREDITH: 1850-1900
CHAPTER III

THE CULTURAL CONDITIONS OF POWER: 1850-1900

When Meredith was founded it was a frontier community. Its establishment had been primarily an economic venture undertaken by a few people who believed that it would bring them the prosperity they could not, for one reason or another, achieve in their native communities. Recognition of this fact differentiates Meredith from many communities that have been studied by anthropologists. Most peasant communities, for example, represent the product of a slow and natural growth occurring over a period of many generations. The people who founded Meredith looked forward to and planned for a rapid and prosperous growth. As a result of this outlook, the most basic and fundamental problem which confronted the early inhabitants was that of developing the kind of economy which would not only tend to prevent the original settlers from moving westward, but which would also attract new settlers. The future and, to some extent, the very survival of Meredith was defined by its founders in terms of this problem. The energy and the efforts which they invested in the pursuit of economic growth and development largely determined the cultural characteristics which the community came to have by the middle of the nineteenth century.
The Settlement of the Community

Coos County is centrally located in one of the states of the East-North-Central group that includes Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Almost in the geographic center of Coos County is located the county seat, the city of Meredith. The lands of this area became vested in the United States Government as part of the Northwest Territory. As a result of an agreement between the federal government and the state of Virginia that a certain portion of lands lying in this territory be given to Virginia in order to satisfy military bounties issued during the Revolutionary War, the territory was divided into two tracts. One was known as the Virginia Military Lands, the other as the United States Military Lands. The dividing point ran along what shall be called the Genoa River, a river which bisects Coos County in the western part. That area which was to become Meredith was located in the United States Military Lands.

These lands were divided into townships of five miles square and these again into quarter-townships of four thousand acres. The quarter-townships were then divided into lots of approximately one hundred acres and distributed to officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary War. While some of the townships in Coos County came to be settled between 1800 and 1808, the township in which Meredith is located was not settled until Colonel Alvin Carter, a native of Lenox, Massachusetts, came into possession of some of this land and organized a party of emigrants to colonize his possessions.¹
Colonel Carter is said to have been a man of wealth and position in his native town of Lenox. Through his business as a tavern and store-keeper, he came into possession of military land warrants giving him title to 8,000 acres of land located east of Meredith. He made plans for establishing a town on this land which shall be called Yorkshire. On the promise of making Yorkshire the county seat and, eventually, the state capital, the Colonel induced a group of settlers to join his enterprise and become purchasers of the land to which he held title. In June of 1804, the settlers and the Colonel arrived in Coos County and laid out the first town. Having disposed of most of his land for (we can assume) a tidy profit, the Colonel returned to the East where he met a prominent Pittsburgh lawyer who had inherited large tracts of land along the Baker River which divides Meredith (Figure 2). The Colonel made an arrangement with this lawyer by which he came to possess half of this land and to control the other half in the absence of its owner. Forgetting the first group of settlers in Yorkshire, the Colonel set about plotting Meredith on the east bank of the Baker River.2 In the spring of 1808, for practical reasons which are no longer important, the Colonel changed this site to the west bank of the river and plotted the town.

With all the resources at his command, Colonel Carter began efforts to secure the location of the county seat in his new town. In spite of the opposition of the Yorkshire settlers, who accused him of being disloyal to their interests, the Colonel is said to have had a considerable following "... among those who were under
obligations to him in various ways and whose interests were largely involved with his . . .\textsuperscript{3} This following, together with the natural advantages of the Meredith site, terminated the controversy in the Colonel's favor. The county commissioners located the county seat at Meredith in March of 1808.

With the location of the town and its selection as the county seat, the active settlement of the community began. Colonel Carter cultivated political relations in the state and, with the promise that he would eventually locate the state capital at Meredith, settlers were not difficult to attract. A community with such a prosperous future offered unusual economic opportunities. Some of the New Englanders who had originally settled in Yorkshire were among the first to come. Others came from the north and east. Many, men and women who had decided to cast their future with the Colonel in hopes that he could persuade the state legislature to locate the capital at Meredith, came from the small neighboring farm settlements. Adopting the rule of counting five persons for each vote cast, voting statistics indicate that about 150 persons had settled in the community by 1816, 250 by 1820, and nearly 300 by 1823. The Colonel remained the guiding spirit of all the various activities of the new community. It is said:

He was an associate judge of the newly created court. He promoted the building of the new road which should unite their settlement with the older communities already established. He established the first store, in which he placed his son (who, incidentally, finally landed in the county jail after various unsuccessful business speculations), and he also erected the first saw mill and grist mill within the limits of the town. He was his own sales agent in the disposal of the large tracts of land which he owned jointly with (the Pittsburgh lawyer).\textsuperscript{4}
The Colonel also entered the tavern business but was forced to give it up in 1821 because of his health.

Time changes and with it change the fate of individual men and women. This was as true for the Colonel as it was for those he had led into the wilderness in search of a new and richer life. The Colonel offered the state legislature sufficient land on which to build the necessary buildings for a capitol. He offered to erect the buildings. He even offered the state four hundred acres in town lots; one-half the proceeds arising from their sale would go into the treasury of the state. In 1812, however, his proposition was turned down by one vote in the state legislature and the capital was located elsewhere.

As a result of this defeat, the Colonel's prominence began to wane and with it waned the prosperity of Meredith. Except for a brief period, when the Colonel and the community prospered by housing and catering to a military garrison engaged in the War of 1812, it is recorded that Meredith was "...struck with a paralysis of its enterprise, from the effects of which it took two full decades to recover." Population statistics may be taken as indicative of this paralysis. In 1823 the community had a population of nearly 300. By 1830 it had increased to 532, not much more than what can be assumed to represent a natural increase. By 1840, the population had increased to 898. However, between 1840 and 1850, almost twenty years after the Colonel's venture had failed, Meredith's population increased from 898 to 2,047. At the end of the following decade, 1860, a thousand more had been added to this figure, and by 1870, the population of the community had
reached a high of 6,000 people. While the community recovered from this paralysis, it appears that the Colonel did not. The reason for this was that the community's recovery had nothing to do with the Colonel's business ventures but was due to the occurrence of two events; (1) a college was founded in the community on March 7, 1841, and (2) about the middle of the century Meredith went into the railroad business.

The Founding of Grantham College

With the exception of commercial enterprise and a few sporadic attempts to establish grain and lumber mills, it may be said that the founding of Grantham College represented the founding of the community's oldest industry. The city is largely indebted to the college for its present size and importance. Grantham was one of the reasons for the first of three railroads being brought into Meredith. Since its establishment, the college has been one of Meredith's major sources of income. It has also been a source of educational influence which has contributed to the training of the community's prominent leaders. In addition to local leaders, Grantham has excelled in the production of state and national leaders. Since many of Meredith's business and professional men and women have been associated with Grantham administratively, professionally, or as alumni, the values to which the college has, and still does subscribe, have filtered into every nook and cranny of the community's social life. As important as the domination of the community's culture by Grantham, however, is the sheer economic influence the college came to wield.
Meredith is located within the jurisdictional territory of an important Conference of one of the more conservative Protestant denominations. Early in 1841 this Conference sent a committee of inspection to Meredith to investigate the possibility of starting a college there. The committee was generously received and one prominent citizen, W. T. Parks, offered the Conference money toward the purchase of his own property for the purpose of locating a denominational college in Meredith. Having lost the state capital, this was the first real opportunity the community had to get back on its feet. The committee decided that Meredith was a favorable site for a college and, in 1842, a charter was granted Grantham College by the state legislature. Although the charter did not prescribe the constitution of the board of trustees, fourteen were laymen and seven were ministers. Every attempt was made to maintain the ratio of two laymen to one minister on the board of trustees. By 1895, as a result of various amendments in the charter made by the state, the number of acting trustees was increased to thirty-one and it included the president of the college as an ex-officio member. It also gave representation to the Association of Alumni.

By 1959 the board of trustees had expanded to include sixty-one members of various standings, nine of which are officers of the board. At present, none of the officers are ministers; all are prominent business and professional people. Of the eight ex-officio members, however, two are bishops and two are ministers. Of the sixty-one members of the board, only seven are church officials. This under-
representation, however, is not necessarily indicative of a decline in church influence at Grantham. Informants associated with the board of trustees have stated that the last candidate selected for filling the office of president was primarily selected by a prominent bishop.7

When Grantham was founded no provision was made for the education of women. Some felt "... that the daughters of the church should have the same privileges of education as were afforded to the sons." A ladies' school was opened in the community in 1850. In 1853 this school was incorporated as the Grantham Female College. For more than twenty years the Conference was confronted with two colleges, both appealing for support. While the question of merging the two colleges had arisen several times, it presented special problems. The second president of Grantham, a man who is considered to be its most prominent founder, declared himself in opposition to the merger on the grounds of moral temptation. The debate which ensued over co-education is said to have broken life-long friendships. Nevertheless, by 1877 the merger movement had acquired sufficient backing to bring about its realization. In that year the board of trustees adopted a resolution that, if the trustees of the Female College should discontinue the academic work of the school and convey to Grantham all the school's property, free of debt, Grantham would accept the property and open its doors to ladies. The resolution was finally accepted by both groups. The merging of the two schools gave Grantham, in 1877, a total enrollment of nearly 800 students. By 1894 Grantham could boast that it had graduated over 2,000 students, enrolled seven times
that many, and had produced nearly 400 ministers since its founding. Thus did Meredith's major source of income take final shape.

Almost from the beginning Grantham became an important factor in the community's social and cultural life. Before the turn of the century, an historian of Grantham described the college as follows:

The college is under the auspices of the (Church); but it is not sectarian in its teachings. It aims to be evangelical, yet liberal; and has always had a fair patronage from other Protestant Churches, even from the Catholic Church. The religious influence of the college life here has always been constant and controlling. Few students pass through the college course without becoming hopefully pious.

Grantham had the effect of making Meredith a Mecca in the Middle West for the Protestant denomination it represented. As a result, piety of one kind or another became a product of the community as well as a product of Grantham. For example, an article appearing in the News in 1871 listed fifty-three clergymen as residents in the community and stated that forty of them were of the same denomination as Grantham. In 1897 Meredith had sixteen churches. In 1959 it had twenty-seven churches and the four having the largest congregations were of the same denomination as Grantham. As a result of Grantham's influence, an organization was founded in Coos County which came to have national recognition as a temperance movement. In the nineteenth century this organization was given open support by Grantham. Presently, it still looks to Grantham for moral support in the community. One informant, a tavern-keeper, reported that officials of the college for more than twenty years have prevented him from obtaining a license.
to sell "hard liquor." Had this informant lived prior to the turn of the century, he could have said that college officials, in large part, had prevented him from opening a tavern. If he already had a tavern open, the college officials, through their influence, would have had much to do with regulating his hours and, at one time, it would have been necessary for him to close his business by six o'clock in the evening.

The town came to be identified with the college, and town-gown relations came to be one of the major sources of tension in the community. The town-gown issue extended beyond the realm of religious piety. Almost from the outset it involved political, economic, and social considerations. For example, in 1874 the News, a paper which has always given strong editorial support to the college on most issues, stated:

> Any rule under our election laws that excludes a student from voting who is a resident of the State and has been the requisite length of time in the county and township, will necessarily exclude all journey men, mechanics, clerks, laborers, and others, whose residence for the time being is where they happen to be employed.11

The issue to which the News was addressing itself derived from complaints in the community that college students were providing the Republicans with illegitimate votes. Previous to the above comment, the Globe had suggested:

> (student voting) . . . is an outrage which our citizens have suffered for several years. (It) . . . violates the election laws in a flagrant manner. Of the 75 to 100 . . . (students) . . . who gave oath of residence last Spring, no more than 10 have returned to (Grantham).12
The Globe asked that those who swore residence and moved away be prosecuted for fraud. This same complaint appeared in the Globe again in 1887. Actually, student voting was the first of many political issues which became entwined in town-gown relations. Temperance was another such issue and the tensions the temperance issue created increased considerably after the railroads brought Irish and German ethnic groups into the community. These issues, however, were only the symptoms of a much deeper problem which affected the cultural character of the community. This problem derives from the fact that Grantham not only became a religious Mecca, but it also became a political Mecca for conservative Republicans. The school has always been a stronghold of conservative Republicanism.

Also involved in town-gown relations was the economic character which Meredith came to have as a result of the role Grantham came to play in the community. From time to time, during the 1870's, both newspapers in Meredith complained that local citizens were not doing much to induce new industries to locate in the community. One of these complaints appeared in the Globe. In an editorial, the Globe compared Meredith with the surrounding communities and stated, "... (Meredith) not only doesn't induce new industries and businesses to locate in the community, but it goes abroad to buy what is made as well and cheaper at home." About nine months later a series of articles appeared in the News and were signed, "Anonymously."

"Anonymously" pointed out, in his first article, that a community could not be "all things" and that its "specialty ought to be figured
In his next article, "Anonymously" suggested that the college had done more for the community than anything else had done. After pointing out that "...colleges give wide reputation and do much, socially, for a community," he stated:

Now here I touch a tender place, but there is no use mincing matters, not less than $50,000 and possibly $75,000 is spent here yearly by students without mention of faculty and others ... These facts warrant the conclusion that "Meredith) is pre-eminentely adapted for a college town, and that its future prosperity lies chiefly, not exclusively by any means, but chiefly in building up and developing its literary institutions.16

In these articles "Anonymously" expressed a sentiment which is still strong. As will be seen later, it is also a sentiment which is relatively important with respect to industrial development and its relationship to the structure and organization of power.

Town-gown relations became a part of community culture even to the point of educational and administrative policy during the nineteenth century. The appointment of a new president in the 1870's may be taken as illustrative of this. Commenting on the appointment of a particular individual, the Globe stated:

This means the trustees won't recognize individual abilities which have conducted the institution to its present flourishing position or will not admit the existence of capacity in any of the present faculty ...(To jump from the)...obscure pulpit to presidency of (Grantham) may be fine for the one who does it but bad for the school. ...To place a man unfitted by practice with the presiding chair of a college and afterward educate him up to a knowledge of his position, appears to the unregenerate mind an act approximate to an absurdity.17

Two years later this new president was given the following advice by the same newspaper:
We will give the distinguished educator and boarding house regulator a piece of advice: Don't you attempt to run politics and a bi-sexual college at one and the same time friend (Jarvis), or you may develop into a less brilliant failure than Solomon of Jewry. Stick to a tottering institution, or in twenty-five hundred years from now, some one-horse preacher may earn a reputation by discussing "(Jarvis) the Failure."

As the issues of the day went from ethnic group relations to problems of industrial development, from religion to the problem of property taxes, from temperance politics to property speculation, the problem of town-gown relations, somehow, seemed to get into every issue. The town-gown dichotomy still survives in the minds of individual men and women. Presently, the most singular complaint against the college is that it has taken too much land off the tax books. The institution that had begun in a resort mansion now owns more property than any other individual or group of individuals in the community. It enrolls some 2,000 students and it pays the second largest payroll in the community. Thus Grantham College is one of the cultural conditions of power in Meredith.

**Going into the Railroad Business**

In addition to the founding of a college, a second factor which became a part of the way of life of the community and which contributed to the rather rapid rise in Meredith's population during the second half of the nineteenth century was the railroad business. It can be said that about 1850 railroad fever hit Meredith full force. About that time the citizens of Meredith decided to make their town a major
railroad center in a system of rails which they visualized would extend from the eastern seaboard to the Pacific. They decided this notwithstanding existing competition from many other communities. And why couldn't the feat be accomplished? Meredith was centrally located. Its college, at that time, was considered to be the most successful in the state. Talk about becoming a railroad center erupted as early as 1832, the time when Meredith was still suffering from Colonel Carter's folly. The commissioners of what shall be called the Northern Railroad Company ordered stock books opened in Meredith by one of its more prominent businessmen, J. H. Wold. With respect to this enterprise, the News reported in 1833 that a doubt existed as to whether the great work will be accomplished because in New York, stock-books were closed without the requisite amount of stock being taken in eastern cities. Between 1832 and 1852, when the first train rolled into Meredith, numerous paper railroads were promoted but none ever materialized. Paper railroads were sufficient, however, to sustain the pitch of railroad fever that had struck the community in the 1830's and, eventually, Meredith gambled most of its blue chips on the railroad industry to the exclusion of other industries. In making this gamble the community placed the cart before the horse. It tacitly assumed that railroads would, automatically, bring in new industries. Nevertheless, once the decision had been made to go into the railroad business, a decision had been made which had a profound effect on the community's way of life for the next seventy or more years.
The first road that proved a success in Coos County, and one that especially interested Meredith, was the Superior Line which, eventually, became part of the New York Central Railroad System. Work on this road was begun in 1848. Reluctantly, Coos County took a leading part in its construction. It had been assumed that railroads could be obtained without paying for them. When the question of the county's subscribing to $50,000 worth of stock was first put on the ballot in April of 1847, the measure was defeated. However, it passed on the fall ballot of 1848. It is stated that behind this change of heart lay a "little gentle blackmail." The company had surveyed two routes and it was decided that the road would run through Coos County provided the county would pledge $100,000 worth of stock in addition to individual subscriptions.

This threat, in addition to a proposal that the County Commissioners subscribe the required sum with the provision that those most interested mortgage their personal property to indemnify the county against loss, was sufficient to put the vote over.21

The county got its road but Meredith did not. The original route bypassed the city to the east. Eventually, however, the potential business of Grantham's students resulted in the company's decision to connect the city with the main route by construction of a curve which would pass through Meredith in the Eastside. While Coos County's claim to leadership in this project is dubious, it became the second largest stockholder in the entire Superior Railroad Company. Profits on this investment were staggering. In 1874 the stock in this company
had risen to the point where it was quoted on the New York stock exchange at 182.22. The success of this road made Meredith particularly enthusiastic about railroad enterprise.

The immediate failure of a second road to materialize increased motivation for investment in other roads which would enter the community. Also important was the fact that by 1861 Meredith was being served by only one road. The pressure of monopoly was beginning to be felt. Community leaders believed that if a second or third road could be secured, it would insure the city favorable freight rates and automatically entice manufacturing interests. An editorial appearing in the News stated:

When shippers get cheaper freights, such as another road would secure, farmers will get better prices and receive more of the comforts of life in exchange for what they have to sell. As long as we are solely dependent upon one line of railway we shall surely pay tribute to a monopoly which will dictate its own terms and put in its own coffers what should go into the pockets of the producing classes and remain in our home channels of traffic...23

Eventually, Meredith was successful in obtaining more railroads. By the turn of the century the community was being served by roads owned by the New York Central, the Pennsylvania Railroad, and the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad. The roads alone, however, did not put Meredith into the railroad business; they merely placed the community on the major routes of transportation. Railroad business dominated the community when shops manufacturing railroad cars and engines came to be located in Meredith. These railroad shops provided Meredith with its major source of employment during the nineteenth century.
In 1870 a company which shall be called the Blue Line was formed to construct a road from Meredith direct to a city which shall be called Southern City. Books were opened in Meredith and other cities for the subscription of stock in February, 1870. One historian states:

The power to determine the success or failure of this project, however, did not rest with the people of (Meredith). Whether or not a new line was to be built was to be determined by the outcome of the Pennsylvania Railroad's struggle to gain an entrance into (Southern City). Without detailing this struggle, the success of the Pennsylvania Railroad forced the Superior Line (Meredith's first road) to find a new entrance to Southern City. Through a system of leases, the Superior Line opened its own entrance into Southern City and Meredith became an important junction on the road. As a result, Meredith became a division head for what was later destined to become part of the New York Central Railroad System.

Before Meredith got the railroad shops, however, rumor had it that they were destined to go to another community on the line. Ultimately, whether Meredith would receive the shops instead of the other community depended on Meredith's willingness to raise $35,000 for the cost of necessary improvements to the buildings wherein the railroad would build cars and repair its engines. Action taken in the community is indicative of what Meredith was willing to do to secure the railroad shops. Within two hours of the rumor the Globe had handbills on the streets calling for a public meeting to raise the money. By ten o'clock that evening, $7,000 had been raised and a committee of ten had
been appointed. The committee was to go to the railroad's head office and investigate the rumor. It did, and a few days later the committee confirmed the rumor. Six days after solicitation had begun the entire amount had been pledged. On the sixth day two more committees were organized. One was to leave for the railroad's headquarters to inform officers of the road of the town's action; the second was to go to the state capitol to seek legislation making it legal for the city council to issue bonds for the building of the shops.

The ordinance issuing the bonds passed on April 15, 1872. The success of this venture led the Globe to predict that the community's population would increase by 1,000 within the following year, that wages would average better than $100,000 a year, and that higher real estate values in the home city of the Superior Line would force the removal of all the road's shops to Meredith.

Except for the Globe's last prediction, these hopes were largely fulfilled. By 1875 eighty-nine men were employed in the railroad shops and were earning an average $4,150 a month. Eleven more were employed in the ticket departments and took home an average $550 a month. If the salaries of the Master Mechanic, the General Agent, and the wages of the yard and road men are added to the above figures, the Globe's figure of $100,000 had been reached. By 1879 two hundred mechanics and laborers were employed in the shops. In 1884, the News stated that the total monthly pay for railroad workers in Meredith was $25,248. Taking this figure as a monthly average, the Globe's figure of $100,000 had been multiplied by four times in a period of nine years.
The News went on to state:

Our citizens sometimes fail to realize the benefit of the shops in our city, and are apt to be unjust in their criticisms toward the road, when in reality it does more to build up the town than any other enterprise we have. Should we ever have the misfortune to lose the shops this fact would be more fully realized.30

However, the importance of the railroad shops was not fully realized until 1910-1913, when 350 men were gradually laid off and the shops were completely closed and removed to another state.31

In this manner Grantham College and the railroad shops came to represent the major economic enterprises in Meredith. The former attracted to the community professional people, college administrators, and students that lived and consumed in Meredith for nine months a year. The latter attracted to the community the men of business as well as the workers who manned the shops. Between these groups the future of the community hung in the balance. Other industries came to Meredith throughout the last quarter of the century, but they were truly insignificant in comparison to the investment in education and railroading. The years 1870-1872 may be taken as the peak for railroad enterprise in Meredith.

In these two years the voters in the community, under the "Bossel Law" (passed April 23, 1872 to permit counties, townships, and municipalities to build their own railroads), voted to add two more railroads to the community.32 Also, during these two years, the citizens of the community elected to ignore the point of view of a group that can be assumed to have been represented by a letter published in
the News and signed by an individual who called himself "Mechanic."

In his letter "Mechanic" admitted that another road would probably bring cheaper coal and lumber to the community, but he complained that Meredith's trade area, which a few years before had encompassed twenty-five to forty miles in diameter, had already shrunk to only five miles in diameter. The proposed roads, said "Mechanic," would suck off the remaining trade area from the north, west, and south. No longer would the farmers living out in the county need to come to Meredith to dispose of their goods. With regard to this matter, one historian raises the question as to whether the power to determine her own destiny, at this time, was any longer in Meredith's hands. Those roads which had most affected Meredith were backed by powerful corporations. Nevertheless, whether due to a lack of foresight or to powers beyond Meredith's control, by 1880 the community had become, for all practical purposes, a one industry town. This becomes more evident when the development of other manufacturing industry is considered.

The Development of Manufacturing Industries

Although the period before 1873 saw the establishment of four different manufacturing concerns, two of which were to continue as mainstays of Meredith's economy for the next fifty years, the latter part of the decade saw the failure of many smaller industries in addition to the three major manufacturing concerns located in Meredith. One historian states:
During 1877 and 1878, sheriff's sales of eight to twelve pieces of property at the same time were a weekly occurrence. Not even the city's most prosperous residents were safe from losses by foreclosure. Bankruptcies became almost common among the city's businessmen.35

Meredith's non-railroad manufacturing enterprise had begun with the processing of flax in 1835 when a mill was established for making oil from the seed. In 1847 this company expanded by the addition of a foundry which manufactured stoves. By 1850 steam engines were being made and the foundry and oil mill became two separate concerns. Five years later a third company was organized to prepare flax straw in the form of rough yarn.

Of the three manufacturing industries arising from the processing of flax, the oil mill was the least important. By 1862 it employed a total of nine men at a combined wage of $100 a week. The foundry, during the sixties and seventies, employed approximately forty men. The third of these enterprises was the most successful of the three. By 1870 it employed 190 persons, of whom 100 were men and the rest were women and children. The men averaged about nine dollars a week, the women from five to seven dollars a week, and the children from three to five dollars a week. The average weekly payroll was approximately $1,100. Of the nine men on the board of directors of this company, four were residents of Meredith and the remainder were residents of Southern City.36

In addition to these three industries, at the beginning of the seventies several others existed among which three were of some
economic importance to Meredith. One of these employed twelve men
in the making of carriages. A second employed twenty men in the manu-
factoring of doors, window sash, and fancy woodwork. The third em-
ployed twenty men in the making of wagons. In addition to two other
small enterprises, these eight establishments represented Meredith's
major manufacturing interests as of 1870. While the newspapers, along
with some businessmen, were anxious for the city to expand its manu-
factoring interests through the addition of more industries, Meredith's
more wealthy individuals failed to take sufficient interest in indus-
trial projects in favor of investing in railroads. This lack of
interest did not indicate a lack of financial resources on their part.
On March 9, 1868, for example, a meeting was held for the purpose of
organizing a mutual fire insurance company. During the course of the
meeting subscriptions for stock were taken from those present. Within
one hour, twelve men subscribed $88,500 worth of stock. Of these, the
smallest subscription was for $2,500.37

During the seventies a chair company was organized and became one
of the most successful manufacturing ventures undertaken in the nine-
teenth century in Meredith. By 1877 this company employed approxi-
mately 140 hands and made over sixty different styles of chairs.
Also during the seventies, a German immigrant organized a cigar manu-
factoring company. By 1876 the cigar company employed sixty-eight
people. The firm continued to grow during the eighties and nineties,
and by 1908, it employed approximately 150 cigar makers at wages
averaging from $30,000 to $40,000 a year. In addition to these two
concerns, a woolen mill capable of producing from one to two hundred yards of cloth was also established during this decade. These three companies represented the extent of Meredith's industrial expansion during the decade 1870-1880. One historian states:

(It) . . . does not appear to constitute a particularly impressive demonstration of the city's entrepreneurial spirit, especially when compared with the vigor with which it pursued the dream of railroad expansion. This is apparently due to the fact that (Meredith) regarded railroads as the first essential; growth of industry would follow expansion of transportation automatically. 38

The depression of 1873-1875 had its effect on Meredith's industries. The first effect of the depression was a succession of failures which lasted well into the next decade. The first industry to fail was the woolen mill. It had judgments of over $3,000 levied against it by the Court of Common Pleas in November of 1875. While this amount is not much for an industry, it was too much for the woolen mill to withstand. 39 Next to go was a paper company located outside the city. This was followed by the Meredith Manufacturing Company. 40 Then the foundry failed as well as the company that manufactured wagons. Most of the smaller manufacturing enterprises disappeared before the eighties. Three major companies survived the depression. These included the chair factory, a small construction products company located, at that time, outside the city, and the cigar company. All three were owned completely by local investors, most of whom had little to do with railroad enterprise. The chair factory continued in business until the depression of 1929. The construction products company still exists and is 70 per cent owned by
descendants of its founder. The cigar company survived until 1916.
During the years 1873-1880, no less than eleven of the community's
leading businessmen went bankrupt. 41

During the seventies, while the community's leading businessmen
suffered the effects of the depression, so also did Meredith's less
prominent citizens suffer as a result of their dependence on the rail-
road shops. The repair shops, Meredith's leading employer, drastically
cut its work force during this period. It was even expected that they
would be withdrawn from the community entirely. However, by the end
of 1881, railroad stock had risen to a high of ninety-six and the threat
of the removal was withdrawn for the time being.

Beginning in 1880 Meredith's economy once again expanded. During
the next thirty years a number of new industries were added and a
number of older industries enlarged their operations. The chair fac-
tory twice moved into new and larger buildings. A lumber company was
incorporated and employed about thirty hands. An underwear company was
founded. It employed about one hundred hands while it existed. An
electrical accessory shop was organized. It employed about twenty-
eight hands but expanded to become the parent of one of Meredith's more
important industries. Also, a manufacturing company was incorporated
to produce power hay-presses.

In 1908 a heavy appliance company, The Davis Corporation, was
established and, while it has changed hands considerably, it still
survives as one of Meredith's oldest and most important industries. The
clay company expanded and took over the site where the old wagon works
was once located. A bridge and iron company was also founded. On January 1, 1910, the News published a report of Meredith's Commercial Club. It stated that in 1909 Meredith had twenty-six manufacturing industries capitalized at $722,500, employing 922 men, and was doing an annual business of $1,380,240. The annual payroll was estimated at $452,000. This report excluded the railroad shops with their large payroll and Grantham College which, it was estimated, resulted in an annual business of at least $303,125 in the community. The railroad shops were the leading employer in the city with 350 employees and an annual payroll of $195,000, almost half of the total payroll of the community's other twenty-six industries, excluding the college. In terms of employment, the railroad shops were followed by the construction products company, the heavy appliance company, the chair company, the underwear company, the iron and bridge company, and four cigar manufacturing companies.42

In conjunction with this flurry of economic activity, the population of Meredith rose from 7,940 in 1900 to 9,076 in 1910. By 1920, however, it had declined again to 8,756, a point at which it fluctuated but little until a new peak of 11,804 was reached in 1950.43 Most of this decline and the subsequent stability in Meredith's population can be understood in terms of the removal of the railroad shops from the community in 1913.
The Removal of the Railroad Shops

In spite of all the small industries that appeared and disappeared during these years, in spite of the existence of a college in the community, Meredith was primarily a railroad town. Throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century railroad employment represented the major source of income in the community. In 1889 the News discussed, in an editorial, talk of a new railroad passing through the community. The paper asserted that the talk was "... more than a myth and that it would not be another road that never gets off paper." The road, however, did not materialize and the economic conditions of railroading in the community remained relatively stable, except for the usual ups and downs of minor business cycles, until 1909. In January of 1908, the News reported:

Railroad men say that there are more idle cars in many of the yards just now than for any period for several years. It is believed to be just a temporary condition due to the readjustment of business incident to the recent panic.\(^{45}\)

A few days later the paper announced that because of poor passenger business the Pennsylvania branch reaching Meredith would remove two trains from their schedule.\(^{46}\) A month later the Globe reported that the railroad shops were increasing their work day to nine hours because of an increased appropriation to the local shops. The article continued:

However, none of the men laid off several weeks ago have been employed again. Just why the company will retrench so severely with the business of the road
better than at this period last year is not very
easily explained. At the present time there are
more engines in need of repairs at the local shops
than ever before.47

A few months later another report stated that the "... sudden with­
drawal of funds..." made it necessary to close the shops for a
month. Concerning this, the News speculated:

The (company) is now approaching the close of the
fiscal year, which ends June 1st, and it is thought
that the shut down may have something to do with the
balance sheets of the year... . Railroad men
believe that despite the fact that the number of idle
freight cars on the railroads in the U.S. on April
23rd was 20,000 greater than on the same day last
month, business conditions will improve shortly.48

Thus read the reports given by the newspapers in explanation of
what was happening to men and women in Meredith who depended upon the
railroads for their livelihood. Layoffs were followed by wage cuts.
Occasionally a spurt of business intervened and working hours were
increased but idle men remained idle. Such reports continued to
appear in the local newspapers throughout the years 1908, 1909, 1910,
and 1911. Then, in 1911, an editorial appeared in the Globe under the
title, "Is (Meredith) to lose the Shops?"

This is a question that has been agitating the minds of men in
local business and railroad circles for the past few weeks, and
one Main street dealer believes that he has such a straight tip that
he is said to have offered his business at a very low figure... .
Others put no credence in the reports... . The latter class un­
doubtedly has the right view... . (The Globe) sent a man to in­
vestigate the situation who reports that there is no need to fear
that the shops will move out. The fact that men are not working
full time and that machinery is being taken from (Meredith) does
not mean that the shops will go. It is part of the company's
campaign for economy.49
The threat of losing the community's major industry continued throughout 1911 and 1912. By 1913 the work force in the shops had been cut from approximately 450 to 100 men. In August of 1913 the end was in sight. The Globe reported:

Doors of the shops will be closed completely within the next ten days, and more than 100 men will be thrown out of employment. Only the round house will be maintained out of a once thrifty railway center east of the river. For the past two or three years people have been expecting the hammer to fall. But the matter has been so quietly manipulated recently that the shock was severe Friday when the note sounded. (The Agent) stated that the railroads realized that the shops meant a whole lot to a town like this, but it's a matter of business. When (the Agent) arrived he was asked if he was expecting any other officials in the community during the week. He replied: "No, they forgot about (Meredith) a long time ago. Two years ago it was decided that in due time the shops here would be wiped out, and since that time they have paid little attention to the local situation." Six years ago there were 450 men on the payroll, drawing down thousands of dollars each month. The work dwindled and the force was decreased each year until now there are but 150 men on the list. At the same time other places will be profiting from our loss. One terminal has 500 men at work and Beech Grove, near Indianapolis, has three times that number. Several men from (Meredith) are now at work at Beech Grove.

In this manner Meredith lost its major economic enterprise. With it went the community's dream of becoming a major rail terminal. With it also went some of the community's more prominent citizens and many, many more of its less prominent citizens. One of the major reasons for this loss was that most of the railroad enterprise promoted in Meredith had never involved anything but relatively short lines. Big railroad power did not reside in the community; it resided in New York, Philadelphia, and Cleveland. Certainly a second reason involved the assumption that industry would automatically follow the railroads. The
truth of the matter was contrary to this assumption. Railroads automatically followed industry, especially big industry.

It would almost appear that individual men and women in Meredith did not realize what was happening until long after the event had taken place. This was certainly true of the newspapers. What actually happened when the shops were removed from Meredith was that the community had had its first experience with the big corporations. As the big railroad corporations such as the New York Central and the Pennsylvania Railroad Systems came into existence, the smaller companies gradually disappeared and the short lines they owned became little more than links in a huge network of rails. Local entrepreneurs could no longer invest in a community railroad enterprise; instead, they could only buy stocks. The community that had not or could not attract a sufficient amount of the right kind of industry could not hope to receive much attention from a board of directors sitting in New York. As the railroad agent quoted by the Globe had stated, "It's a matter of business." As far as business was concerned, Meredith had none to offer.

As the railroad shops were being dismantled, the News published the following report:

... The Commercial Club is already in communication with officials of the road to determine the price at which they will lease the shops and steps will be taken at once to locate some enterprise in the vacant shops.51

However, as far as can be determined from newspaper reports, the following thirty years, 1913-1943, were largely uneventful as far as
industry is concerned. During these years only three industries of note located in Meredith. One was a derrick company. It employed approximately seventy-two hands but by 1930 it was running at half capacity and employed only thirty-six men. The derrick company failed to survive the depression of 1929. A second industry was a shoe company. Its business was good during the early years of the depression because it produced a cheap shoe. However, it, too, failed to survive. The third industry was a small machine shop which began operations in 1939 with one machine and three employees. It continued to expand and by the time of this study, it employed forty-five men. During these thirty years Meredith was largely dependent upon the college for business, those local industries that had already been established by 1910, and whatever trade it could obtain from the farmers of the county.

In addition to the lack of industrial expansion, during these years Meredith witnessed a number of its older industries going out of business. The cigar company disappeared from the community. The chair company, after nearly sixty years of growth, was struck by the depression and went out of business during the thirties. The underwear company failed. The hay-press company failed. The electrical accessory company's shop was destroyed by fire in 1933, but the company moved to another city and returned a branch plant in 1954. If the budgetary condition of a community's local government can be taken as an index of its general prosperity, then Meredith's prosperity, even during the roaring twenties, was poor indeed. On April 10, 1925, the
following editorial appeared in the Globe:

(Meredith's) predicament . . . namely a city without street lights, police protection and possible fire protection, will be put up to the citizens of the community for solution within the next several weeks . . . . Within the past weeks the Board of Elections has prepared the necessary petitions which are required for carrying out provisions of the resolutions recently passed by the city council to relieve the city's financial crisis . . . . The city council unanimously voted for emergency relief legislation as the only means whereby the city will be able to stay off the financial rocks during 1925 . . . .

The depression, of course, did not improve matters. But for the W.P.A. and other relief funds, it is doubtful whether or not Meredith could have survived the depression while supporting some form of local government.

In summary, the kind of economic development which was pursued in Meredith during this period was dominated by interests in two major enterprises, Grantham College and the railroads which established repair shops in the community. While, from time to time, other industries were founded, their stability and the profits they yielded to the community could not, in the long run, compare with the college and the railroad shops. Their effect on the cultural character of Meredith, therefore, was not as profound as that of the college and railroad industry.

Grantham College brought to the community a professional group of people. These were the college administrators, the college professors, and the ministers affiliated with the religious denomination represented by Grantham. The railroads, on the other hand, gave Meredith citizens of considerable wealth. These were the lawyers, the
bankers, and the railroad investors who, with their profits, could also organize other industries. Some of the wealthiest railroad investors in the state resided in Meredith during this period. At the same time, the railroads also brought to the community the skilled and unskilled workers, who manned the shops and whose wives and children were employed in many of the less important industries. Taken together, the railroad shops and the college largely account for the class system which came to characterize Meredith during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The Social Class System

If an individual's inclusion among the prominent men depicted in the biographical histories of his community is an index of those qualities and deeds which distinguish him from ordinary men and women, then those individuals who are noticeably absent from such annals are likely to be, at least from the biographer's point of view, individuals of a different description. Biographical histories offered a clue to the social class system existing in Meredith during this period. In one history of Coos County, over three hundred pages are devoted to biographical sketches of 318 prominent people. A detailed analysis of these biographies revealed that 101 of the 318 individuals could be considered to have been resident during most of their adult lives in Meredith; the remaining 217 were resident in the county but outside of Meredith. An occupational analysis of these 101 biographies indicated that most of them were primarily prominent in several spheres of activity, including the professions, business and banking, and politics.
A few of them owned small businesses, or held positions as clerks or cashiers in banks, or held minor political office such as fire chief. Since most of them were active in numerous capacities at the same time, it is difficult to employ occupational categories to classify these individuals. For example, a lawyer might also have been prominent as a banker, a railroad investor, and business proprietor.

The characteristics emphasized in these biographies included individual initiative, success, civic devotion, educational achievement, family success, religious virtues, organizational membership, and lineage. All of the 101 individuals, in one way or another, were considered by the biographer to have contributed to the growth and prosperity of the community not only because of the deeds they accomplished, but also because of the personal qualifications they were able to bring to bear upon whatever they undertook to do. Their inclusion in the biographical history of the community indicated, at least from the point of view of the biographer, that they, as "representative citizens," were people of a higher class and distinct from the ordinary men and women living in the community.

Figures of this kind do not always succeed in conveying the more meaningful aspects of the data that are being considered. In order that the style of life which seems to have characterized this group of people be made more meaningful, the biography of Joseph E. Dike, one of the more prominent members of the group, has been summarized for presentation. This biography illustrates the kind of career that is more or less typical of those individuals included in the biographical
The family ancestry of Joseph E. Dike may be traced back to the Reverend John Dike, a Presbyterian clergyman who, with his family, emigrated from Holland and settled in Pennsylvania. In 1804, John's son, James, migrated to the Northwest Territory with his wife and son, Henry. James, it is recorded, was a successful farmer and a man of "strong character." James' son, Henry, was ordained to the ministry and, shortly after, he moved to Coos County in 1824. He became the pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Meredith and served in that office until his death in 1872.

In 1832 the subject of this sketch, Joseph E. Dike, was born. As a boy, Joseph became interested in law. He attended elementary school in Meredith. Later, he attended Grantham College. He took a classical course and graduated in 1851. After Graduation, he entered the law office of Parks and Davis. Here, he studied for two years. In 1853 he was admitted to the bar. His first partnership was with T. W. Parks, a distinguished lawyer in Meredith. This partnership continued until 1862 when he formed a partnership with H. M. Carr. Dike and Carr retained their partnership until 1889, at which time Joseph E. Dike retired from general practice. During these many years, Dike argued several cases before the State Supreme Court and is said to have become well-known throughout the state as a trial lawyer.

It is also recorded in his biography that Joseph Dike had always been active in the Republican Party, but "... rarely aspired to political honors." His interest in politics began in 1859 when he had the occasion to become acquainted with Abraham Lincoln. From that time on he participated in campaign work, even taking to the "stump" in such far-off places as Kansas. His political activity continued until 1896.

During Joseph Dike's active political life, he served four years as Prosecuting attorney of Coos County, four years as Mayor of Meredith, was a candidate for Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, became a candidate for Circuit Judge, and served several terms as Presiding Officer of the Meredith city council. He was also active in the affairs of Grantham College and handled much of their law work. In between these activities he found time to serve a tour of duty in the U. S. Army during the Civil War. Fraternally, he was active in the Masons as well as in a number of veterans' organizations.

While Joseph E. Dike was primarily a lawyer, it is also noted in his biography that he had a "talent for business affairs." He did law work for numerous corporations. He became a large
stockholder and assisted in the organization of the Superior Railroad Company. He served as director of this railroad until its sale to the New York Central Railroad System. In addition, he served as director and then as president of the First National Bank for thirty years. Much of his banking activities are not mentioned in his biography. Dike was also an investor in other banks and loan associations. He organized and became president of the first building association founded in Meredith.

It is emphasized in his biography that Joseph E. Dike was active in church affairs. He was a member of the Presbyterian Church for forty-two years. During most of this time, he served as an elder. Later, he was appointed to the Board of Trustees. This group managed all church property in the church's jurisdiction as well as the investment of all church funds.

In 1861, Joseph E. Dike married the daughter of another prominent Meredith family. To this union three children were born, a son and two daughters. The son, Ralph H. Dike, attended Grantham. Later he became a captain on the general staff of the United States Army and was assigned to the Military Information Bureau in Washington, D. C.

In 1903, Mr. Dike retired from professional and business life and devoted the remainder of his life to agriculture and sheep breeding.

This biographical sketch presents a portrait of the kind of career which tends to be typical of those citizens who became prominent in Meredith during the nineteenth century. Such careers revolved around the legal, medical, and other professions which are prominently pursued in the lineages from which these individuals sprang. These professions commanded prestige. With prestige came the contacts necessary for a successful business and political life. These careers, taken together, represented the upper class families. The members of this class traveled in the same circles and their private and public activities served to relate them one to another. They possessed most of what there was to possess in local society and little was undertaken,
as will be shown in the following chapter, without their active support.
This biographical information raised the following question: If these individuals may be considered to have constituted the upper class in Meredith, what other classes existed and what evidence is there that class distinctions were recognized in the community?

Documentary histories on the community provided virtually no answer to this question. However, in the material available on the religious history of the community it is noted that in the early fifties, when the railroad was being built, at least 200 Irish Catholic families from the neighborhood of Listowel, County Kerry, Ireland, established themselves in East Meredith and remained there permanently even after the construction of the railroad. The number of Catholics in Meredith, it is said, increased almost tenfold. In addition to the Irish, scattered bits of information indicated that in the next quarter of a century a group of South German Catholics also collected in the Eastside of the community. Finally, there was a relatively large group of Negroes who, over a number of years prior to the Civil War, had come to settle in the Southwest part of the community.

That these groups occupied inferior positions in Meredith and were relatively distinct in terms of their characteristic styles of life when compared to the upper class, can only be inferred from numerous scattered events which appeared in the community's two newspapers over a period of years. With respect to the Irish, the first indication that they represented a different and somewhat segregated class appears in the News on March 12, 1869. In that issue, there
appeared an article which discussed the "bad name" which the
"Eastside" had given itself and the fear some people had of passing
through that section of town. The article stated:

The road leading from (Meredith) to (Yorkshire),
through the Irish section, has, as many of our
readers are aware, a very bad name.56

The News complained that this road was "... a hard road to travel
any time," and because of the Irish section, trade from the eastern
parts of the county was being diverted from Meredith. The News, it
will be recalled, is a paper which is published and edited by members
of one of Meredith's oldest and most prominent families.

While Eastsiders differed occupationally and socially from
Westsiders, religion was probably one of the most critical differences.
In 1871 the News was accused of being anti-Catholic. It answered this
charge in an editorial which appeared under the title, "About a column
of slop which someone calling himself 'I. C. U.' has attempted to cast
upon us from the Democratic vessel of this village." The editorial
stated:

As to the charge that we are the enemy of Catholics,
which is as false as it is coarsely made, we might
easily retort that our assailant seems to be an
enemy of Protestants and particularly of German
Protestants, of the most malignant character.57

On occasion, the religious issue broke out in violence. In 1876, the
Globe reported on a lecture "for men only" given by a Reverend J. G. W.
at the Local Opera House. It stated:
He was a fool, who was permitted to use the Protestant pulpits of this city on Sunday as an advertising medium of his obscene lecture of Monday evening, and for the infamous literature which he peddled to prominent youths and others which was supposed to expose the secrets of the confessional. After the lecture Catholics stoned the building and followed Reverend J. G. W. to his hotel with threats.58

These religious tensions were not unusual for the period under study; they existed in most parts of the country where the Irish settled.59 However, the social, economic, and political differences which existed between those groups that settled in the Eastside and those that lived in the Westside were as pronounced as the religious differences. Strong ethnic ties existed which differentiated the areas and, to some extent, loyalty was paid to these ties either politically, socially, or economically.

For example, in 1869 the Globe printed a letter which stated:

There are in this town a few others who never cease making war on the Irish whenever they think it will prejudice our American fellow-citizens against them. One of these men is a candidate for office at the October election ... . This same man has a very refined and influential friend in this town that stands up with the air of dignity and remarks that he can buy all the Irish votes at ten cents per head, and perhaps he says the more aristocratic ones will cost him fifteen cents. Another man ... a partner in a Dry Goods Store in this town, made the insulting remark that he should make himself sharp for them, the Irish, in order he said, that they would not steal all his 'worldly treasures from him' ... . Every family not the victims of the blindest fanaticism and bigotry, who have had practical experience of Irish male and female help, will stamp the insinuation as infamously unjust. This man, it is plain, speaks in the interest of upstart families who have made fortunes by manufacturing monopolies and shady contracts, of which himself is one.60
The letter was obviously written by an Irishman and probably would not have been published in the News, the Globe tending to support the Irish and the Democrats in its editorial policy. This may be illustrated by a political news item which appeared in the News in 1874. The item stated:

It is not probable that a Know-Nothing party will soon be organized on the east side. The two gentlemen nominated and elected by the brethren of that ward are all of foreign birth, and received respectively 251, 253, against 38 and 39 votes cast for two "natives" and to the manner (sic) born who ran for ward offices against them.61

The most common type of material appearing in the newspapers during this period and which imputes qualitative differences between Eastsiders and Westsiders involves statements on moral and ethical behavior. For example, in 1871, the News complained that "... week after week ... Sunday is made hideous over the river by men and boys under the influence of liquor."62 Three years later the same paper reported at least fifteen tramps being housed at the station house in the Eastside and it suggested that instead of giving tramps food, citizens ought to send them to the Eastside.63 Again, in 1875, the following statement appeared in the News:

East (Meredith) Roughs: The young blackguards who make East (Meredith) their rendezvous are, we think, without exception the most degraded and foul mouthed of their age, of any in the State. They seem to have full and unchecked sway, insulting whom, and where they please, notwithstanding that some two or three police were on that side of the river at the time of our complaint. They were all young, too young in fact to be away from their Mothers after 8 o'clock at night, and principal among whom are several young 'kinds' from this side of the river whose names we will not fail to give, if ever we have cause to refer to this matter again.64
Perhaps the differences existing between these groups was most vividly described in a statement which appeared in the News in 1880. A single line stated: "Sunday passed without its usual fights across the Rhine." 65

A few of the Irish and German people living in Meredith, however, were not associated with the Eastsiders in the sense of belonging to their class. These were successful small businessmen who, when they came to Meredith, did not come as railroad workers and did not reside in the Eastside. Some, but few, of the biographies of such individuals appear in the biographical histories of the community. The careers which these individuals pursued, even the most outstanding of them, are less eventful than those of the more prominent individuals depicted in biographical histories. This may be illustrated by summarizing the biography of Martin Lubel, probably the most outstanding German Catholic to settle in Meredith during the nineteenth century.

Martin Lubel was born in Bavaria, Germany in 1827. At the age of seven he accompanied his parents to America. They first settled in Philadelphia and then moved to Wheeling where they remained for only a few months. In 1835, Martin Lubel and his parents moved to Meredith where Martin took up his schooling.

At the age of twelve, Martin began to learn the baker's trade from his brother. He worked at the trade while attending school. When his brother moved to California, Martin bought out his interests and conducted the business alone. He succeeded and is said to have made profitable investments. After accumulating much property, much of which consisted of railroad stock, he retired in 1882.
Lubel became one of the first stock holders of the First National Bank. In 1895, he was elected its vice-president. He also was elected treasurer of the electric company and became an officer of the power and heat company. These accomplishments, it seems, came very late in life.

From the time the Lubels settled in Meredith, they lived in the Westside. Martin was a Democrat in politics and a Catholic in religion.

This is the extent to which the history of Martin Lubel, "one of the city's astute financiers," is reported. Such individuals as Martin Lubel shared characteristics with both the more prominent people in the community and the less prominent people who lived in the ethnic ghettos located in East Meredith. As would be said by more prominent members of the community today, individuals like Martin Lubel "are able to carry water on both shoulders." It can be assumed that Martin Lubel, and the few others like him, provided much of the leadership which Eastsiders had during the nineteenth century.

Thus the Eastside came to be an area associated with people of distinct description. In social status, Eastsiders ranked inferior to Westsiders and particularly those individuals which biographers have counted among the community's "more representative" citizens. The distinction between Eastsiders and Westsiders, however, involved more than a difference in rank. It also involved a difference in kind. The kind of life which individual men and women lived in the Eastside was a different kind of life than that lived by Meredith's more prominent citizens. Eastsiders worked in the railroad yards and shops. They lived in sub-standard houses. They brawled, not only
among themselves but with others in the community. They were anti-
temperance; they not only drank beer during the week, but also on
Sundays. The Germans among them made their own beer. Those of them
who became men of business often became tavern-keepers. It is esti-
mated that at one time there existed at least twenty taverns in the
Eastside. Most of the Eastsiders attended what was considered to be
a "foreign" type of church. They were said to sell their votes, par-
ticularly to Democrats. They were thought to be clanish and extremely
difficult to get along with. Long after their major source of income,
the railroads, had left the community, the class symbols associated
with the Eastside remained virile in Meredith.

For example, in 1959, more than three quarters of a century
after the period under discussion, many informants recalled how, at
one time, Westsiders didn't dare to cross the bridge to the Eastside.
One informant, an Eastsider, recalled how her children cried when
they had to attend high school in the Westside because they were
"afraid of Westsiders." Still another informant, a member of the
faculty at Grantham College, recalled that when he was hired as a
teacher a college official informed him that members of Grantham's
faculty were not permitted to buy or rent homes in the Eastside and,
that if they insisted on doing so, their jobs were no longer avail-
able. When this informant complained that his salary did not permit
him to rent in the Westside he was given a slight increase in pay to
compensate for the difference in rent. A minister complained that he
refused to participate in church activities at Grantham because the college promoted prejudicial attitudes against Eastside people and these, after all, were his parishioners.

It goes without saying that Negroes constituted a distinct social class during the period under discussion. Particularly the Irish and German Democrats who lived in the Eastside considered them inferior, as a group, and the fact that the Negroes tended to vote Republican did not help matters between these groups. However, many of the more prominent individuals in the community also seem to have shared this attitude. Most of the Negroes in Meredith had settled there by invitation prior to the Civil War. The idea of slavery outraged many people in Meredith, particularly the Protestants. They sought to provide a helping hand to those who suffered from this system. The Underground Railway provided access to the community for most of the Negroes who came to settle in the southwest part of the city. In 1869, however, around the time the Negroes were given the right to vote, the true feelings of people in the community began to be expressed more openly. The following statement appeared in the Globe:

(Who) can take any sullen low browed one and think that he can equate (with them) the white man's vote? (They) . . . are but once removed from the beasts of the Guinea forests . . . . The lower the intelligence and moral character of a ruler the worse the government and (in the United States) the people are the ruler. How, with the civilization of Guinea before them and the government of San Domingo on their right hand, can conscientious men, not idiots, descant on the normal equality of races, or want to try the experiment of a black Republic?67
The complaint here was that such an "ignorant and depraved race" would be prey to demagogues. Less than a year later, the same paper attempted to justify this complaint in the following terms:

In our election the great majority of them (the Negroes) voted the Republican ticket . . . . We are not surprised at this since there was no lack of advice as to how they should vote. They were advised politically and religiously . . . . Their conduct at the polls was orderly and their deportment inoffensive; they voted as they were told.

Class recognition extended beyond the political arena. In 1878 a letter appeared in the Globe stating that the recent action of the school board, which allowed Negro children to use part of the South Meredith school house, brought "... screams from parents who say they will hold their kids at home if they are mixed in school."

As in the case of Eastsiders, class differences still exist in Meredith with respect to Negroes. Shortly before this study began a local barber had been thrown out of a social club for allowing Negroes to patronize his shop. Negro informants complained that they could obtain employment in only one of the community's dozen or more industries unless they wished to take positions as janitors. One informant, a high official in the Chamber of Commerce, stated quite emphatically that Meredith did not welcome any industry which employed or would employ Negroes.

Although it is difficult to delineate social classes from the rather limited historical data available on Meredith, enough data exist so that inferences may be made. It appears that at least four
distinct social classes came into being during the latter half of the nineteenth century. On top of the class structure there was a group which consisted primarily of professional and business people. For the most part, they were lawyers, doctors, ministers, educators, proprietors, bankers, railroad investors, and realtors. As a sideline, many of them owned or came to own farms in the county. They generally retired to these farms after leaving their professional and business lives. In Meredith, most of this group settled in what was considered to be the community's most desirable area at that time, roughly the northern part of the middle area designated on the sample map (Figure 2). The huge mansions which these people constructed in this area still stand as a testimonial to their luxurious living but they are now used as apartment houses. As the community grew, this class continued to build in the northwestern section.

In terms of religion, this upper class was Protestant. In terms of politics, they were primarily Republican but a few of them were famous as Democrats. In terms of ancestry, most of the professional and business class were primarily Welsh, North German, Pennsylvania Dutch, Scotch, and English. Most of them migrated to Meredith from New England, New York, and Pennsylvania.

Below this class there existed a group which would now be called white collar workers and small businessmen. Not much is known of this group from the historical literature, but it seems to have consisted of many of the early and less successful people who settled in the community and whose ancestry was similar to that of the upper
class. Because they couldn't afford the palatial mansions of the upper class, members of this group built their homes in the Westside and on the fringes of the upper class area. Voting statistics indicate that they were primarily Republican, conservative, and pro-temperance.

On the bottom of the class structure there were two classes which consisted primarily of unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled workers employed in the railroad shops and yards and in the other industries which existed in the community. Their wives were often employed as servants in the homes of the upper class and in the lighter industries. The Irish and German Catholics, which constituted one of these classes, settled primarily in the Eastside. Most of them had migrated to Meredith directly from Europe. In terms of politics, most of them were Democrats and anti-temperance. The Negroes, which constituted the second of these two lower classes, settled in the southwest section of the city. In terms of religion, the Negroes were mostly Protestant. In terms of politics, they were Republican, conservative, and pro-temperance.

Perhaps a more objective description of the styles of life which these different classes displayed can be inferred from tax assessors' reports. A list of taxable personal property holders, by voting ward, appeared in the News in 1887. At that time there existed five voting wards in Meredith. These wards nearly coincided with the areas in which the different social classes were located. Ward I was entirely located in the northwest section where the upper class people
lived. Ward II approximated the area in which most, but not all, of
the middle class people lived. Ward III included the area in which
the Negroes lived but its boundaries were such that it must have also
included some whites. Wards IV and V included all of the Eastside and
small portions of the area in which middle class people lived.

Realizing the limitations of such approximations, the list of
taxable personal property holders showed that in Ward I, sixty-nine
people owned personal property valued at $429,230. This represented
37 per cent of the total amount of personal property listed as tax-
able in the entire community. In Ward II, a middle class area,
twenty-four individuals were listed for $138,858. This represented
only 12 per cent of the total of all taxable personal property in the
community. In Ward III, a mixed Negro and white area, twenty people
owned personal property which represented 9 per cent of the total
amount taxable in the community. In Wards IV and V, mostly lower
class areas but including some middle class people living east of
the river, thirteen and fourteen people owned, respectively, 6 and
4 per cent of the total amount of taxable personal property in the
community.

Summarizing these figures, a total of 140 individuals owned
68 per cent of all taxable personal property listed in Meredith in
1887. This group represented less than 2 per cent of the total pop-
ulation for that date. To the extent that personal property can be
taken as an index of the style of life characteristic of a group of
individuals, these figures suggest that those individuals living in
the northwest section practiced a style of life which was much more luxurious than that practiced by ordinary men and women living in the community during this period. In terms of ownership of taxable personal property, this group possessed three times as much of what was worth possessing as the next nearest group, and almost seven times as much as that owned by individuals living in the fourth and fifth voting wards.

It is difficult to determine exactly what percentages of the total population of Meredith these social classes represented. However, if one is permitted to apply the rule of counting five individuals for every vote cast, voting statistics provide the basis for making rough estimates. In 1892, the voting wards were changed from five to six. While the third ward, the area in which Negroes lived, remained a mixed area, the fourth and fifth wards were made to coincide almost completely with the area east of the river and in which the Irish and German Catholics resided. On the basis of taking the average vote cast in each ward in the local election of 1892 and multiplying these averages by five, the estimated total population of Meredith for that year would be 8,040. According to the official census, the total population in 1890 was 8,224 and declining. Thus, the rule of counting five people per vote cast provides a fairly accurate estimate, at least for that period.

On the basis of this procedure, the upper class can be estimated to have represented 18 per cent of Meredith's total population in 1892. The middle class, Wards II and VI, represented approximately 34 per
cent of the population of the community. However, if it can be assumed, as some historians of Meredith have suggested, that the Negroes represented approximately 5 per cent of the population at that time, then the estimate for the middle class would increase from 34 to 45 per cent on the basis of the vote cast in the third ward. On the basis of the vote cast in the two eastside wards, the lower class Irish and German population represented approximately 32 per cent of Meredith's total population in 1892. While these figures can not be taken as exact, they probably give a fairly accurate picture of the relative size of these four social classes as they existed in Meredith toward the end of the period under discussion.

The Cultural Conditions of Power: Summarized

Having considered the social class structure, it is now possible to summarize the cultural conditions of power which existed in Meredith during the period 1850 to 1900. With respect to the way of life which came to be characteristic of the community, it must be taken into account that Meredith was founded as an economic venture. Its attraction to settlers was a promise of wealth to be achieved when the community would become the state capital. Having failed in this, those people who had invested in Meredith were forced to be concerned with the problem of establishing an attractive and prosperous economy or lose what they had invested.

In pursuit of economic development, the early settlers took advantage of the opportunity to establish a college in Meredith. The
establishment of Grantham College affected the cultural life of the community in numerous ways. First, as a conservative Protestant denominational college, it established its religious, moral, and political outlook as part of Meredith's culture. This outlook included conservative Republican thinking, a pro-temperance moral attitude, and, to some extent, laissez-faire individualism. Second, as an institution of higher learning, Grantham contributed to the formation of the community's class structure. It attracted to Meredith a professional group of people which included college administrators, professors, and ministers. It provided a status symbol in the community for those who had attended the college as well as those who could afford to send their children to Grantham for education. Third, Grantham became a permanent fixture in the community's economy. It provided jobs and it provided a student body which did business in the community for eight or more months out of every year. In spite of all this, Grantham did not, during this period, become the dominant economic factor in the community's way of life.

In pursuit of further economic development, the citizens of Meredith became particularly interested in railroad enterprise. After realizing attractive profits from the first railroad which entered the community, every effort was made to obtain additional roads and to secure the railroad repair shops which established Meredith as a terminal. While efforts were made to develop other industries, they were relatively unimportant in comparison to the efforts made to develop railroad industry. By the turn of the century, at least one-
third of the community's labor force was employed in the railroad shops and since this accounted for approximately 25 to 30 per cent of the community's total payroll, many more were dependent upon this employment. To this extent, Meredith became a one-industry town.

The effect of railroad enterprise on Meredith's way of life was profound. First, it attracted to the community Irish and German ethnic groups. These strong ethnic groups established themselves in the East-side and practiced a way of life extremely different from that of those groups attracted to Meredith by the college. Not only did the German and Irish belong to the laboring class, but their religion, their politics, and their social life differed from that of the upper class. In terms of religion, they were Catholic. They were poorly educated. Politically, they were anti-temperance and strongly Democratic. In a large metropolitan community, these extreme groups might have been relatively oblivious to one another. In the confines of a small town, however, this was not possible. Second, the railroads had the effect of creating men of great wealth in the community. These were lawyers, bankers, and businessmen who made large profits on their railroad investments and who, with one another, reinvested these profits in other enterprises. This group more than any other, as will be seen in the following chapter, came to be a power elite in the community. Third, the investment in railroad enterprise, ultimately, was an investment of the community's future in the hands of corporations whose officers did not reside in Meredith.
In many small towns and even in some big cities upper class families usually stand above those of the middle and working classes. This class has often been referred to as "local society." If local society has ever been more local in America than it is today, it was during the nineteenth century when most of its members were not only local in the sense of presiding over a small town, but also in the sense of having been "native" to the town over which they presided. In nineteenth century Meredith the upper class owned most of what was worth owning. They lived in the mansions which have since been converted into apartment houses. They were very much involved in politics. If they went to different churches, they at least shared a membership in the Masons or a similar organization which brought them together in affairs other than business. They, and many of their sons and daughters, graduated from Grantham College. In addition to their business ventures, many of them could boast of professional titles. The professions, particularly that of law, often served as the vehicle by which inside information, both economic and political, was obtained which safeguarded and furthered their business enterprises.

While such a group may function as an elite of prestige and status, it need not dominate the power system. The extent to which the upper class dominates the power system depends upon a number of factors. First, it depends upon the means of power over which its members have control relative to other individuals in the community. Second, it depends upon the relationships existing between members of
the upper class as a result of their relationship to the means of power. Third, and most important, it depends upon whether or not the making of decisions critical to the community's social order depends upon the participation of such a group. The cultural conditions existing in Meredith during the period 1850-1900 were such that they were conducive to the existence of an elite-dominated system of power. At the same time, these cultural conditions were pluralistic and they provided the basis in terms of which such a system of power tended to function democratically rather than autocratically. The description of the relationship of Meredith's culture to the structure and organization of power during the period under discussion provides the subject matter of the following chapter.

Notes

1Pseudonyms are used for all names of people, places, landmarks, and industries which might reveal the identity of the community under study. References to published or unpublished works which involve the name of the community or county in their titles or which, because of the names of authors or publishers, might reveal the identity of the community are not given. Statements borrowed from such works are indicated by footnotes and such references are available to those interested for scholarly purposes. It is recognized that this procedure is unusual, but it is believed to be justified because of the nature of some of the data reported in the text.

2Yorkshire eventually became a small farm community with a few stores and a filling station which provide services and goods to surrounding farmers.

3Quoted from a sesqui-centennial souvenir program which was published in the community in 1958.
Quoted from one of the available histories of the county which was published in 1908.

One source gives some insight into the success and ultimate failure of Colonel Carter. It states that during the two years preceding his death in 1826 he had been "deranged." This source continues and describes the man as follows: "While he possessed the qualities so necessary to the performance of the task which he set for himself, yet he seems never to have had the sincere love and respect of the community with which he surrounded himself. Hard and grasping in his disposition, and knowing no criterion but success, his methods were not always such as could command approval of those who believe in justice and fair dealing at all times and under all circumstances. All his efforts seem to have been inspired solely for the purpose of acquiring wealth rather than through the patriotic desire of reclaiming wilderness for civilization for its own sake alone . . . . Towards the latter part of his life, he became involved in financial difficulties, largely through the recklessness of his son, who seems to have inherited little of his father's capacity for business . . . . Beside his son (James) . . . he had another, William, who was an imbecile. He also had three daughters who married men of prominence and influence in the community at the time." Ibid.

In addition to other historical sources, there exists a documentary history devoted exclusively to Grantham College. This history was published in 1895. Much of the information reported here was obtained from this source.

News, August 4, 1871.
Ibid., April 16, 1897.
Ibid., October 8, 1874.
Globe, September 24, 1874.
Ibid., April 5, 1887.
Ibid., August 13, 1874.
News, April 28, 1875.
16 Ibid., May 6, 1875.

17 Globe, June 26, 1875.

18 Ibid., September 28, 1877.

19 News, November 14, 1833.

20 Quoted from an M.A. thesis on the industrial history of the county between the years 1870-1880. The thesis was submitted to The Ohio State University in 1959. The author of this thesis was extremely helpful in the collection of historical data in that he made available the data he had collected in addition to that which appeared in his thesis. The name of the thesis and the author can not be given without falsifying the reference or revealing the identity of Meredith.

21 Ibid.


23 Ibid., December 2, 1870.

24 Globe, February 10, 1870.

25 See footnote 20.

26 Globe, February 29, 1872.

27 See footnote 20.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 News, January 30, 1884.

31 Ibid., January 19, 1909.

32 Globe, August 8, 1872.

33 News, July 12, 1872.
34 See footnote 20.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
39 News, July 19, 1877.
40 Ibid., July 19, 1877.
41 See footnote 20.
42 News, January 1, 1910


43 News, July 9, 1889.
44 Ibid., January 14, 1908.
46 Globe, February 20, 1908.
47 News, May 1, 1908.
48 Globe, March 23, 1911.
49 Ibid., August 26, 1913.
50 News, August 26, 1913.
51 Globe, April 10, 1925.
53 History of Coos County, 1908.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 News, March 12, 1869

57 Ibid., February 10, 1871.

58 Globe, November 24, 1876.

59 Allen Billington, The Protestant Crusade (New York: Rinehart
and Company, 1952.

60 Globe, September 9, 1869.

61 News, April 9, 1874.

62 Ibid., November 24, 1871.

63 Ibid., January 23, 1874.

64 Ibid., September 16, 1875.

65 Ibid., August 19, 1880.

66 History of Coos County, 1908.

67 Globe, August 8, 1869.

68 Ibid., April 7, 1870.

69 Ibid., September 20, 1878.

70 News, May 21, 1877. In 1877, in addition to a councilman being
elected from each ward, an assessor was also elected. The assessor had
a vote on countil and another of his functions was to evaluate the real
estate and personal property existing in his ward for tax purposes. The
total amount of personal property listed by ward assessors in 1887 was
valued at $1,152,550. Only those individuals assessed for $2,000 or
more were required to pay personal property taxes. The names of these
individuals appeared in the paper.

Voting statistics appeared in the News, April 8, 1892.
CHAPTER IV

THE STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF POWER: 1850-1900

Because of the limitations of historical data, it is not possible to reconstruct the exact distribution of the means of power that existed in Meredith during the period 1850-1900. Nevertheless, sufficient data are available to permit inferences to be made as to what that distribution might well have been. The most important means of power existing in Meredith, and for which there exists ample data, consisted of the institutional participation of prominent members of the upper class, the ownership of investment and productive property, as well as political parties and the votes they controlled. While the means of power are crucial to the kind of social order of any community, their distribution is particularly affected by the cultural conditions of the community. The relationship between these means of power and the cultural conditions in this period might be considered briefly.

During the period under discussion, Meredith's culture promoted an institutional participation which, with respect to the upper class, served to relate different individual interests and different individual careers, one with another. These individuals, from a structural point of view, constituted an elite. The cultural conditions that promoted the existence of this elite included those special circumstances which made the economic development of the community so important.
For example, in 1960 the industrialist in Meredith is a relatively specialized individual as far as the community is concerned. He is interested primarily in his own business and his interest in the community is usually limited to those affairs which are beneficial to his business. He maintains his plant in the community as long as it is advantageous for it to be there. Associationally, the contemporary industrialist is represented by his executives in various organizations and he travels in a relatively exclusive circle of friends who share his special interests and who are able to do things for him. In contrast to this, the industrialist, or any other type of prominent person of the nineteenth century was a different type of person. He was not only an industrialist, but in addition, he was often a banker, a professional of one kind or another, a railroad investor or officer, a political party leader, and possibly, the holder of some kind of public office. Because he lived in something of a frontier community located in what, today, would be called an "underdeveloped area," his personal goals, to some extent, could not be realized apart from those of the community. In most instances his private interests were inseparable from his community interests. Today if the community wants business, it goes out after one that is a going concern. During the historical period, going concerns were scarce. If the community wanted business, it usually had to create it. The industrialist was usually a native of the community and even his most selfish interests often required that he be interested in the development of the community.
Since the ownership of investment and productive property is usually crucial to the social order of a community, it must be considered as a means of power. During the historical period the ownership of investment and productive property was highly concentrated in the hands of a relatively few individuals whose profits depended upon the continued prosperity of the community as well as that of the larger society. The huge corporations which today provide investment outlets were still in the process of developing. The most available investment outlets were those which insured the continued expansion of the community's economy. Thus, as individuals made profits, these profits were further invested in other local enterprises. As a result, there existed partnerships of one kind or another and most of the local investment and productive property came to be owned by a relatively small group of individuals. These individuals, in addition to their being related to one another through their institutional participation, were related to one another by virtue of their specific investments.

As a result of these particular cultural conditions, political parties constituted a relatively important means of power for several reasons. First, local government was a relatively autonomous unit. It made more decisions critical to the community's existing social order than it has ever made since. Thus, local government had power by virtue of the decisions it made. Second, the importance of local government promoted the existence of an active and vigorous two party system. Third, the distribution of political party membership tended to be similar to the distribution of social class membership. While
leaders of both parties belonged to the upper class, Democratic leaders depended primarily upon the lower class vote for their support. This provided a basis for dissent in the power structure. Since the elite had to depend upon the cooperation of local government in important economic matters, this meant that the lower classes were able to exercise some influence over some of the many decisions the elite made. At the same time, because of the strong ethnic group attachments of the lower classes and the expression of these attachments through political party membership, the elite had relatively little control over the lower classes in that they were not easily diverted from those class interests which centered on their ethnic identity.

The Structure of Power: Institutional Participation

In the investigation of historical material concerning the power structure, an attempt was made to gather data on the institutional activities by which individuals came to occupy prominent positions in the historical annals of Meredith. The procedure employed involved a detailed analysis of biographical information available on the 101 individuals mentioned in the previous chapter. No individual was included in the analysis unless at least two paragraphs of biographical data were reported on him in one or more of the available documentary histories. Whenever possible these biographical data are supplemented by information collected from newspaper items and not appearing in the biographies of particular individuals.

For the purpose of classifying and enumerating the institutional activities of these 101 individuals, twelve institutional
categories were employed. These categories included (1) participation in railroad enterprise, (2) participation in banking enterprise, (3) proprietorship of a business, (4) partnership in other business enterprises, (5) participation in the activities of Grantham College, (6) practice of a profession, (7) occupancy of a town and/or county political office, (8) occupancy of a state and/or national political office, (9) membership in the Masonic Order, (10) membership in fraternal organizations other than the Masonic Order, (11) participation as a leader in the Republican Party, and (12) participation as a leader in the Democratic Party. These informational categories are not all of the same level of generalization. For example, all of them could be subsumed under three or four broader categories such as political institutions or economic institutions. The reason for using the categories employed here is that they more clearly and precisely conveyed the high-points emphasized in biographical material describing individual careers.

Table I summarizes the information gathered on the institutional participation of 101 prominent male members of the upper class for the period 1850-1900. As is shown in the table, these 101 individuals occupied 406 statuses in Meredith. Seventeen of them were involved in railroad enterprise. Twenty-five were involved in banking. Forty-seven were proprietors. Thirty-four were affiliated with the college either as faculty members, prominent alumni, or administrators. Forty-three of these 101 individuals were professionals. Thirty-one held partnerships in other businesses and forty-six, at one time or another, held local political offices.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutional Categories</th>
<th>Number of 101 Individuals in Each Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Railroad Enterprise</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking Enterprise</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietor</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grantham College</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partnership in Other Businesses</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Political Office</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State or National Political Office</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masons</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Fraternal Organizations</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leader in Republican Party</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leader in Democratic Party</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The figures given in Table I do not convey the spread of activity of specific groups of individuals. For example, of the 101 individuals included in the analysis, seven participated in seven or more spheres of institutional activity, twenty-eight participated in five or more spheres of institutional activity, and fifty participated in three or more of these twelve institutions. Only sixteen of the 101 individuals participated in from one to two spheres of institutional activity. If the seven most active individuals in this group be considered, taken together, they occupied a total of fifty-three prominent status positions in Meredith in terms of the biographical information available. Of these seven individuals, five were prominent for their active participation in railroad enterprise, five were involved with one or more of the community's banks, two owned businesses of their own, five had investments in other businesses, six of the seven were professionals of one kind or another, six held offices at the local level, five held state or national offices, five of the seven belonged to the Masons, two belonged to other fraternal organizations, four were considered to be Republican leaders, and three were considered to be leaders in the Democratic Party. Since all seven of these individuals were contemporaries of one another, it seems safe to conclude that they must have had a high level of interaction with one another because of their institutional activity in the community.

In the careers of these 101 individuals, the legal, medical, and other professions are prominently represented. In many cases the
professions are prominently represented in their family lineages. The professions, particularly the legal and medical professions, commanded prestige. With prestige came the contacts necessary for a successful business and political life. The careers of these 101 individuals, taken together, represented the upper class families that presided over Meredith during the period under discussion. The members of these families possessed most of what there was to possess in local society and little was undertaken without their active support. In terms of institutional participation, these individuals traveled in the same circles; and institutional participation served to relate these careers, one with another. As far as Meredith was concerned, this meant that the community was to seek its economic prosperity in the pursuit of railroad enterprise.

The elite which was the product of this institutional participation was a local elite. The society this elite presided over was a local society and what was best for this group was usually considered to be best for the community. The investments which brought profits to the elite were considered to be investments in the community's economy and the fortunes this group amassed were local fortunes. Unlike the nineteenth century profiteers and business tycoons, and unlike many contemporary businessmen and industrialists, the members of this elite could not and did not flee local society when the pastures were no longer as green as they might have been. The parochialism of this group is revealed by the diffuseness of its investment in local enterprise. In terms of the structure of power,
the elite not only occupied the important institutional positions in
the community, but it also controlled most of what there was to be had
by way of investment and productive property. This point becomes
clear when the distribution of the control or ownership of investment
and productive property is considered in relation to the community's
culture and power structure.

The Structure of Power:
Control of Investment and Productive Property

Investment property may be thought of as the total amount of
capital which is available in the community for the purpose of private
or public investment in goods, services, real estate, or productive
equipment and facilities. It is, in other words, the money which is
available for making more money. To the extent that such property is
processed through banking and loan houses, those who control or own
such organizations have much to say about how such property will be
used and for what purposes it will be used. Productive property, on
the other hand, may be thought of as the real estate and capital equip­
ment employed in the production of goods. Those individuals or groups
who control productive property have a great deal to say about the kind
of life that is available to individual men and women in the community
who are dependent upon this property for their livelihood.

As in the case of institutional positions, the relationships
existing among certain members of the upper class were interlocked
with one another in terms of their ownership or control of investment
and productive property. Furthermore, to the extent that a relatively
small group of individuals invested in not one but many of Meredith's major economic enterprises, these individuals may be said to have had an investment in the community itself. The diffuseness of these investments attached these individuals to the community in a way in which the contemporary industrialist, because his only investment is in the enterprise he owns, is not attached to the community.

In order to illustrate these points, the data available on the twenty-one investment and productive enterprises existing in Meredith between 1850 and 1900 were studied. As far as it was possible from historical sources such as newspaper reports and documentary histories, their directors, officers, incorporators, and largest stockholders among the residents of Meredith were listed. Of all the investment and productive enterprises existing during this period, only those were selected for which ample data of this kind were available and which were considered to be vital to the social and economic life of Meredith.

Table II lists these enterprises. Included are the banking houses existing in Meredith during this period, two railroads which accounted for much employment, the cigar and chair factories which accounted for a large part of the non-railroad employment, the major utility companies, and a number of associations affecting financial policy in the community. Included are a number of small companies which provided employment. It should not be understood that all of these enterprises existed at the same time. The list includes the major enterprises existing during the entire period under discussion. As indicated in the previous chapter, most of them did exist during a considerable portion of this period.
TABLE II

OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF MAJOR INVESTMENT AND PRODUCTIVE PROPERTIES: 1850-1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Investment and Productive Properties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J. E. Dike</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. T. Cumins</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. E. Lites</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. G. Lyons</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. E. Law</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Waddle</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. A. Cumins</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Lubel</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Billings</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. H. Wold</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. W. Lites</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Lubel</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. B. Scott</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Tower</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. M. Marion</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. L. Bradford</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. F. Schmidt</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. T. Parks</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. F. Fry</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Parks</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. P. Shores</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. K. Newcome</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The left hand column of Table II presents a list of the twenty-two men who, as officers, directors, incorporators, or major stockholders, had the most to do with most of the organizations listed. This list of individuals comprises probably less than 50 per cent of the total number of individuals involved in these organizations. For example, individuals involved but not living in Meredith are not represented in the list. The list attempts to focus on those individuals who had something to do with the greatest variety of investment and productive properties in the community. As is shown in Table II, ten of the twenty-two men listed were officers, directors, incorporators, or major stockholders in five or more of the twenty-one investment and/or productive organizations included in the table. One individual, Joseph E. Dike, whose biography was summarized in the previous chapter, had influence in at least nine of these organizations. In a sense, Joseph E. Dike was to Meredith between 1850 and 1900 what Colonel Carter was to Meredith during the first twenty years of the community's history. He was first and foremost in almost every undertaking which promoted the community's economy.

A significant fact illustrated in Table II is the relationship existing between railroad and banking enterprise during this period. Of the thirteen individuals who were considered to be large stockholders or important incorporators of the Superior and Blue Line Railroad Companies, all but two had considerable influence in one or more of Meredith's several banking and loan houses. This would seem to substantiate the dominant role of railroad interests during this period.
A more significant fact illustrated in Table II is that the distribution of the ownership or control of investment and productive property was such that these means of power served to relate the members of the upper class with one another. Almost every individual included in the list in Table II had economic ties with every other individual in the list. In addition to these strong economic ties, fifteen individuals out of the twenty-two were prominent as members of the Meredith Board of Trade. The Meredith Board of Trade seems to have been an organization not entirely unlike the contemporary Chamber of Commerce, except that its interests were broader and much less specialized than today's Chamber of Commerce.

Several cultural factors may be advanced in explanation of the concentration of these means of power in the hands of relatively few people. One important cultural consideration is the size of the community. By the middle of this period Meredith was still in the process of economic development and its population had reached only 6,000. During periods of expansion and growth, such as that which characterized Meredith during the nineteenth century, smaller communities required a greater pooling of resources in order to develop local economies than was necessary in larger communities. Still another cultural consideration is the kind of local economy Meredith was seeking to develop. Great emphasis was placed on railroad industry. Individuals do not usually command the economic resources to incorporate railroads on their own, nor do they usually command the economic resources to attract railroads on their own. Generally, such
large undertakings require cooperation not only between individuals who command resources, but also between these individuals and the community as a whole. Such enterprise, unless it is completely government controlled, tends to promote a concentration of power. A third cultural factor which must be considered is the diversity of economic enterprise. During this period, the diversity of economic enterprise was limited by geography and, above all, by the level of technological development characteristic of both the local and the larger society. Outside of the railroad industry, not many other kinds of industrial enterprises had been developed which could have been attracted to Meredith. It was necessary, therefore, to develop the economy from within the community. Thus, there came to exist a number of small industries such as paper mills, woolen mills, implement companies, chair factories, and the like. Most of these were locally owned and controlled corporations devised not only to make profits but also to place the community on the industrial map. As a result, economic development was more communal in character than at the present time and those individuals who participated in this development came to own and control what there was to be owned and controlled.

That economic development, particularly that which involved railroads, tended to be communal in character can be illustrated by the role local government played in Meredith's political economy between 1850 and 1900. Since local government and political parties represented important means of power during this period, they will be described in greater detail below. A few points are raised here,
however, because of their relationship to the political activities of various members of the upper class.

Briefly, railroad industry involved the investment of public as well as private money. This was so not only because of the costs, but also because railroads demanded that communities seeking their blessings share in these costs, and also because of the need for community cooperation with respect to land, right-of-ways, and the provision of services and industrial sites. To some extent, community cooperation was also needed for the development of non-railroad enterprise. In a community such as Meredith used to be, not much could be accomplished by way of any major undertaking without some form of community cooperation. If for no other reason, this was true because individuals who had been motivated to move this far west, if not satisfied, certainly would not hesitate to move a little further west or into the not too distant metropolitan areas that were merging. Ten or fifteen years of settlement can not be considered long enough to establish traditions which would bind individuals, who had come from great distances, to a community without a future. Whatever the reason one may conjecture in explanation of this, the fact remains that individuals interested in the future of the community, whether motivated by private or public gain, had to secure community cooperation. This meant involvement in governmental institutions.

While contemporary businessmen, bankers, or industrialists seldom find it necessary or expedient to become publicly involved in the institutions of local government, this was certainly not the case
during the period under discussion. This point may be illustrated by considering the political activity of the twenty-two men whose names appear in Table II. Of this group, J. E. Dike, T. F. Fry, and J. K. Newcome, all served terms as mayor of Meredith. In addition, T. F. Fry served two terms in the State House of Representatives, Dike served one term as Prosecuting Attorney, two terms as a member of City Council from Ward I, and several terms as presiding officer of the City Council. F. M. Marion served two terms as Prosecuting Attorney and, in 1880, he served a term in the State Senate. B. F. Schmidt served two terms as County Clerk of Courts and ran for State Representative on the Republican ticket in 1877. T. Parks represented Coos County at the State Constitutional Convention in 1873, ran for County Auditor in 1877, won a term as Congressman in 1882, and ran for Governor in 1887. H. Billings served several terms on the Board of Education. R. G. Lyons served as a delegate to the State Republican Convention in 1885, was elected to City Council in 1884 and in 1886, and had a brother who served in the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses and who was elected to the City Council in 1895. J. W. Wold served a term as Ward I assessor in 1892 and had a brother who served six terms as County Surveyor. S. E. Law served on the Republican Central Committee in 1875 and was elected to two terms on the Cemetery Board of Trustees.

Thus the members of Meredith's upper class and many members of their families were active in politics. They served on Democratic and Republican Central Committees. They served as delegates to state conventions. Some competed for and held city and county offices. Some
held such minor offices as Cemetery Trustee. In any event, they kept their hands in politics as well as in the banks, the loan companies, and the productive industries. Their political activity is testimony that local government and political parties existed as important means of power and that whatever access was to be had to the general population, was to be had through these institutions.

The Structure of Power: Political Parties

Whether or not political parties exist as an important source of power in a community largely depends upon the nature of the local issues which fall within the formal or informal framework of local government and the role parties play in the local governmental process. In turn, the role political parties play in the local governmental process depends upon the form of local government that exists in the community. During the period under discussion the form of local government consisted of an elected mayor and city council. The mayor represented the administrative and executive authority of the city. Prior to 1873, when Meredith was incorporated as a city, there existed an elected council of eight which selected a mayor, a recorder, a treasurer, and an assessor from their number. After 1873 the mayor, the marshall, the solicitor, and the street commissioner were elected at-large. Individuals competed for these offices and ran party tickets. The legislative authority of the mayor was limited to the power of veto over ordinances and resolutions passed by council. The council could over-rule the veto with a two-thirds vote.
The council represented the legislative authority of the city. The size of the council varied with the number of voting wards existing in the city. At various times there existed three, five, and six voting wards. Two members were elected to council from each ward. The councilmen, like the mayor, ran for office on the basis of political party affiliation. Thus the form of local government gave political parties considerable control over elected officials.

While at the present time most of the important political issues and decisions lie outside the realm of local government activity, this was not the case between 1850 and 1900. During the nineteenth century, in addition to the decisions which usually fall within its realm of authority, the local government made decisions pertaining to such matters as whether or not the community would enter into certain kinds of contracts with railroads. It made decisions concerning which individuals or groups would receive franchises for developing a water system or for constructing private railways on city streets. It made decisions concerning the amount of property taxes to be levied against certain businesses and corporations. Local government also provided an informal framework through which public support was elicited for private undertakings such as the construction of a fair grounds, or the establishment of an insurance company, a building association, or some such similar enterprise. By giving unofficial support to such enterprises, local government promoted the sale of the stock necessary to make them possible. Local government, in other words, not only represented a legislative and an executive authority in the community,
but it also represented, so to speak, "City Hall" and "City Hall" was
the place where individuals convened when they wanted to initiate
activities designed to achieve economic and political ends.

A case or two might serve to illustrate the significant role
local government could play with respect to important economic de-
cisions. One of the most important economic decisions ever made by
local government involved a special election in 1848 whereby voters
granted the County Commissioners authority to subscribe to $100,000
worth of stock in the Superior Railroad Company on the condition that
the road would pass through Coos County and through Meredith. By 1852
Coos County held 1,000 shares of stock and was the second largest
stockholder in this railroad. The significance of this policy decision
is revealed by the fact that only one other city, and that the largest
in the state, owned more shares of this stock than Coos County. In
fact, Meredith owned more shares than the state capital. By 1875 the
property this company owned in Coos County was assessed for taxes at
$912,105.1 Applying the 1870 tax rate (it was not possible to de-
termine the rate for 1875), which was twenty-three mills per dollar,
the property of the Superior Railroad yielded better than $20,000 a year
in taxes to Coos County. Of this twenty-three mills, Meredith received
nineteen or better than $17,000 in taxes from this property.2

In March of 1872, without a special election and with only a
petition that had been signed by a number of taxpayers, the City Council
pledged city bonds to the amount of $35,000 to the Superior Railroad in
order that this company would move its repair shops to Meredith. The
bonds themselves were undersigned by personal pledges from several prominent citizens in the community. If the newspaper report has been correctly interpreted, this meant that those individuals who could influence or control local governmental institutions were able to "borrow" city funds to invest in a private enterprise. After raising the necessary amount to retire the bonds, the shares of stock would be turned over to these individuals and they would reap the profits. Meanwhile, taxpayers paid an interest on these bonds to the local banks, which were also controlled by these individuals, at a rate of 8 per cent per year beginning in September, 1872. That the legality of this function of local government was dubious, to say the least, is indicated by the fact that it was necessary to send a special committee to the State Legislature in order to obtain special legislation permitting a city to issue bonds for such purposes. In the same year the trustees of another railroad petitioned for a special election to be held in Meredith Township to determine whether or not the township would vote $200,000 toward the construction of their railroad. The vote recorded for Meredith Township was 735 in favor of the project and fifty-six in opposition to the project.

The role of local government in making major economic decisions of this kind continued throughout the period under discussion. As late as 1890 the Mayor of Meredith called a public meeting for the purpose of taking action concerning a proposed railroad. The manner in which power was organized in this and similar meetings will be described in more detail below. It will suffice here to note that during this
period local government institutions, at the city, township, and county levels, occupied an important position in the power structure. Local government itself, however, depended upon the ballot. In turn, the ballot was largely controlled by the two major political parties and membership in these parties, below the level of party leadership, tended to be distributed along the lines of social class.

The Democratic Party largely controlled the votes of the working class in the community, particularly those of the Irish and German Catholics residing in the Eastside. The leaders of the Democratic Party were prominent members of the upper class but, from voting statistics, they appear to have represented a small minority in the upper class. Some were of Irish and German descent and some were not. The Republican Party, on the other hand, was primarily a Westside party. Its leaders were prominent members of the upper class. The Republican Party drew most of its support from the upper and middle classes and from the small Negro population residing in the Southside. Both parties were represented by competing local newspapers. The Globe generally defended the Democrats in its editorial comment and the News was, and still is, the local organ of the Republican Party.8

That these political parties were pretty much organized along class lines can be shown from voting statistics published for various voting wards. Until 1877 there existed three voting wards. As far as can be determined from descriptions given of these wards in the newspapers, Ward I was bounded by Main Street on the east and by State Street on the south (Figure 2). Thus, it included the entire northwest section
of the community in which the members of the upper class resided. Ward II was bounded by Main Street on the east and State Street on the north. It included the entire southwest section of the community. Ward III included everything east of Main Street. The Irish lived east of the Baker River and in the northern section of Ward III. The German Catholics lived east and west of the river and in the southern half of Ward III.

In 1877 these divisions were changed. The entire area west of Main Street was divided into three wards. The first ward comprised the northern section of this area, the second ward the middle section, and the third ward the southern section. Everything east of Main Street was divided into two wards. The fourth ward was located north of East Summer Street and the fifth ward was located south of East Summer Street. The Globe had this to say about the new division:

The Republican government body does, on rare occasions, do right as they did in approving the five ward division Monday night. The previous system was a simple gerrymander insofar as the Democrats could elect a general ticket, including Mayor and Marshall, but could not obtain a majority on council. The new system will give the Democrats two wards, the Republicans two, and a light majority in the third. This means they (the Republicans) could be turned out of office if they do wrong.\footnote{9}

As has been shown in the previous chapter, the styles of life characteristic of these wards differed significantly from ward to ward. So also did political styles differ significantly in terms of party affiliation and party activity as indexed by voting behavior. Perhaps one of the best illustrations of this point is the presidential election of 1876 when the Republican candidate running for that office was a
native of Meredith. Even though he was a native and a candidate for
the highest office in the nation, he did not receive the support of
Democrats in his own home town. The following table shows the votes
polled by wards in this election.10

| Ward Voting in Meredith in the 1876 Presidential Election |
|---------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
|               | Ward I   | Ward II  | Ward III | Totals   |
| Republican    | 336      | 450      | 65       | 851      |
| Democrat      | 133      | 271      | 293      | 697      |
| $X^2=264.83$  | P=.01 @ 2df |

These figures show that party voting differed significantly by voting
ward. Democratic opposition to the Republican candidate existed in all
three of the wards but it was significantly concentrated in the second
and third wards. Only sixty-five individuals voted Republican in the
third ward where the lower class Irish and German populations were
concentrated. The voting statistics for this election also indicate
that straight ticket voting existed in these wards along party lines.
For example, in the third ward the Democratic vote for the president,
the prosecuting attorney, the sheriff, the county commissioner, and
other county officials, fluctuated between 283 and 293 while the
Republican vote fluctuated between fifty-eight and sixty-eight. This
suggests the possibility that only ten individuals in this ward split
their tickets.11
The figures reported in Table III, however, are only those for one election and, by themselves, they cannot demonstrate that party alignment was persistent in these wards. By 1877 the five ward division had been put into effect. Table IV presents a summary of the majority vote polled in these wards in various elections between 1877 and 1897 and for which voting statistics were available.\(^\text{12}\)

**TABLE IV**

**MAJORITY VOTING BY WARDS IN MEREDITH: 1877-1897**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election Year</th>
<th>Ward I</th>
<th>Ward II</th>
<th>Ward III</th>
<th>Ward IV</th>
<th>Ward V</th>
<th>Ward VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>County 1877</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City 1878</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State 1882</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State 1883</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City 1885</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor 1887</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City 1887</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City 1888</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City 1889</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City 1891</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor 1891</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City 1892</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City 1894</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City 1897</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In above table, the letter S is used to indicate instances when the majority vote was split: that is, the majority vote was Republican for some candidates and Democratic for others.

As Table IV shows, the first ward, in which the upper class resided, was solidly Republican during this period. The fourth and fifth wards, in which the Irish and German Catholics lived, were solidly Democratic. The fourth ward elected a Republican councilman in 1897 but he was a prominent Irish Catholic businessman. No Republican
candidate ever polled a majority vote in the fifth ward. The second
ward was a middle class ward. It was primarily Republican, but in
1888 and in 1889, it defected to the Democratic Party in response to
the temperance issue. After the election of 1888 the following inci-
dent occurred.

At the first meeting of the new council the councilman from the
fourth ward, an Eastside Democrat, introduced an ordinance to repeal a
prohibition ordinance passed by the Republicans in 1887 and which had
made it illegal for taverns to remain open after six o'clock in the
evening. Since the passing of the ordinance required that it be read
at three successive meetings of the council, the new council, over-
riding the protests of the single Republican member, convened on three
successive days and whipped the repeal ordinance into effect. Two
months following this action an editorial appeared in the News which
summarizes the position of political parties in the power structure
and the social class character of their membership. The editorial
stated:

'Let me tell you (News),' said a leading light in
local Democratic councils, 'That we have the Irish
here in (Meredith) under our thumb, and they dare
not squeal lest we pinch them.' We will ask our
Democratic friends why it is that in the recent
primaries in the 4th and 5th wards well known and
prominent Irish workers were ignored.

The News went on to claim that the Irish, who were so important to the
Democratic bosses in the community, were being neglected by these
bosses. The editorial concluded:
It, therefore, behooves the local Democracy to throw off the false face, they have so long been exhibiting to the intelligent Irishmen of Meredith and show their true colors. We know from a personal contact with numerous Westend leaders of the Democracy, that they like the Irishman for his vote and nothing more.¹⁴

In the election of 1891 the Republicans attained a majority on city council. They redivided the community into six wards, over the protests of Democrats, and practically put to an end the ability of Democrats to dominate city council and to repeal ordinances they did not find to their liking.

Whether it involved issues or simply the control of political positions, it is clear that political parties existed as important sources of power. They had access to local government. Under the cultural conditions prevailing in the community, local government was a relatively autonomous unit which made or influenced many decisions which were critical to the social order. Through political parties, and by virtue of the role they played in the local governmental process, individuals had access to these decisions.

The leadership of both parties was upper class. Whatever competition existed among the members of the elite, it seems to have existed because of their political activity and not their economic interests. Upper class Democratic leaders drew most of their political support in Meredith from lower class German and Irish Catholics. Some of these leaders shared an ethnic identity with these lower class groups. The difference between these leaders and their lower class
brethren is that the former came to the community as businessmen while the latter came as railroad workers. Some of the upper class Democratic leaders, T. Parks for example, did not share an ethnic identity with these lower class groups. Those who did not, it seems safe to conclude, either shared a political ideology or, as the News often claimed, they liked the lower classes for their votes and nothing more. The Republican leaders were also upper class in membership. They, unlike the Democrats, tended to expound the conservative values of Grantham College, fought rum and Romanism, and drew most of their support from the upper and middle classes and from the small group of Negroes residing in the Southside.

It should not be understood that the lower classes, as a result of their class interests and political activity, provided a source of constant opposition and, therefore, a system of checks and balances in the power structure. This was not the case. Perhaps the major source of conflict and opposition between the predominantly Protestant upper class and the Irish and German Catholic lower class involved religious and moral issues such as temperance. Certainly these groups agreed on railroad enterprise and it is probably safe to conclude that they agreed on many other things as well.

Rather than providing for a system of checks and balances, what the political activity of the lower classes provided was a basis for dissent in the power system. The ethnic character of the lower classes made it difficult for the elite to manipulate them. At the same time, the political expression of ethnic interests through political activity
made the elite accessible to the influence of the lower classes. The accessibility of the elite was further enhanced by the presence in Meredith of a newspaper, the Globe, which presented itself as the banner of the Democratic Party and the spokesman for the German and Irish lower classes. The elite controlled the power to do pretty much as it pleased, but not without criticism and dissent and not without the possibility of jeopardizing its interests. This jeopardy did not consist of the possibility of conflict and rebellious opposition; rather, it consisted of the possibility of losing community cooperation and moral support for specific undertakings by various members of the elite. The distinction made here between a structure providing for checks and balances and one providing for dissent emerges more clearly when the organization of power is considered.

The Organization of Power: 1850-1900

Some people in Meredith were anxious to expand the community's manufacturing enterprises. In the spring of 1869 the News started a campaign to promote this objective and it specifically suggested the establishment of an agricultural implement factory. On July 5, 1869, a "Mass" meeting was held to consider this suggestion. During the following week a certificate of incorporation for such a company was filed with the Secretary of State. A committee was selected to act as incorporators and the business was to be capitalized at $200,000 in shares of fifty dollars each. A second meeting was held on July 19 to promote the subscription of stock. Only $10,000 was subscribed.
A year later a second attempt was made to organize such a company but it also failed. The News reported that the city's "more wealthy individuals" had not taken an interest in the project. A sufficient amount of power had not been organized and brought to bear upon the situation. That this was the case may be illustrated by comparing it with another situation which occurred in the community just three years later.

On February 28, 1872, there was a rumor in Meredith that the railroad was going to construct the repair shops in another community and that part of the shops which had been completed in Meredith would be removed from the city. A few days later the rumor was confirmed by a special committee which had been organized to investigate it. Immediately, the Globe distributed handbills calling for a public meeting at the Opera House. The meeting was called to order by Mayor Simms. E. R. Thomas, a railroad investor, was appointed chairman and W. E. Moore, another railroad investor, was made secretary. During the meeting speeches were made by T. Parks, W. T. Parks, and J. E. Dike. In their speeches they called for donations to buy the necessary stocks to secure the railroad shops. Each of them made substantial contributions to the stock fund. By the end of the evening $7,000 had been raised among those who attended the meeting and a committee had been appointed to get more. On the following Monday petitions were circulated to taxpayers asking that the city council be given authority to pledge city bonds to raise additional money. On Monday afternoon city council met and passed an ordinance pledging city bonds to the
funds. A second meeting was held on Monday evening. A committee was organized to go to the railroad's headquarters to inform the officers of the railroad that the city had pledged bonds for the project and that the bonds would be guaranteed by Thomas, Wold, Billings, Dike, and other contributors. A second committee was appointed to go to the State Legislature in order to secure special legislation to make these bonds legal. Thus was organized power to secure the railroad shops in Meredith.

On March 14, 1872, still another meeting was held. This time the meeting was held in the mayor's office. The purpose of the meeting was to incorporate a woolen company. During the meeting T. Parks was appointed chairman. After speeches, J. H. Wold, W. E. Moore, and G. W. Lites were appointed as three of six directors of the company. The following week Wold was elected president of the company. In 1876 this company was sold to C. Sterns, one of the original stockholders, for eight dollars more than the appraised value required to make the sale legal.

In November of 1881, a meeting was held in the mayor's office for the purpose of forming a building association. The News reported that the meeting was largely attended and a great deal of interest was manifested. It stated that the object of such an association was to enable those not over burdened with money to secure, by small payments, a good home. During the meeting the usual kind of committee was appointed. It consisted of three men, one of whom was J. E. Dike. The intention of this committee was to bring about a permanent organization—
once 500 shares of stock had been sold in the community. Nothing more appears in historical records concerning this particular effort. However, in 1887, just six years later, a similar company with the same purpose was incorporated by J. E. Dike, S. E. Law, J. E. Lites, H. B. Scott, and others, with capital stock at $400,000. Three years later, in 1890, the capital stock of this company had increased to $1,000,000. Of the first meeting of the stockholders in 1887, the News stated:

An observer of the meeting last night could not but note the character of the men who voted as stockholders. They were solid energetic men of all trades and professions, from the banker and lawyer, to the mechanic and clerk; all men of high standing. This is what community cooperation could mean during the period of 1850 to 1900; a small group of individuals could raise a million dollar company in three short years.

In April of 1890 the following item appeared in the Globe:

At the request of some "prominent citizens" the mayor called a public meeting for the purpose of taking action concerning ... (two) proposed railroads.

At the meeting the mayor was made chairman and E. C. Cumins was made secretary. The paper reports that the subject for which the meeting was called was "talked over," and remarks were made by J. K. Newcome, V. T. Cumins, C. Waddle, and others relative to such knowledge they had concerning the proposed routes of the new railroads. The President of Grantham College was present and was called upon. It is reported that he made "...stirring remarks concerning the purpose of the meeting." A committee was then elected to report to a second committee "...
duty it shall be to look after the proposed railroads with a view of making (Meredith) a point." V. T. Cumins was one of the three members selected to serve on the first committee. The second committee consisted of the President of Grantham, J. K. Newcome, C. Waddle, R. G. Lyons, and one other person. Later, V. T. Cumins was added to the second committee. The paper concluded:

The entire meeting was a spirited one and unusual interest was manifested by citizens to avail ourselves of these projected roads if possible to do so.24

In 1891 still another meeting was held. This time it was held in the City Council chambers. The purpose of this meeting was to take action concerning the construction of a permanent fair grounds in the community. The Mayor was elected chairman. During the meeting, J. E. Dike, J. K. Newcome, among others, spoke in support of having a permanent fair grounds. The News stated:

Mr. (J. E. Dike) presented a paper drawn up ready for subscriptions, to be paid to (H. S. Oliver), (C. Waddle), and (J. K. Newcome) as trustees, and moved that subscriptions be taken at once and that a committee of six from each ward be appointed to solicit subscriptions from the citizens.25

Since Mr. Dike had prepared a legal form for the meeting, it can only be assumed that he, and others, had already had a meeting of their own before the public meeting was called to "... discuss the matter."

In any case, six members from each of the community's six wards were assigned to committees to solicit subscriptions for the project. During the meeting, $500 of the needed $7,000 was subscribed and one individual offered to donate eighteen acres of land, free, for the fair grounds. Of
course, those who had the most to gain from the location of the county fair grounds in Meredith were the businessmen. By the end of the month, the News noted:

It seems strange that the people of (Meredith) do not manifest more interest in the permanent encampment question; indeed there is considerable opposition among some of the people in town to the effort that is being made to secure the grounds here. There are a number of energetic men, however, at the head of the movement and the thing will be pushed through, as far as can be done by the city.26

The News was correct in its prediction. The fair grounds were eventually secured and the county fair was added to the community's annual round of business.

In 1892 the following report appeared in the Globe:

On the 7th of November, 1891, one year ago this evening the city council granted to (J. K. Newcome) and his assigns a franchise to use the streets of this city for a system of street railway propulsion, with electricity as the motive power. . . . In putting in operation this enterprise the Electric Railroad Company has aimed to avoid annoyance to citizens . . . It was a home company among their own people, and in their own community, pushing forward an enterprise for their own town . . . It is left with the public to appreciate what has been done. . . . Put your nickle in the box.27

J. K. Newcome, of course, was editor of the Globe so this item, in addition to presenting news, was a bit of advertisement. Newcome had among his assigns J. E. Dike, V. T. Cumins, R. G. Lyons, C. Waddle, H. B. Scott, F. M. Marion, and J. L. Bradford, all of whose names appear in Table II.

Finally, in 1895, a public meeting was called in Citizen's Hall for the purpose of organizing the Meredith Improvement Association. The
purpose of this organization, it appears, was in part, similar to that of the present day Chamber of Commerce. It also seems to have been a coordinating agency in the raising of funds for the purpose of certain improvements in the community. During the meeting J. E. Dike was made chairman. Speeches were made by several prominent individuals, one of whom was J. L. Bradford. Before the meeting was ended a president, a vice president, and a board of directors were selected by those who attended. The president was J. E. Dike. Three of the five members of the board of directors were C. Waddle, R. E. Cumins, and J. K. Newcome.  

The Organization of Power: Analysis

These are the kinds of events which involved decisions affecting Meredith's social order. The spheres of activity they encompassed are numerous and community wide. These events serve to illustrate the manner in which power was organized and brought to bear upon activities undertaken to achieve specific ends. They further serve to illustrate the organizational character of power during this period, its relationship to the existing power structure, and the relationship of both of these to community culture. It will be recalled that in Chapter II it was stated that the organization of power may be described in terms of four organizational principles. With respect to these principles, the description of the concrete activities presented above suggests the following conclusions.
First, in terms of the principle of coordination, it appears that the relationships existing between the members of the elite with respect to the means of power served as the basis upon which activities were coordinated in situations requiring use of power. Regardless of the activity or the nature of the ends toward which it was directed, these ends were more likely to be achieved when they were determined by the elite and when one or more members of the elite were involved in the organization of power. In the first situation described, in which an attempt failed to establish an agricultural implement company, power was not effectively organized because prominent members of the elite did not participate. The principle of coordination, then, involved bringing members of the elite into the arena of organizational activity. When the means of power were not coordinated in this way, the ends toward which activity was directed were often not achieved.

Second, the principle of foresight involved the selection of individuals to serve on various committees who were known to have the experience, knowledge, and the necessary interest to execute the policies that had been decided upon. This seems invariably to have resulted in deferring to one or more members of the elite whose position and success in the community confirmed their experience and knowledge in such matters. While the selection of specific members of the elite often involved choice on the part of other members of the elite, it also involved decisions made by lesser individuals, members of the non-elite, which gave recognition to the knowledge, experience, and power of the elite with respect to the particular
activity. This deference would seem to suggest the general acceptance of an elite in the community and a tradition of calling upon its members whenever actions were being contemplated which had consequences for the entire community.

Third, the principle of responsibility involved the predetermination of ends and policies by members of the elite. After ends had been determined they were publicly discussed and debated. In this manner, some form of consensus was secured. This had the effect of giving the public a sense of representation in these activities. It also made the elite more or less responsible for their actions. This was particularly true in affairs that affected the entire community and which required general community cooperation; however, it was often true even of the more private business activities of the elite. When organizational techniques did not include some degree of representation and accountability, the power structure was such that considerable criticism could be leveled at the elite. This point can be illustrated with the description of a situation that occurred in 1877 and which involved the Meredith Manufacturing Company.

The Meredith Manufacturing Company was a private concern. Five of its directors were from Southern City and four were members of Meredith's elite. These four, J. W. Wold, A. Thomas, S. Moore, and J. M. Haley, had been primarily responsible for the company's organization. When organizing the company, they had sold some stock to the general public in the community. In 1877 the company failed. In July of that year the board of directors announced that all of its property
would be sold at public auction. The company had been capitalized for
$100,000. At auction, it was sold to one of the stockholders for
$12,000. The dissention which this sale created appeared in the edi-
torial comment of Meredith's two newspapers. The Democratic paper,
the Globe, charged,

... a company worth one hundred thousand dollars has been sold
for twelve thousand dollars by the manipulation of a ring. In
order to squeeze out the smaller stockholders, a ring of the largest
had allowed judgments for indebtedness against the company and then
proceeded to liquidate. This was simply one more blow against
labor on the part of capital whose tyranny over labor is now so well
known that it has almost led to a serious revolution, recently.29

The Republican paper, the News, retorted that the sale of the property
had been ordered by the stockholders to prevent its being given away to
some party who had no interest in the concern. It continued, "...the
affair is one which in no sense concerns outsiders or warrants im-
pertinent intermeddling on their part."30 A few days later, the Globe
responded:

The (News) should learn that the time is past when the people
would tolerate being exploited. Although it has apparently
become fashion among capitalists who swindle labor to refer
to anyone who questions their actions as meddlesome and im-
pertinent, the people are beginning to realize that govern-
ment by the Republican party makes princes of tricksters and
paupers of honest laborers.31

In this comment, the Globe went on to remind its readers that the senior
editor of the News was one of the company's largest stockholders and it
challenged the News to refute its charges with facts. The News dropped
the discussion. Nevertheless, power had been organized without respon-
sibility and those who had organized it had been made the subject of
much unfavorable criticism in the community.
Finally, the fourth principle of organization is the principle of compensation. This principle refers to the compensation received for participating in an activity. It directs attention to who gets what for what when power is exercised. In the situations described above, the principle of compensation, more often than not, involved the actual recognition of the right of expressing one's own opinion at public meetings and discussions. This had the effect of conveying to the community the idea that these activities were being pursued for the general welfare. When the organization of power involved a public meeting where individuals were heard, very little dissent was found concerning the specific activity in the press, regardless of whether or not ends were ultimately achieved. Also, it should not be overlooked that in many instances compensation was paid in jobs and stock dividends to those who were able to lend financial support to the activity, even though such support did not necessarily entail any great amount of control over the enterprise once it had been organized.

The above principles serve to describe the organizational characteristics of the power system existing in Meredith during the historical period. Having described the community's culture, its power structure, and the manner in which power was organized when action was undertaken to secure particular ends which affected the social order of the community, a more general statement is warranted concerning the culture and the system of power that once prevailed.
Community Culture and Power: 1850-1900

Meredith was a community that had been settled by individuals seeking the opportunity to accumulate power and wealth. After the community was established, the promise of wealth was the major attraction to many of the additional settlers who came to live there. This promise first consisted of the possibility of making Meredith the state capital. Having failed in this, it then consisted of the possibility of making Meredith an important railroad and industrial center as well as a center of higher education. From the outset, then, the major concern of the entire community was establishing an economy which would make Meredith something other than a small agricultural community.

In pursuing the goal of economic development at a time when it was necessary that most of this development come from within the community itself, institutional participation, the ownership or control of investment and productive property, and local governmental institutions became important means of power. Individuals controlling these means of power were able to influence and control the actions of other individuals in making decisions that were important to the community's social order. As the community developed, these means of power came to be distributed so that they were monopolized by a relatively small group of people who depended upon community cooperation in many of the things that they undertook to do.

At the same time, the form of local government was such that political parties could influence many important decisions in the
community. Political parties tended to represent the extreme class interests existing in the community. These class interests, on the one hand, comprised those of the strong lower class ethnic groups which had settled in Meredith as a result of railroad enterprise. On the other hand, they comprised those of the upper and middle class individuals of older American stock.

As a result of these pluralistic cultural conditions the power structure had the following characteristics. First, by virtue of the monopolization of the most important means of power, the power structure was dominated by an elite. Second, because of the dependency of this elite upon general community cooperation, and because of political parties and their role in the local governmental process, there existed a basis for dissent and opposition. Third, the possibility of dissent made the elite accessible, to some extent, to the influence of the lower classes. Fourth, because the lower classes consisted of independent ethnic groups with a strong political party affiliation, they were relatively inaccessible for manipulation by the elite.

The same pluralistic cultural conditions which provided for an elite-dominated power structure also made it necessary that decisions critical to the community's social order could not be made without the participation of the elite in the decision-making process. Regardless of the nature of the activity or the ends towards which activity was directed, these ends were more likely to be achieved when the elite participated in the organization of power. Thus, not only was the power structure dominated by the elite, but also the organization of
power was dominated by the elite. As suggested in the second chapter, when the distribution of the means of power are monopolized by a relatively small group, and when the decision-making process does not function effectively without the participation of this group, it may be said that there exists an elite-dominated system of power.

The situation which emerges for the historical period in Meredith, and which usually is not accounted for by the pluralist and elite theories of power, is that which involves an elite-dominated system of power in a community with a pluralistic culture. This possibility is often implied as a contradiction in the statements of the elite and pluralist theories of power. However, it need not be considered a contradiction if it is not assumed that the emergence of an elite in a pluralistic community necessarily entails conflict. The absence of conflict during this period in Meredith is comprehensible when the prevailing cultural conditions and the organizational character of the power system are considered in relation to one another.

The avoidance of disrupting opposition or conflict between the elite and the non-elite appears to have been primarily a function of the way in which power was organized. The elite coordinated the means of power in specific situations. However, the transformation of uncertainties into probabilities that ends would be achieved involved, on the part of the non-elite, not only a certain amount of deference to the power the elite controlled, but a belief that the elite would represent the interests of the community and a knowledge that members of the elite could be held accountable if they did not. The belief in representation
and the knowledge of the elite's accountability was reinforced by public discussion and debate not only in meetings held to organize power but in the press as well. Furthermore, the cooperation of the non-elite in organizational activities was compensated for primarily by the recognition given the right of individuals to express their opinions as well as by jobs and other benefits visible to the non-elite in the community. These organizational techniques had the effect of conveying to the community the idea that ends sought by the elite were communal as well as private. Also, the non-elite were represented among the elite by political leaders which sought their support at the polls.

As a result of these organizational techniques, the exercise of power in the community was usually accompanied by some form of general consensus. Thus, power was exercised as authority and not as coercion. When some radical departure was made from these organizational techniques, the exercise of power tended to be perceived as coercive and tension, if not conflict, appeared in the community. This is what happened in the situation involving the Meredith Manufacturing Company. As far as can be determined from the historical data available, however, the coercive exercise of power seems to have been the exception rather than the rule. These organizational techniques, therefore, not only permitted an elite-dominated power system to function effectively, but permitted the system to function democratically rather than autocratically.

In terms of the elite and pluralist theories of power, internal conflict or tension is considered to be, implicitly or explicitly, the
major source of change in the power system. The major source of change in Meredith's power system, as will be seen when the contemporary structure and organization of power are described, did not primarily involve internal tension and conflict. More than anything else, change in the power system resulted primarily from changes in the cultural conditions of power. Three cultural conditions were particularly crucial to the maintenance of the elite-dominated power system which existed between 1850 and 1900. First, it required a high degree of concentration of the means of power in the hands of a small group of people who were related to one another by virtue of the means of power. This existed as long as Meredith's economy was dominated by locally owned and locally developed investment and productive property. Second, it required the existence of some basis for dissent in the power structure. This existed as long as local government made important decisions, as long as political parties could influence these decisions, and as long as party membership consisted of strong independent groups. Finally, it involved an organization of power which was authoritative and communal in character. This existed as long as private investments required general community cooperation. As will be seen, all of these conditions changed between 1900 and the present time. The way in which they changed and the consequences these cultural changes had for Meredith's power system will be the subject matter of the third part of this study.
Notes

1 Globe, May 22, 1875.
2 News, December 23, 1870.
3 Globe, March 7, 1872.
4 Ibid., April 18, 1872.
5 Ibid., March 7, 1872.
6 Ibid., July 4, 1872.
7 Ibid., August 29, 1872.
8 At various times there also existed a Temperance Party which drew most of whatever membership it had from Republican ranks. At one time, there even existed a Temperance Paper which supported this group. However, most of the "drys" that were elected at various times were elected on the Republican ticket.
9 Globe, November 9, 1877.
10 Ibid., November 17, 1876.
11 News, October 19, 1879
12 All of the voting statistics employed in the construction of this table appeared in various issues of the local newspapers. In 1891 Meredith was redivided into six wards. The sixth ward was created by dividing the fourth ward. Ward IV remained east of the river. Ward VI became a Westside ward. Of this redivision, the News stated: "The third reading of the ordinance for redistricting the city came on. As this was the last reading of the ordinance previous to its adoption, it was quite evident that a vigorous kick would be made by the Democratic members to either defeat or delay it. The vote stood six in favor and three against—party line voting." August 7, 1891.
14 Ibid., July 10, 1888.

15 Taken from an M.A. thesis on the industrial history of Coos County.

16 Globe, March 7, 1872.

17 Ibid., March 14, 1872.

18 Ibid., March 21, 1872.

19 News, January 13, 1876.

20 Ibid., November 3, 1881.

21 History of Coos County, 1908.

22 News, February 8, 1887.

23 Globe, April 10, 1890.

24 Ibid., April 10, 1890.

25 News, October 20, 1891.

26 Ibid., October 23, 1891.

27 Globe, November 10, 1892.

28 News, August 9, 1895.

29 Globe, September 7, 1877.

30 News, September 10, 1877.

31 Globe, September 14, 1877.
PART THREE

CONTEMPORARY CULTURE AND POWER IN MEREDITH
CHAPTER V

CHANGES IN THE CULTURAL CONDITIONS OF POWER

When Meredith entered the twentieth century it was no longer a frontier community. It was located in a region where large metropolitan industrial cities had emerged. The short line railroads which Meredith had secured as the basis of its industrial future had been absorbed by the large railroad corporations. Where once Meredith was in a position to obtain the railroad shops, it was no longer in a favorable position to keep them. Compared to the metropolitan industrial centers which had emerged, Meredith’s industrial economy was almost as "underdeveloped" as the day the community was founded. In 1913 when the railroad shops were removed, Meredith had traveled almost a full circle from a service community in an agricultural county to an industrial community and back to a service community.

The most outstanding of the changes in Meredith’s cultural conditions of power involved the role Grantham College came to play in the local economy after the railroad shops were removed from the community. Prior to 1913 Grantham was just one of many sources of income in Meredith. After 1913 and prior to 1940 Grantham came to be the only significant source of income in Meredith. The situation existing before 1940 is perhaps best summarized in the words of an informant who, at the time of the interview, was a realtor. This informant, like his father before him, has lived in Meredith all of his life.
When asked about the present industrial situation in the community, Bill Washburn stated:

(As you know, when the railroads went out of this town our population dwindled all the way down to seven thousand people. The community almost died, industrially speaking. During that time, the college filled the vacuum. The people who ran the college also controlled the Chamber of Commerce and they had taken the position that the town ought to be a college town—that it ought not develop industrially. During those years I owned a grocery store and later an automobile business. Conditions were bad. You could buy any home in town for five thousand dollars. Merchants up and down the street were hardly eking out a living. Professors couldn't buy cars. They couldn't even pay their bills. People working at the college were making half what the same work could earn them in other communities. I belonged to the Chamber and I got to the point where I felt it was doing nobody any good. So I quit. What really woke me up was when I walked into the Chamber office in 1940 and discovered that at that time some 250 people were employed locally in industry while 1500 were going out of town to work. Today the situation is just about reversed.) (I-78)

As Grantham filled the vacuum between 1913 and 1940, it changed the image which Meredith has of itself and which it presents to the larger society. Since this new identity has profoundly affected the social, political, and economic characteristics of the community, it is worth while describing in some detail.

Changes in Community Identity: Grantham College

Grantham College existed in Meredith throughout most of the nineteenth century, but in spite of its existence the community sought to make its mark on the world as a railroad and industrial center. Today there exists more industry in Meredith than there has ever existed before; in spite of its existence, however, Meredith seeks to make its mark on the world as an educational center. The community seeks to
present itself to the larger society as a college town. Its men of influence and prominence, as well as those who are not so influential and prominent, tend to think that Meredith's most important product is education. Part of this perception derives from the pride with which individuals can boast, and rightly so, that Grantham, in the past fifty years, has produced a number of people who have achieved eminence in public as well as private life. Meredith seeks recognition through Grantham's alumni in much the same way that Grantham seeks recognition through the publication lists of its professors. Each item, regardless of how small the contribution, is recorded, counted, and given publicity at local functions or in the newspaper. However, this perception also derives from the recognition, particularly on the part of the businessmen, that Grantham has grown and now plays the single most important role in the community's economy.

The economic role of Grantham can be understood in terms of its enrollment and its employment. In 1958 Grantham enrolled approximately 2,000 students, about twice the number it enrolled in the nineteen thirties. More than 50 per cent of its male students live in fraternity houses or private homes. Most of its female students belong to sororities but live in dormitories. For approximately nine months out of the year these students live and consume in Meredith. Although their total consumption is not known, some idea of the business they do in the community was obtained from interviews with merchants. It is safe to say that more than half of Meredith's ten to fifteen barber shops thrive on student trade. The two record shops largely depend upon
students for their business. The two florists stated that most of
their business is with fraternities and sororities. The book and
school supply stores would hardly exist without the students. And
many of the clothing stores depend upon students for a considerable
percentage of their sales. For example, Jim Mathers, a local clothing
merchant who owns four stores, the largest of which is located in Miami,
Florida, stated:

(On a percentage basis we sell more here than in any other
store we own. We can thank the college for most of it. In
addition to the faculty, I suppose half the students buy
something from us every year. I have some student accounts
here for two and three hundred dollars. Of course, some
executives carry accounts for seven and eight hundred dollars,
but they aren't as numerous as the student accounts. Factory
workers seldom trade with us. They can't afford the kind of
clothes we sell. Big industries could only hurt the town.
When they shut down everyone suffers. Now there are enough
little industries and then the college so that if anyone of
them shuts down we're not hurt. Take the steel strike or
last year's recession, they didn't hurt us a bit.) (I-85)

Another merchant, who admitted that he did most of his business with
farmers and factory workers, stated:

(The big change in this town has been since the increase in
population. Some of it is due to new industry but the growth
of the college is often over-looked. In the thirties the
college had an enrollment of about 1,000 and they employed
about 100 faculty people. That's double now and they spend
a lot of money here. I don't know how long it will last.
Prosperity is attracting the big chain stores and they are
moving in on us.) (I-83)

In 1958 Grantham employed 531 people, not including students who
were on the payroll. Of this group, 194 were classified as instruction
personnel and many of these represented new people in Meredith. This
meant that the college provided jobs for approximately 337 local people
who were employed in administration, maintenance, and other capacities. The payroll for 1958 was $1.6 million. In terms of payroll, this made Grantham the community's second largest industry, having a payroll exceeded only by the Capital Corporation. The Capital Corporation, however, does not bring to the community the business that is created by Grantham's student body.

The influence of Grantham extends beyond the economic role it plays in the community. Students, employment, and payroll represent what the college contributes to the community's livelihood; they do not represent what the college contributes to the community socially or culturally, nor, do they represent what the community contributes to the college by way of social and economic support. Perhaps there is no accurate measure of Grantham's influence in these respects. However, year by year, Grantham has increased the proportion of people living in the community, and in the county, who look upon it as their Alma Mater. While these people have benefited from Grantham's educational facilities and from its contribution to the community's economy, Grantham, in turn, has benefited from their moral as well as their financial support.

For example, in 1958 Grantham had on its list of alumni, friends, faculty, and parents of alumni, the names of approximately 1152 people living in Meredith or in Coos County. Of these, 412 were counted as alumni. An additional 318 were counted as individuals who had attended Grantham but did not graduate, or who had attended Grantham as special students. In 1958 this group, which represented Coos County,
ranked fourth, of all the counties in the state, in the total amount of contributions made to Grantham. In terms of the total number of contributors, Coos County ranked third of all the counties in the state. When town-gown issues are discussed in Meredith, it is these people who take up the banner for Grantham. Many of these people are lawyers. Some are doctors. Others are businessmen and bankers. Some are industrialists. Still others are teachers. Regardless of what they are, most of them are influential in one way or another.

Perhaps one of the best indices of Grantham's influence on Meredith's way of life can be had by considering the religious and denominational characteristics of the community. In the community survey of 297 people, 268 or 90 per cent of them considered themselves Protestants, 8 per cent considered themselves Catholics, and only 2 per cent had no religious affiliation.2 When asked about the church they attended in Meredith, 178 of the 268 Protestants stated that they regularly attended one of the Protestant churches in the community. Of this 178, 57 per cent attended one or more of the three churches whose denominational affiliation is the same as that of Grantham. These data suggest that 3½ per cent of the entire population of Meredith belong to the three churches which come under Grantham's denominational jurisdiction.

This influence has affected the thinking and the social and cultural lives of individual men and women living in Meredith in numerous and diverse ways. Some aspects of this influence are political. Other aspects are economic, social, religious, and moral. Considered as
a whole, this influence conveys to the community an outlook on life, a character by which Meredith is known to the outsider as something unique, as something different from most other communities. As such, this outlook on life represents the very deep and the very broad constellation of values which prevail as cultural conditions affecting the structure and organization of power in the community.

The political outlook which Grantham transmits to the community, as a whole, is conservative and Republican. This involves a respect for business success as a measure of individual worth, an emphasis on freedom rather than equality, a tendency to regard change uneasy, and a suspicion that labor unions tend to undermine America's finest institutions. This political outlook is more precisely expressed in a statement made by one of Grantham's administrative officials. When asked if he had noticed any changes in Meredith in regard to labor unions or industrial executives, this informant stated:

(The workers are just about the same as they always were but the executives aren't. The ones we have in town now are not as strong as they once were . . . . They don't have to begin at the bottom and work their way up like the older men did . . . . They wear everybody out with their concern for trivia.) (I-87)

When asked to account for this change, he continued,

(I don't like to sound prejudiced but I think it's the communist and Jewish influence. You take these foreign influences. When I was a boy we never paid any attention to them. They only existed in New York or in some of those big cities, but now you find them right here in the college. We've had Jews here and communists too. They have infiltrated everything. We've lost our moral fiber and we accept them where once we wouldn't have . . . They haven't converted many people but they have altered our way of thinking about things.) (I-87)
Perhaps the political conservatism being discussed here is more clearly expressed in letters received by the president of Grantham's student body from two prominent executive members of the college's board of trustees. The occasion of these letters was an invitation extended by Grantham's student government to the National Student Association inviting the association to hold its national meeting on the campus at Grantham. One trustee wrote the president of the student body:

I am puzzled, however, as to what Grantham expects to gain by permitting on its campus the national gathering of an organization which has twice been denied by its own students local affiliation on our campus. And this especially when it is an organization so continuously open to attacks as this one... Many of the previous pronouncements of this organization would not, I feel sure, be approved by our Grantham constituency, and at the gathering now to be held pronouncements are almost sure to be made which will place Grantham in associations which cannot be classed as desirable or in accordance with the views of our people generally.4

The second trustee stated:

I have been busy this past week explaining to alumni and trustees why the NSA was allowed to come to Grantham. There has been much unfavorable publicity, most of it I am sure unwarranted, that the boys are really stirred up. I think what they least like is the appearance of Mrs. Roosevelt and Walter Reuther on the program. Among the rank and file of our alumni, you probably couldn't get many popularity votes for these two.5

That this political outlook has taken root in the community may be illustrated by survey material on political party affiliation. When 297 individuals were asked to identify the party of their choice, 51 per cent considered themselves to be Republicans and 31 per cent considered themselves to be Democrats. A similar response was obtained
when these individuals were asked how they voted on the "right to work" issue in the 1958 general election. Of the 297, 59 per cent said they had voted on the issue. Of these, 55 per cent said they voted for the "right to work" amendment. The amendment, however, was soundly defeated in the state.

The economic outlook expressed by prominent Grantham officials, particularly in regard to industry, has also taken root in the community as a whole. Fundamentally, this outlook opposes locating big industry in Meredith. It is feared that big industry would not only overshadow the influence of the college, but it would introduce industrial unionism and this would place the college, as far as the local labor market is concerned, in an unfavorable position. To the extent that industry is desirable, what is wanted is small, diversified, locally owned industry without labor unions. As will be seen later, this tends to be the kind of industry Meredith has as well as the kind of industry some Chamber of Commerce officials intend Meredith to continue to have.

When asked about manufacturing industry, one college official expressed this economic outlook in the following terms:

(Meredith doesn't need any more industry. If it does, it doesn't need big industry which would overshadow the college. If big industry came in here too many people would be beholden to them for their employment. Unions would come in. There would be pressure on us here to unionize and we couldn't really afford it.) (I-87)

Still another college official, one who was placed on the Chamber of Commerce by the administration, stated:
(The young men in town are in favor of new industry. Myself, I'm not in favor of enough industry to make this a big city. Personally, I don't want to live in a city. Professionally, big industry would be bad for the college. It is a question of size that interests me more than anything else.) (I-79)

Some college officials are equivocal about what they want for Meredith.

A very high official, but also a bank director, stated:

(When the Capital Corporation came here they sent two men over to talk with me about it. Understand, I didn't go to them, they came to me. They asked if I had any objection to their coming here and I said certainly not. I wanted as much industry here as could come to Meredith. Then they invited me to their head office. I went and we talked things over, what the college could do for them, which was nothing, and what they could do for us, which was very little. I have no objection to them coming here. As a matter of civic pride I'd rather like industry around Meredith. This is my home and I'd like for it to grow.) (I-63)

This economic outlook seems also to have penetrated the community as a whole. In the general community survey, interviewees were asked to rank ten local issues in the order of their importance. The issues included taxes, the need for new schools, zoning, town-gown relations, the form of city government, need for more industry, need for more housing, et cetera. Twenty-nine per cent of the 297 interviewees ranked the need for new schools as the most pressing issue in the community. Thirty-two per cent considered zoning the most pressing issue. Twenty-two per cent considered town-gown relations as the most important issue. Only eleven individuals, 4 per cent, considered the need for more industry to be the most important local issue.

In summary, the economic mood prevailing in Meredith is a small town mood. Industry is welcome, particularly if it does not employ too
many people and if the kind of people it does employ are the right kind of people. Unions are another matter. There are no industrial unions in Meredith. In one company, the Davis Corporation, five union elections have been held in the last ten years. In only one of these elections was there a favorable vote cast for a union. This occurred in 1951. Two years later the union that had been voted in was voted out.

How much industrial growth does the community want? One informant stated the matter this way:

(I would like to see enough industrial growth here to keep the young people in the community. As it is now, when an industry comes in here we are able to give them about half of their labor force but the other half they bring to town. This always creates problems. Often times they bring to town undesirable elements such as Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and these various kinds of foreign groups ... I would like to see industry progress at a pace slow enough to almost absorb the young people that we have right here in the county rather than being forced to go out of the community to bring in new elements. Wouldn't you agree that this is the most sensible approach?) (I-78)

In matters pertaining to moral values, the college is no less influential than it is in matters pertaining to political and economic values. Grantham was founded as a denominational school and its denominational influence is felt in the community with respect to religion and morals. While some members of its faculty would maintain that Grantham's denominational ties are purely formal and have no effect on its policies, some members of its administration would not maintain this. The president of the college is one of these people. Informants say he came highly recommended by the Bishop. In his
inaugural address the president stated:

We are grateful to our (denominational) heritage and will cooperate with agencies of the Church at all times to the best of our ability. 6

When questioned concerning the relationship of the college to the Church, one official stated:

(The relationship is pretty obvious, but it's stronger between the State Street Church than any of the other churches in town. The Bishop, of course, has the controlling voice and is more influential than anybody here in town or in the county for that matter.) (I-80)

Grantham's denominational ties have promoted and maintained a number of conservative traditions at the college as well as in the community. At the college, religion is required as a course for all students, Protestant, Catholic or otherwise. Chapel is required three times a week and usually one of the three chapel lectures is given by a minister. Traditionally, Grantham's faculty are not supposed to drink, not publicly at least, and those who do drink often feel it necessary to go out-of-town to replenish their supplies. This denominational tie has also meant that Grantham, traditionally, aligns with temperance groups in skirmishes that occur in the community. For example, one tavern owner stated:

(I have owned this tavern for twenty-four years. The college has been successful in preventing me from getting a license to sell hard liquor for twenty-one of those twenty-four years. At the last hearing on this matter one of the deans stated that no student ought to have to walk along the street in front of all these taverns. He said that my place was patronized by people who wear overalls and anyone who wears overalls all the time is a bum.) (I-48)

As suggested by this tavernkeeper, the morality which Grantham tends to
promote in the community is a social class morality. At the center of
this moral point of view does not rest the question of right or wrong,
or good or bad, but the question of "taste." For example, with respect
to the college's position on the above tavern, a prominent minister
stated:

(I preach total abstinence. I realize, however, that many
of my congregation drink and disagree with me on this. However,
we gave moral support to Grantham and to the State Street Church
in the fight to keep that tavern from getting a liquor permit.
It was because of the type of establishment involved. If the
question had involved the bar at the hotel, or the Cocktail
Lounge, it would have been a different story. These are respect­
able drinking establishments, if there are such things. The
riff-raff of the town don't gather in these places.) (I-97)

Good "taste" is an upper class characteristic and it represents
a correct moral position. People of good "taste" not only attend church
regularly, but they attend the churches of good "taste," the right kind
of churches. That these churches, particularly the ones affiliated with
Grantham, transmit status was indicated in an interview with Grantham's
Director of Religious Activities. He stated:

(The Episcopal Church is the status church. A lot of families
of the founding fathers of the community attend this church.
For example, when Meredith's famous Dr. Wayne came to town he
shopped around for a church to join. He wanted to identify with
the old element so he joined the Presbyterian Church. The State
Street Church is the next in line. It has special status because
of its connections with the college--especially in the eyes of
new faculty. North Church, also connected with the college, is
an upstart church. There is a constant battle between the North
Church and the State Street Church over new faculty and students.
The East Church is also of our denomination. However, it's con­
sidered to be on the wrong side of town. Its minister is a
former mechanic who never attended college or a seminary. In the
three years I've been here, he has refused to have anything to
do with the college.) (I-98)
Thus, Grantham plays its role in the contemporary life of the community. Between 1913 and 1940 Grantham became indispensable to Meredith's economy. As a result, Meredith changed from an industrial town to a college town. The full consequences of this change will emerge throughout the remaining chapters. Let it suffice here to note that, on the surface, this change means that Grantham is the largest and most dependable business existing in Meredith. In a much deeper sense, however, this change means that Grantham conveys to the community those values by which the community is known to outsiders. These values are those which are usually associated with a conservative Republican tradition.

All this is not to suggest that manufacturing industries are no longer important in Meredith. The fact of the matter is the opposite. Manufacturing industries are important and there are more of them in Meredith today than ever before. However, these industries are of a different character than those which existed during the railroad era. Most of the industries in Meredith today are enterprises which were developed elsewhere and which were moved to Meredith because of its attraction as a small college town with certain kinds of values and traditions. This point will emerge more clearly as the manufacturing industries existing in Meredith are described.
Industrial Changes

With the advent of World War II, Meredith entered a period of industrial expansion greater than any preceding one. Those few industries which had survived the years of local and national depression began to expand their operations to meet post-war consumer demands. At the same time a number of new industries moved into Meredith. Some of these are small branch plants which moved into the community with middle executives who take orders from home offices located elsewhere. Others, however, are small enterprises which moved to Meredith with their owners or major stockholders.

Meredith attracted these new industries, in part, because of its favorable geographical location with respect to certain kinds of markets. More important in most cases was the attraction of a small conservative college community located in an agricultural county. This combination of circumstances provided, as an attraction to the small industrialist, an anti-union tradition and a small but dependable surplus of farmers seeking industrial employment either because they wanted to leave the farms or because they wanted to earn enough money to remain on the farms.

As a result of these conditions the kinds of industries that have moved into Meredith are not the kinds of industries that are usually associated with large metropolitan areas. They are small and diversified. A good share of them tend to be locally owned and controlled because major stockholders and officers reside in the community.
They do not require the employment of a great number of highly skilled workers. Almost all of them are non-unionized. None of them detract from the college town atmosphere of the community. Most important, the owners and executives of these industries are primarily interested in Meredith only to the extent of maintaining the conditions that originally attracted them to the community.

During the thirties the community's most important manufacturing industry was the Davis Corporation, a manufacturer of heavy household appliances. In 1936 this company reached a peak of employment of 136 hands. However, the company was losing money and the local owners decided to sell their controlling interests to Alvin W. Mauer, a Chicago businessman. In 1946 Mauer dissolved the Davis Corporation and operated the business as a proprietorship until 1947. In 1947 Mauer moved to a neighboring community, became president of the company, and reincorporated it under its present title. Under Mauer's direction the company continued to expand. In 1952 the Davis Corporation purchased the assets of the Household Industries, Inc., and moved production to its plant in Meredith. This transaction was financed mainly by a $250,000 unsecured bank loan obtained from one local and from one out-of-town bank. By 1959 the total assets of the Davis Corporation amounted to $1.5 million. Its tangible net worth was a little over a million dollars and it had a working capital of over $500,000. It employed approximately 250 people, had an annual payroll of $1.2 million, and an estimated total annual sales of between four and five million dollars. The principal officers of this company include, in addition to Mauer, J. W. Mays, M. Wirtz,
R. Barker, and G. W. Eldrige. Mays joined the company in 1946 and was elected vice-president a year later. Wirtz graduated from Grantham in 1946 and went to work for the company in the sales department. In 1954 Wirtz became vice-president in charge of sales. All of the officers of the company, with the exception of Eldrige, reside in or near Meredith.

The Key Shop represents a second locally owned industry. Wesley Murdock, the owner and president of this company, was born and raised in Meredith. After graduating from Grantham he wanted to get into a business of his own. In 1939 he opened a machine shop and employed three people. During the war the company expanded. Murdock's wife became secretary-treasurer of the company. George Hobbs, a graduate of Grantham, joined the company and was later elected its vice-president. By 1959 the Key Shop employed forty-five hands. Its total annual payroll was given to be approximately $380,000 and it reported an average annual sales of a little over one million dollars.

The Electrical Accessory Corporation represents a third industry which is often publicized as being locally owned and organized. However, the present organization of this company is such that it can no longer be considered a locally controlled enterprise. In 1933 the Electrical Accessory Corporation's Meredith plant was destroyed by fire and the company removed its production facilities to a neighboring city. Increased expansion during and following the war resulted in a branch of the company returning to Meredith.
The original owners of the Electrical Accessory Corporation are members of a family which has been native to Meredith since the eighteen sixties. Following World War II, however, the owners of the company sold it to a national corporation in exchange for unstated amounts of stock and the retention of one or two official positions in the parent corporation. In 1958 the National Manufacturing Corporation, owner of the Electrical Accessory Corporation, employed 8,600 people and conducted operations in nine divisions. Foreign operations were conducted through subsidiaries in Canada, France, and Mexico. Operations within the United States were conducted in plants located in sixteen states. Altogether, the National Manufacturing Corporation owned forty-eight plants. In 1958 this concern reported a total sales volume of $138 million and a profit, after taxes, of $4.7 million. This represented a return of not quite 6 per cent of the company's net worth which was $82.8 million. The Electrical Accessory Corporation, then, represents but a minor branch of a rather large concern. In 1959 the Electrical Accessory Corporation employed approximately 115 people. The local manager, William King, when asked for further information, showed the interviewer a letter from the New York office indicating that all information to be made public by executives of the company, even the subject matter of speeches to be given at local functions, had to be cleared with the New York office. Therefore, as far as Meredith is concerned, this branch plant is neither locally owned nor locally controlled.
Still another enterprise which was founded in Meredith, and which still survives, is the Construction Products Company. This company was organized by the brother of the original owner of the Electrical Accessory Corporation. The Construction Products Company continues to be owned by members of this family residing in Meredith and in neighboring communities. At the present time the company employs approximately thirty-five people. In 1958 it paid salaries and wages which amounted to $82,000 and it reported an annual sales of $250,000.

Between 1940 and the present time a number of entirely new industries located in Meredith. The first, and probably the most important, of these new manufacturing enterprises is the Diversified Manufacturing Corporation. This company comprises two corporations which merged in 1957 by an exchange of stock. The major stockholder of this company, its president and one of the most influential industrialists residing in Meredith, owns 61 per cent of the total stock of the combined corporations. The first plant of the Diversified Manufacturing Corporation was brought to Meredith by its president, Edward G. Barlow, in the early nineteen forties as a separate corporation. In 1947 this corporation, in addition to two other corporations owned by Barlow, was dissolved and all three were reincorporated under a new name. In 1957 this new corporation bought out an eastern firm and both became divisions of the Diversified Manufacturing Corporation. All the productive facilities of this company, with the exception of still another eastern firm which was acquired very recently, are located in Meredith. As of October 31, 1958, this company
had assets close to $6.5 million. Cash balances alone were in excess of one million and the company's net worth was listed at $5.6 million. Sales for that year amounted to $7.5 million and profits of $268,000 were reported. No taxes were required on this profit since the losses which had been sustained by the eastern firm prior to the merger were applied to offset tax liability. The three major officers of the firm reside in Meredith; these include Barlow, whose daughter married a professor at Grantham, W. L. Mullins, a native of the community and a graduate of Grantham, and W. B. Shook. Other officials of the firm and members of the board of directors do not reside in or near Meredith. The Diversified Manufacturing Corporation employs approximately 270 people and has an annual payroll of about $1.2 million. Excluding Grantham College, this company represents the second largest employer in Meredith.

In terms of employment, the second new company which located in Meredith is the Capital Corporation. Manufacturing operations of this company are conducted in five plants, three of which are located in the United States and two of which are located in Europe. The Meredith branch was constructed in the late nineteen forties. As of September 30, 1958, the Capital Corporation had assets totaling $18.5 million. This included $4.0 million in cash and securities. The company's net worth was $14.1 million. For the full year ending September 30, 1958, the Capital Corporation reported sales of $25.6 million and profits, after taxes, of $1.7 million. The executive officers and managers of the Meredith plant do not reside in the
community. Since the market for the products of this company fluctuates considerably during the year, its employment is not steady and, for that reason, informants considered this company to be one of Meredith's least desirable industries. However, at the time of this study, the Meredith plant employed approximately 700 people and its annual payroll, based upon figures given during the week the informant was interviewed, approximated $2.7 million. This made the Capital Corporation the biggest employer in Meredith.

In addition to these two manufacturing enterprises, between 1940 and 1959, approximately ten other industrial enterprises of various kinds moved production to Meredith. None of these employed over fifty people. Altogether, however, they employed approximately 346 people and averaged an annual payroll of about $1.4 million. Most of these industries are branch operations of one kind or another. Of the ten, the one pointed out with pride by Chamber of Commerce officials as being the most desirable type of industry for Meredith is the National Corporation. The National Corporation has 118 manufacturing plants and mills in twenty-six states and Canada. It employs about 2,500 people in these plants. In 1951 the major stockholder of this company bought a farm in Coos County and moved the company's main office and administrative staff to Meredith. The activities of this office are completely administrative. For this purpose, forty-eight individuals are employed. Thirty-one are female secretaries and seventeen are male executives.
What attracted these new industries to Meredith? This question was put to various informants in the community, some of whom direct industries and others whose role it is to attract new industries. When a number of industrialists were asked why their companies had decided to move operations to Meredith, the reasons they gave varied somewhat from company to company. However, in one way or another, all of them focused on the labor market, the lack of unionism in Meredith, the small town environment, the reception they had received from officials of the Chamber of Commerce, and the cultural advantages offered their executives by locating in a college town. For example, Edward G. Barlow, president of the Diversified Manufacturing Corporation, stated:

(I was a minority stockholder in a plant in Meridan. I didn't like the way the majority stockholders were running things. I managed to persuade them to buy me out. I took the money, borrowed some more, and got Diversified out of receivership. I wanted to move the plant and after looking over a number of towns, the final decision lay between Meredith and another community. Both had an adequate supply of labor and both compared favorably in respect to labor with large, heavily industrialized cities which are over-unionized. The final reason for my decision rested on two points. First, I can't stand large cities which are too big for an individual to make himself felt in and, second, I met with the president of Grantham and we got along very well indeed.) (I-99)

When asked what kind of industry he would like to see come to Meredith, Barlow stated:

(Butchers, bakers, doctors, lawyers, and storekeepers are all necessary to a town, but all they do is stir the money around. Chain stores, automobile dealers, and branch plants of larger industry take money out. A town needs something to bring in new money, preferably more than goes out. This is why locally owned industry is necessary. As far as I'm concerned, the only other industry that does this town any good is the Davis Corporation.) (I-99)
The largest, although not the most stable, employer in the community is the Capital Corporation. An official of this company was interviewed in the company's home office which is located in another city. When asked why the company had decided to build a branch plant in Meredith, L. F. Trautman, the personnel and industrial relations officer of the company, stated:

(I will be blunt. It was because of the labor market. Meredith has a labor market to our liking. Most of the labor force comes from within a twenty mile radius of the city. They are a different type of person than we have here in our home plant— a type I like much better than we have here. They have a rural background. They are independent and do their own thinking. You can reason with them and they will give you a day's work for a day's pay. We were not welcome in Meredith at first. The industrialists there gave us a cold shoulder. The college didn't fight us but they didn't help much either. After we moved in, however, we were pretty much accepted.) (I-100)

When asked the same question, a retired industrialist stated:

(I surveyed twenty-five to thirty towns. I selected Meredith first because it was the kind of small town in which I wanted to live. The college offered cultural advantages. Second, it lacked strong organized labor. I didn't want to encounter any labor difficulties. Third, of all the towns I looked at, it had the largest number of unemployed women who needed work. I wanted to employ about a hundred and fifty women to manufacture my product.) (I-54)

In Meredith a number of individuals have taken it upon themselves, at one time or another, to attract new industry into the community. Sometimes these individuals are realtors who have land and houses to sell. Sometimes they are bankers who have business contacts with stockholders in various companies. More often, however, they are members of the Chamber of Commerce's industrial committee or officials of the Chamber. The attitudes of these individuals are significant.
because this group, more than any other, tends to give to the community
the identity by which it becomes known to officials of industries in-
terested in locating a plant. When asked why Meredith had not attracted
more and larger industry, James Leighton, a salaried official of the
Chamber of Commerce, stated:

(You have to keep in mind that this is a cultural community.
Our most promising industry is the college. If we want to
remain a cultural community we have to be damn fussy about
the kind of industry we get. Now, since I took this job I
have been successful in bringing in some new industry. I
was the one who got the National Corporation in here. A
few years ago the word had gotten around that Ford was in-
terested in putting a plant here. That fact that Ford even
considered us scared me to death. We don't want an outfit
like that here. We want to keep it nice and clean, a cultural
community. Those big companies bring in all kinds of people--
Puerto Ricans, Negroes, Jews. No one with an ounce of sense
wants that kind here. The industries we have now employ a
lot of farmers. They're our people. They're local and
they're nice people. We want to keep it that way.) (I-77)

These comments represent only a few of those elicited in
numerous interviews. However, they are not unrepresentative of the
frame of mind which is characteristic of many of Meredith's college
people, industrialists, bankers, and businessmen. One industrialist,
Alvin W. Mauer, told the members of the Kiwanis in a dinner speech:

(Industrial cities bring in elements which further emphasize
materialism. Business in the United States today has made this
country too materialistic as it is. Perhaps I would favor de-
emphasizing materialism and emphasizing the spiritual attributes
of human life. Meredith is particularly noteworthy for the
spiritual attributes of human life . . . . It ought to plan and
carefully select the kinds of businesses it wants to entice to
move here . . . . The kind of industry a community has indicates
the kind of people it has. Those industries which would bring
here an intellectual group of people, a professional group and
not a common laboring class of people, are the ones that will
de-emphasize materialism.) (I-36)
Since Grantham represents Meredith's "most promising industry,"
Mauer's statement was well received, particularly by the professors,
teachers, doctors, and lawyers who belong to the Kiwanis and who are
not directly dependent upon manufacturing industry for their liveli-
hood. Thus, there exists a tacit agreement between college adminis-
trators, businessmen, and industrialists as to the kind of community
Meredith is and as to the kind of community they want it to remain.

In summary, most of the manufacturing industries existing in
Meredith today represent small diversified enterprises. The largest
of these industries, the Capital Corporation, as well as many of the
smaller ones are branch plants which are not locally owned or con-
trolled. However, some of the more important ones are locally owned
and controlled to the extent that their officers or major stockholders
reside in or near Meredith. Most of these industries, unlike those
that existed in Meredith prior to the turn of the century, do not
depend upon local markets; instead, they are dependent upon the
national and international market. Their diversity, however, protects
Meredith from the fate of one industry towns in that the community is
not seriously affected by minor recessions and fluctuation in market
conditions.

More important, as far as the cultural conditions of power are
concerned, most of these industries were not founded and developed in
Meredith. Most of them were developed elsewhere and moved to Meredith
because of certain advantages. Important among these advantages are
those conditions that came to exist because the community is located
in an agricultural county and because of the influence of Grantham College in the past thirty or forty years. As Grantham came to dominate the community's way of life, it had the effect of firmly establishing Meredith as a college town.

Thus, the small industrialist found conditions to his liking in Meredith. He found a community which did not want large industry because its prominent citizens considered it to be a college town. The small industrialist found in Meredith a conservative denominational college with a social, economic, and political outlook much the same as his own. He also found an anti-union tradition and a labor force which, because of its rural background, was not in sympathy with the labor movement. In addition to these conditions, the small industrialist also found a community whose size was such that he could make his own influence felt. This combination of circumstances permitted the small industrialist to be relatively certain that he could influence change in the community and that change would not be unfavorable to his own interests.

It will be recalled that when railroad enterprise moved into Meredith between 1850 and 1900, it changed the way of life characteristic of the community. It not only created a wealthy class of businessmen, bankers, and industrialists who worked together to develop the community's economy, but it also introduced an industrial labor force which, at that time, consisted of Irish and German immigrants. As a result, the community became an industrial community and class
lines were sharply drawn between laboring ethnic groups and the professional and business groups.

The changes in Meredith's way of life which have resulted from industrial expansion since 1940 are much different from those which resulted from the introduction of railroad industry. The industries which have moved into Meredith in recent years have not created a wealthy class of businessmen working together for the future of the community because most of these industries were individually developed before they were moved into Meredith. Also, these new industries have not radically altered the community's working population by introducing a new laboring class. They did bring into Meredith a new group of managers and industrial executives. They also attracted a few hill folk who were employed because they provided cheap labor. Primarily, however, the working force was obtained by changing marginal farmers into industrial workers, and these people are not new to the community.

By 1940, before this period of industrial expansion, Meredith was primarily a college town largely dependent upon the production of services rather than goods. As a result of the kind of industry that moved into Meredith after 1940, the community has remained a business community largely dependent upon the production of services. Industrial expansion had the effect of bringing industrial consumers into the community and increasing the level of consumption of people already living in the community and in the county. This new industrial expansion simply meant that Meredith was to have more business than formerly by virtue of the increased demand for goods and services in
the community. This, as much as anything else, has affected the cultural conditions of power in Meredith without detracting from the community's perception of itself as a college town.

Business Changes

In 1872 Meredith, with a population of less than half its present population, had thirty-one grocery stores. Today, it has only seventeen grocery stores. Of these, the five that do the largest business are of the chain variety. Meredith once had five banks. It now has two and one of these is a branch of a state-wide chain of banks. With the industrial expansion which occurred during and after World War II, Meredith has experienced a business boom. As in other communities, however, the profits that are being made are not entirely the community's profits, and, as in other communities, as business improves, the national retail corporations move in for their share of the profits. Slowly, but persistently, the managers are replacing the proprietors in retail trade. Even those proprietors that manage to hang on are often able to do so because they have made themselves members of one of the chain corporations. Today, as the local proprietor spends more and more of his time reading his newspaper in his quiet shop, the manager across the street is busy directing a cadre of clerks, stockboys, and bookkeepers.

Meredith now has its Sears and Roebuck, its Western Auto Supply Store, its Firestone Store, its A & P, and its Woolworth Store. Its Opera House has been replaced by a chain theater. Its ice cream parlor is a chain store. One of its more popular restaurants is a chain
restaurant. Its largest bank is no longer locally owned. Two of its three loan companies are chain companies. Its lumber company has sold out to a chain company whose owners, at this time, are planning the construction of a shopping center. Some of its automobile dealerships are no longer locally owned. Several of its clothing stores are chain stores. When the local proprietors decide to close their shops on Wednesday afternoons, they do so knowing that some of their chain competitors will remain open. When they decide to remain open Friday evening and to close Saturday evening, they do so knowing that some of their chain competitors will remain open both evenings. One by one the proprietors retire and the stores which have been in their families, sometimes for generations, disappear from Main Street.

It is this business expansion which has most profoundly affected employment in the community. In a sample of 600 people, 55 per cent indicated that they have lived in Coos County for more than twenty years while 45 per cent have moved into the county since 1940. Of the 45 per cent that have moved into the county since 1940, 42 per cent have lived in the county less than five years. Of these 115 people, forty-six are now gainfully employed. Eight are self-employed, ten are employed in factories, and twenty-eight are employed in service and retail industries.

Of the community sample of 297 individuals, it was found that 76 per cent of the gainfully employed are employed in Meredith while 24 per cent are employed in communities other than Meredith. Of the 132 gainfully employed in Meredith, 42 per cent depended upon service
industries for their employment, 18 per cent depended upon retail industries for their employment, 20 per cent depended upon manufacturing industries for employment, and 20 per cent were self-employed. In these terms, Meredith is primarily a business community. Only 20 per cent of its gainfully employed population work in factories. Whereas once the community was largely dependent upon railroad and industrial employment, it is now largely dependent upon business and three out of every five individuals gainfully employed in Meredith are busy selling goods and services, not including those among the self-employed who also sell goods and services. The new people attracted to Meredith because of the business expansion resulting from the growth of Grantham and the development of certain kinds of new industries are not industrial workers, but lawyers, doctors, bank clerks, teachers, insurance men, motel owners, funeral directors, accountants, store managers and clerks. They are, in a word, the white collar workers who have increased in number everywhere in the United States.

With these changes in the community's business character have also come changes in the number and kinds of associations found in the community today. Business expansion has contributed to a proliferation of special interest groups resulting in a diffusion of functions in the community and usurpation of communal control over local affairs by groups whose business it is to protect their own special interests. This point will be developed in greater detail when the structure and organization of power is described in the chapters to follow. The nature of these special interest groups is
briefly described here, however, because it illustrates the extent
to which communal interests have been displaced by special interests
in the way of life of the community.

In the eighteen seventies there existed in Meredith an organ-
ization known as the Meredith Improvement Association. In the eighties,
the Improvement Association was replaced by an organization known as
the Meredith Board of Trade. When the Board of Trade became defunct,
around the turn of the century, the Meredith Commercial Club was
organized. These organizations seem not to have been specialized.
Almost every prominent industrialist, banker, businessman, and polit-
tician belonged to them. Their interests included everything that
had anything to do with improving the community's social, political,
and economic situation. Although the data are meager concerning
these organizations, they seem to have functioned as the breeding
grounds for ideas concerning what people wanted the community to be
and what they could do about making it what they wanted it to be.
Today, organizations of this kind no longer exist. They have been re-
placed by the Chamber of Commerce, the Lions, the Rotary, the Kiwanis,
the Jaycees, the Parent Teacher's Association, the League of Women
Voters, the Red Cross, the County Health Association, the United Appeal,
the County Tuberculosis and Health Association, the South End Welfare
Society, the County Fair Association, and twenty or more benevolent,
fraternal, and patriotic organizations.

Each of these organizations performs, or attempts to perform, a
different function and promote a different interest in the community.
The membership of each of these organizations tends to be relatively exclusive. Moreover, each of these organizations are divided into numerous committees which are made responsible for some particular aspect of the overall function which the organization seeks to perform. The several committees of the League of Women Voters, for example, concern themselves with a variety of local problems and each committee seeks to promote the association's views on these problems by trying to influence the voters or by holding public meetings and lectures. The Junior Chamber of Commerce plays a different role. It is primarily an apprenticeship system designed to train leaders for positions of responsibility in the senior civic organizations. In carrying out this task the Jaycees have ten to fifteen working committees. Each committee has its chairman—a young man who has aspirations for a position of leadership, or simply a young man who feels that the publicity will help him in promoting his business. These committees organize a variety of activities such as fund raising drives, membership drives, auctions, sales, or youth programs. Chairmen of these committees who are successful in carrying out their programs, are given "sparkplug" awards. At the end of the year their names are etched on a bronze plaque in the council chamber where new members can see them and, it is hoped, be inspired to do as well.

The most elaborate, the most specialized, and the most influential of all these organizations is the Chamber of Commerce. In 1958 the Meredith Chamber of Commerce had an agricultural committee, an educational committee, a finance committee, a governmental committee,
a local government committee, a state government committee, a national
government committee, an industrial committee, a planning committee, a
membership committee, a merchant's committee, a nominating committee,
a publicity committee, a board of directors, and a full-time secretary.
Each of these committees meets separately and only once a year does
the entire Chamber come together for pot roast and speeches. At the
call of the secretary the board of directors or any particular com-
mittee will convene. Committee members are appointed by the executive
officers of the Chamber. Each has its own particular assignment but,
on occasion, two or three different committees may hold a joint
meeting. In general, the Chamber gives its support to those activities
in the community which are advantageous to its own interests. In turn,
its own interests are dominated by the interests of those who belong
to its executive committee and board of directors. More often than
not, this means that the Chamber is dominated by the interests of
Grantham College and those industrialists in the community who tend to
accept the outlook Grantham conveys to the community as a whole. For
example, the Chamber's secretary stated:

(I've been around town for twelve years now and ever since that
time I've been poking my nose into the community. I've got to
the point where I can feel the pulse of the community almost
every day I sit in this office. And I'll tell you one thing
right now. If I want to get anything done in this community
I've got to go to the industrialists or the college to get it
done. Ever since I took over this job I've done my best to
keep top executive people in the local industries on various
committees, the board of directors and so forth. The reason
I've done this is that my experience has shown me that these
are the people that are willing to work for the community.
They will give you the money you need to run things right.
Now if I go up and down the main street here I can't wring
five dollars out of the merchants. The merchants are the least generous with their money and time and they do the most squawking. If I had to decide whether or not a community is going to be run by industrialists or commercial people, I'd throw my hat in with the industrialists any day. Now the best industry we've got in town, as I told you before, is the college. I can call anyone of those people up there and they will take the time to come down here and talk things over with me.) (I-77)

As the saying goes in Meredith: The Chamber runs the town; the Kiwanis does all the work; and the Lions have all the fun."

The fact remains, however, that the business and associational character of the community have changed considerably since the nineteenth century. There is more business in the community than ever before and more of it has to do with the sale of goods and services. At the same time, the business houses are fewer than before and more of them are of the chain variety. While the local merchants are being replaced by the non-local managers, the communal associations have been replaced by organizations representing special interests and providing special functions in the community. These organizations reflect the diversified character of industrial and business enterprises developed outside the community and moved to the community because of the special advantages it has to offer their private interests.

When the Chamber of Commerce secretary says that the industrialists are interested in the community, what he actually means is that they are interested in the community only in so far as the community affects their industrial interests. When he says the merchants are not interested in the community, what he actually means is that the merchants no longer have a stake in the community; the retail chains
are squeezing them out. When the Chamber secretary says that the
college officials are the best workers the Chamber has, what he actually
means is that Grantham is more affected by conditions in the community
than any other single industry. The difference between the Chamber of
Commerce, the difference between most of these new associations, and
the Meredith Board of Trade or the Meredith Commercial Club is that the
Chamber is interested in Meredith to the extent that it affects business.
The Meredith Board of Trade was interested in business to the extent
that it affected Meredith.

The Cultural Conditions of Power: Summarized

Whereas Meredith was once a frontier community dominated by
interests in productive enterprise, it is no longer a frontier com-
munity and it is no longer dominated by productive enterprise. Instead,
it is a town which is dominated by a conservative Republican and de-
nominalional college. This domination means that many individuals
living in Meredith tend to perceive it as a college town and these
individuals express a firm desire that it remain a college town. It
also means that the values expressed by those who control the college
are also the values which tend to prevail in the community.

A second important change has been the expansion of productive
industry in Meredith since 1940. Most of the industries which con-
tributed to this expansion were not developed in Meredith but moved
into the community because of the advantageous social, economic and
political conditions which existed there. The two most important of
these advantages resulted from the conditions associated with a conservative college community located in an agricultural county. First, the small industrialist found in Meredith a rural farm labor force which is politically conservative and which is not particularly fond of industrial unionism. Second, the small industrialist found in Meredith conditions which permitted him to feel secure against changes unfavorable to small industries. The size of the new industries that moved into Meredith did not detract from the college atmosphere of the community. At the same time, while many of these new industries are not locally owned or controlled, their executives and officials tend to profess much the same conservative values as those professed by individuals who run the college.

The combined effect of these changes has been a considerable expansion in Meredith's commercial enterprise. This has reduced the number of people living in the community who are directly dependent upon productive industry for their livelihood. Only approximately one-fifth of Meredith's gainfully employed population work in factories. Because of this expansion of commercial enterprise, other changes have followed. Important among these is the penetration of the community by the large retail chain corporations. In almost every sphere of commercial activity the chain store managers have replaced local proprietors. Also important is the displacement of local communal associations by a great variety of social, civic, and commercial associations which represent the special interests of the many different groups that have come to exist in the community.
These cultural changes have made Meredith less communal today than it was before. The local economy that now exists in Meredith is firmly attached to that of the larger society and, at the same time, the enterprises which constitute this economy are less firmly attached to the local society than they were before. Similarly, many of the associations existing in Meredith are no longer local in the sense that they represent communal interests. Many of these associations are affiliated with state and national organizations which seek to promote the interests of special groups. The most local of the institutions existing in Meredith is Grantham College. Perhaps this is why it dominates the life of the community to such a great extent. Still, the interests of Grantham College are no longer those of a group of individuals seeking to promote the development of the community by establishing an educational institution. The interests of the college in the community as a whole are secondary to the maintenance of its own special interests in education and in retaining influence in the community. Retaining influence is particularly important to the college; unlike other industries, the college can not easily be removed from Meredith. These changes have extensively altered the power structure in Meredith.
Notes

1. Most of these interviews were conducted informally and without the taking of notes during the interview. Notes were jotted down immediately following each interview and these notes were then used to dictate the substance of the interview on dictaphone discs. These dictations were later transcribed for analysis. Parentheses will be used throughout to indicate that the material presented does not represent a direct quotation from the informant but a summary of what the informant said. As far as possible, the approximate words used by the informant are reproduced. The parenthesized code following each of these statements, e.g. (I-78), is a code which has been assigned to each informant in order that the reader may have some idea as to the number of different informants represented by excerpts taken from interview material.

2. The community survey sample of 297 is the proportionate area sample which was drawn from the four sample areas used in the community. When making statements about the whole community this sample is used in order that the smaller sample areas will not be over represented in the findings. supra., p. 62.

3. It should not be understood that this character represents the homogeneous uniformity which one would expect to find in a primitive or peasant village. It is not nearly as integrated as this. Nevertheless, even those in the community who do not share the outlook on life which characterizes Meredith, and there are many such people, are subtly influenced by its presence.

4. Quoted from a copy of a personal letter.

5. Quoted from a copy of a personal letter.


7. Some have also taken it upon themselves to prevent new industry from locating in the community. This point will be illustrated when the organization of power is described in a later chapter.
A service industry is defined here as one which deals in the sale of services rather than in the sale or production of goods. An individual was classified as employed in a service industry if he was not self-employed, if he did not work in a factory, and if he sold services rather than goods. A secretary, for example, who sold her services by working in a factory office or in the office of a retail store was classified as a factory worker or employed in a retail industry. The purpose of these unorthodox definitions was to determine, as far as possible, the number of individuals who directly depend upon factories or retail stores for their employment as compared to the number of individuals who are employed providing services such as those provided by schools, law offices, insurance agencies, or other agencies which provide services of one kind or another. The self-employment category included only those individuals who owned their own business regardless of the nature of the business involved. Most self-employed individuals were proprietors of small business operations.
CHAPTER VI

CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURE OF POWER

During the period between 1850 and 1900, political parties, the ownership or control of investment and productive property, and the institutional participation of prominent members of the upper class existed as important means of power. Because of the cultural conditions which were characteristic of Meredith, their distribution was such that it provided for an elite-dominated power structure. At the same time, it also provided for the existence of some basis for dissent and opposition in that power structure. As was described in the previous chapter, there have been extensive changes in the cultural conditions of power in Meredith since 1900. Associated with these changes are changes not only in the distribution of these means of power in the community but also changes in the amount of power they give to the individuals and groups who control them.

Changes in Local Governmental Institutions

As was suggested earlier (supra, p. 143), whether or not political parties exist as an important source of power in a community largely depends upon the nature of local issues which fall within the formal or informal framework of local government, and the role parties play in the local governmental process. In turn, the role parties play in the local governmental process depends upon the form of local
government. During the historical period the elite depended upon communal effort and the cooperation of local government in the development of the community's economy. As a result, local government represented a source of power in the community. At the same time, the form of local government consisted of an elected mayor and council and political parties competed for these positions. This gave political parties and the groups they represented an entree to the process by which decisions were made which affected the way of life of the community.

Since 1913 the role of local government has been changing with changes in the cultural conditions of power. Briefly, between 1913 and the present local government in Meredith changed from an executive and legislative authority to an almost exclusively administrative authority. Instead of serving as a channel for political debate and an agency of political decisions, local government now serves as an agency of administration. This change culminated in 1954 when the form of local government was officially changed from a mayor-council system, based on political party competition, to a manager-council system, devoid of any basis in political party politics.

The present form of local government consists of a "home-rule" charter which provides for an elected council and a city manager. The state in which Meredith is located permits municipalities of certain sizes to draft their own charters and to institute a form of government of their own choice, providing the charter does not violate any laws of the state. When a municipality drafts such a charter it is called a "home-rule" charter. The "home-rule" charter provides city
government with a certain degree of local autonomy. An example may be used to illustrate this. In the eighteen seventies when the city wanted to buy certain railroad stocks, Meredith did not have a "home-rule" charter. Because of this, before stocks could be purchased, special state legislation was required. Under a "home-rule" charter this would not have been necessary. The city council could have purchased the stock out of its operating funds, providing the charter permitted it to do so, or, if it needed additional funds, it could have placed a resolution on the ballot and held a special election. Until 1954 Meredith did not have a "home-rule" charter. In that year such a charter went into effect and it provided for a manager-council form of government.

In contrast with the original mayor-council form of government, the manager-council form of government replaced the mayor as the administrative authority of the city with a city manager. It also provided that seven members be elected to the city council, four of which are to represent the four voting wards in the community and three of which are to be elected at-large. It provided that the council elect from one of its members an honorary mayor. The honorary mayor does not have the power of veto and his vote on council counts as one with the other members of council. Meredith's "home-rule" charter also provided that councilmen are not to be elected as representatives of political parties and that they are not to campaign for election on the basis of a party ticket. All other officials of the city, including the city manager, are appointed by council and have no
legislative authority. In essence, the "home-rule" charter which was adopted took local government out of the realm of politics altogether and substituted business government for political government in the sense that political parties no longer could influence the election of representatives and the appointment of officials.

The primary function of local government today is to maintain some level of order and integration in the community by providing the citizens with those services which would not otherwise be provided because other groups and associations are either incapable of or not interested in providing them. Such services include police and fire protection, the maintenance of streets and sidewalks, the extension of sewer and water lines where they are needed, and the like. Generally, local government attempts to avoid taking on new responsibilities and as many of its old responsibilities as possible are relegated to other agencies and other institutions. If the state or the county is willing to repair fifty feet of road next year, if possible, local government will permit the road to wait for a year. If individuals are willing to put in their own sidewalks, local government is happy to let them do so. If a private group is willing to assume responsibility for supervising public recreation in the community, local government is willing to give up that responsibility.

In its new role, local government has relatively little power. It suggests what the gas rates ought to be, but the gas company and the state utilities commission decide what they will be. Local government suggests what it needs by way of operating levies, but the Chamber
of Commerce and similar associations decide what operating levies they will campaign for and support in the community. Local government may take the position that it cannot bear the costs of extending certain water lines in the community. However, if certain groups get together, they will decide how much of the cost local government will bear. Whatever contribution local government now makes to Meredith's economy is primarily by way of the individuals it has to employ in providing the services that are left to it to provide. Whenever new policies or programs are initiated, their initiation comes not from local government but from other agencies or groups in or outside Meredith. Two things local government does not do. First, it does not raise important political issues such as what industries will or will not be permitted to locate in the community; rather, it attempts to avoid these issues as much as possible. Second, it does not decide important political issues; instead, it leaves their decision to those groups who are interested in them and who are capable of deciding them.

As subsequent changes resulted in a decline in the need for communal cooperation, the initiative and responsibilities of local government also declined. By the nineteen thirties, the New Deal had replaced what was left of the local entrepreneurs with the Works Project Administration and other forms of economic aid. Beginning in the nineteen forties, the W. P. A. was replaced by the non-locally owned and controlled manufacturing industries and retail trade corporations. There was little local government could do by way of participation in these changes. After the changes had taken place, it had
nothing left to do but pave the streets, extend water lines, install parking meters, and concern itself with the problem of wringing enough money from the taxpayers to pay for these and comparable services. To obtain such funds the taxpayers, particularly the more influential ones who own more property than others, had to be convinced that there was no waste and no lack of efficiency in local government. Any small partisan conflicts or any patronage which existed loomed out of proportion to the issues involved and was considered as a political waste of money by most Republican businessmen as well as by a few prominent Democrats in Meredith. This provided the initial motivation for considering a "home-rule" charter and a non-political manager-council form of government.

The movement to substitute business government for political government began in 1929 at Grantham College. William Johnson, a respected Democrat and a well-known political scientist teaching at Grantham, was president of the Kiwanis at that time. He believed that Meredith had a non-progressive form of local government, inefficient as it was at the time, and he organized a movement for a "home-rule" charter. At a dinner meeting, he told the Kiwanis,

The obtaining of a greater degree of autonomy in the regulation of local affairs and the satisfaction of having a plan of government that was up-to-date and that fitted the particular needs of the city, are the advantages of a charter form of government.

The Chamber of Commerce, the Kiwanis, the Federated Women's Clubs, and the Civitan Club backed Johnson's idea and gave their support to placing
a charter amendment on the November, 1930, ballot. The school board also backed the movement. City Council was enthusiastic and voted unanimously to place the amendment on the ballot. Before the election, the only woman member of the charter commission, an elementary school principal, told the people of Meredith in an editorial:

I have confidence in the women of Meredith. If they will give the proposed charter a careful reading, compare it with our present antiquated form and think for themselves, I believe that they will conclude that it is one of the most progressive and constructive measures that has ever been put up for consideration. It eliminates politics from public business . . . . Under this charter every elector in Meredith will have the right to help decide, without the aid of a political chauffeur, who shall have control of the governmental steering wheel and the driver will be held directly responsible to the people . . . . From the standpoint of efficiency and progress the proposed form of government is adapted to the community.2

The amendment, however, failed to pass.3 For one thing, the charter sought to replace ward councilmen with five councilmen elected at-large. At that time, the Democrats in Meredith had a difficult time electing representatives at-large but they could elect two ward councilmen in the Eastside and they were not enthusiastic about giving up their control of these two seats. More important, however, the movement came during the depression, a time when local government had no funds and when almost every voter in the city could ill-afford the added expense of a new form of government and the improvements it promised to make.

Nevertheless, if political government can be interpreted to mean the availability of choice between alternative policies devised to meet the issues confronting the body politic, then in spite of the failure of business government in the November election of 1930, Meredith did not
have a political government. It had a business government, still hampered by some opposition to be sure, but primarily controlled by the Republican business interests in the community. This point can be illustrated by considering the political party affiliation of local government officials and representatives between the years 1936 and 1952. These data are presented in Table V.

**TABLE V**

**POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION OF CITY OFFICIALS AND ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES: 1936-1952**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Officials</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1944</th>
<th>1946</th>
<th>1948</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1952</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mayor</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. of Council</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer</td>
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<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>R</td>
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<td>R</td>
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<td>R</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
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<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Commis.</td>
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<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clerk of Council</td>
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<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council: Ward II</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council: Ward IV</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council: At-Large</td>
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<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council: At-Large</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council: At-Large</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the years covered in the above table, the ward system was pretty much the same as that which existed during the historical period. The four wards were divided north to south by Main Street (Figure 2) and east to west by State Street. The third and fourth wards represented Eastside wards. As the table shows, the two party system can hardly be
said to have been vigorous. While the Democrats continued to hold
the two Eastside wards, even when a Democratic mayor was elected, the
Republicans controlled council with a five to two majority. During
these years no Democrat was ever elected as a councilman at-large and
only once, in 1938, was a Democrat elected in a ward other than the
third or fourth. In 1948 the third ward swung over to the Republicans
and continued to vote that way until the form of local government
changed in 1954.

As far as political government is concerned, a choice can
hardly be said to have existed in Meredith from 1936 to the present.
However, as far as political parties were concerned, there existed
little about which to choose during these years. The only patronage
positions in local government involved the Directors of Public Service
and Safety and the Health Commissioner, and these were not attractive
positions. In 1940 public health became a county responsibility and
the office of Health Commissioner was dispensed with. Local govern­
ment was in no position to give patronage to local industry during
these years because hardly any existed until the late nineteen forties.
Until the depression ended public works were almost at a stand still.
During the war years even the mayor could not make much money in
traffic court because gasoline was rationed and traffic fines were few
and far between.

Nevertheless, under the mayor-council form of government two
Democratic councilmen could be elected and occasionally a popular
Democrat could even become mayor. As a result, Republican administrations
were usually confronted with two Democrats on Council, and Democratic administrations were usually confronted with five Republicans. Under a Democratic administration, two Democrats on council were enough to uphold the mayor's veto. This kept the Democratic party alive in the community and, to some extent, it was productive of dissent and opposition. The form this dissent took may be illustrated by an issue that developed in 1944 and which concerned the installation of parking meters in Meredith.

The parking meter issue which developed in the community illustrates that Democratic opposition, by 1944, consisted of only enough power to forestall a final decision. On March 6, 1944, the installation of parking meters was brought to the attention of the city council. The more prominent merchants wanted meters installed but the smaller merchants and farmers presented a petition against this. After much discussion at the city council meeting, an ordinance was read to install the meters. The ordinance passed by a four to three vote. Two Democrats and one Republican took the side of the smaller merchants. At the following meeting the Democratic mayor vetoed the ordinance. An attempt was made to override the veto but the two Democratic councilmen voted with the mayor and the attempt failed. In 1946 the same ordinance was passed and vetoed by the same mayor. On March 1, 1948, however, a Republican mayor with a Republican council passed the ordinance. Thus, it took six years to pass an ordinance which, in the absence of party opposition, would have passed the first time it came to the floor.
This is what prominent Republicans refer to as the "inefficiency of the old form of government." This inefficiency consists of the accomplishments or the lack of accomplishments of such administrations as those of 1944 and 1946. Moreover, it is this kind of inefficiency which rekindled an interest in the manager-council form of government in 1950. For example, when a prominent member of the charter commission, the group which drafted the manager-council form of government that now exists, was asked about his interest in this project, he pointed specifically to the Democratic administrations of 1944 and 1946 and stated:

(Something had to be done. The city was in bad shape. Under the old form of government some administrations got into office and accomplished absolutely nothing. Take McCarthy's administration. No one could ever get along with him. The only reason he got into office was that he was a good public speaker. Council couldn't make itself understood during his administrations. These four years were completely down the drain as far as city administration was concerned. Sidewalk programs were allowed to deteriorate, improvements were not kept up, and McCarthy absolutely refused to get along with anyone on the council. He knew nothing about city government. We were short on money and long on political favors of various kinds. It seems that every meeting of the mayor with council was a meeting at which we were confronted by a number of critical issues which would determine whether or not the city was to survive with any kind of government at all. Because of these situations a group of people got the idea that perhaps a change ought to be made to the manager system.) (I-53)

In 1954, the manager-council form of government went into effect. Local government today is business government and it has a charter. Councilmen are now elected on a non-partisan basis. The issues which confront them are administrative issues and these excite little debate at council meetings. It is not difficult to review council minutes for periods of one or two years and not find one dissenting vote on council. Almost all of the issues confronting council involve the supervision,
execution, and maintenance of services for which local government is already responsible. While these issues are important as far as maintaining some level of order and integration in the community, they are politically insignificant when compared to the issues which once confronted local government in Meredith. Not only do the issues now confronting local government fail to excite discussion among elected officials, but more important, they fail to excite the political interest of the general public in the community. Even members of the local government committee of the Chamber of Commerce no longer find it worth while to attend council meetings. Moreover, it is difficult to stimulate enough interest in the community to motivate men to run for council office. Those that are motivated often vacate their seats long before their terms expire. When a council seat is vacated the remaining members of the council must nominate and elect an individual to fill the seat. At the time of this study five of the seven council-men serving on council had been selected in this way to fill vacated seats. Before the field work was completed, three of these five individuals had retired from the council and three more had to be selected to fill their seats until the terms expired.

Perhaps the contemporary position of local government and political parties in the power structure is best summarized by comments various informants expressed in interviews. One informant, a prominent industrialist, was asked what people might be of value to him if he wanted to get anything done in the community. He named a few individuals, mostly other industrialists, and suggested that it depended
pretty much upon what it was he wanted to get done. He was then asked:

How about the mayor? He stated:

(I don't know him very well. He has been on the council ever since I've been in town. I think he sells automobiles. As far as I know, he fiddles around, plays politics, does this and that and the other thing, but doesn't really have much force. He's like the rest of the members of council here. You see, this is a funny town. There are some people here with a lot of money but they didn't earn it, they inherited it; and they don't spend it. Then there is the college faculty. Most of these don't make much money and they don't spend it either. Then there are the retired people and they don't have any to spend even if they wanted to. None of these people want to see anything change. The mayor is like the rest of them. He doesn't want anything done. The council is the same way. It wouldn't do anything unless somebody built a fire under them.) (I-54)

A prominent business man was asked a similar question. He stated:

(Personally, I've had a lot of success going to the Chamber of Commerce. Now it didn't used to work this way. Back in the old days you'd go to either Bill Savage who was a power in the Democratic party, or you would go to Bob McFadden who was a power in the Republican party. They could help you get most anything done. Now I go to city council first because under this form of government they are supposed to keep the manager informed of what the people think and need and then he just administers it. But if they didn't see things my way, I'd go to the Chamber of Commerce and see if I could find somebody there that would agree with me. If I couldn't find them there, I'd go to some of the other businessmen and see if we could find some other organization to work through. The important thing is that I couldn't do it alone and I don't think anybody could do it alone.) (I-85)

Still another prominent industrialist, a member of the commission which drafted the charter, was asked why he preferred the city manager form of government to the mayor-council form. He stated:

(I'll tell you. Under the old form of government if you went to the mayor and raised hell about something, you might get something done and you might not.) (I-89)
He was asked if he was implying that influence could be wielded a bit more strongly under the new form of government and he continued:

(That's not it. You can wield influence a bit more secretly but it's no stronger than before. I'll give you an example. When the old form of government was in we wanted to get a street paved into our plant. It wasn't absolutely necessary that it be paved but it would have made things a little easier for us. So, we went to the mayor and said we wanted the street paved (this was a Democratic mayor) and he said to hell with you. Well, what could we do? Of course Barlow (president of the company) wanted to storm at him and get a bunch of people the mayor owed favors to go in there and tell him they'd hit him over the head if he didn't get the street paved. But this doesn't do any good. There would have been a big argument, people shouting at each other at committee meetings. Now, under this system, you can go in there with your arguments and persuade the manager to go to council and persuade them. You get these things done in a more efficient manner. Under the old system there was too much acrimony, too much argument.)

(1-89)

In summary, many of the decisions which affect the community's social order and which were once accessible to local government are no longer influenced by local government. Some of these decisions have been removed from Meredith altogether and are made at levels of state and national government. Others are made in the home offices of corporations which have branch plants in the community. Some decisions, however, do remain in the community but are no longer made within the realm of local government activity. These decisions involve such things as whether or not new industries will be permitted to locate in the community; or, they may pertain to the extension of certain kinds of services such as water or sewage; or, they may involve housing developments or other kinds of land use for commercial or industrial purposes. To be sure, these concerns often come to the
attention of local government, but local government does not have the power to decide them. They are decided within the private circles of different interest groups.

Political parties, because of the form and the role of local government, once provided the vast majority of the community's citizens with some kind of influence in a multiplicity of decisions which ultimately determined the kind of life they were to live in Meredith. This is no longer the case. Oblivious to the loci of these decisions, the vast majority of the people living in the community no longer define their individual needs in political terms. Alienated from the means of power, they often feel powerless in such matters. This, as will be illustrated in Chapters VIII and IX, has profoundly affected the organization of power in Meredith.

Changes in the Distribution of the Ownership of Investment and Productive Property

The concealment of the loci of important decisions is not only a function of the position local government and political parties now have in the power structure; it is also a function of the more diffuse ownership and control of investment and productive property. With the changes in the cultural conditions of power, the concentration of control functions disappeared. Each of the community's manufacturing industries is now owned and controlled by different groups of people. Sometimes these people live in Meredith and sometimes they do not. The executive officers of these industries are generally known to those who work in the plants, to some of the people in City Hall, to
the Chamber of Commerce, the banks, and perhaps to a few people in other organizations whose business it is to obtain financial contributions from these industries for fund raising drives of one kind or another. In a very few cases, however, does this knowledge extend to the general public.

More important, the distribution of ownership or control no longer serves to interrelate a small group of individuals as partners. While it can not be said that partnerships no longer exist among some members of the upper class, they tend to be the exception rather than the rule. Where partnerships do exist, they are more often found in service industries such as law offices, realty companies, insurance agencies, funeral homes, and the like. There is little evidence that these partnerships extend to the ownership or control of major investment and productive properties.

For example, an investigation was made of the ownership or control of the eighteen most important enterprises in the community, excluding the college. These enterprises included all the manufacturing companies important to the community's commercial economy, the two utility companies which have some local control, and the two banks. Since most of the members of the boards of directors of these enterprises do not live in or near the community, only major officers and executives were listed for the analysis. The list included the names of forty-five executives. Of these forty-five people, eighteen neither lived in Meredith or in Coos County. Of the eighteen enterprises, the presidents of only eight lived in Meredith or in Coos County.
As far as could be determined by interviews, only two of the forty-five officers and executives of these corporations have something to do with enterprises in the community other than the ones with which they are primarily associated. These two individuals, Wesley Murdock and Edward G. Barlow, are both members of the board of directors of one of the two banks. While some of these people own other properties in Meredith (e.g., real estate of various kinds), they own them as individuals and the properties are not major investment or productive properties. Unlike the period between 1850 and 1900, the contemporary control of investment and productive property no longer serves directly to create interlocking relationships between those individuals who are in a position to make decisions which can extensively alter the social order of the community.

That economic development is no longer a community enterprise also emerged from this analysis. Most members of the elite, which was described for the period 1850 to 1900, were involved in local politics because local government was important. Of the forty-five individuals mentioned above, only three can be said to have had anything to do with local government in any official capacity. G. Hobbes, now a vice-president of the Davis Corporation, was once a member of the city council; however, this was before his association with the Davis Corporation. Both Edward G. Barlow and W. L. Mullins, who are respectively the president and treasurer of the Diversified Manufacturing Corporation, were members of the Charter Commission elected to draft Meredith's "home-rule" charter. These are the only individuals of this group who have had any active and public participation in local government in Meredith.
In summary, whatever power these individuals hold in Meredith is not held by virtue of relationships established on the basis of their joint-ownership of investment and productive property. To the extent that what they own or control conveys to them both a common interest and an interest in the affairs of the community, such interests are expressed in terms of their institutional participation in the community. The character of institutional participation, however, has also changed.

Changes in Institutional Participation

The procedure employed to study institutional participation for the historical period involved a detailed analysis of biographical information available on 101 individuals who were prominent during the period. In making this analysis it had to be assumed that the biographer, a native of the community, had a knowledge as to who had been important in the community's history. In general, historical facts were found to substantiate the accuracy of the biographer's judgment. Today those individuals who are important are still making the community's history. They can not be judged important by historical facts because the facts are incomplete. It is difficult, then, to select just which individuals are important and which are not important.

The first approach to this problem was provided for in the survey instrument. Interviewees were asked to name the three individuals who are most effective in making their political views felt in the community. The interviewee was permitted to interpret for
for himself what was meant by the words "politically effective." The results of the survey proved interesting. Of the 297 people included in the community sample, 61 per cent could not name a single individual they thought to be politically effective in the community. Fourteen per cent gave the names of almost as many different people. Twelve per cent gave the name of a twenty-four year old politician, a graduate of Cranham, who was elected state representative in the 1958 general election. Six per cent gave the name of a prominent industrialist. Two per cent gave the name of an automobile dealer who had been on the city council for more than twenty years and who, at the time of the survey, was the mayor. The general public, then, provided no consensus as to which individuals were prominent leaders in Meredith. In fact, the question might be raised as to whether or not the general public is knowledgeable in such matters. In the pre-test of the survey instrument, it was found that most individuals could not even supply the name of the city manager.

A second approach to the problem of institutional participation consisted of a study of the membership lists of the Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary, Kiwanis, Junior Chamber of Commerce and the Lions. It was assumed that most prominent individuals would belong, even if not actively, to one or more of these organizations. Since time did not permit biographical interviews with a sample of those individuals named on one or more of these lists, the findings with respect to institutional participation are limited to a comparison of the lists and an analysis of each in terms of other data gathered during the study.
The membership of each of these five organizations was analyzed in terms of broad occupational categories in order to determine their occupational character. Table VI shows the occupational character of each of these five organizations and the extent to which their members are considered friends of Grantham by Grantham's official alumni and friend list for 1958. When considering Table VI, it must be kept in mind that the Chamber of Commerce meets but once a year as a group. At all other times it meets in special committees. The Kiwanis, Rotary, Lions, and Jaycees have regular meetings throughout the year. The Kiwanis, for example, reserves a banquet room in a local restaurant where the entire group meets once a week. In terms of frequency of interaction, the members of these four groups have more opportunity to meet with one another than do the members of the Chamber of Commerce.

The occupational representation of these groups conveys something of their character. The Jaycees function primarily as an apprenticeship group for aspiring community leaders. Thus, nearly 50 per cent of its membership is drawn from the employee category. Most of the individuals falling in this category are young businessmen employed in service and retail industries. Only two industrialists and one bank executive belong to the Jaycees. A good indicator of this organization's status in the community is the fact that no college administrator or professor is a member of the Jaycees.
<table>
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<th>Occupational Categories</th>
<th>Chamber of Commerce Number</th>
<th>Chamber of Commerce %</th>
<th>Kiwanis Number</th>
<th>Kiwanis %</th>
<th>Rotary Number</th>
<th>Rotary %</th>
<th>Lions Number</th>
<th>Lions %</th>
<th>Jaycees Number</th>
<th>Jaycees %</th>
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<td>33.33</td>
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<td>3.92</td>
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<td><strong>Total Members</strong></td>
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<td><strong>100.</strong></td>
<td><strong>84</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.</strong></td>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.</strong></td>
<td><strong>66</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.</strong></td>
<td><strong>87</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.</strong></td>
<td><strong>549</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.</strong></td>
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Grantham Friend: 62 23.75 34 40.47 15 29.41 2 3.03 15 17.24 128 23.32
The Lions is perhaps the least important of Meredith's service organizations. Membership in this organization seems to give relatively little status in the community. More than 75 per cent of this group consists of small proprietors and employees. Included among the employees are the city treasurer, the fire chief, the city inspector, and a number of insurance salesmen employed by various agencies whose owners or managers do not belong to the Lions. The Lions International has no doctors and lawyers as members, only one industrialist, no bankers, only two college professors, and only two of its members have attended or graduated from Grantham.

The Kiwanis and the Rotary are the service organizations which convey status in Meredith, and the Kiwanis confers considerably more status than the Rotary. Approximately 55 per cent of the membership in the Kiwanis consists of industrialists, proprietors, professional people, and college personnel. Thirty-four of its eighty-four members, more than 40 per cent, are counted as "Friends of Grantham" according to the official alumni and friend list for 1958. Many prominent men who do not belong to the Kiwanis will belong to the Rotary. Nearly 30 per cent of the members of the Rotary are former students or graduates of Grantham.

The Chamber of Commerce is the community's power organization. Local government, for example, almost always seeks the advice and the public support of the Chamber in such undertakings as new operating levies, the purchase of a new fire truck, the construction of parking lots, and other comparable projects. The power of the Chamber of
Commerce is also indicated by the occupational characteristics of its members and by the overlap in membership existing between the Chamber and the other four organizations. Most of the industrialists in the community are members of the Chamber and they constitute nearly 7 per cent of its total membership. Most of Meredith's important proprietors belong to the Chamber and they comprise nearly 46 per cent of its total membership. The chain store and other important managers belong to the Chamber and they constitute nearly 10 per cent of its total membership. Most of the prominent doctors, lawyers, and other professional people hold a membership in the Chamber of Commerce. Grantham College has twenty-five representatives in the Chamber who are college professors and administrators, and in many cases, their membership fees are paid by the college. The majority of top bank officials and executives belong to the Chamber. Only twenty-nine employees (mostly high school teachers and county and city officials) can be counted among the Chamber's members. Of the 261 individuals holding a membership in Meredith's Chamber of Commerce, nearly 24 per cent are alumni or former students of Grantham College.

Constitutional rules do not permit an overlap in the membership of the Kiwanis, Rotary, and the Lions. Many of their members, however, belong to the Chamber of Commerce. As is shown in Table VI, a total of 549 memberships are represented in these five organizations. These memberships represent a total of 426 individuals. Except for twenty Jaycees who belong to the Kiwanis, the Rotary, or the Lions, the remaining dual memberships are between these organizations and the Chamber
of Commerce. The total number of dual memberships between the Chamber and other organizations, however, is not as interesting as the kind of people who hold them.

For example, the Jaycees contribute nineteen members to the Chamber. Of these nineteen people, sixteen are industrialists, proprietors, business managers, professionals, and bankers; of these sixteen, six are alumni or former students of Grantham. The Lions contribute twenty members to the Chamber; of these, all but one are industrialists, proprietors, and business managers and included are the only two "friends of Grantham" who belong to the Lions. The Kiwanis contribute thirty-two members to the Chamber; of these, three are industrialists, fifteen are proprietors, three are business managers, three are college professors, and one is a banker. Nearly half of the Kiwanis who belong to the Chamber have either graduated from Grantham or have attended Grantham as special students. Finally, twenty-nine of the Rotary's fifty-one members belong to the Chamber of Commerce; of these, only four are employees and twelve are alumni or friends of Grantham College.

These figures suggest that institutional participation is probably greater today than it was for the historical period. For one thing, there are more people in the community. There are also more civic, service, and business organizations to which one can belong. The most powerful of these organizations is the Chamber of Commerce. At the same time, the Chamber of Commerce does not function to bring a few individuals together as a single dominating elite. The Chamber tends to function
in such a manner as to segregate individuals by permitting them to serve on a variety of committees through which their special interests can be channeled. These committees meet separately and only once a year do all of them meet together. Furthermore, these different committees are not all equally active and equally influential.

As far as decisions affecting the way of life of the community are concerned, the most important committees in the Chamber of Commerce are the executive committee, the board of directors, and the industrial committee. The executive committee and the board of directors determine Chamber policy with respect to the community and they appoint the members of all of the other Chamber committees. The industrial committee is the only organized group in Meredith whose specific function is to conduct negotiations with industries interested in moving into the community. The industrial committee, therefore, is in a position to make decisions which can change the social, economic, and political characteristics of the entire community. At the same time, the only people in Meredith who have any kind of influence on the industrial committee are the people represented by its membership.

As of 1959 the executive committee consisted of two prominent industrialists, two prominent bankers, and the secretary of the Chamber. Of the twenty-one members of the board of directors, one was a prominent industrialist, five were proprietors, six were business managers, two were farmers, five were influential lawyers, one was the city engineer, and one was the vice-president of Grantham College. Of the twenty-six members of the executive committee and the board of directors,
eight were alumni of Grantham College. As far as Chamber policy is concerned, in 1959, industrial interests and the interests of Grantham College were well-represented.

These interests were also well-represented on the industrial committee. In 1959 the members of the industrial committee consisted of a realtor, two prominent industrialists, a young insurance salesman, a college professor, and a prominent banker. Of these eight individuals, three were alumni of Grantham and a fourth was listed on Grantham's official list of friends. Thus, individuals in a position to attract new industries to Meredith are, to a large extent, individuals who either are not interested in bringing new industries into the community or, if they are interested, they favor certain kinds of industries which will not alter the college atmosphere of the community.

The college professor who belonged to the industrial committee was asked if anyone at the college had ever asked him to push Grantham's interests in the Chamber. He stated:

(Well, the college pays my dues. After all, I am a member of the college and my primary interest lies here rather than someplace else. They don't have to push me to represent their interests in the Chamber. All they have to do is get me in there.) (I-79)\(^{10}\)

Two important aspects of institutional participation are significant. First, it does not serve, as it did in the past, to relate a relatively small group of individuals to one another which may be considered as an elite in the community; instead, it functions to support the already existing interest groups who come together in those community affairs which are particularly important to their special
interests. Second, the analysis of institutional participation reveals that the most outstanding common bond cutting across the relatively specialized interest groups which exist in Meredith is the relationship of many of their members to Grantham College. More than 8 per cent of the total membership of these groups consists of college professors and college administrators. More than 20 per cent of all the members of Meredith's important business and service organizations either graduated from Grantham College or, at one time or another, they had attended Grantham for part of their education. Furthermore, according to the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, these are the people who are most active in community affairs.

The relationship of these individuals to Grantham College means that they are the products of, or associated with, an institution whose administration is characterized by relatively uniform values and beliefs. This, in addition to other characteristics, makes them members of the same social class. The style of life these individuals display is relatively different from that displayed by other groups in the community. To the extent that members of these different interest groups share a common interest by virtue of their class characteristics and their relationship to Grantham College, a class interest can be said to exist in Meredith. Moreover, if this class interest is reflected in the decisions these individuals make or influence as members of different interest groups, the power structure may be said to be dominated by a class interest.
If this class interest is not recognized or admitted by specific members of these special interest groups, it is certainly recognized and catered to by the college administration. For example, after admitting that Grantham dominates the community, the vice-president of Grantham was asked how the administration went about this domination. His response to this question gave specific recognition to social class as a bond common to different interest groups in the community by virtue of the relationship of their members to the college. He stated:

(We don't have too much trouble with this because if you look around through town you'll find that Grantham graduates are pretty well placed in business, industry, and in community affairs. These are friends who will tell us when anything comes up which affects us and then we can take certain actions if they are called for.) (I-63)

Not only does the administration recognize that the college provides these individuals with a common class interest, but it also caters to this interest. The vice-president continued,

(One of the ways we get along in town is to make ourselves indispensable. We offer the town a lot of things. For example, we helped them pay for a new fire truck. Then there's the Student Union Building. We let several organizations in town use this frequently and we charge them nothing or a nominal fee. The Country Club is another example. We own the golf course. We need it in order to maintain our physical education program but other than that we had no need for it so we turned it over to the Country Club. This indebts them to us a little bit. You see, if we get into a position in town where the people here can't get along without us and know it, then we'll run into a lot less trouble.) (I-63)

The Country Club is the most exclusive social club in Meredith. In order to join one must pay a $200 initiation fee and, thereafter, dues amounting to more than $300 a year. Individuals who are not able to join are permitted to patronize the Country Club three times a year.
This class interest also seems to be recognized by the general public in Meredith. Recognition is expressed in terms of complaints that often are associated with the much talked about problem of "town-gown" relations. College professors and others often speak of this problem. The complaints associated with the problem of "town-gown" relations are many and varied. Administrative personnel at Grantham complain that professors do not participate enough in the social life of the community. The man on the street complains that they participate too much. The administration complains that the townspeople are not grateful for all that the college does for the community. The townspeople complain that the college runs the community and takes too much property off the tax books.

In a community sample of 297 individuals, 22 per cent of the interviewees ranked the issue of "town-gown" relations as the most important of ten local issues. However, when these 297 interviewees are distributed by the social class areas in which they reside, only 11 per cent of those residing in the upper class area ranked the "town-gown" issue as the most important of ten local issues. This percentage increases to 17 in the middle class area, 24 in the Southside lower class area, and 51 in the Eastside lower class area. While the social class structure will be described in greater detail in the following chapter, it is appropriate to note here that behind the problem of "town-gown" relations is the recognition that the community's power structure is dominated by a class interest which is not unrelated to
the common interest of members of different groups by virtue of their relationship to Grantham College.

**Changes in the Power Structure: Summarized**

Changes in the power structure which have resulted from the changes in the cultural conditions of power in Meredith since 1900 may be summarized as follows: First, as Meredith's political economy became more and more dependent upon outside agencies and organizations for its development, there has been an extensive decline in the power of local government. As a result of this decline, the form of local government was changed and political parties are no longer able to provide their members with any kind of access to important decisions. This, in effect, has removed the element of dissent and opposition from the power structure and created a situation wherein the general population of the community may be easily manipulated by special interest groups.

Second, the distribution of the ownership and control of the community's investment and productive property has become extremely diffuse. This has created a number of different interest groups in the community which, because of their relationship to the means of power, are no longer related to one another. As these groups go about making their own decisions and protecting their own interests, the loci of important decisions are generally unknown to the public. In other words, these groups do not constitute a single dominating elite which is visible to the public.
Third, the different concerns of these groups are expressed in terms of the participation of their members in different business and service organizations. These organizations are divided into committees of various kinds which serve to represent the special interests of their members. Because it is not the same individuals who belong to the same organizations and who serve on the same committees within these organizations, institutional participation does not serve to bring about an elite in the community.

Finally, an analysis of the membership of the major business and service organizations in Meredith reveals that there is a common bond which cuts across these different groups and which promotes at least one common interest. That common bond consists of the fact that many of their members are alumni, friends, or employees of Grantham College. This, in addition to other characteristics described in the following chapter, makes these individuals members of a social class which is intent on maintaining Meredith as a college town. While this common bond does not serve to relate the individual members of different groups in such a way as to constitute an elite-dominated power structure, it does relate them in such a way as to constitute a class-dominated power structure. Since those social attributes which command power in most situations are more concentrated in the upper class than in any other group or class in the community, it is important to consider the social class structure in greater detail in order to determine the distribution of the means of power and the positions the different social classes occupy in the power structure. It is also
important to determine to what extent the social class structure of the community provides a basis for dissent or opposition in the power structure.

Notes

1News, October 18, 1929.

2Ibid., October 28, 1930.

3Ibid., November 5, 1930.

4It appears that even at this time the Democratic vote in local elections in the third and fourth wards seem to be more of an expression of antagonism between the East and West sides than an expression of a political frame of reference. While the third and fourth wards voted Democratic in local elections, they tended to vote Republican in presidential and gubernatorial races. For example, the third ward voted for a Republican governor in 1936 and in every gubernatorial election after that until in 1952 when it voted for a Democrat. In 1956, the third ward again voted for a Republican governor. The fourth ward voted for a Republican governor in 1940, 1944, and in 1956. In presidential races, the third ward has voted Republican since 1940. Even Roosevelt lost in this ward in his 1940 landslide over Wilkie. The fourth ward voted for a Republican president in 1944, 1948, 1952, and in 1956. Thus, even these so-called "Democratic wards" tended to vote Republican in these years except in city councilman races.

5The way in which power was organized to change the form of local government will be described in Chapter VIII.

6Oddly enough, the first administration elected under the new form of government consisted of five Democrats and two Republicans. In general, Democrats have been better represented on council under the manager-council form of government than under the mayor-council form. The explanation given for this by Democrats and Republicans alike is that Democrats have a chance when they don't have to run on a party ticket. In addition, being a Democrat in Meredith is little more than a ritual since Democrats and Republicans tend to think alike on most local issues which are decided by city council.
The following categories were employed. First, if an individual was an owner or an executive officer of a manufacturing industry, he was classified as an industrialist. Second, if he owned a business, he was classified as a proprietor. Third, if he managed a business, he was classified as a business manager. Fourth, if he practiced a profession, he was classified as a professional. Fifth, if an individual was an administrative officer, professor, or instructor at Grantham, he was classified as a college employee. Sixth, executive officers of banks or locally owned loan companies were classified as bankers. Seventh, if an individual was employed as a foreman, clerk, salesman, city official, high school teacher, et cetera, he was classified as an employee. Eighth, if he owned or operated a farm, he was classified as a farmer. Finally, if an individual had attended or graduated from Grantham, in addition to classifying him in the above categories, he was also classified as a "Grantham Friend."

Often the Chamber of Commerce membership list reported a company membership rather than an individual membership. According to the Chamber's secretary, a company membership generally means that owners, managers, or executive officials represent the membership. In compiling the data for Table VI, the names of such individuals were substituted for the names of companies.

For an expression of the secretary's attitude toward industry, see the interview excerpt (I-77), p. 206.

For more on this individual's attitude toward industry, see the interview excerpt (I-79), p. 194.
CHAPTER VII

THE CONTEMPORARY STRUCTURE OF POWER: SOCIAL CLASSES

For the historical period, Meredith's class structure had to be reconstructed from rather limited data. Given the data available, however, it is safe to conclude that there existed a four class structure. The upper class lived in the northwest section of town and represented about 18 per cent of Meredith's population at that time. The middle class, whose members lived west of the river and south of the area inhabited by the upper class, represented approximately 35 to 45 per cent of the population. The two lower or working classes were divided by the Baker River as well as the racial barrier. In the Eastside, the lower class consisted of Irish and German ethnic groups whose members comprised about 32 per cent of the population. In the Southside, the lower class consisted of Negroes which represented about 5 per cent of the population.

Today, the upper class represents about 18 per cent of the population and its members still tend to live in the northwest section of town. Similarly, the members of the middle class tend to live west of the river and south of that area which is inhabited by those who belong to the upper class. As Meredith's economy has become more commercial and less industrial, the size of the middle class has expanded somewhat and it now represents almost 51 per cent of the population. Finally, there still exist two lower classes in Meredith and these two
classes still inhabit the same ecological areas that they inhabited nearly a century ago. The Southside lower class area has grown in size and now contains approximately 11 per cent of the population. This growth has not been due to an increase in the number of Negroes living in this area; the Negroes still comprise approximately 5 per cent of the total population. However, the Southside has deteriorated to become Meredith's industrial slum area and with this deterioration the area is becoming populated by hill folk who come from the South to spend a season or two in the factories. To be sure, the older white residents who live in this area are moving out; but those who remain can not escape the reputation given the area because of the presence of the Negroes and the "hilligans." The Eastside has also retained its lower class status in the community. While the Irish and German ethnic groups have long disappeared from the Eastside, their descendants are thought to be living there and people in the community tend to think of the Eastside in much the same terms that it was considered to be nearly a century ago. Unlike the other four areas, the population in the Eastside has decreased. It now represents only 18 per cent of the population. It is safe to assume that most of this decrease came when the railroad shops were removed from the community. Also, while a few of the older generation of Irish and German Catholics live in the Eastside, many of their sons and daughters who left Meredith during World War II have never returned to Meredith, and many of those who have returned to the community now live in the Westside.
The social classes living in Meredith, then, have remained relatively the same in terms of numbers. Other than this, however, they have changed considerably. While these changes are described in detail in the pages that follow, it is worth while to note here that the overall effect of these changes has been an alienation of the lower classes from the power structure. This alienation, on the one hand, consists of an objective separation of the two lower classes from the means of power by virtue of their no longer being able to influence decisions in the community via political parties and local government. On the other hand, it consists of an expression of their inability to control the events which shape the lives they live. Taken together, this objective and ideological separation from the power structure reveals itself as a condition of political apathy and it permits an organization of power which is entirely different from that which was associated with the power system that once existed in Meredith.

The Social Class Structure: 
As Seen by Members of the Community

If asked a question directly concerning social classes in the community, most of Meredith's residents will probably deny that any social classes exist. Like most other Americans, the people of Meredith tend to repudiate social class distinctions as something un-American. Nevertheless, many people living in the community, when interviewed, will speak of behaviors which are different from their own or from the people with whom they associate. They will also employ terms which suggest that these behaviors are more or less desirable or undesirable,
or inferior or superior to their own. If unwilling to recognize these differences as social class differences for fear of committing themselves to an un-American point of view, they will often project the recognition onto other individuals or groups who, they believe, do recognize such differences. Finally, when referring to these different behaviors many individuals will associate with them various symbols which serve to classify the people about whom they are talking.

The symbols used to designate different classes in Meredith are numerous and vary from person to person and from one context to another. Some interviewees find it difficult to indicate simply that this group tends to be Negro and that group tends to be Catholic, or this group represents the "college crowd" and that group is "hilligan." When one inquires into the "this" or "that" in these contexts, the most common symbol employed to make distinctions between different groups emerges. This symbol is geographic and the "this" or "that" more often than not, refers to the location of a specific ecological area in the community. When someone in Meredith says that so and so is an "Eastsider" or a "Southsider," these terms are believed to convey all that is necessary for one to know about an individual. In this way, the residents of Meredith tend to divide the community into at least three distinct ecological areas: (1) the Northside, (2) the Southside, and (3) the Eastside. By omission, the rest of the people in Meredith live in a fourth area which will be called the Middle area. When using these symbols the lines of division are neither clear nor precise. Even if the interviewee using the term Northsider happens to live in that
approximate area, he may use it to refer to a group of people living just north of himself.

In general, the Northside is considered the area in which Meredith's upper class resides. While its boundaries are primarily psychological, there do exist some ecological characteristics which permit the observer to approximate its location (Figure 2). Ecologically, the Northside is bounded by the county fair grounds in the north, the city limits in the west, and the old upper class homes which have been converted to apartment dwellings in the east and south. The homes in this area may cost from fifteen to fifty thousand dollars. It seems that their cost is not as important as their location.

The Southside is, psychologically, that area in the community in which the Negroes and most of the "hilligans" live. It is ecologically noticeable as a slum district in Meredith. Railroad tracks run east to west through the middle of the area. In the north it is bounded by fraternity houses and an increasing amount of land that is being purchased by Grantham College. In the south it is bounded by a cemetery and in the west by most of the factories in the community.

The Eastside is a second area which is associated with lower class characteristics. As objective criteria, described in the following section, will show, the Eastsiders tend to have somewhat more status, but not significantly more, than Southsiders. From the point of view of Northsiders and others living in Meredith, however, the Eastside is a low class area. It is believed that the majority of Catholics live in this area. Its grade school is considered to be
the worst in the community's public school system. Above all, Eastsiders are considered to be un-cooperative in community affairs, lacking in civic pride, and poor financial risks. To some extent, Eastsiders tend to think of themselves in almost the same terms. In the west, the Eastside is separated from the entire community by the river. It extends to the city limits in the north, south, and east.

As was suggested, these three divisions leave a large portion of Meredith unaccounted for in the imagery of the people. This area includes the large apartment houses running north and south along Main Street and those streets which run parallel to Main Street. It includes a new housing development south of the cemetery which separates this development from the Southside. Individuals living in this area tend to speak of themselves as "Westsiders" in association with the Northsiders and as distinguished from Southsiders and Eastsiders. For purposes of this study, the area is referred to as the Middle area. While no such term is used in Meredith, it seems descriptive of the people who inhabit the area. The fact that no symbols are attached to these people seems to suggest that they are in the middle socially and psychologically, that they are neither upper class nor lower class, and that they are not all expected to remain there permanently.

These ecological areas are recognized and spoken of in various contexts. They excite considerable controversy whenever the community is confronted by issues such as operating levies and school bond drives. During such times, the groups inhabiting these areas are thought to be
in conflict with one another and their class characteristics are
openly discussed when campaigns and drives are being planned. The
differences between Eastsiders and Westsiders are particularly in-
voked to explain problems existing in the community.

For example, at a meeting of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, a
publicity campaign to get a school bond passed was being discussed. A
young doctor, a Westsider, stated the opinion that previous bond issues
had failed because the Eastsiders were unwilling to go along with any-
thing which the people in the Westside wanted. A member of the group
from the Eastside stated:

(That's not true. The people over there are just
as interested in the community as you are. After
all there are more people over there who own their
own homes than in the Westside.) (I-7)

This is not true, of course, but the doctor retorted:

(Yes, but after all it's easier to own one of
those houses in the Eastside. They're not
elaborate. Many of them are shacks.) (I-8)

The focus of almost every publicity campaign that is undertaken, re-
gardless of its purpose, in one way or another will involve the be-
ief that it is necessary to sell the idea to Eastsiders. It is
aturally assumed that Eastsiders will not go along on anything with
Westsiders and the possibility is never entertained that, in the last
analysis, Eastsiders really do not have much choice in the matter.
Numerically, Eastsiders do not control enough votes in the community
to defeat a bond issue of any kind unless there are substantial West-
side groups who will vote the same way.
During a city council meeting the writer was sitting beside the Fire Chief. The Fire Chief inquired whether or not any research had been done in the Eastside. Before the writer could answer, the Fire Chief stated:

(This is one of the worst towns that I've ever seen in my life. The whole Eastside has absolutely no civic interest or civic pride. It seems that in this town all people care about is the little piece of land that they live on and their interests don't extend beyond that. I lived over there in the Eastside for eighteen years and it has always been that way. It hasn't changed any since I moved over on the Westside. . . . Eastsiders don't give a damn about anything—sidewalks, fire trucks, tax levies, a new school, or anything. It's the worst situation I've ever seen.) (I-9)

The non-participation of the Eastside in community life is interpreted by Westsiders as opposition. For example, while discussing community problems, the city finance director stated:

(The Eastside is our worst problem. It's the most powerful veto group in the city. There's no leadership over there; there is no organization; they just hate the guts of everyone on the Westside and they won't go along with the Westside on anything.) (I-33)

This non-participation tends to be associated with social class characteristics. For example, when the finance director was asked the reason why the people living in the Eastside would not cooperate with the people who live in the Westside, he stated:

(They're just a group of low class people over there. They stand in the way of any kind of progress. I'll tell you how they are. Take the City Engineer. He has lived in the Eastside for more than twenty years. His kids went to school over there. Since he has taken over the job of city engineer he no longer has any friends left in the Eastside. They won't accept him and they won't talk to him.) (I-33)
The City Engineer presents an illustration of what can happen to the Eastsider who makes good in the community. He is a native of Meredith and a native of the Eastside. He graduated from the local high school in 1932. Between that time and World War II he worked as an apprentice engineer for a construction company in a neighboring community. During the war he served two years in the Seabees and participated in mop-up operations on Okinawa. When he returned home he continued at his old job and, ultimately, became a certified engineer even though he had never attended college. In 1948 he was appointed assistant engineer for the city and, two years later, he became City Engineer. In 1954, when the manager-council form of government came into effect, he was appointed Director of Public Works. Since that time he has acted as city manager whenever the community was without one and, recently, he was given a joint appointment as City Manager and Director of Public Works. With this occupational mobility the City Engineer has also achieved social prominence. He has served on the board of directors of the hospital. He belongs to the Elks, the Masons, and the Rotary. He has served on the board of directors of the Meredith Chamber of Commerce. His religious affiliation is the same as that of Grantham and while there is a church of this denomination in the Eastside, the City Engineer regularly attends the State Street Church, which is located in the Westside and which has close ties with Grantham College. In other words, the City Engineer is an individual whose career has taken him away from the kind of life most Eastsiders live. His associations have been
progressively with middle and upper class people who live in the Westside. Although he happens to live in the Eastside, he is a Northsider by identity and this, perhaps more than anything else, explains why he no longer has many friends left in the Eastside.

Most individuals whose careers are similar to the City Engineer's move out of the Eastside and find it extremely difficult to cultivate their old ties in this area. They also find this difficulty confusing. Bill Washburn, for example, was born and brought up in the Eastside, but during his life he has become a very prominent realtor and has accumulated enough wealth to build a new home in the Northside. Before moving to the Northside he had held important positions in the Chamber of Commerce, served twelve years as a member of the board of directors of one of the locally owned loan companies, and established many close friendships with upper class people. During an interview, Washburn was asked why it is that the local banks refuse to loan money to Eastsiders to build homes when a bank located in a neighboring community considers these people to be good risks. Washburn stated:

(You've got to keep in mind that the Eastside is a peculiar type of situation. Years ago there were open and quite explicit factions between East and West. I don't think they exist anymore; however, Eastsiders are difficult people to work with.) (I-78)

Washburn was asked to explain in what way they are difficult. He stated:
(For example, they would put a man like Jim Grove (a young Republican) in the statehouse to represent them when they know and I know that he will positively do nothing for them. When I ran for the House of Representatives I lost almost completely because of an Eastside vote and I ran on the Democratic ticket. When I was on the City Council I thought I followed policies that would benefit the entire community, but this was not appreciated on the Eastside. When I ran for re-election in the Third Ward, I was defeated by a Republican. There are, and have been for a long time, a few agitators over there that seem to keep everyone on that side of the river stirred up. Those people over there can't conceive of any project as being of benefit to them. I don't understand the situation and I don't think I could give you any information which would clarify it for you. I've been thoroughly confused on this matter for years. I can't understand why they wouldn't support me when I was trying to do a good job for the entire community.) (1-78)

Having been an Eastsider, and believing himself to have no prejudices against Eastsiders, it is difficult for Bill Washburn to understand their prejudices toward him.

One of the most explicit statements concerning the class position of the Eastside was obtained in an interview with Benjamin Rader, a member of the board of directors of one of the banks and the Vice-president of Grantham College. Rader was asked why a Grantham professor was told that he could not retain his job if he decided to live in the Eastside. Rader stated:

(It's a matter of prestige and of economics. As you know, we subsidize faculty housing rather heavily and as a matter of prestige we have to have our faculty living in a reasonably good section of town. Now I couldn't let a faculty member go over there and live. If there was a good housing development over there, something that looked as though the property values would hold up, I'd have no objection to faculty living in the Eastside.) (1-63)
In other words, if the Eastside were a middle or an upper class area, it wouldn't be the Eastside. Mr. Rader was then asked why the local banks refused to loan money to Eastsiders for the purpose of developing such housing. He stated:

(Oh, I don't know. I suppose individual loan officers, or maybe vice-presidents or people like that have some personal reasons but that's not important. The bank's policy is pretty conservative as you well know, and they don't want to loan on the Eastside because it's pretty hard to know whether or not you're going to get the money back.) (I-63)

To some extent, the self-image of Eastsiders is much the same image that Westsiders have of them. During the study, the owner of a tavern located in the Eastside was interviewed. He was asked his opinion concerning the relationship existing between the East and West sides of town. He stated:

(It's just a natural condition exaggerated by geography, economics, and politics. Now you tell me, where does the Westside start being the Northside--what street? There's your answer. When you are on the Eastside there is no doubt about your being on the Eastside. There's the river standing between you and the rest of town.) (I-60)

After discussing the animosity between these two areas, particularly between school children, the tavern-keeper was asked why these feelings do not change as individuals grow older. He stated:

(They don't change a whole lot on the Eastside. You see, when you grow older and go to high school with kids from other sections of town, you see that they have better clothes than you have. They have more money. They go places that you have never heard of. They take vacations with their parents. Their old man wears a hat, a coat, and a tie while your old man wears overalls. You know there's a difference. Then you get out of high school and you start looking for a job and you see these kids you went to school with and they have better jobs than you have. They make more money than you earn. They still live on the Westside and you still live on the Eastside.) (I-60)
Somewhat amazed at this response, the interviewer asked the tavern-keeper how he could be so objective about the whole situation. He grinned and stated:

(Well, I went to college for a while. Once you get away from this area you begin to get more objective. When I was growing up here I hated the college students and the kids on the Westside just like everybody else. They had things we didn't have and knew we never would have. When I got to college I found that they weren't a whole lot different than we were. Then, when I got back home, back on the Eastside, I found that I couldn't get along very well with the people I'd grown up with there.) (I-60)

In this manner, the people living in Meredith tend to differentiate the Eastside from the rest of the community. The bridges which cross the river physically do not cross the river socially. The old images concerning the Eastside still prevail. The people who live in Meredith live in two somewhat different social worlds. They are either Eastsiders or Westsiders and those who are capable of "carrying water on both shoulders" are very few indeed.

The Southside is also considered a low class area in the community. In this area is located the small Negro population whose ancestors settled there prior to the Civil War. Also located in this area are most of the hill folk who have settled there in very recent years. The shacks and the deteriorated houses tend to cluster in this area. It is in the Southside where one buys "booze" on Sundays. It is in the Southside that there exists a house of prostitution. It is also the Southside which the Council of Social Agencies considers to be the most pressing social problem in the community.
The attitudes concerning the Southside are more subtle and less outspoken than those concerning the Eastside. Unless directly asked a question about the Southside, no one bothers to mention it. The Southside is considered to be a lower class slum district and it seems as though many people living in Meredith would just as soon forget it even exists. That the area is considered to be a slum district may be illustrated by responses to a question contained in the survey instrument. Interviewees were asked where, if any, slums existed in Meredith. Of the community sample of 297 individuals, $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent indicated that no slums existed in Meredith. Sixty-two per cent, however, indicated that the Southside is a slum area.

From a cultural point of view, the data suggest that two lower classes exist in Meredith. In terms of objective social class criteria, which will be considered below, the differences between the Southside and the Eastside are not impressively significant. In terms of the attitudes prevailing in the community, however, both groups are low class but they differ significantly. One group has no Negroes and lives in the Eastside and is traditionally perceived as not conforming to the beliefs and values which prevail in Meredith. The other group consists of Negroes, "hilligans," and a few older white residents who live in the Southside. In spite of the Negroes and "hilligans," Southsiders are perceived as generally conforming to the values and beliefs prevailing in the community. The accommodation of Southsiders to the rest of the community, at least on the part of Negroes, can be illustrated from an interview with a Negro who, when asked his
occupation, stated that he was a "pimp." When the writer inquired as to the reason for this occupational self-classification, he stated:

(You can't get a job around here unless you Uncle Tom everybody. The old folks don't mind Uncle Tomming everybody in town and they don't mind being discriminated against. They're so used to it that we can't get them to do anything about it. The younger folks don't take to this Uncle Tomming. Some of the people that are bossing them around are people they went to school with. Some of them are neighbors who used to live right here in the Southend. These people are trying to push us out of Meredith. Most of the young folks have left. When they can't get jobs here without Uncle Tomming, they go to Chicago, Detroit, Toledo, and places like this. Those of us who stay can't get jobs or if we do we have to take jobs as janitors and go right on Uncle Tomming. This is my home. I'll be damn if I leave and I'll go to hell before I Uncle Tom everybody. So, I'm a pimp. I don't care for the work but it pays well and I don't have to Uncle Tom either.) (I-50)

In other words, the younger Negroes who do not accept the dominant values in Meredith leave the community. The older Negroes, however, accept these values and have a long tradition of accommodating themselves to the upper classes. In doing so, they do not cause trouble. The tradition on the Eastside, however, is much different. The Eastsider, if he remains in the Eastside, unlike the Southsider, does not accommodate himself to the rest of the community. He does not, so to speak, have a tradition of "Uncle Tomming" the upper classes. The Eastsider is expected to be un-cooperative.

Thus, the people living in the Southside and in the Eastside are both considered to be lower class but they are differentiated from one another. In addition to being a lower class individual, the Eastsider is perceived to have values which differentiate him from Southsiders, white or Negro, and from the rest of the community. These values stem
from the non-acceptance of those which Grantham College tends to pro-
mote in the community as a whole. In this respect, the Eastside lower
class is an unreconstructed class. The Southside lower class has been
reconstructed over the years, as far as that has been possible, to con-
form to the image to which the middle and upper classes want it to
conform.

Since these four divisions existed in the minds of people
living in Meredith, they were employed as sample areas for the pur-
pose of determining to what extent these divisions have a material as
well as a psychological basis in fact. In each of the four areas 150
interviewees were selected on a random basis, and a questionnaire and
scales were administered in order to determine to what extent objective
differences accompanied the differences recognized by informants in the
community.

The Social Class Structure: Objective Criteria

The objective criteria of social class employed in the survey
instrument include the usual variables (e.g., income, education,
occupation, generational mobility, associational memberships, media
consumption, et cetera) which are often employed to differentiate one
social class from another. From a somewhat different point of view,
these variables may be taken as objective indices of power. Each of
them, theoretically, represents a social attribute which, in terms of
the culture existing in Meredith, serves to place individuals in a
subordinate-superordinate context with respect to decisions affecting
the community's social order. For example, individuals with higher occupational status than others may be in better positions to exercise influence and control over decisions that affect the entire community. The totality of these characteristics, the style of life which an individual or group of individuals display, theoretically, may be considered as an index of that individual's or that group's over-all position in the power structure. This position may, or it may not, coincide with what people who live in the community "think." To the extent that it does, however, social classes may be said to exist in the community and these classes provide a fairly good indication of the parameter of the power structure considered as a whole.

Table VII presents a comparison of means by sample area for seven objective criteria of social class membership. The significance of difference between means was tested by employing the t-test for independent samples. As is shown in Table VII, no significant differences exist between the four sample areas with respect to age. The interviewee's income, as a criterion of social class membership, significantly differentiates the Northwest area from the Middle area and both of these areas from the other two sample areas. While the mean income for interviewees is slightly higher for the Eastside area than for the Southside area, the difference is not statistically significant. Family income is probably a more sensitive index of style of life than is individual income. When family income is considered the difference between the Northwest and Middle areas is even more significant than when individual income is considered. Also, while the difference is not
significant, the mean family income for the people living in the Southside is higher than it is for the people living in the Eastside.

**TABLE VII**

**COMPARISON OF MEANS FOR FOUR SAMPLE AREAS ON SEVEN OBJECTIVE CRITERIA OF SOCIAL CLASS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Northwest Area (N=150)</th>
<th>Middle Area (N=150)</th>
<th>Southside Area (N=150)</th>
<th>Eastside Area (N=150)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>40.50 X</td>
<td>42.50 X</td>
<td>40.50 X</td>
<td>41.50 X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee's Annual Income</td>
<td>$3,740 X</td>
<td>$2,620 Y</td>
<td>$1,700 Z</td>
<td>$1,840 Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Family Income</td>
<td>8,140 X</td>
<td>5,420 Y</td>
<td>4,060 Z</td>
<td>3,860 Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation²</td>
<td>6.52 X</td>
<td>5.37 Y</td>
<td>3.11 Z</td>
<td>3.65 W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's Occupation</td>
<td>5.32 X</td>
<td>4.56 Y</td>
<td>3.15 Z</td>
<td>3.90 W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation-Father of Spouse</td>
<td>4.92 X</td>
<td>3.71 Y</td>
<td>2.68 Z</td>
<td>3.69 W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generational Mobility³</td>
<td>8.21 X</td>
<td>7.81 X</td>
<td>6.86 Z</td>
<td>6.77 Z</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹The symbols X, Y, Z, and W are employed, respectively, in association with the four areas to indicate significant differences between means (P=.05 or P=.01). No significant difference exists between means with identical symbols.

²In coding occupation, the occupational categories adapted from the North-Hatt scale by Peter M. Blau were used. Scores range from 1 (unskilled) to 8 (professional). See Peter M. Blau's "Occupational Bias and Mobility," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 22, 1957, pp. 392-399.

³Generational mobility was computed by taking the difference between the interviewee's occupational status and his father's occupational status. A constant of seven was added to eradicate negative numbers.

With respect to the occupational status of the interviewees, the Northwest sample area is significantly higher than the other three areas.
Similarly, the Middle area is significantly higher in occupational status than the Southside and Eastside Areas. The Southside sample area is significantly lower in occupational status than the Eastside area. The same significant differences exist with respect to the interviewee's father's occupational status and the spouse's father's occupational status.

It should be noted in the table that when the interviewee's occupational status is compared to his father's occupational status, the difference being taken as an index of generational mobility, both the Northwest and Middle areas are upwardly mobile and the difference between the means for these two areas is not significant. The other two areas, on the other hand, are downwardly mobile and while the difference between their means is not significant, the people living in the Eastside area are more downwardly mobile than those living in the Southside area. The downward mobility of these two groups can be explained, in part, by the fact that many of their members are sons of farmers. The sons have moved from the farms and are now working in factories. Also important is the fact that upwardly mobile individuals, unless they are Negros, tend to move out of these two areas and into the Northwest and Middle areas.

Of the seven criteria of social class membership presented in Table VII, all but age and generational mobility differentiate the Northwest area from the Middle area and all but age differentiate the Northwest area from the other two areas. The only variable which does not differentiate the Middle area from the Southside and the Eastside
is age. The differences between the Southside and the Eastside, however, are not many and four of the seven variables (age, generational mobility, individual income, and family income) fail to differentiate these two areas.

It should be kept in mind that Meredith is a conservative college town. A high value is placed on education, particularly by the upper class. Individuals who hold a college degree belong to the college set. While great differences in income may exist among the members of the college set, these differences are not nearly as visible and as important as those differences which exist between members of the college set and people who cannot belong to this set because they have never been to college. The individual in Meredith without the college degree simply finds it difficult to travel in the same circles as those individuals who have a degree. For this reason, educational status is probably the most important single criterion of social class membership in the community. Table VIII presents the educational level of interviewees by sample areas.

TABLE VIII
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF INTERVIEWEES BY SAMPLE AREAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Part Grade School</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete Grade School</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part High School</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete High School</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part College</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete College</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post College</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ df=18 \quad \chi^2=28.194 \quad p=.10 \]
As Table VIII shows, the educational level of interviewees differs significantly by sample area. There are more college graduates in the Northwest area than in the other three areas combined. There are four times as many post college professionally trained people in the Northwest area as in the other three areas combined. Similar differences exist between the Middle area and the Southside and Eastside area. Eighty-nine per cent of the interviewees in the Northwest area completed high school. This percentage drops to 68 for the Middle area, 29 for the Southside area, and 61 for the Eastside area.

In addition to the variables presented in Tables VII and VIII, eighteen other criteria of social class membership were employed to compare and describe the differences between the four sample areas. The distribution of all but two of these eighteen additional criteria reached statistical significance in their differentiation of the four sample areas. These two variables are religious affiliation and the ownership of property other than one's own home. Contrary to popular opinion in Meredith, Catholics are not concentrated east of the Baker river. They are equally represented in each of the four areas. The distribution of the ownership of property other than one's own home is significant at only the 10 per cent level. More than twice as many individuals living in the Northwest area own additional property as individuals living in the Eastside area. However, of the entire 600 interviewees, only a total of sixty-six owned property in addition to their own homes.
The particular church which one attends in Meredith provides an interesting distinction between the four sample areas. While there are approximately the same proportion of Protestants in each of the four areas, as one goes from the Northwest area to the Southside and Eastside areas, the number of individuals attending Protestant churches which are affiliated with Grantham diminishes considerably. At the same time, the number of individuals attending Bible and Evangelical churches increases. While approximately the same number of individuals in each area do not attend any church in Meredith, those living in the Northwest area and those living in the Southside area attend church significantly more often than those living in the Middle and Eastside areas. This is one more illustration of how the people living in the Southside tend to conform to the values which are conveyed to the community by Grantham College.

The place of employment tends to be related to the differences reported above with respect to occupational status. Individuals living in the Northwest and Middle areas are more often self-employed and less frequently employed in factories than individuals living in the East and Southside areas. Most of the 18 per cent of the people employed in factories in Meredith live in the Southside and in the Eastside.

Home ownership also significantly differentiates the people living in these four areas. Home ownership is highest in the Northwest area and lowest in the Southside area. The proportion of individuals owning homes in the Eastside is approximately the same as that owning homes in the Middle area. Similarly, those individuals who rent
pay higher rent in the Northwest and Middle areas than those who rent in the Eastside and Southside areas. The findings with respect to the kind of property owned in addition to one's own home follows the same pattern. When additional property is owned by individuals living in the Southside and Eastside, it is usually rental property or unused land. When additional property is owned by individuals living in the Northwest and Middle areas, it is more apt to be industrial and commercial property. All of these economic variables are probably related to the way in which individuals living in these areas spend their annual vacations. About two-thirds of the individuals living in the Northwest and Middle areas spend their vacations away from home. Almost as many in the other two areas spend their vacations at home.

Political party identity and the total number of civic, social, service, and fraternal organizations to which individuals belong also differentiate the four areas. Almost two-thirds of the people living in the Northwest area identify themselves as Republicans while only one-third of those living in the Eastside do the same. Democrats are about equally distributed in the Middle, Southside, and Eastside areas. As one goes from the Northwest to the Southside and Eastside areas, however, the number of individuals who identify themselves as Independents increases. More than 40 per cent of all the individuals living in the Southside identify themselves as Independents. Similarly, the total number of organizations to which individuals belong decreases from the Northwest area to the Eastside. No one in the Eastside belongs to more than two social, civic, service, or fraternal organizations while
more than 25 per cent of those people who live in the Northwest area
belong to three or more of these kinds of organizations.

The consumption of mass media also significantly differentiates
the four areas. With respect to newspapers, for example, twice as many
Eastsiders read only the local newspaper as people living in the North-
west. No one in the Eastside sample reads papers such as the New York
Times, the Chicago Tribune, or the St. Louis Dispatch. Related to this
is the reading of news magazines such as Time or Newsweek. Six times
as many people living in the Northwest area, and four times as many
living in the Middle area, read such magazines regularly as people who
live in the Southside and Eastside areas. Similarly, the people living
in the Eastside and Southside areas read fewer magazines of all kinds
than do the people living in the other two areas, and people living in
the Eastside read still fewer than people living in the Southside.
Taste with respect to the consumption of written media tends to be
duplicated with respect to television viewing. People living in the
Southside and Eastside areas list western and detective programs as
their favorite kinds of programs more often than people living in the
Northwest and Middle areas. Nearly twice as many people living in the
Northwest and Middle areas list specials and playhouses as people
living in the Southside area, and the difference is even greater with
respect to those who live in the Eastside.

Finally, spatial mobility with respect to the four areas pre-
seIs interesting differences. More individuals living in the South-
side moved to that area from outside of Coos County than in any other
area. At the same time, almost half of all the people living in the Northwest area moved to that area from the Middle area. Individuals living in the Middle area tend to move about within the same area and those who had not moved to their present address from another residence within the Middle area, more often than not, moved to their present address from outside Coos County. Patterns of spatial mobility would seem to indicate that the people living in the Northwest area are drawn from the Middle area and that people living in the Middle area, while partly drawn from the other two areas in Meredith, are primarily drawn from outside the County. This suggests that mobility from the East and Southside areas to the Northwest area is not a very common pattern in the community. It also suggests that such a physical move would be as difficult as moving socially from the lower to the upper class.

The criteria employed in the objective analysis of social class differences are social attributes which serve to place individuals and groups in a superordinate-subordinate context with respect to making decisions in the community. As far as the power structure is concerned, this means that the totality of differences existing between these social classes is a fairly accurate indication of the distribution of the means of power in the community and a measure of the objective relationship of these four social classes to these means of power. From this point of view, both the Southside and the Eastside lower classes are significantly more separated from the means of power than the middle class. On the other hand, the middle class is, itself,
significantly more separated from the means of power than the upper class, whose members live in the Northwest section of Meredith. This objective alienation of the lower and middle classes from the means of power relative to the position of the upper class is all the more striking when it is considered that the lower and middle classes no longer represent relatively independent groups. This is particularly true of the Eastside lower class which has lost its ethnic group identity. In addition to this loss of independence by virtue of an absence of membership in relatively independent groups, the lower classes are no longer able to depend upon political parties and local government to express whatever individual or class interests they may have.

These considerations point to ideology as an important aspect of the class structure. Ideologies can, and often do, serve to unite individuals when other bases for independence no longer exist. When ideologies function in this manner they may serve as a basis for dissent and opposition in the power structure and, thereby, contribute to the maintenance of choice in the political process by making collectivities relatively inaccessible to influence and manipulation. For this reason, it is important to consider to what extent the objective relationship of the four social classes to the means of power is associated with evaluative beliefs that are capable of providing a basis for dissent and opposition in the community.
The Social Class Structure: 
Ideological Characteristics

For the purpose of investigating the ideological characteristics of the social class structure, five scales were employed to measure five different, but related, beliefs concerning power. These scales are named as follows: (1) status aspirations, (2) normlessness, (3) powerlessness, (4) class consciousness, and (5) government dependency. 

Table IX presents a comparison of the means by social class for each of the five scales. The table employs the same symbols used in Table VII in order to indicate significant differences between means as tested by computing t-scores.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideological Scales</th>
<th>Upper Class (Northwest)</th>
<th>Middle Class (Middle Area)</th>
<th>Lower Class (Southside)</th>
<th>Lower Class (Eastside)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>x²</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>x²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status Aspirations</td>
<td>4.37 X</td>
<td>4.72 X</td>
<td>4.81 X</td>
<td>1.67 W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normlessness</td>
<td>5.37 X</td>
<td>5.70 X</td>
<td>5.89 Y</td>
<td>4.14 W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powerlessness</td>
<td>2.35 X</td>
<td>2.46 X</td>
<td>3.40 Z</td>
<td>3.62 Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Consciousness</td>
<td>3.31 X</td>
<td>3.39 X</td>
<td>4.10 Z</td>
<td>2.29 W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Dependency</td>
<td>4.28 X</td>
<td>4.75 Y</td>
<td>5.01 Y</td>
<td>3.51 W</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1/ The mean scores presented here are based on direct measurements and are not coded scores.

2/ No significant differences exist between means with identical symbols.
From the point of view developed in this study, status aspirations is but one measure of the degree to which individuals aspire to more power than they already have by seeking to improve their condition via occupational mobility. In this sense, status aspirations represent beliefs individuals hold with respect to themselves in relation to having more power. As is shown in Table IX, there are no significant differences between the mean status aspirations scores for the upper, middle, and Southside lower class. The Eastside lower class, however, differed significantly from the other three classes. Compared to the other three classes, members of the Eastside lower class show hardly any aspirations for occupational mobility. The status aspirations dimension points to one of the important differences between the two lower classes. The people who belong to the Southside lower class have the highest status aspirations in the community. Those who belong to the Eastside lower class have the lowest in the community. In this respect, the members of the Southside lower class express values which are similar to those expressed by members of the middle and upper classes. Perhaps it is the low status aspirations of Eastsiders which accounts for comments made by informants to the effect that Eastsiders are un-cooperative and lacking in civic pride. Relatively satisfied with their condition, the Eastsiders do not seek to improve it, at least not those who continue to live in the area.

Normlessness is an indication of the extent to which individuals believe that their economic and political environment is, or is not, regulated by well-defined rules of behavior. Individuals who express
a high degree of normlessness are not necessarily normless in their own behavior, but they tend to believe that almost anything goes in their economic and political environment or that in order to get ahead, people behave as though the end justified the means.

With respect to normlessness, there is no significant difference between the means for the upper and middle classes. While there is a significant difference between the means for the upper class and the Southside lower class, there is no difference between the means for the middle class and the Southside lower class. Again, the Eastside lower class differs significantly from the other three classes. The Southside lower class expresses the most firm belief in the normlessness of the economic and political environment while the Eastside lower class is more convinced that the economic and political environment is regulated by well-defined norms. As with status aspirations, the values expressed by members of the Southside lower class conform more to those expressed by members of the middle and upper classes. However, the belief in the normlessness of the economic and political environment is significantly higher for the Southside lower class than it is for the upper class. It may be conjectured that the members of the Eastside lower class, relatively satisfied with their status, tend to see the world around them through rose colored glasses while the members of the other three classes, having relatively high status aspirations, tend to see the economic and political world more as it really is.
Powerlessness expresses the beliefs individuals have concerning their own ability to exercise control over their economic and political environment. Individuals high in powerlessness express a belief that there is little they can do to control the events which shape their lives. Since this particular dimension of ideology is more directly related to the individual's perception of his own position in the power structure, more will be said about it in the concluding section of this chapter. It suffices to note here that there is no significant difference between the means for the upper and middle classes on this dimension of ideology. Both groups tend to express a belief in their ability to shape events. Similarly, there is no significant difference between the means for the two lower classes on this dimension. The differences between the means for the two lower classes and the two upper classes, however, are significant. Relative to the upper and middle classes, the two lower classes manifest a belief that they do not have the ability to control events in their political and economic environment. While the difference is not statistically significant, the members of the Eastside lower class are higher in powerlessness than are the members of the Southside lower class.

The class consciousness scale attempted to measure the extent to which individuals expressed the belief that certain symbols were associated with upper class status in the community. It should be indicated here that of the various symbols employed in the scale (see items in Appendix I), education was more often associated with upper class status in Meredith than any of the other symbols.
With respect to this dimension, the mean for the Southside lower class is significantly higher than the mean for the other three classes. On the other hand, the mean for the Eastside lower class is significantly lower than the means for the other three classes. There is no significant difference between the means for the upper and middle classes. There is a tendency for the members of the upper class to negate the existence of class symbols. Perhaps the reason for this is that the instrument was designed in such a way that upper class interviewees were making statements associated with their own class status. The upper class response is in keeping with the best of American tradition which denies the existence of social classes. However, this particular scale directs attention to a striking difference between the two lower classes. The Negroes and "hilligans" living in the Southside are aware, perhaps more than any other group in the population, of the significance of class symbols and this is in accord with the high status aspirations of the members of the Southside lower class.

The government dependency scale attempted to measure the extent to which individuals believed that government, rather than voluntary groups or families, ought to be responsible for the solution of social problems such as housing, medical care, education, care for the aged, et cetera. Government dependency is the only dimension which significantly differentiated the upper and the middle classes. No significant difference was found between the means for the middle and Southside lower classes and the mean for the Eastside lower class was significantly lower than the means for the other three classes. The
middle class and the Southside lower class, then, believe that government ought to play a more positive role in providing certain kinds of services when compared to the beliefs expressed by members of the upper and Eastside lower classes. This variable also points to a very significant difference between the two lower classes. Beliefs pertaining to a more positive role of government are strongest in the Southside lower class and weakest in the Eastside lower class.

When these five dimensions of ideology are combined so as to construct ideological profiles for the four social classes, the following conclusions appear to be substantiated. First, the beliefs which are expressed by members of the middle class concerning various aspects of power do not differ essentially from those expressed by members of the upper class. The only exception to this involves beliefs concerning the role of government. Members of the upper class would have government play a less positive role than members of the middle class. However, the beliefs expressed by members of the middle class, taken as a whole, can not be said to constitute an independent ideology which might serve as a basis for dissent or opposition in the class structure. If the middle class expressed an ideology that would differentiate its members from the members of the upper class and which might function as a basis for dissent, one would have expected the middle class to have been significantly higher than the upper class in status aspirations, significantly higher in normlessness, significantly lower in powerlessness, and significantly higher in class consciousness. This, however, is not the case.
Second, the Southside lower class, to some extent, expresses an ideology which differentiates its members from the members of the upper and middle classes. However, the characteristics of this ideology are such that one would not expect it to function as a basis for dissent in the power structure. For one thing, the status aspirations expressed by members of the Southside lower class do not differentiate them from members of the middle and upper classes. The members of the Southside lower class are higher in status aspirations than are the members of the upper classes, but they are not significantly higher. At the same time, the members of the Southside lower class are significantly higher in powerlessness than the members of the upper classes. Since the members of the Southside lower class feel themselves to be powerless with respect to controlling the events which shape their lives, it seems that their beliefs concerning the normlessness of their economic and political environment and their beliefs concerning the existence of class symbols can only be interpreted as a futile pessimism. To some extent, this interpretation is substantiated by observation and interview material obtained in Meredith. The Negroes living in the Southside, for example, violently complain among themselves about such things as job discrimination in the community. They complain among themselves, for example, that Negroes are not permitted to serve in the local fire department. These complaints, however, are seldom expressed to whites. Above all, they are never organized and expressed as a political force in the community. The younger Negroes who would do this generally leave the community because the older
Negroes refuse to cooperate and would rather continue "Uncle Tomming" the whites.

Third, the ideology expressed by members of the Eastside lower class is completely different from that expressed by the upper classes and, with one exception, it is completely different from that expressed by members of the Southside lower class. The characteristics of this ideology are such that it is the least likely to function as a basis for dissent or positive organized opposition in the community. For one thing, Eastsiders have virtually no status aspirations when compared to the members of the other social classes. Eastsiders express no consciousness of the importance of class symbols in the community. Compared to the other three classes, they express a firm belief that the economic and political environment is regulated by well-defined norms and that the individual who fails, usually does so because of his own lack of ability to conform to these norms. This individualism is further reflected in what Eastsiders believe the role of government ought to be. Finally, Eastsiders consider themselves to be the most powerless individuals in the community. Whatever opposition exists between the Eastside and the Westside, it is not an organized political opposition. Instead, it is a formless unorganized negativism which generally expresses itself as being against whatever Westsiders may be for. More often than not, there is no opposition at all but only a deep-rooted indifference.
The Power Structure: Types of Alienation

In Chapter VI it was shown how the cultural changes described in Chapter V have resulted in certain changes in Meredith's power structure. One such change has been the diminution of the power of local governmental institutions to provide access to the decision-making process which profoundly affects the social order existing in the community. Another change has been the more diffuse distribution of the ownership or control of investment and productive property. A third change has been to a more specialized institutional participation on the part of prominent individuals in the community.

The over-all effect of these changes has resulted in a more diffuse distribution of the means of power. Whereas the means of power were once concentrated in the hands of an elite, they are now in the hands of individuals who belong to different interest groups in the community; or, they are in the hands of individuals who do not live in the community at all. However, many of the members of these interest groups who do live in the community are associated, in one way or another, with Grantham College. This, in addition to the characteristics described in this chapter, makes these individuals members of Meredith's upper class. Thus, the elite-dominated power structure that once existed has changed to a class-dominated power structure.

The characteristics of this social class structure have been described in considerable detail in the previous pages of this chapter.
In describing these characteristics, it has been shown how the four classes existing in Meredith are significantly different from one another by virtue of their objective relationship to the means of power. It has also been shown how these classes are similar to, or different from, one another in terms of the beliefs their members express concerning five different, but related, aspects of power. It is now possible to describe and summarize the characteristics of Meredith's power structure in terms of the different structural types of alienation which were defined in Chapter II. While these structural types are conceptual constructs which can not be expected to exactly duplicate social reality, they are useful for generalizing from the particulars described in this and the previous two chapters.

As was suggested in Chapter II (p. 55), focusing on the powerlessness dimension of ideology as an attitudinal response to the means of power and combining this with a group's objective relationship to the means of power; permits a fourfold classification of structural types. Three of these are ideal types of alienation and one is an ideal type of non-alienation. When the differences between the four social classes with respect to their objective relationship to the means of power are related to the differences with respect to powerlessness, the following structural types emerge as characteristic of Meredith's contemporary power structure.
As the data on the objective criteria of social class membership suggest, the upper class is significantly more attached to the objective means of power than are the other three social classes. At the same time, the members of the upper class express a significantly higher belief in their ability to control their economic and political environment than do the members of the two lower classes. Since the members of the upper class express an ideological attachment to the power structure when, in fact, they are objectively attached to the means of power, it may be said that they express a correct consciousness of their true position in the power structure even though, as a group, they do not express a high degree of consciousness of class characteristics. Meredith's contemporary power structure, it may be concluded, includes an upper class that is neither objectively nor ideologically alienated and which is relatively conscious of the position it occupies in the power structure.
The middle class, when compared to the upper class, is significantly separated from the means of power. The members of this group have less education, own less, control less, and exercise less influence than do the members of the upper class. At the same time, however, there is no significant difference between the middle class and the upper class with respect to powerlessness. To the extent that the upper class can be used as a norm, it can be said that the members of the middle class believe that they have more power than they actually have. This reflects a false consciousness of their true position in the power structure and, as a group, the members of the middle class approximate the disjunctive type of alienation. They are relatively separated from the means of power in a physical sense, but their beliefs do not give recognition to this separation.

The alienation characteristics of the two lower classes involve both ideological and an objective separation from the power structure. Objectively, both of these social classes are relatively separated from the means of power when they are compared to the middle and upper classes. Even though the Southside lower class is relatively conscious of class symbols and the Eastside lower class is not, both of these groups manifest a correct consciousness of their true position in the power structure as is indicated by their high expression of powerlessness. As distinguished from the middle class, the consciousness of the two lower classes indicates a withdrawal from the political life of the community into the shell of private life. This withdrawal manifests
itself, as will be illustrated below, in the form of political indifference and non-participation in the political process.

The alienated characteristics of Meredith's power structure have consequences for the organization of power. Some aspects of the organization of power can not be readily measured. These are described in terms of case studies which are presented in the next two chapters. One aspect of the organization of power, however, can be readily measured; this is the participation of individuals in the formal political process of voting. Before summarizing the contemporary characteristics of Meredith's power structure and proceeding to the analysis of the less measurable aspects of the organization of power, it is worth while to illustrate that these different types of alienation are related to the organization of power by showing that they do have behavioral consequences.

Voting is a decision-making process by which individuals are given access to certain decisions that may affect the social order of a community. As such, it may be conceived as one kind of activity involved in the organization of power that can be readily measured. That the non-alienated differ behaviorally from the alienated, and that those who are disjunctively alienated behave differently from those who are privately alienated, may be illustrated by comparing the voting and non-voting of the four social classes in the 1958 general election. While trends can not be demonstrated from one election, the possibility of the direction a trend might take can at least be suggested. The 1958 general election is particularly useful for this purpose because it
was an off-year election and it did not carry the band-wagon effect of presidential elections. Finally, this election was particularly important to the lower classes because it presented a "right to work" amendment to the voters. Since the working classes had more at stake because of this amendment, it should have increased what can be assumed to be their normal political participation. Table X presents the distribution of voting and non-voting by the four social classes in the 1958 general election.

**TABLE X**

DISTRIBUTION OF VOTING AND NON-VOTING IN THE 1958 GENERAL ELECTION BY SOCIAL CLASSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Upper Class (Northwest)</th>
<th>Middle Class (Middle Area)</th>
<th>Lower Class (Southside)</th>
<th>Lower Class (Eastside)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voting</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-voting</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{df} = 3 \quad \chi^2 = 68.68 \quad P = .01 \]

As is shown in the above table, the differences between the four social classes in voting and non-voting in the 1958 general election are statistically significant. In this election, 90 per cent of the members of the upper class voted and participated in the political process. Only 66 per cent of the members of the middle class voted. In the Southside lower class, only 55 per cent voted and the percentage of voters drops to 47 in the Eastside lower class. To the extent that voting is an activity related to the organization of power, it can be concluded that the non-alienated are considerably more active than the alienated. Furthermore, the disjunctively alienated are considerably more active
than the privately alienated. As far as voting is concerned, even when the alienated have access to the organization of power, they do not avail themselves of this access.

It might be assumed by some that a local election would excite more political participation in the lower classes than a general election. It might also be assumed that important issues might motivate individuals to participate in the political process more than candidates running for public office. In the Spring of 1959 an election was held in Meredith to determine whether or not a five mill operating levy would be assessed against all property holders in the city. This issue, depending upon whether or not it passed, dug into the voters' pocketbooks to the sum of an additional five dollars for every one thousand dollars of assessed property that they had to pay taxes on. Since the only candidates on the ballot involved two Republicans running in a primary for the office of Judge of Probate Court, it can be assumed that the only real issue involved the five mill levy.

Table XI presents the distribution of voting and non-voting in this election by social classes.

TABLE XI
DISTRIBUTION OF VOTING AND NON-VOTING IN THE SPRING, 1959, ELECTION BY SOCIAL CLASSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Upper Class (Northwest)</th>
<th>Middle Class (Middle Area)</th>
<th>Lower Class (Southside)</th>
<th>Lower Class (Eastside)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voting</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Voting</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

df=3  $X^2=59.99$  $P=.01$
As the above table shows, whether or not an election is local or non-local appears to make little difference in political participation. In an election that affected the pocketbooks of everyone and which determined the kind of financial support local government was going to get for the next two years, Southsiders and Eastsiders did not participate. Thus, privatized alienation tends to be associated with non-participation in the political process more than disjunctive alienation, and the non-alienated are more politically active than the alienated. Privatized alienation may be illustrated by a comment an Eastsider made in a discussion of local government which occurred at the bar of a private club. A lawyer, who now happens to be the Mayor in Meredith, had suggested that if Eastsiders were dissatisfied with local government they should go to the polls and do something about it. The Eastsider stated:

(What the hell have we to say about anything in this town anymore than anyone else has to say about it? Why should I go to the polls and vote? My vote isn't going to change a damn thing and you know it. The people who run City Hall have always run it and since the time McCarthy was in office there hasn't been a good man down there. Besides, as long as they don't bother me I don't give a damn.)

The Power Structure: Summarized

In summary, the power structure existing in Meredith today has the following characteristics. First, the cultural conditions of power are such that the most formidable means of power are controlled by members of different interest groups whose primary interests are not very often the interests of the whole community. In the sense that
these groups have distinct and special interests, there exists not one
but several elites.

Second, most of the members of these elites belong to the upper
class. If the upper class can be said to have a class interest, then
that interest is to maintain Meredith as a conservative college town.

Third, the characteristics of the social class structure do not
provide a basis for dissent or opposition in the power structure. The
members of the upper class, even though they tend to negate the exist­
ence of class symbols in the context of responding to a formal measuring
instrument, are conscious of their true position in the power structure.
They are also conscious of class symbols in the context of informal
interviews. Ideologically and objectively, the members of the upper
class are non-alienated.

The middle class, however, is disjunctively alienated from the
power structure. Its members, while objectively separated from the
means of power when compared to the members of the upper class, pro­
fess much the same beliefs concerning power as do the members of the
upper class. As a result, the middle class is neither independent nor
does it provide a basis for dissent in the power structure.

The two lower classes are characterized by a type of alienation
which suggests a withdrawal from the political life of the community.
Objectively separated from the means of power when compared to the
members of the upper and middle classes, the members of the lower
classes believe that they are powerless. They respond to this con­
dition of powerlessness by withdrawing from the community in such a
way that they tend to be indifferent to the events which shape their lives. Whereas the members of the lower classes once represented relatively independent groups that provided a basis for dissent in the power structure, they no longer belong to independent groups and they are no longer able to provide a source of dissent. Whatever opposition they present to the upper class is a negative and unconstructive opposition that has little, if any, effect on those important decisions which are made in the community.

Finally, the power structure which exists today is a pluralistic power structure in that the distribution of the means of power serves to divide individuals into relatively independent interest groups. Contrary to the pluralistic theory, however, this does not mean that there exists a balance of power. These interest groups, because they are primarily upper class interest groups, seldom compete with one another and they function so as to preserve an imbalance of power. This imbalance of power derives from the fact that these upper class interest groups are relatively inaccessible in that the decisions they generally make can not often be influenced by members of the middle and lower classes. At the same time, the members of the middle and lower classes, because they do not belong to groups capable of organized dissent, are highly accessible to the upper class interest groups and are easily manipulated by these interest groups. As a result of these structural conditions, the system of power existing in Meredith displays certain autocratic characteristics. These characteristics emerge more clearly when the organization of power is considered.
Notes


2. When employing this test, the assumption of homogeneity of variance was tested by computing F ratios between each set of variances. When variances were found to differ significantly ($P=.05$), it was approximated by applying the Cochran and Cox method. For a description of this statistic, see Allen L. Edward's *Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences* (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1954), pp. 273-274.

3. These criteria included the following: (1) religious affiliation; (2) the church attended in Meredith; (3) frequency of church attendance; (4) place of employment in Meredith; (5) home ownership; (6) the amount of rent paid by renters; (7) the ownership of real estate other than one's own home; (8) the kind of real estate owned; (9) where vacations are spent; (10) the number of children; (11) political party membership; (12) the total number of civic, service, social, and fraternal organizations to which one belongs; (13) the kind of newspapers read regularly; (14) the total number of newspapers read regularly; (15) the reading or non-reading of news magazines; (16) the total number of magazines read regularly; (17) favorite television programs; and, (18) the direction of spatial mobility into and between the four areas. Except for the distribution of religious affiliation and the ownership of property other than one's own home, the distribution of every one of these other variables between the four areas is significant. Since the presentation of distribution tables and their discussion in the text provides very uninteresting reading material, only the results of these findings will be summarized here. For readers interested in the more statistical aspects of these distributions, they are presented in Tables XII to XXIX in Appendix II.

4. For a definition of these scales see Chapter II. For examples of the items used in the construction of the scales and the final items selected to compute scores, see Appendix I.

5. When the Southside lower class is controlled for race, the mean status aspiration for the group is 4.59 and slightly lower than that of the middle class. However, race is only one variable. This analysis does not seek to explain the relationship of one variable to another. Its purpose is ethnographic and employing the cultural approach, the variables are taken as they are found to exist in the natural setting of the social class areas existing in the community. Statistics are
used to test descriptive inferences which, otherwise, could not be made with precision. A factor analysis would be required to determine the specific relationships existing between variables. A correlation matrix, however, was computed to determine to what extent each scale was related to every other scale in order to preclude the possibility of employing two or more scales to measure the same thing. These correlations are reported in Table XXX in Appendix II.

6A point biserial correlation was computed in order to determine the relationship between voting and non-voting in the 1958 general election and powerlessness. With N=600, $r_{pb} = -0.251$. Since the point biserial underestimates the true relationship of two variables, it is safe to conclude that voting and non-voting in the 1958 general election is significantly related to powerlessness.

7The point biserial correlation between powerlessness and voting and non-voting in the Spring, 1959, local election was also computed. With N=600, $r_{pb} = -0.308$. 
CHAPTER VIII

THE CONTEMPORARY ORGANIZATION OF POWER: CASE STUDIES

During the course of research in Meredith data were gathered on different situations involving decisions that, in one way or another, were important to the entire community. Case studies were made of these situations in order to reconstruct the decision-making process and to analyze this process in terms of the four organizational principles defined in Chapter II. The situations selected for these case studies are only five among several that were observed to involve decisions affecting the community. Their selection has not been random. They do not represent the most common decisions made from day to day in the community. While the most ordinary decisions are important to the social order existing in Meredith, they do not generally involve a concentrated effort to present a formidable organization of the means of power. This is not necessary for making ordinary decisions. Furthermore, ordinary decisions do not usually involve the possibility of seriously altering the way of life of the community by extensively changing its social order. While it is not maintained that the cases described here did seriously alter the social order existing in Meredith, the decisions were of such nature that this possibility seems to have been greater than for the ordinary decisions made from day to day. In this respect, the case studies presented represent the more important issues uncovered during the study.
The Issue of Charter Government

Until 1954 Meredith was governed by a partisanly elected mayor and city council. Democrats competed with Republicans for these positions. While, after the eighteen nineties, the Democrats never had a majority in City Hall, one or two, or possibly three Democrats always managed to get elected. These individuals, because of their party ties, often provided for much acrimony and dissent in local government and they made possible a considerable amount of "politiiking" both in the sense of criticizing Republican patronage and in the sense of trying to provide patronage to Democratic friends. In 1954 this was changed. A charter form of government was instituted. The charter provided for a city manager as a full-time administrative official of the city. The manager was responsible to an elected council. Theoretically, the council was to be responsible to the electorate.

The manifest purpose of this new form of government was made clear at the outset. It purposed to take local government out of politics and to do away with "politiiking" by substituting a rational administrative process for what was believed to be an inefficient political process. This rational administrative process would do away with political favors and provide continuity in the design of programs and policies in spite of possible changes in elected or administrative personnel. The charter form of government, with its provision for a city manager, offered to the electorate all the
advantages of a modern bureaucracy even though some of the people who had much to do with its organization had other advantages in mind. These other advantages become clear as it is considered how this change in the form of local government was brought about.

The movement to organize a charter commission and draft a charter form of government did not originate within the formal structure of local government. While the idea of this change had first originated in the nineteen thirties with William Johnson, a political scientist motivated by a concern for better local government, numerous informants credited the re-generation of the idea, in the nineteen fifties, to John Tyler. Tyler's interest in the charter form of government was explained by one informant in the following terms:

(The idea originated with Tyler. Tyler is a noisy, big-mouthed businessman in the community who doesn't really have too many friends. Around 1950, he had submitted a bid to the city for various goods which he was in a position to supply. The bid was turned down in favor of a lower bid received from a non-local firm. This irritated Tyler. Shortly after, he began to move around town talking about a city manager type of system. However, if it had been up to Tyler alone, the thing would not have succeeded. He started it all with talk, but when the charter commission was selected, he was left out. He has neither the power nor the influence to put anything over on his own around town.) (I-59)

Much the same point was made by Allen Matthews, a member of the Charter Commission. Matthews stated:

(Tyler must get credit for starting the whole thing. However, he presented us with a problem which could have caused its failure. In his own personal publicity he constantly emphasized that the new system would cost less. He even made speeches to this effect to high school students who carried it all home to their parents. He was hard to get along with; many people didn't like him. It became necessary, in a diplomatic way, to let him know he should be seen but not heard. When he was left off the Commission, we invited him to serve as an unofficial member; kept him with us and quiet.) (I-53)
The motivating interest to change the form of local government, then, began with a disgruntled middle class businessman who probably would not have concerned himself with the issue had he received the political favors he sought. This interest, however, was not of itself sufficient to bring about the change. Local government, regardless of whether or not it makes important decisions, is a public and a legal institution which touches the life of most everyone in the community in many and diverse ways. While the affairs of the average individual seldom, if ever, provide him a reason to become involved with the channels of decision at City Hall, he can not help but be affected by these channels. If he owns a home he must pay taxes to support local government. If it is decided to improve the sidewalks on his street, he must pay for the improvement. If he decides to build anything, he must obtain a building permit from local government to do so. If he wants to rezone some land, he must submit a petition at City Hall. If he wants parking privileges in front of his store, he must petition for them. If he gets a parking ticket, he must pay it at City Hall. Every three months he pays a water and a garbage collection bill at City Hall. Legally, no one can change the local form of government he lives under without first consulting him and others like him at the polls. While the voter may be provided little or no choice at the polls, still, he has the choice of accepting or rejecting what is provided on the ballot. Thus, John Tyler, or any group to which he belonged, alone, could not bring about the change that was brought about in 1952. Other groups had to be interested in the change and the power these groups wielded
had to be brought to bear upon persuading the voters to decide to make the change.

As John Tyler moved about town talking of a change in local government, different groups became interested in the change for different reasons. Publicly, the reasons these groups gave for wanting the change revolved about the desire for a better and more business-like form of government. Privately, the reasons varied from group to group. One of the first to get on Tyler's band-wagon was William Johnson. Johnson had taught political science at Grantham for years and, since the nineteen thirties, he sincerely believed that local government would operate more efficiently for the welfare of the community with a "home-rule" charter and an a-political administration. This also was the interest of the League of Women Voters and various groups of intellectuals and college professors belonging to the upper class college crowd.

Prominent businessmen, and some other Republican politicians, became interested in the change for other reasons. Some of these reasons were stated by Allen Matthews, a member of the Charter Commission and Mayor at the time he was interviewed. Matthews stated:

(During some administrations in Meredith absolutely nothing was accomplished. McCarthy's four years as Mayor (Democrat), for example, were completely down the drain. No one could get along with him and councilmen could not make themselves understood . . . The first day he took office he stated publicly that he was going to show the community it could get along without the City Engineer (a Republican). Consequently, for four years the Engineer was constantly threatened and accomplished very little.) (I-53)
Matthews, a battle-scarred politician, had fought Democrats like McCarthy in City Hall for more than twenty years. He, and the group he represented, believed that the change would eradicate the Democratic opposition to business government by leaving the Democrats without a party basis for opposition. One informant, a Democrat, defined the interests of this group in the following terms:

(The charter hasn't changed the situation in town a whole lot... The change just made things a little quicker and a little neater. The same people still control the town. The only thing is they can do things quicker this way.) (I-55)

The industrialists represented still another group that became interested in changing the form of local government. In general, industrialists have little to do with local government in Meredith. They usually get what they want from City Hall, which is usually very little, because of the role they play in Meredith's economy. However, under the new form of government, they get what they want more easily and with less acrimony. This point was emphasized in an interview with W. L. Mullins, an industrialist and a member of the Charter Commission. Mullins stated:

(Under the old form of government if you went to the mayor and raised hell about something, you might get something done and you might not. If he was a popular man you couldn't do a damn thing to him... Under this system, if the manager does something wrong, he's responsible.) (I-89)

In other words, a popular mayor can not be easily replaced if he refuses to play ball. A city manager is not elected and he can be replaced any time the council sees fit to replace him. The new form of local government is more easily manipulated. This was implied in a comment made by
Edward Barlow, a prominent industrialist and a member of the Charter Commission who probably contributed more money to the movement than any other single individual. Barlow stated:

(No man would want to be a member of city government under the present system unless he was a little man who wants to think he's a big shot.)

(I-99)

In this way educators, businessmen, politicians, industrialists, and others became interested, for somewhat different reasons, in Tyler's idea to change the form of local government. Republicans tended to perceive the change as an opportunity to get rid of meddling Democrats or make them ineffectual in City Hall. Democrats saw in the change the opportunity to get more Democrats elected in local government because they, under the new system, could run for office without being known for their party affiliations. Businessmen and industrialists, to some extent at least, saw in the change an opportunity to get the things they might want with less acrimony. Intellectuals and college professors saw the change as the realization of some of their altruistic ideals concerning efficient and rational government. Many individuals in Meredith, however, were not in favor of the change. This was particularly true of the less influential Republicans and Democrats, the smaller businessmen, and some members of the middle and lower classes. These individuals considered the change to be too costly, unnecessary, and too sudden. The city manager, some believed, would be a stranger and unfamiliar, as well as personally unconcerned with the people and their particular problems. The attitude of these people was reflected
in a statement made by a former chairman of the county Democratic committee. He stated:

(This new form of government is too costly and it's too inefficient. Some people claim that you get better planning in a system like this. I wish you could show me an example of good planning; I haven't noticed any. Furthermore, you get these managers in here and they're not really connected with the town. They don't care much about it. They think that most of our problems can be settled from a school book and it might work someplace else but a lot of these school book ideas don't work here. You see, in a town like this you have to work on a personal basis. If you want anything done you don't try to go to a group or a head of an organization, you go to an individual, to a man and ask him to do something for you. I don't know if it should be this way, but it is and it's this way in most small towns that I know anything about. You see, people are close here. If you want to consider something you have to consider the personality area as well as the realm of over-all politics or economics. This is what I've always tried to do and this is why the Democratic party stayed alive all these years in Coos County.)

Since, in the last analysis, the change in the form of local government had to be decided by the voters, the problem of bringing it about was simply one of coalescing the various interests in favor of it in order to create an organization of power that would be capable of persuading the voters to decide favorably. In this way, the situation developed created what might be called an elite. It brought together a group of individuals, primarily members of the upper class, who, for different reasons, pursued a common purpose.

This point may be illustrated by considering the principle of coordination and describing how the means of power were coordinated with respect to decisions about persuading the voters as well as decisions concerning what should be included in the draft of the new government's constitution. After Tyler had enlisted the interest of fifteen to
twenty individuals representing the various groups described above, a
drive was organized to enlist the financial and public support of as
many citizens as possible to promote the charter form of government
and a city manager system. Merchants, educators, politicians, busi­
nessmen, and workers were asked to contribute one dollar to the drive.
Approximately 500 people made the contribution. This group became
known as "The Citizen's Committee for a City Manager System." The
fifteen or twenty individuals who organized this drive got the
larger group to elect them as a temporary Charter Commission. This
Charter Commission constituted the decision-making group. It made
most of the decisions in drafting the charter as well as the de­
cisions concerning the campaign to promote its election.

Before this temporary charter commission could accomplish much,
two obstacles had to be met. First, the City Council had to be per­
suaded to pass an ordinance placing the members of the commission on
a ballot in order that they could be legally and officially elected
as an authoritative charter group. If the Council refused to co­
operate in this, the members of the commission could only be placed
on the ballot if 19 per cent of the total electorate would sign a
petition. Theoretically, the members of the Charter Commission were
supposed to have been democratically elected and the nominees were
supposed to have been democratically nominated to run for election by
"The Citizen's Committee for a City Manager System." After the City
Council consented to pass an ordinance permitting the election of a
charter commission, the nominees were privately selected. For example,
Mrs. John Greenwood, a member of the Citizen's Committee and a representative of the League of Women Voters, was asked how the candidates for the Charter Commission were nominated. She stated:

(I really don't know. I represented the League at the time. I remember, however, that when they were selected I felt that the whole process was very undemocratic. The Citizen's Committee had little to do with it. Not one woman was included. Why don't you ask some of the men that were on the Charter Commission. Perhaps they would not tell you if they could.) (I-81)

James Walden, a prominent lawyer and a member of the Charter Commission, was asked the same question. He stated:

(I don't know how I got involved with the situation. I was City Attorney at the time and I had contributed my dollar but I was getting ready to go back into the service. I received a phone call and was asked to join a group to discuss the nominees. The Commission was elected at the polls but I don’t know how any of us were nominated. A group of us just met and decided who we wanted on the Commission.) (I-64)

Matthews was much more specific when asked how the Commission members were nominated. He stated:

(About fifteen of us had been meeting on a weekly basis to discuss the problems of local government. We invited the Mayor and the Council to participate in a couple of these meetings. I went along with the whole idea but only after the group agreed to certain conditions. One of these conditions was that the ward system be maintained. I had talked to various people and was convinced that we would lose if we did away with the wards. The other condition was that the Charter Commission be carefully selected to represent the widest possible interests in the community.) (I-53)

The group that met on a weekly basis nominated themselves to run for election to the Charter Commission in addition to four other
individually. Nineteen individuals were presented to the electorate as nominees and the electorate was asked to select the fifteen they wanted to serve on the Charter Commission. The voters, in other words, were given a choice, but the choice was considerably limited. All of the fifteen who were finally elected were members of the original group that promoted the organization of "The Citizen's Committee for a City Manager System." One informant, a Democrat and a prominent lawyer in favor of the change, was asked to identify and comment on the people who served on the Charter Commission. He stated:

(Johnson was an active Democrat in the county for years. He was a professor at Grantham, well-liked, and interested in better government. They needed his support. Spears is an ex-minister, a Democrat, and a college professor who has no power but who is well-known from the pulpit. Smith is one of the college clique. He is tied up with the industrialists socially, a member of the school board, influential with the newspaper, and a friend of most of the members of the Commission. Walden is a prominent young lawyer. He graduated from Grantham, does legal work for the college, is active in church work, and has a lot to do with the Country Club. Miller is an insurance man who made most of his money selling industrial insurance to Barlow. He also is an alumnus of Grantham. Cox is another prominent lawyer, a strong supporter of the college, but one of those individuals who does not want to step on anybody's toes in the community. He keeps his name out of politics and he is the type of man they needed primarily because of his legal and public relations ability. Walters is primarily interested in Walters but he has been successful in business. He also has his fingers in one of the banks, one of the loan companies, and the hospital. Marion is the best known lawyer in Meredith and one of the strongest supporters of Grantham. He is also under the sway of the industrial trilogy of Maurer, Barlow, and Murdock. Mathers is a merchant who does most of his business with the college crowd, caters to the industrialists, and has quite a bit to say on the Chamber. Matthews is an old time politician. He used to coach for the college and, if you will notice, he never dresses without wearing his coach's pin; a poor businessman, but well-known because he has been on the council for twenty or thirty years. Dickson is my cousin, a Catholic, and a doctor, well-known to the Catholics. They needed his prestige to swing the Catholic vote.) (I-59)
All of the above individuals are members of the upper class. As a rule, they socialize within somewhat different circles and stay pretty much within their own cliques. As far as the Charter Commission is concerned, it was dominated by upper class interests. In terms of numbers, Grantham College was better represented than any other interest group in the community. In terms of money, the Commission was dominated by industrial interests. The form industrial domination took may be illustrated by a statement obtained in an interview with Mrs. John Greenwood, who was invited to represent the League of Women Voters as an unofficial member of the Charter Commission after its other members were elected. She stated:

(Barlow, an industrialist, did not attend most of the meetings. When he had something to say he would call by phone when a meeting was being held. Mullins, Barlow's right hand man, was a member of the Commission and he probably kept Barlow informed. At one meeting we were discussing who should be hired as a lawyer to write the charter. Barlow called and said he couldn't leave his office and suggested that the group adjourn and reconvene at his office. When we got there only one chair was in the room and he was sitting in it behind his desk. He took full charge while all of us stood before him. He blustered this and that and finally said that something had to be done about hiring a lawyer. He picked up his phone, made a long distance call, and hired a lawyer right on the spot. As far as I know, he paid most of the fee.) (I-81)

The material presented above illustrated how the principle of coordination was applied to organize the power necessary to effect the change in the form of local government. The means of power were organized and brought to bear upon the situation by establishing a group of individuals whose members represented different interest groups in the community and who could be depended upon to enlist the support of these
groups. In this manner, the Catholics, businessmen, industrialists, or other groups capable of organized opposition were, so to speak, disarmed. This reduced the possibility of opposition by the unorganized voters and they remained to be persuaded to vote for the change. This was done by an extensive publicity or propaganda campaign which took place after the charter was drafted and during the last few weeks before the charter was put to a vote in the 1951 election. For example, Matthews stated:

(Every day for weeks prior to placing the charter on the ballot the Commission met at one of the restaurants in town. We organized an intensive campaign. We had the full backing of the only newspaper in town and that was important. We worked on various individuals known to be in opposition to the charter. For example, the Mayor at that time was still against the charter. I worked on him continuously and finally brought him around to our way of thinking. I also got some of the ex-mayors to draft personal letters and I selected excerpts from them and had them published in the paper.) (I-53)

In one of these excerpts, an ex-mayor told the people:

I have inquired in other places. I find that it is working in cities smaller than ours . . . . I feel that the men behind this are in it to stay. They will give as much time and interest after it is in that they give it now.2

Another ex-mayor told the people:

Give the plan a trial. If it does not work we will throw it out.3

The material presented above also illustrates how the principle of foresight was applied in the organization of power. Foresight involves some estimation or expectation as to how individuals will behave in a given situation. In the situation involving the change in local government, only those individuals were included on the Charter Commission who were known to be in favor of the change and who could be
expected to behave accordingly. Thus, foresight was a function of
knowledge derived from past personal relationships in the community.
For example, McCarthy was a Catholic and a Democrat who was sufficiently
popular in the community to have been twice elected as Mayor. In some
circles, particularly in the Eastside lower class, McCarthy had con-
siderable influence. No attempt was ever made to enlist his support
and, as far as can be determined, he was excluded as a possible
member of the Commission who might elicit an Eastside vote. By virtue
of the expectations as to how McCarthy would behave on the Commission,
Gilbert Dickson, a popular Catholic doctor, was selected to elicit the
Eastside vote which was thought to be predominantly Catholic. McCarthy
behaved as expected. He spoke out in opposition to the charter form
of government. A newspaper comment indicates how McCarthy's opposition,
and the opposition of others like him, was handled by those on the
Commission who were in charge of the publicity campaign. It states:

> Opposition to the charter was raised by McCarthy, Independent candidate for councilman-at-large. But McCarthy said that he was unable to complete his arguments against the document because of the three-minute time limit for speakers.¹

Several public meetings were held and everyone in opposition to the
charter was given a three-minute opportunity to present his arguments
concerning why Meredith should not adopt the new form of government.
When some of these individuals complained about the three-minute time
limit, members of the Commission retorted that they were given the
same amount of time to present their views as were those who were in
favor of the charter.
When the Charter Commission was placed on the ballot in 1950, 3,953 voters went to the polls. Of this group 57 per cent voted in favor of electing a commission to draft a charter to present to the voters. Of the twenty-four precincts in Meredith, the Commission won all except one located in the middle class area and all three located in the Eastside lower class area. When the charter itself was placed on the ballot in 1951, only 2,744 people went to the polls and voted on it. This was more than 1,200 less than voted on the Charter Commission. In the Eastside, only 377 voted on the charter, more than 200 less than voted on the Commission. Of the 2,744 voters who voted on the charter, almost 60 per cent voted in favor of it. The charter won a majority in every Westside precinct but three. Two of these were middle class precincts. The third was a precinct in the Southside lower class area. The charter proposal lost in every precinct in the Eastside lower class area. The campaign, therefore, was successful in terms of the vote cast in most of the upper class area, a majority of the large middle class area, and most of the Southside lower class area. In terms of the organizational principle of compensation, those interest groups which were represented by the members of the Charter Commission were compensated for their efforts. They had achieved their purpose. The charter form of government with a city manager system was instituted and it became effective in January of 1954.5

The people of Meredith were asked, in 1951, to give the charter form of government and the city manager system a trial. They had been
told, at least by some people, that if they did not like the new form of government they could change it. In 1958 the people who did not like it did try to change it. They hired a young lawyer to draft a petition to place before the electorate the issue of abolishing the city charter and return to the previous form of local government. The manner in which this issue was handled raises the question concerning to which groups in Meredith local government had become responsible.

The petition, unknown to most members of the City Council at the time, had originated with one of their own members, a Westside councilman. The petition was circulated and 1,100 people signed it. This represented approximately 10 per cent of the total population of the community. After the abolitionary petition was submitted to Council, it became the subject of special and regular meetings for more than a month. During these meetings the City Manager took the position that the petition should be granted and that the question of the form of government wanted by the people should be settled once and for all at the polls. Matthews and other members of the Charter Commission took issue with the City Manager. Privately, they claimed that the Commission had worked too long and too hard to chance the issue again at the polls. The Commission circulated a counter-petition which was signed by 450 people, less than 5 per cent of the total population of the community. Matthews, in an interview, discussed the action he took on this issue to prevent it from coming to a vote in the community. He stated:
(The petition, I believe, arose out of a lot of personal gripes resulting from the introduction of a more efficient form of government. A lot of small favors, parking meter privileges, et cetera, were not as easily obtained as they used to be. Much of the smoke originated with a tavern-keeper who was sore because the sesqui-centennial parade was not routed by his door so all the drunks could stumble in during the celebrations. I knew this. He was also sore because he filed an application to fill a vacant seat on council and we turned him down. I drafted a letter and two of the lawyers that had served on the Charter Commission edited it for me to remove libelous comments and then I got the letter published in the paper. I suggested in the letter that most of the signers of the petition had signed it over a bar in one of the local taverns. Then I went to see the young lawyer who had drafted the petition. I had known him since he was a boy. He got $500 for the job. I asked him why in God's name did he get himself involved in this thing. He was in favor of the charter and I told him this wouldn't do his name any good in town to get himself involved with the crowd that had circulated the petition against the charter. He said it was strictly a business proposition. Anyway, I got him to meet Marion, one of the lawyers on the Commission, and they agreed that a legal technicality existed in the charter which made it unlawful to vote the charter out. All that could be done if people wanted it changed was to amend it. To amend the charter out of existence, however, would require as much work as went into it and it would also require considerable control of the Council. After this, things died down.)(I-53)

The above statement represents precisely what happened to the petition to get rid of the charter and return to the previous form of local government. During the last meeting the Council devoted to this petition, the City Attorney informed the petitioners that it was unlawful to legislate a government out of existence and that the right of petition was not being properly exercised. The young lawyer for the petitioners concurred with this interpretation and, after having received his fee, advised the petitioners that another petition would have to be drafted which would legally exercise the right of petition.
The lawyer for the petitioners stated that they had confused the city manager system with the charter itself and that another petition could be drafted seeking to amend the charter in order to do away with the city manager provision. As far as can be determined, this petition was never drafted and the young lawyer, the following year, was elected Judge of the Probate Court on the Republican ticket. When the tavernkeeper suspected of being behind the movement to return to the previous form of government was questioned about this issue, he stated:

(When the city management system came up for a vote the first time they persuaded us to vote for it and told us if we didn't like it we could change it. Well, they tricked us. When they drew up the charter they included a section in it which said in effect that the charter, as a whole, could not be voted on a second time. This trickery on the part of a certain clique in Meredith has prevented the people from exercising their political franchise in voting the government out of office. All my life the college clique has run this town and it looks like they are going to continue to run it.) (I-48)

The action taken by Matthews, other members of the Charter Commission, and some members of the City Council indicates that much of the responsibility of local government today is to the Charter Commission and the interest groups that it represents. Under the present form of local government, elected representatives are no longer responsible to the political parties which, in turn, are responsible to the people who support them. More often than not, decisions that cost the taxpayers money are supervised by the Chamber of Commerce. When local government needs money, the Chamber advises how much it needs and whether or not they will support the kind of campaign necessary to get a levy passed in the community. While under
the new system more Democrats have been elected to City Council than ever before, these tend to be upper and middle class Democrats. The values of upper and middle class Democrats in Meredith tend to be much the same as those of upper and middle class Republicans and very different from those expressed by lower class Republicans and Democrats. The members of the lower classes, particularly those who are Democratic, still tend to be opposed to the manager-council system. The reasons they give tend to be summarized in a statement obtained from an Eastside Democrat who had served on Council under both forms of government. He stated:

(The old mayor-council system is far superior to the present form of government. The city manager, whether he wants to be or not, is a kind of dictator. The people can't vote for him and they can't get rid of him. All they can do is vote for councilmen and all the councilmen can do is replace one manager with another. Besides, the Eastside generally can get only two councilmen elected. The three elected at-large usually come from the Westside. I like the manager we have now. He does a fine job and he is a promising young man. However, even a benevolent dictator is bad. Under the old system there was always the possibility for an individual to make his feelings known. He could go to a politician and say, "Now look, I supported you and now I need something and I want you to support me." Under this system there is no party pressure to see that a man votes one way or another. There is no pressure to even make him consider another point of view. When they voted in the charter, the people gave up their rights and their responsibilities for local government.) (I-76)

In summary, the move to change the form of government brought together a number of individuals interested in the change for different reasons. The principle of coordination involved an organization of power resulting from a coalescence of certain members of the upper class who represented different interest groups. The principle of
foresight involved the recruitment of individuals to play a role on the Charter Commission on the basis of expectations concerning how they felt with respect to the charter, how they would behave in promoting the issue, and the support they could draw from different groups in the community. These expectations were derived from past experience and established personal relations among the members of the upper class. The principle of compensation suggests that those individuals and groups most interested in the change are the individuals and groups that have been most compensated by the change. For example, the new form of government has removed whatever remnants were left of opposition and dissent from lower class Democrats. It has created a closer relationship between local government and the college, the Chamber of Commerce, and the industrialists. When these groups want favors, they get them without acrimony and without public awareness. At the same time, it has given Eastsiders, Southsiders, and small businessmen less access to government than they formerly had. It is easier for the industrialist to get a water line at the taxpayers' expense than it is for the small businessman to get parking meter privileges at the taxpayers' expense. It is easier for the industrialist to get airport privileges than it is for the precinct committeeman to get his driveway paved. The latter kinds of favors cost the taxpayers less, but they are more difficult to come by than the more expensive favors.

The principle of responsibility points to the fact that the new form of government has made elective representatives primarily
responsible to those interests in the community which brought about the change. The city manager's job, for example, is more formidable threatened by the angry industrialist or college administrator than it is by the angry Eastsider or Southsider. Councilmen, in making their decisions, are supposed to employ criteria of efficiency and rationality and not the interests of their constituents. What efficiency and rationality mean precisely is difficult to say. More often than not, they mean whatever the Chamber of Commerce or other similar groups suggest as being in the best interest of the community.

Finally, the organizational techniques which were employed to promote this change are techniques of manipulation. They included selecting individuals for the Charter Commission who were in positions to manipulate certain blocks of voters in the community. They included the use of propaganda and the repression of dissent in public meetings as well as in the local press. They included drafting a charter which could not be easily changed after promising the voters that it could be changed if they did not like it. These organizational characteristics emerge more clearly as a case is considered which involved a decision made under the new form of government pertaining to the extension of a water line in Meredith.

The Accessory Corporation Decision

This case illustrates how those who supported the change to the charter form of government can organize power in such a manner that their demands can be obtained more quickly and with less acrimony than, perhaps,
they could have been obtained under the old mayor-council form of
government that once existed. In this particular situation the in-
dustrialists represent the interest group involved. The water line
decision also illustrates that the contemporary structure and organ-
ization of power is one in which situations tend to create elites;
that is, the choice of individuals who come to be involved in the
exercise of power in a particular situation largely depends upon the
nature of the situation. Finally, this case will also illustrate that
the principles employed in the organization of power differ but little
from one situation to another.

In February of 1957, Fred Green, an executive officer of the
Electrical Accessory Corporation, submitted a petition in the form of
a letter to the City Manager, William Huff. The petition requested
that the city extend a larger water line to the Electrical Accessory
plant in order to increase the water pressure available to the plant.
The petition further stated that the size of the water line then ex-
isting prohibited the installation of a sprinkler system and caused
the company to pay excessively high fire insurance rates. Finally,
the petition suggested that the company may, in the future, want to
expand its facilities and this would require more water pressure.

Bill Huff was a new city manager. He had been in Meredith for
only a few months. Before coming to Meredith he had been an assistant
city manager in another city. By his own admission, he followed the
college textbooks which he kept to the right of his desk. They, he
said, represented the ideals which he believed a city manager ought to
pursue in his task of administering to the needs of a community. These ideals consisted of those values associated with non-political and rationally organized local government. Huff pondered Green's petition and then informed the executive that he would present it to the Council but, personally, he would find it difficult to bring himself to support it. His reason, he stated, was that the water line then existing provided adequate service to the users in the area and that the petition, if granted, would involve spending public money for a private improvement.

In the same month the petition was submitted to the City Council. On the recommendation of the Public Works Committee, the City Engineer, and the City Manager, a motion was passed to leave the matter in the hands of the City Engineer and the City Manager in order that they may investigate the situation in more detail. In April the petition was again brought to the attention of the City Council. The City Engineer told the members of Council that the cost of the project would be approximately $35,000 and that the Accessory Corporation had offered to pay one-half the cost up to $20,000. However, the Engineer, on behalf of the Public Works Committee, suggested that the petition be rejected. He gave the following reasons for this recommendation. First, the line would not direct water flow toward the industrial area. Second, the Accessory Corporation was a small user and the city's costs could not be recovered through use. Third, the vacant lands along the route would possibly make the cost of the project higher than his original estimate. Finally, the Engineer contended, the water fund was in no
shape to bear the city's share of the cost. The Council approved the report and denied the petition. The vote was unanimous.

The following month, May, the Accessory Corporation was again brought to the attention of Council. At the end of the regular meeting for May the Council adjourned and, on a motion made by the Mayor, it reconvened in the office of a private association. Fred Green, the executive representing the Accessory Corporation, was present with a lawyer. Alvin Mauer, president of the Davis Corporation, was also present. In addition to these individuals, two prominent members of the Chamber of Commerce were present; one of these was a banker and the other was an influential merchant. During the discussion that ensued, Green was asked if the company would pay its share of the costs for the improvement at the time the water line was contracted by the city. Green stated that his company would pay its share at the time the water line was completed and not before. After a brief discussion and speeches from Mauer and the others, a motion was made to grant the petition. The motion prevailed unanimously. In little more than a month, without public notice, seven councilmen had changed their minds, reversed their votes, and rejected the recommendations of the City Engineer, the City Manager, and the Public Works Committee. How this was brought about illustrates how the means of power were coordinated and brought to bear upon a decision which affected the entire community by virtue of its involving the expenditure of public money.

During an interview William Huff, the City Manager, was asked what had happened between April and May. He stated:
(After the petition was first rejected, John Mathers (owner of a clothing store, president of the Chamber at the time, and a member of the Charter Commission), and Bill O'Hara (president of the bank), came to see me. They wanted me to reconsider the action taken on the petition by the Public Works Committee. They pointed out that the town needed this industry and that, if possible, we should cooperate with them. I stood by my guns. It was simply a matter of principle. How could I justify spending public money just to reduce the insurance rates for this company? Besides, there were alternative possibilities which the Accessory Corporation had flatly rejected. One involved the construction of a water storage tank. This would have been cheaper and it would have given them the pressure they needed. The other alternative was proposed by Ed Barlow, president of the Diversified Manufacturing Corporation.) (I-3h)

Huff was then asked how Barlow came to be involved and what it was that he had proposed. He stated:

(Barlow had heard about the squabble I had with Green. At that time Barlow headed-up a small group called the Meredith Improvement Association. He suggested that the Improvement Association, a private group, install the sprinkler system and rent it to the Accessory Corporation. The Accessory Corporation could deduct the rent as overhead and the rent could be turned over to the city to pay for the water line. After the water line was paid for, the Improvement Association could sell the water line to the Accessory Corporation for one dollar. In this way, Uncle Sam would pick up the bill and everyone would have what they wanted. Green presented this plan to the New York office and they turned it down saying that they didn't do business that way. I was so damn mad by this time that I was determined to fight the petition.) (I-3h)

Huff continued:

(A few weeks later, Mathers and O'Hara called me on a Saturday night. They told me that they had come to agree with my position, that the city couldn't afford the improvement, and that all they could hope to do was maintain good relations with the company. They asked me if I would accompany them to Stebbins' farm and help them explain why the city could not build the line. Stebbins was still an officer of the company and Green's boss at that time. I agreed to this. I was too dumb to know what was going on until I got to Stebbins' farm. When I arrived, Stebbins, Green, Mathers, and O'Hara were waiting for me. All of them opened fire. They told me, in effect, that if I wanted to keep my job, I had better reconsider my position and play ball with them. Stebbins climbed
right up and down my back. I was there for more than three
hours. When I got home I was a nervous wreck. I talked things
over with my wife and the following week I told them that the
sooner they could get a new city manager the better. That was
the last I heard from them until that meeting was held and the
Council passed the petition.) (I-34)

The Manager was then asked how they got the City Council to reverse its
decision. He stated:

(Well, when they couldn't get anywhere with me, they started
to put the pressure on individual members of Council. Mathers
and O'Hara went to work on Jim Grove, a young Republican with
political ambitions. The Mayor presented no problem because
he would vote with the wind anyway. Green pressured Jim Waters.
Waters, you know, sells a lot of office equipment to the Accessory
Corporation. Anyway, a couple of weeks later the Council met and
the Mayor made a motion to adjourn. After the newspaper reporter
left, he asked the Council to reconvene in the office of a private
group in town. When we got there, Al Mauer and the others were
waiting for us. After they got done talking, the petition was
put to a vote and it passed unanimously. The Mayor then turned
to me and asked if I had any comment to make. I didn't. I had
said enough already.) (I-34)

Several informants, including Mathers and the City Engineer, concurred
with Huff's description of the situation. Still, it was not known
precisely how pressure had been brought to bear upon the seven council-
men. In order to find this out an interview was obtained from Fred
Green. At the time of this interview Green was no longer with the
Accessory Corporation. He had retired and was selling industrial real
estate. For this reason, he did not hesitate to discuss the details of
the situation. He stated:

(I'll tell you how the Electrical Accessory Corporation operates.
They give all their executives a small book which tells how they are
to react in certain community situations (this was denied by another
officer of the company). The executive is instructed to belong to
all the social and civic groups that he is entitled to belong to
in the community. They are told to participate actively. They are also told to belong to a church and be active in its affairs. As far as I know, the National Corporation follows the same program. The local industries, of course, don't have to do this.) (I-54)

Green's wife, who participated in part of the interview, concurred with this statement. Green was then asked what role he had played with respect to getting the water line for the Accessory Corporation and how he was able to get the Council to reverse its vote on the petition. He answered:

(First, I went to the City Manager. I got no place with him. I then saw the City Engineer and told him I didn't want any noise about not doing this or that but to draw up two or three alternate lines and tell me how much money they could get back on taxes and, maybe, we would put in the rest. Well, he did this, but the Managent blocked it. We took the Manager down to Stebbins' place along with a couple of people from the Chamber. This didn't do any good either because when we came back that knucklehead still didn't want to do anything. Well, then I called on every businessman in town that I knew. I told them we wanted that water line and that we were going to get it or move the plant. I asked each one of them to talk to the councilmen they knew or get someone else to talk to them.) (I-54)

Green was then asked how he decided which businessmen he would call to do this for him. He stated:

(I work on the theory that if you know enough people, everybody you know knows somebody else and someone is bound to know the right person. So I got about thirty of them together for a little party one night at my place. You see, I do a lot of business with a lot of people in this town. I went to everybody that I had ever bought anything from or anybody that I had ever loaned money to, and anybody that I had done a favor for. I believe the way to get anything done in a town like this is not to go to one or two people, but to go to everyone you know. Sooner or later, you are going to run into someone who knows where the skeleton is. Besides, we would have left town. A year before we had gone down into Mississippi and flown all over the state. We located five towns there which were willing to give
us the shirts off their backs if we would move a plant in. Anyway, the people I got in contact with built a fire under the Council. The City Council doesn't do anything in this town until someone builds a fire under it. Around here, more gets done by way of personal contacts than any other way. You go to the people you know and they go to someone else. Most industrialists in town, by going to the people they know and by using the people they have in various organizations, get most anything they want without too much trouble. Huff was new. He didn't know the ropes. That's why he gave us trouble.) (I-54)

In this manner, then, the industrialists organize power and bring it to bear upon decisions made in specific situations which concern their special interests. The water line situation, because it involved some opposition, created a temporary elite. This elite consisted of three or four top industrialists from different companies, a banker, and a businessman who was the president of the Chamber of Commerce. The coalescence of these individuals consolidated the power they had as individuals and the power they represented by virtue of their membership in other groups in the community. This illustrates the organizational principle of coordination. It shows how the means of power were coordinated and directed to a specific end. It also shows that the means of power important in this particular situation are not the same as those which were important in the situation involving the change in the form of local government. A Catholic doctor, for example, was not needed to persuade Catholic voters because these had no relevance to the situation. No one was needed to represent the college because the college was not involved in the situation. The local newspaper was not used as a means of power because publicity was not wanted in the situation. However, the principle
of foresight was applied in the same way as it was in the previous case. Foresight involved an existence of a network of personal relations which conveyed to specific individuals a knowledge as to what they could expect from other individuals. As Green stated, it is important that you know enough people because more gets done by way of personal contacts than any other way.

In this particular situation, more so than in the situation involving the change in the form of government, the principle of compensation and the principle of responsibility clearly emerge from the data. With respect to the water line decision, local government was more responsible to the Accessory Corporation than it was to the city as a whole. It is difficult to conceive how this group can be said to have been responsible to the community as a whole. If they had been, because of the threat to remove the plant from the community, the entire situation could have been settled by a referendum which would have permitted the voters to decide whether or not they were willing to spend their money to keep the company in the community. Or, if a referendum was too involved, a public meeting could have been announced in the paper, as it would have been during the historical period, and a sampling of public opinion could have been obtained. This is always done when someone wants to rezone a piece of property. It could have been done with respect to the water line situation. The absence of community responsibility is clearly indicated by the precautions taken to settle the issue without the presence of a newspaper reporter. Even some of the better informed interviewees were
totally unaware that this situation had even developed.

While the community can be said to have received compensation to the extent that the company remained in Meredith, primary compensation for the organization of power was paid to the Electrical Accessory Corporation. This company received a water line at less than half the price and this, in turn, resulted in their paying lower fire insurance rates.

Finally, the techniques used in the organization of power in this situation again involved manipulation and coercion. The City Manager's job was threatened. Businessmen were threatened by the loss of the company. Pressure was exerted on individual councilmen. The taxpayers who paid for more than half the costs of the water line had no access to the decision-making process and since elected representatives were coerced into deciding against their better judgment, it can not be said that they acted legitimately even though they may have acted legally.

Industrialists are not the only ones in Meredith who are able to organize power and get what they want from local government and, therefore, from the community. The college crowd, those individuals who are more or less concerned with the private and public interests of Grantham College, represent another group that is able to readily organize power and influence the decisions of local government. This group often employs much the same principles of organization as do the industrialists. However, they generally apply these principles more openly and somewhat more publicly. They can afford to do this
because there are so many prominent people in the community who, in one way or another, are connected with the college. Furthermore, it is well known in the community that Grantham pays its own way through the golf course, through the loan of its buildings to groups in the community, or through various kinds of financial contributions to local government funds. A situation, which developed concerning the extension of a water line almost three miles south of the city limits, illustrates the similarities and differences between the organization of power by the industrialists and the organization of power by those individuals who are concerned with the interests of Grantham College.

The Seminary Water Extension Decision

During an interview with the City Manager concerning the situation described in the previous section of this chapter, the question was asked if he had ever encountered pressure of this kind from any other group in Meredith. He stated:

(The only other time that pressure was exerted which approached that involving the Accessory Corporation was when the college became concerned with the building of a theological seminary some two or three miles south of town. Even though most of the distance was outside the city limits, they brought considerable pressure on us to extend water lines all the way to the seminary. The issue was not much different from that concerning the Accessory Corporation. I fought it but I had been educated by this time and I didn't stick my neck out as far as I did with Green. As a result, I fared better than I did with Green. The seminary is going to get its water. However, it will pay for the project and should that area ever become annexed to the city, the city will reimburse the seminary for the cost of the lines as new users tap into the lines.) (I-34)

The taxpayers, however, did pay for the extension of the line within the city limits.
The City Manager did not elaborate on what kind of pressure the college had exerted in this particular situation. In order to determine how the college had organized power to influence the Council's decision on this particular issue, an interview was obtained from Benjamin Rader, a high administrative official at Grantham. During the interview, Rader was asked how the college had managed to get the city to extend a water line so far south of the city limits when the Council had recently fought a similar issue with a local industry.

Rader stated:

(Now keep in mind that the seminary really has little to do with Grantham. We owned the land and gave it to them as an out-right gift. We work on separate budgets, have separate administrative staffs, and the only connection is that we are both supported by the Church. What happened was this. The President of the seminary phoned me and said they needed a water line out there. He wanted to know how to go about getting it. I called the City Manager and told him that that area might be annexed to the city someday and the city might just as well run a line out there now as later. Huff was opposed to it. He didn't think the promise of annexation justified a line at this time. Meanwhile, I gave Marion, the lawyer, a call and invited him to meet with me and the President of the seminary. After we decided what we wanted, I made arrangements for a dinner for the City Council at the restaurant. We bought the councilmen a dinner. After, we explained the problem to them and told them what we wanted. Several of the councilmen were opposed to it but Matthews, the Mayor, stood up and said he would support it. This surprised me because Matthews is a peculiar fellow. He generally supports us but you never know what way he will go on something like this.) (I-63).

In August of 1958, the officials of the seminary submitted a formal petition to Council requesting the water line extension. They asked that they be permitted to recoup up to 60 per cent of the cost of the line located outside the city over a fifteen year period. A
motion was made during the August meeting of Council that the city enter into an agreement with the seminary trustees. The motion gave the Seminary more than it asked for in the petition. The agreement was to provide that the Seminary bear the cost of the line from the city to their site, that the plan for recouping costs be extended over a twenty-year period instead of the fifteen requested, and that a three-year arbitration board be appointed to deal with unforeseen difficulties. It also provided that the city would extend the line within the city limits at its own expense, as if the line were needed to serve that area. Of the seven members of the Council at that time, one was a college professor and two were alumni of Grantham. The motion was seconded by the college professor and it carried unanimously.

Generally, the working relationship existing between Grantham and local government is fairly close. When zoning petitions, for example, are objected to by the college, local government usually rejects them. At the same time, Grantham does whatever it can to promote the form of local government that now exists. The principle of coordination, as in the previous two cases described, involved a coalescence of individuals who were in a position to do something about getting the water line for the seminary. In this case, it involved the Vice-president of Grantham and one of the lawyers who served on the Charter Commission. Also, as in the other two cases, the principle of foresight is based on expectations derived from personal relationships between different individuals. These relationships are sustained in numerous ways. For example, when asked to
name some of the people the college works through in situations such as that involving the seminary, Rader named individuals such as Bill Marion and Frank Williams, both members of the Charter Commission, and Frank Lee, another prominent lawyer. When asked what these individuals get out of doing favors for the college, Rader stated:

(Well, they don't really get much out of it. Of course we throw a little business their way. Anything we have to take to court, we generally take to Marion. If we have any tax problems, we go to Frank Williams. When we have property or real estate problems, we go the Frank Lee. But they're probably the best lawyers in town for this business so I'd take it to them whether they did anything for us or not. It so happens, however, that they do favors of this kind for us. Then there's the director down at the bank who does things for us. Of course, I'm a director at the bank myself. I find it better never to come out too much in the open. You see, if we come out as a college in favor of something, there's a certain number of people in town who automatically are going to be opposed to it. So I find it a whole lot easier and a whole lot more profitable to work through other people. There's a lot of people like these in town that support us but it's more a matter of common interest than anything else. If we would ever oppose their interests, I'm quite sure they'd oppose us. It's my job here to see that our interests don't oppose theirs.)

(1-63)

Another college official provided a somewhat different slant on the principles of coordination and foresight. About the time the seminary situation developed, the college had opposed rezoning an area of land adjacent to one of their dorms and located near the business district. A food company wanted to buy the land and move its supermarket to the site. Grantham officials mobilized two or three prominent lawyers, the school board, the Parent-Teachers Association and had them storm into City Hall to fight the petition. The petition to rezone the area was ultimately defeated. Some of the businessmen did not like the
position taken by the college because it forced the supermarket to
build near the city limits and this, they feared, would eventually
detract business from the downtown area. When some of these business-
men registered a complaint with a high college official, the official
was asked how he had handled the complaint. He stated:

(We bought them off. We gave them a golf course.
Of course, by the time they want something else
they will have forgotten all about the golf course
and we will have to give them something new.) (I-95)

From the point of view of these various college officials, the
college is thought to be responsible to the community as a whole. They
substantiate this point of view by pointing out that Meredith receives
considerable compensation by virtue of the business and the prestige
Grantham brings to the community. What these officials overlook in
discussing these matters is that not all the people living in Meredith
are members of the upper and middle classes and many of the members of
the lower classes are not dependent upon Grantham's economic and social
contribution to the community. Certainly, the lower classes will
receive little economic compensation from the theological seminary
located three miles south of the city. It can not be argued that this
area will be annexed to the community in the near future. At the
present time not more than a half dozen houses exist between the city
limits and the seminary. It would seem, then, that Grantham is
responsible to certain groups in Meredith, particularly those groups
which share its interests and these groups, as well as Grantham,
receive most of the compensation resulting from decisions such as the
one described above.
All three of the situations described in this chapter involved decisions which, in one way or another, had something to do with local government. The realm of activity of local government is one which, by definition, encompasses the entire community. For this reason, the decisions described had an effect on the social order existing in the community, regardless of whether or not the whole community or certain groups in the community had access to the decision-making process. Not all the decisions which affect the community, however, are made by local government. Some decisions are made by individuals and groups which are, more or less, peripheral to the community as a whole. These decisions are usually associated with the concerns of private interests and, therefore, those who make them are not generally considered to be responsible to the community as a whole. Still, these decisions, while they affect some segments of the community more than others, do affect the kind of social order existing in Meredith. Furthermore, these decisions are not unlike those made by the elite which existed during the period between 1850 and 1900. In this respect, they are decisions of a type once made by individuals who made themselves responsible to the community as a whole. The situations described in the following chapter illustrate the organizational principles in terms of which the means of power are brought to bear upon these decisions.
Notes

1For example, approximately three years after the change had been instituted, four of five Democrats elected to council opposed Matthews and forced the first city manager to resign. Matthews justified his position by publicly accusing these councilmen of not living up to the ideals of the charter and permitting themselves to be dictated to by the chairman of the county Democratic committee. This accusation was not true. However, it had the effect of putting the Democrats on the defense in the eyes of the community. The Republicans came to the defense of the City Manager and at a public hearing the Democrats on Council had a difficult time convincing people that politics had nothing to do with their reasons for wanting to get a new city manager. Some informants indicated that as a result of Matthews accusation, some members of the Charter Commission became concerned about the number of Democrats on city council. Before the 1959 elections, the members of the Charter Commission held a meeting to draft a slate of candidates to run for City Council.


3Ibid., October 30, 1951.

4Ibid., October 31, 1951. It should be noted that this comment in the newspaper was the only item of dissent which appeared in the paper during the publicity campaign prior to the election.

5As will be shown in another of the case studies, the more private interests, particularly those of the industrialists, also received compensation by the change.

6Since neither one of these two petitions ever came to a vote, they did not become part of the permanent record of City Council. When the writer requested to see these petitions, he was informed that both of them had been destroyed. Most of the data reported here was obtained in interviews with some of the people involved. It appears that most of the signers of the petition against the charter were residents of the Southside and Eastside areas. However, a number of small businessmen also signed it. A Negro political boss who is a Republican obtained most of the signatures in the Southside. Several individuals, Republicans and Democrats and including at least two tavern-keepers, obtained signatures in the Eastside. Signers of the counter-petition were primarily residents of the upper class area and many in the middle class area also signed.
7It should be noted here that lawyers in Meredith represent a well-organized group. When one or two of the top lawyers who belong to the County Bar Association turn down a case because it is too controversial, younger lawyers tend to follow suit. In such instances, individuals seeking legal representation usually have to go to Central City to hire a lawyer.

8The only minutes reported for this part of the Council's meeting was that the petition had been granted. It was not stated in the minutes that the meeting during which the petition was granted was not held in the council chamber in City Hall.

9For example, when Meredith purchased a new fire truck the college contributed approximately $5,000 toward the purchase of the truck. The college also pays higher rates for fire protection on property located outside the city limits than other groups who purchase such protection from the city fire department. At one meeting of the City Council this was made an issue by a councilman who was a college professor. He thought it unfair that Grantham pay more for fire protection than other organizations when Grantham did more for local government than these other organizations.
CHAPTER IX

THE ORGANIZATION OF POWER: CASE STUDIES (contd.)

The Northern Manufacturing Company Decision

The Northern Manufacturing Company has several plants located in different parts of the United States. They are all union plants and, by comparison with the industries located in Meredith, their wage scales are said to be high. In 1956 this company was interested in locating a branch plant in Meredith. This plant would have employed approximately 600 men and women. As is the usual practice, before deciding to locate in Meredith, Northern sent a research team to investigate the community. The team was interested in such things as available industrial sites, utilities, water supply, labor supply, and housing. The team was also interested in the attitudes toward industry prevailing in the community. Since there are many communities in the market for new industries, Northern could afford to be particular about the community selected for the location of its new plant. The members of the Northern research team, over a period of several months, spoke to industrialists, merchants, bankers, college officials, and even people on the street to determine whether or not the company would be welcome in the community.

As far as could be determined in interviews, Meredith is a favorable location for the Northern Manufacturing Company. Its geographic location is well situated in terms of their market. Its
industrial sites are as good as can be found in most communities of its size. The college provides executives with certain cultural advantages. Still, after several months of negotiations, Northern decided against moving a plant to Meredith. Several informants who participated in these negotiations were asked why they thought the Northern Company decided not to move a plant into Meredith in 1956. These informants gave various reasons but most of them agreed that Northern's research team had received a cold shoulder from certain industrialists, particularly Ed Barlow of the Diversified Manufacturing Company, from bankers influenced by Barlow, from certain city officials, and from the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce. The present chairman of the Chamber's Industrial Committee stated:

(I'm a personal friend of one of the fellows who came here with that team in 1956. He told me that the major factor in Northern's decision to go elsewhere was the reception they had received in the community. Leighton, the Secretary of the Chamber, had not given them much cooperation in providing the information they needed. The City Manager and the City Engineer wouldn't commit themselves on the water and sewer facilities they needed. The local gas company refused to give Northern a decent quotation on gas rates. The banks wouldn't budge an inch on financing the necessary housing Northern needed for executives and workers. One of the bankers, Al Owens, had taken it upon himself to visit the town where Northern's home plant is located. He asked a lot of obnoxious questions concerning their labor relations, whether or not they employed Negroes and foreigners, their relations with organizations in the community, and so forth. This got back to the company and they didn't think too highly of it. Then they held a meeting one night at the bank and the people from Northern showed up a couple of hours late. Instead of greeting them, Owens asked where the hell they had been and why they couldn't have showed up on time. In other words, the whole attitude of the community led the Northern people to believe that they weren't wanted here and that they wouldn't get much cooperation if they moved a plant here.) (1-74)
In 1959 the Northern Manufacturing Company was once more interested in bringing a branch plant to Meredith. This time, however, the Industrial Committee of the Chamber of Commerce was in new hands. Leighton, the Secretary of the Chamber, commented on the Northern situation and described the supposedly new group that has taken over the Industrial Committee in the following terms:

(This new group that has taken over the Industrial Committee doesn't share my views. I'm willing to admit that some people in the Chamber have worked actively to get me out of office. Keep in mind, however, that some people have worked actively to keep me in. I'm reaching retirement so I don't mind saying that I have been criticized by this new group. They are going whole hog after industry regardless of what kind they're going after. Now they are working like hell to bring Northern in and they have done it all behind my back, so they think. Well, I could have told them they wouldn't get anywhere. That outfit came around here in 1956 and we realized right off the bat that they were going to do nothing but dangle us on a string. I suppose we didn't give their representatives a very good reception once we realized this. Now we've organized another new group in the Chamber. They call it the Planning and Development Committee. This group is already talking about a population of fifty to one hundred thousand for Meredith. The members of this group are a bunch of young fellows who don't listen to much advice. They have never stopped to realize that the people living here like Meredith pretty much as it is. We've started to settle these fellows down to more realistic thinking.) (I-77)

The chairman of the so-called new Industrial Committee is Jim Hartman, a young businessman who is in favor of industrial growth. Many people believed that with Hartman handling the negotiations with Northern in 1959 there was a better than average chance that Meredith would get one of the company's plants. One member of the Chamber, for example, described the situation in the following terms:
In an interview, Hartman maintained that Meredith stood a very good chance of getting the Northern plant. He displayed all the data that had been collected for Northern representatives. He told how the local gas company had been pressured into giving Northern a decent quotation on rates. The City Manager and the City Engineer had promised Northern all the water and sewer services they would need. Hartman indicated how he was able to promise the Northern representatives that a bank located in a neighboring community would finance housing projects for their executives and workers. Hartman, however, still had two prominent industrialists on his committee and one college professor and, unknown to Hartman, these individuals were not in favor of new industry, particularly large unionized industry. When asked if he had received any opposition from these people, Hartman stated:
(No sir! I can personally attest to the fact that Al Mauer and Bill Mullins have done everything possible to insure getting this company to bring a plant here. Mauer got the gas company to play ball with us. Also, keep in mind that just because Mullins is the treasurer of Barlow's company that doesn't mean that he always agrees with Barlow. It was Mullins and Mauer who suggested to me that I should keep Barlow out of the negotiations entirely. Of course, I must admit that I don't know what private conversations Mullins and Mauer have had with the representatives from Northern, but I think they have worked as hard as the rest of us to bring this company here. If Northern doesn't move to Meredith, it will not be because of the kind of situation that discouraged them in 1956.) (I-74)

In September of 1959 Hartman received a polite letter from the Northern Company informing him that officials of the company had decided against moving a plant to Meredith. The letter indicated that because of the fine reception their representatives had received it was possible that, at some future time, further consideration may be given the community. Discouraged, Hartman called one of the officials of the company to try and determine the reasons for the company's decision. He was told that there were some things in Meredith which officials of the company did not like but the major reason for the decision was a consideration of market conditions.

It seemed, then, that the industrialists had not opposed the actions of the Industrial Committee and that they had not attempted to discourage the Northern Company from locating a plant in Meredith as they had done in 1956. All the data pointed to such a conclusion until an interview was obtained from W. L. Mullins of the Diversified Manufacturing Corporation and a member of the Industrial Committee. When Mullins was asked why he thought Northern decided against moving a
(Did anybody ever tell you about the time they came to town in 1956? Boy! If that wasn't fantastic. It was all I could do to keep from laughing all night. We had sent a man with a new Cadillac to pick them up at the airport. We had the front of the bank all lined up with tables, loaded with cocktails and hors d'oeuvres. We had a waitress and a dinner prepared for them. Our man came back from the airport without them. They had flown in with their own plane and made all their own arrangements. Two hours later they showed up. They walked into the bank, right past the tables, and back to the offices. After introductions, they were asked if they wanted a drink. They said, "No, we aren't interested in anything but business." Everything was quiet. Finally, somebody spoke up and told them of the cultural advantages the town could offer. I about laughed out loud. Any fool could see that they didn't give a damn about Meredith. They just used this town to beat another town over the head and tell them what all we had offered. It was the funniest thing you've ever seen. Here was a room full of people standing around and wondering what the hell was going on. I didn't mind because I didn't want them here anyway.)

Mullins was then asked if anyone had opposed Northern moving a plant to Meredith in 1959. He stated:

(Well, nobody really opposed them. If Barlow had been involved he would have told them to go peddle their papers elsewhere. This isn't good policy. I didn't tell them anything like that. When Hartman brought two or three of their representatives out to our plant to talk with me, I put out the welcome mat. They asked me questions about labor conditions. I told them that labor was scarce but it would follow jobs. I told them that our major difficulty with labor is turnover. It's pretty hard, I said, to keep a man very long. They also asked about wages. I was prepared for that one. I called the secretary and she brought in a list of salaries. The list included the highest paid men we have and I showed it to them. I told them that this was probably lower than they were used to paying because we were non-union. I suggested that they would probably have to pay a little higher because of their union. This crossed them up a little because we pay pretty good wages to some of our men. Then they wanted to know about taxes. I told them that Diversified was glad to have more industry come to town because the town needed more taxes and it was sure as hell going to levy some more on us. I said we were already paying about all we could stand and if
they would move a plant to town it would help lower everybody's tax burden. It's more diplomatic to handle things this way than to fly off the deep end like Barlow would.) (I-89)

Whether Mullins' influence and the influence of those like him was effective with respect to Northern's decision to move elsewhere is not known. What remains clear, however, is the fact that Hartman, unknowingly, did receive considerable opposition from certain members of his own committee who appeared to be working to bring the company to Meredith. Opposition to the Northern Company's settling in Meredith existed. When the situation arose, this opposition was organized and brought to bear upon the decision-making process. As in other situations, the principle of coordination involved a coalescence of interests stimulated by a situation which arose in opposition to these interests. The principle of foresight involved a pre-existing network of personal relationships in terms of which certain individuals knew what to expect from other individuals. The secretary of the Chamber of Commerce knew that Hartman would fail to bring the Northern Company to Meredith. He knew that power on the Industrial Committee was not well-organized. One of the reasons for this is that Hartman, a young middle class businessman who had hardly graduated from the ranks of the Jaycees, could not apply the principle of foresight to his own committee. He did not have the necessary access to power to permit him to do this. While Hartman knew what to expect from some individuals on his committee, he did not know what to expect from others such as Mullins. It seems safe to assume that this lack of knowledge derives from the fact that Hartman is not part of the network of
personal relationships existing among certain upper class individuals who are connected with the college and with the industries already existing in the community.

The principle of responsibility, as it applies to this situation, indicates that Mullins, and others like him, were supposed to be responsible to the Industrial Committee and the actions this committee had taken to achieve its purpose. This, however, was not the case. A college professor who was on the Industrial Committee defined Mullins' responsibility in the following terms:

(With Bill Mullins and Ed Barlow, you always get the feeling that they're working for Bill Mullins and Ed Barlow and that part of the reason they participate so actively in town is to keep things from happening they don't like.) (I-79)

This Grantham professor was then asked if this was his personal opinion or if he had heard somebody else say this. He said,

(I've been thinking this way for a long time. Take my case, for example. I'm perfectly aware that the reason why Rader, the Vice-president of the college, asked me to get into the Chamber of Commerce was to give Grantham a little bit more of a voice than it already has. They don't pay my dues for nothing.) (I-79)

The informant was then asked if Rader had actually instructed him to represent Grantham's interests in the Industrial Committee. He responded:

(Of course not. After all, I'm a member of the faculty and my primary interest lies with the college rather than someplace else. He doesn't have to ask me to push Grantham's interests. All he has to do is get me to belong to the Chamber and in looking out for my own interests I will be looking out for Grantham's interest.) (I-79)
It is clear that these individuals, when they become involved in situations such as that described above, are primarily responsible to the vested interests which they represent. To the extent that the power they organize influences the decisions that are made, it is these interest groups which receive primary compensation from the activities which are pursued. In the case involving the Northern Manufacturing Company, this compensation consisted of maintaining the status quo in Meredith. Had Northern moved a plant to Meredith, it could have affected the social order existing in the community in numerous and diverse ways. In this particular instance, for example, Northern would have brought to Meredith a higher wage scale than now exists for most industries in the community. It would have also brought to the community a relatively strong industrial union. It would have provided jobs for some six or seven hundred people and probably more than half of these would have represented newcomers to Meredith. The Northern Company would have promoted housing developments which might have resulted in annexing new lands to the community. The groups which might have benefited from such changes are many. The two major groups which benefited from this change not occurring are the industrialists and the college. For these groups, the status quo was maintained and Meredith continues to be what it has been described as, a small conservative city seeking to present itself to the outside world as a college town.

As has been shown in the description of situations in this and the previous chapter, important decisions tend to create elites and
these elites tend to represent special interest groups. The membership of these elites is invariably drawn from the upper class. The principles by which these elites organize power largely depend upon networks of interpersonal relations which display some of the characteristics of primary groups. These groups promote an organization of power that is private, which is outside the realm of discussion, and, which is outside of the realm of opposition and dissent. The relationship between these networks of interpersonal relations and the organization of power is functional. That is, they not only permit the means of power to be used as they are used, but, in turn, these interpersonal relations are reinforced by the way in which power is organized. Thus, even in the most private realm of activity, power tends to be organized in much the same way as it is organized in the most public realm of activity. This point can be further illustrated by describing a fifth situation that was studied in order to determine the characteristics of the contemporary organization of power.

The Diversified Manufacturing Corporation Decision

In general, the people of Meredith do not have favorable attitudes toward industrial unions. As of 1959 only one small industrial plant was unionized. Still, many of the community's prominent people believe that union penetration is inevitable and because of this belief they have not been predisposed to fight unions, not openly at least. Meredith's most prominent industrialist, however, believes otherwise. Ed Barlow has waged a continuous battle against
the organization of unions in his plant as well as against the location of any union industry in Meredith. One industrialist, Fred Green, described Barlow in the following terms:

(If you were to ask me, I'd say that Barlow is the single most influential man in this town. He can get anything done he wants to get done and he usually can prevent anything from getting done that he does not want to be done. He does everything through personal contacts. He is in everything. He gives money to everything. When the city wanted to buy a park, he made up the deficit. When they wanted to build a new wing on the hospital, he organized a drive and raised the money. He is just as generous with the churches. He has given one of the women's clubs a new home. His wife, before she died, was president of every damn thing a woman can be president of. I remember once when I was asked to contact Barlow and see if he would support a group interested in bringing a new industry in town. He told me, "I'm not interested in bringing new industries here right now. When I am, I'll let you know about it." (I-54)

The way in which Barlow organizes power is not much different from the way most industrialists organize power in Meredith. Moreover, it's not much different from the way most groups organize power in Meredith, including Grantham College.

William Jacobs is an organizer for one of the national industrial unions. For the past eight years his assignment has been the territory in which Meredith is located. During these years Jacobs has organized several elections in Meredith plants but he has never successfully established a union in any of these plants. In 1958 Jacobs managed to organize an election in the plant owned by Ed Barlow. The union lost the election by more than a two-to-one vote. After the election, Jacobs filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board that Barlow had interrogated his employees concerning their union sympathies,
had discriminated against and fired twenty-five individuals for union activities, had threatened to remove his plant from the community if it were unionized, had threatened to eradicate a profit-sharing plan, a bonus plan, prohibit cash advances on wages, prohibit the purchase of merchandise through the company at reduced prices, and prohibit the company from loaning employees money to build homes. During the years Barlow has been in Meredith, he has financed the building of fifty-three homes for employees. Previous to the election held in his plant, he had given dinners for employees and their wives. He made speeches at these dinners to the effect that, if the plant were unionized, employees would be without jobs and unable to pay the mortgages on these homes.

The charges leveled at Barlow by the union representative, William Jacobs, resulted in a hearing before a trial examiner of the National Labor Relations Board. In order to determine whether or not these techniques were used by Barlow in organizing power against the union, the affidavits sworn before the trial examiner by the fired employees, minutes of the testimony given at the hearings, and the intermediate report of the trial examiner with the decisions of the Labor Relations Board were studied. Perhaps one of the most outstanding pieces of data employed by the trial examiner as evidence against Barlow is a letter which Barlow posted in his plant on the day following the election. The letter illustrates how personal relationships were employed in the organization of power by Barlow to manipulate his employees in order to prevent union activity in his plant. The letter states:
We wish to extend our congratulations and thanks to the 146 employees of this company who voted against the Union in the recent election.

The results of the election prove that right is still might, and we should all be thankful that we have enough people here with good, common sense and who are not afraid to take action which they believe to be in their own best interest.

We realize, of course, that these people who voted against the Union are the backbone of this concern and any progress we make from this time forward must be made by these people. It became crystal clear to the vast majority of all these loyal people that the 63 people who ultimately voted for the Union were determined to wreck what has been built largely by the people who voted against the Union.

We sincerely hope that the 63 people who voted for the Union will now be satisfied with the damage they have done, will decide not to try to further wreck the Company and will, at least a fair share of the time, try to put forth a reasonable and honest effort to mend some of the damage they have done over the past few months by constant neglect of their regular duties and by almost continuous activity in trying to stir up dissention and organized chaos.

Let us hope that we may over the coming years build an organization of people who will be broad minded and forward looking enough to completely refrain from taking any part in activities to unionize a group of people who have twice proven that they want no part of unionization.

Again, the sincere thanks of all right thinking people to the 146 "No" votes.

The trial examiner, after reviewing more than two thousand pages of testimony, found the Diversified Manufacturing Corporation guilty of all charges except three. These three involved the discharging of three of the twenty-five men whose cases were dismissed on the grounds that insufficient evidence of discrimination had been presented. The examiner concluded:
The entire record established that (Mr. Barlow) is, and apparently long has been, dead set against the self-organization of his employees. This conclusion is borne out by (1) what other supervisors who have long known him testified about him, (2) what he told assembled employees at three dinners for employees the week before the (election), and (3) by the notice he had posted on the company bulletin boards the day after the election.2

These are the techniques employed to organize power against the unions by Meredith's most influential industrialist. To be sure, they were employed to bring about a decision within his own plant. However, even though Meredith is divided into relatively segregated social classes and the upper class, in turn, into numerous special interest groups, the size of the community is still small enough so that such a decision as this one had an effect on the social order existing in Meredith. At least fifty-three individuals are bound in their political views to Ed Barlow by virtue of the homes they live in. Many others are bound by virtue of the jobs they have, the bonuses they make, the pensions they look forward to, and the kind of life they must live in Meredith. Still others are bound, to some extent, to Barlow's views by virtue of the contributions he makes to various charities and organizations in Meredith.

The decision itself penetrated the community and created temporary factions. Among the workers antagonism was felt by the anti-unionists against the union sympathizers because the latter, they believed, were creating trouble, jeopardizing jobs, and jeopardizing the homes they lived in. Individuals working for Barlow refused to discuss the issue with interviewers because they feared
that the word might get back to the plant and they, also, would lose their jobs. The decision created a temporary faction within the United Appeal Organization. Prior to the publicity given Barlow's tactics, not by the local press but by word of mouth, he had been selected as the campaign chairman for the United Appeal. Fearing that this publicity would hurt their drive, some members of the United Appeal decided that Barlow had to be replaced, in a diplomatic way, of course, in order not to antagonize him. The decision even created a temporary faction at Grantham College. Barlow had been included on the list of individuals to receive an honorary degree in 1959. Administrative officials wanted to keep Barlow on the list in spite of the union situation. Perhaps they basically agreed with Barlow and perhaps part of the reason for this was that the year before Barlow had given the college a gift of $20,000. Some members of the faculty who had attended the National Labor Relations Board hearings felt that Barlow was not the type of individual who should be awarded an honorary degree. These faculty members opposed the administration and, ultimately, Barlow was dropped from the list of those people to receive an honorary degree. More directly, this decision influenced the social order existing in the community by virtue of the fact that some of the employees fired by Barlow moved away from Meredith. Others were forced to seek employment outside the community since they were blacklisted by other local industries. In these ways, then, the organization of power within a realm of activity often considered peripheral to the community had an effect on Meredith.
More important, from the point of view of this study, the techniques which Barlow employed to organize power within his plant are also employed with respect to other decision-making organizations in the community. In the previous chapter it was shown how Barlow employed similar techniques of organization as a member of the Charter Commission. When he organized the hospital drive, Barlow coerced each employee in his plant into contributing a certain amount to the hospital fund. The three that refused to do this were fired. These techniques were emphasized in an interview obtained from Robert Hitchcock, one of Meredith's wealthiest and most prominent lawyers. Hitchcock was asked what he thought of Barlow and the contributions he had made to the community. He answered:

(Not much. This man has no respect for any person, businessman, teacher, laboring man, or professional man. He has no sense of human dignity. I have no respect for people like him and I fail to understand how he commands the respect he seems to command in the community. I have consistently refused to get mixed up with him. For that reason, he has missed no opportunity to turn the knife. He tells everybody he has business dealings with, or anybody who works for him, not to do business with me. I am not the only one he has done this to. There are a couple of doctors in town who have refused to cater to his madness and he will not, so I hear, let anyone who works for him go to these doctors.) (I-94)

The general attitude prevailing in the community with respect to Barlow and the Diversified Manufacturing Corporation is such that it does not provide a source of opposition. Prominent individuals such as Hitchcock are the exception. Whatever opposition exists, comes from the outside just as William Jacobs, the union organizer, came from the outside. For the most part Barlow is perceived as a
tough but generous and charitable individual who has done much for Meredith. Those who are closely associated with Barlow are fully aware of the direct manner of his approach to people who stand in his way. For this, close associates both fear and respect him. They fear him for what he can do and they respect him because what he can accomplish is something they themselves are not able to accomplish. For example, Owens, the banker who is considered to have been one of Barlow's lieutenants with respect to the action taken on the Northern Manufacturing Company in 1956, stated:

(Barlow can step on you. He's a tough man and he's a big man. Notice, I'm not saying anything against him, but he's a pretty hard man to get along with. Keep in mind, however, he has done a lot for this community.) (I-68)

Those individuals not so close to Barlow do not know him well enough to fear him. They tend to think of him as a successful and charitable businessman who is a great asset to the community. This attitude may be illustrated by a comment received in an interview with the Mayor of Meredith. He stated:

(Barlow has been extremely successful. If more people would listen to him, the community would be better off than it is now. He is also a generous man. Look at the trust fund he set up for his workers, the contributions he has made to various organizations, the homes he has helped his workers to buy. He's not even a Catholic and just recently he contributed five thousand dollars to help the Catholics build an addition onto their school. Of course, there is a string attached to these things and Barlow's string is that he wants nothing to do with unions. But, he can't be blamed for that. Unions invariably hinder progress, not only here, but in the whole damn country. If it wasn't for the anti-unionism of this town we wouldn't have such good industries here.) (I-53)
The events described in this and the previous chapter are the kinds of events which involve decisions affecting Meredith's social order. The spheres of activity they encompass, directly or indirectly, are community wide. These events illustrate how power is organized in Meredith at the present time to achieve specific ends. They also serve to illustrate the organizational character of power, its relationship to the existing power structure, and the relationship of both of these to community culture. Having described the community's culture, its power structure, and the manner in which power is organized when action is undertaken to secure particular ends which affect the social order of the community, a more general statement is warranted concerning the culture and power system now prevailing in Meredith.

**Community Culture and Power: 1959**

Meredith was once a frontier community dominated by the desire to develop productive industry. It is now a conservative Republican college community dominated by the desire to maintain itself as a college town. In addition to the expressed desire of many individuals to maintain Meredith as a college town, the domination of the community by the college also means that the social, political, economic, and moral values expressed by those who control Grantham are the values which tend to prevail in the community as a whole.

The ascendancy of Grantham College, between 1913 and 1940, to a position of dominance in the way of life of the community has, to a large extent, influenced the other changes that have occurred in the
cultural conditions of power in Meredith. Because of the social, economic, and political characteristics which came to be associated with the community during these years, small anti-union industrialists found conditions in Meredith suitable to their interests. Between 1940 and the present time a number of small industries have located and flourished in Meredith. Some of these industries are locally owned and controlled; most of them are not. In the community the more important of these industries are considered to be those which are not branch plants of larger non-locally controlled industries. All of these industries, however, have brought individuals of executive status to the community whose primary interests are the interests of the corporations which they represent.

The combined effect of these changes has resulted in a considerable expansion of Meredith's commercial enterprise. Because of this expansion the large retail corporations have been moving into the community and their managers are displacing the independent proprietors. While industries exist which are important to the community's economy, these industries have not detracted from the college atmosphere of the town and the commercial character of the community. Four-fifths of the gainfully employed people living in Meredith are dependent for their livelihood on the selling of goods and services. Those employed in productive industry are primarily rural people who live in the county.

These cultural changes have made Meredith less communal today than it was before. The local economy that now exists is firmly attached to that of the larger society and the enterprises which
constitute the local economy, except for Grantham College, are less firmly attached to the local society. Whereas there once existed what might be called a communal interest group, there now exists a great variety of relatively separate interest groups whose members are interested in Meredith only in so far as the community, as a whole, serves their special interests. The associations which have emerged to cater to these special interests are state and nationally affiliated associations such as the Chamber of Commerce. These associations seek to shape the community so as to promote and safeguard the special interests which they represent locally as well as nationally.

These cultural changes have extensively altered the power structure in Meredith. As the political economy has come to depend more and more upon outside agencies and organizations for its maintenance, the initiative and the power of local government have declined. This decline has culminated in a change from a political form of local government which gave political parties, and the people they represented, access to important decisions to a business form of local government which neither has the power to make important decisions nor to provide access to those which are made. Similarly, the ownership and control of investment and productive property have changed. They no longer serve to relate a small group of individuals to one another in such a way that it constitutes a single elite in the community. Instead, it promotes the segmentation of the community into diverse interest groups and, thereby, obliterates
the loci of important decisions to the general public. The special
interests of these groups are expressed in terms of the institutional
participation of their members in the different business and service
organizations in the community. These organizations are so structured
and so used as to promote and protect the special interests of their
members. This utilitarian kind of institutional participation, to
some extent, even extends to the participation of these individuals
in the activities of charitable organizations, churches, and other
such groups in the community.

There is, however, a common bond and a common interest which
serves to unite the members of these different groups. That common
bond consists of the fact that a relatively large percentage of the
people belonging to these different interest groups are, in one way
or another, connected with Grantham College. More important, an even
larger percentage of these individuals share an interest in maintaining
Meredith as a college town and, thereby, maintaining the cultural
conditions favorable to the pursuit of their special interests. This
common bond and this common interest, in effect, constitutes a class
interest in the community. This class interest, in addition to other
characteristics, serves to differentiate the members of these special
interest groups from the members of the other social classes not only
in terms of objective criteria, but also in terms of the subjective
point of view expressed by individuals living in the community.

When the distribution of the means of power is considered in
terms of the social class structure, the power structure displays the
following characteristics. First, the upper class presents itself as a non-alienated group by virtue of the objective and ideological attachment of its members to the means of power.

The middle class, on the other hand, presents itself as a disjunctively alienated group: that is, members of the middle class are significantly more alienated from the means of power than members of the upper class while, at the same time, they express much the same ideological attachment to the power structure as do the members of the upper class. The similarity in ideological pose between the upper and middle classes is such that the middle class is incapable of providing a basis for dissent and opposition in the power structure.

The two lower classes, one located in the Eastside and the other located in the Southside, display what has been called a privatized form of alienation. The members of these two classes are not only significantly more separated from the means of power than the members of the upper and middle classes, but they are also ideologically detached from the power structure. Unable to control the events which shape their lives, the members of the lower classes express an attitude of powerlessness and withdraw almost completely from the political life of the community into a shell of negativism and political indifference. Thus, the ideological pose of the lower classes is such that it provides no significant basis for dissent and opposition in the power structure.

As a result of the cultural conditions prevailing in Meredith, the power structure which now exists is one in which the means of
power are monopolized by different elites whose members belong to
the upper class. In this sense, the power structure is pluralistic.
However, because of the class interest the members of these groups
share in maintaining Meredith as a conservative college town, these
elites seldom compete with one another in such a way as to seriously
alter their position in the power structure. Whether viewed from the
top or the bottom, there exists no basis for dissent in the power
structure. There are no institutions which provide the middle and
lower classes access to the decisions made by these elites other
than those institutions of vertical mobility by which lower and mid-
dle class individuals may change their class membership and, thereby,
become members of one or more of these elites. Furthermore, because
the members of the middle and lower classes are not members of in-
dependent groups (e.g., ethnic groups, strong political parties, or
labor unions) they are highly accessible to the elites in the sense
that they are easily manipulated, intimidated, or coerced. There
exists in Meredith today, then, a pluralistic type of power structure
in a community which displays certain autocratic characteristics.

The same cultural conditions that promote a distribution of
the means of power which divides the upper class into relatively in-
dependent interest groups, also make it necessary that decisions
critical to the community's social order can not be made without the
participation of one or more of these interest groups. However, these
cultural conditions do not necessitate the participation of any one
particular elite. Which elite participates in the decision-making
process depends largely upon the nature of the interests involved in any given situation. As suggested in the second chapter (supra, p. 54), when the distribution of the means of power is such as to divide individuals into relatively independent interest groups, and when the making of decisions critical to the social order requires the participation of some of these groups but not any particular one, a pluralistic system of power may be said to exist.

The situation that exists in Meredith at the present time, and which is usually not accounted for by the pluralist and elite theories of power, is one in which there exists a pluralistic power system in a community which displays certain autocratic characteristics. As the pluralist theory suggests, there are different interest groups in the community. However, contrary to the hypothesis of the pluralist theory, these different interest groups, in the organization of power, do not compete with one another and they certainly do not effect a balance of power in the community. Contrary to the elite theory, there is no single overall elite which exercises power in Meredith today. The association of a pluralistic system of power in a community displaying certain autocratic characteristics is comprehensible when the prevailing cultural conditions and the organizational character of Meredith's power system are considered.

The cultural conditions of power support a power structure which is pluralistic but the elites are all upper class power groups and they do not compete with one another. At the same time, there exists no significant basis for dissent in the community. The role of Grantham
College in the community's political economy has had the effect of reducing the cultural pluralism that once existed to a monistic value system. Even those groups which are somewhat antagonistic toward the college tend to express the same conservative Republican values that are expressed by those individuals closely associated with the college. These cultural and structural conditions permit an organization of power which, in terms of the principles of organization, prominently exhibits the techniques of manipulation, intimidation, and coercion.

When power is organized, the means of power are coordinated by those individuals in the upper class whose private interests are most affected by the situation which has emerged. This elite, in the absence of dissent, does not have to consider other interests in the community. Its members define the ends to be achieved by their organization of power. In transforming uncertainties into probabilities that these ends will be achieved, individuals suspected of dissent are excluded from the decision-making process. Public discussion and debate are controlled through cooperation with the only newspaper in the community, or by exercising secrecy, or by the use of other techniques which repress public discussion and debate. The individual members of the particular elite involved are held accountable for their actions primarily by the other members of the interest group or groups they represent. Since little or no access to the decision-making process is available to other individuals and groups in the community, regardless of how the decisions made may affect the community's social order, the elite involved in the situation is
neither responsible to nor held accountable by the community as a whole. If the community as a whole receives compensation from the organizational activity, such compensation is latent and not manifest; that is, it is received only by virtue of the special interest group involved imposing its will upon the community.

As a result of these organizational techniques, the exercise of power in situations that involve decisions important to the community's social order is usually lacking in some form of general consensus. Power, in other words, is exercised as coercion. However, because the lack of general consensus is, as often as not, the expression of political indifference, it is not generally necessary to employ the techniques of coercion. Intimidation, force, and manipulation are usually employed only in those situations when some form of feeble opposition emerges.

Having described the structure and organization of power for two distinct periods in Meredith's history, and having shown how the power systems for these two periods differ from one another and how these differences are related to changes in the cultural conditions of power, it is now possible to turn to a summary of the findings of this study and a more detailed consideration of the conclusions and theoretical implications suggested by these findings.
Notes

1 Quoted from the letter posted on the bulletin boards in the plant of the Diversified Manufacturing Corporation.

2 This is quoted from the document filed on the case with the United States National Labor Relations Board, Division of Trial Examiners, Washington, D. C. The case number of this document is not given here because it would reveal the identity of the respondent in the case as well as the identity of Meredith.
PART FOUR

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS
An astute observer of the American scene once wrote:

Subjection in minor affairs breaks out every day and is felt by the whole community indiscriminately. It does not drive men to resistance, but it crosses them at every turn, till they are led to surrender the exercise of their own will.¹

When Alexis de Tocqueville wrote the above statement he had recently observed American democracy and he was remarking how a democratic society, like that of the United States, might offer singular conditions for the establishment of a despotism. The kind of despotism which de Tocqueville feared might arise out of democratic societies is not the kind of harsh terroristic despotism that, in the Twentieth Century, has been observed to shatter man's will. Instead, the kind of despotism de Tocqueville feared is that which softens man's will so as to guide it, not in order to force it to act, but in order to prevent it from acting. He described this despotism in the following terms:

Such a power does not destroy, but it prevents existence; it does not tyrannize, but it compresses, enervates, extinguishes, and stupefies a people, till each nation is reduced to nothing better than a flock of timid and industrious animals, of which the government is the shepherd.²

De Tocqueville, it seems, pointed to a problem that has since then been recognized by a number of scholars.³ This problem is the
peculiar vulnerability of democratic systems to the mass politics which, ultimately, may lead to autocratic systems of power. This vulnerability is two-pronged. On the one hand, it consists of the possibility that the masses may exercise such influence that leaders may be unable to lead by virtue of their loss of autonomy. On the other hand, the danger consists in the possibility that leaders, seeking to safeguard their independence to act, may close the channels of influence so that there is no way to influence the decisions they make. Both of these dangers may lead to autocratic systems of power. When leaders are too dependent upon the masses, society is disturbed by mass movements. When leaders close the channels of influence to the general public, autocratic forms of power tend to prevail.

Given these alternatives, the possibility exists that those critics, whose role it is to protect the democratic process by their scrutiny, are also vulnerable. Those who are zealous to safeguard the exclusiveness of elites tend to perceive the prevailing power system in pluralistic terms. These individuals assume that the structure of power is balanced by virtue of the existence of numerous interest groups which compete with one another. As each group competes to safeguard its own interest, the interests of all groups are safeguarded. By virtue of this competition, and because these groups are available to individuals who have interests to protect, the organization of power is democratic.
On the other hand, those individuals who are zealous to safeguard the masses from the encroachment of the elites, tend to perceive the prevailing power system in elite terms. These individuals point out that the elite controls all the power and is capable of organizing it in such a way that decisions can not be easily influenced by the non-elite. These are the orthodox theories that have been employed to explain the system of power characteristic of American society. They are also the theories that have been employed to explain the systems of power characteristic of particular communities in American society.

The study of Meredith, a midwestern college community with a population of approximately 11,000 people, was undertaken with two distinct but interrelated purposes in mind. The substantive purpose of the study was to present a description of the process by which individuals in Meredith go about controlling the actions of other individuals in matters that affect the kind of social order existing in the community. The theoretical purpose of this study was to analyze the power system existing in Meredith in terms of a theoretical framework which departs from the two orthodox theories usually employed in studies of power in American society. As was suggested in Chapter I, this theoretical approach encompasses the virtues of the elite and pluralist theories while, at the same time, it attempts to avoid the unrealistic assumptions made by these theories.
The Theoretical Approach: Reviewed

The theory underlying this study is a structural-functional theory employed within the context of a general cultural analysis. The particular characteristics of this theory were described at length in Chapter II. Briefly, this theory attempts to avoid the assumptions of the elite and pluralist theories which have rendered them vulnerable to the criticism that they are based upon political ideologies which can not provide the basis for an objective and meaningful comparison of power systems. As was suggested, the elite theory is primarily a structural theory which makes assumptions pertaining to the organization of power. The pluralist theory tends to be a functional theory which makes assumptions pertaining to the structure of power.

The theory which has been employed in this study makes these assumptions problematic. It suggests that a system of power is a culturally determined pattern of social action which involves a functional relationship between the structure and the organization of power. This provides the basis for focusing attention on defined social activity as opposed to models that are related to certain kinds of political ideologies. As was suggested in Chapter II, the structural and organizational characteristics of the power system can not be assumed but must be determined with reference to the cultural setting in which they are found to exist. The nature of the relationship between the structure and organization of power as well as the structural and organizational characteristics of the power system will
largely depend upon the kind of culture associated with them. In these terms, the cultural conditions of power, the power structure, and the organization of power may be compared to three angles of a triangle. Each angle is a function of the other two angles as well as the length of the sides, and if any of these are changed, the others will also change. The study of Meredith has attempted to test this theory of power. However, the more immediate and empirical concern of the study has been the description of the structure and organization of power existing in Meredith with reference to the community's culture.

The Substantive Findings of the Study

It has been suggested that the culture characteristic of a community as an historico-geographic unit is an important determinant of the kind of power system which will exist in the community. The way in which community culture may affect the power system may be illustrated from the data presented in this study by comparing the substantive findings with respect to the culture and power system existing between 1850 and 1900 with the findings on the culture and power system existing today, and noting the changes in the power system which have resulted from changes in the cultural conditions of power.

The cultural conditions of power existing during the historical period were described in Chapter III. The following conclusions may be drawn from these data. First, Meredith was settled as an economic
venture by people of early American ancestry. These people were promised that Meredith would become the county seat and, eventually, the state capital. Having failed in realizing this latter promise and the profits its fulfillment would have meant, the economic development of the community became the dominant concern of its inhabitants.

Second, during this historical period, the community could not depend upon the larger society for economic development. It had to depend upon local initiative and cooperation. Communal cooperation was secured through the formal and informal structure of local governmental institutions. The means of power came to be concentrated in the hands of those individuals who took the initiative in developing the community's economy.

Third, in pursuit of economic development, the early settlers took advantage of the opportunity to establish a college. This affected the cultural life of the community in numerous ways. As a Protestant denominational college, Grantham established its religious, moral and political outlook as part of the community's culture. As an institution of higher learning, Grantham contributed to the formation of Meredith's class structure not only by attracting professional people to the community but also by providing the educational facilities necessary to create a "home-grown" professional class. As an economic enterprise, Grantham became part of Meredith's life by providing jobs and consumers.
Fourth, in further pursuit of economic development, the citizens of Meredith undertook to establish the community as a major center of railroad enterprise. This also had a profound effect on the community's cultural life. It attracted strong Irish and German ethnic groups. Many members of these groups were employed in the railroad shops. These groups differed from the others living in Meredith in terms of education, religion, politics, and social habits. The railroads also had the effect of creating men of great wealth in the community. The profits these men made on railroad investments were reinvested in other industries which they established in the community.

Finally, these cultural conditions, taken together, established the basis for a pluralistic type of society. This pluralism is reflected in the cultural differences existing between the groups which constituted the class structure. More directly, however, this pluralism is reflected in the democratic characteristics of the power system which came to exist in the community.

The power structure existing during this period was described in Chapter IV. The following conclusions may be drawn from the data presented there. First, participation in the community's most important institutions and the ownership or control of Meredith's major investment and productive enterprises, as means of power, served to relate a relatively small group of individuals to one another. This group constituted an elite in the community. Second, local government existed as an important means of power. The form of local government provided political parties with direct access to local governmental
activities and these activities often included the economic enterprises undertaken by the elite. Political party membership, in turn, tended to be distributed so that Democratic leaders received most of their support from the lower classes while Republican leaders looked to the middle and upper classes for their support. This provided a basis for dissent and opposition in the power structure.

The organization of power that existed during this period is also described in Chapter IV. The following conclusions may be drawn from these data. First, when power was organized, regardless of the ends toward which its organization was directed, these ends were more likely to be achieved when several members of the elite participated in the organization of power. Second, the organizational techniques employed by the elite were such that the power they organized was usually accompanied by some form of general consensus. The members of the elite were held accountable for the decisions they made through the expression of public opinion in the newspapers, at public meetings, and at the polls. The responsibility of the elite generally extended to the private investments undertaken by its members. Thus, power organized by the elite was power exercised authoritatively and not coercively.

In terms of these findings the power system that existed between 1850 and 1900 was an elite-dominated power system. However, while certain cultural conditions brought about an elite-dominated power system, other cultural conditions provided for the existence of a social pluralism which served as a basis for dissent in the community.
The elite that dominated the power system had relatively little access to the strong independent ethnic groups which represented an important political force among the non-elite. These groups, through the institutions of local government, were able to influence the decisions made by the elite. This served to maintain a relatively democratic decision-making process in the community with respect to those decisions which affected the community's social order.

In 1913, when the railroad shops were removed from Meredith, a series of changes began which completely altered the cultural conditions of power. The data presented in Chapter V supports the following conclusions with respect to these changes. First, as Grantham College became the dominant social, economic, and political factor in the community's way of life, Meredith's culture changed from that of a frontier railroad industrial town to that of a college town. Second, between 1913 and the present time, the ethnic groups which once existed have almost completely disappeared from the community. Third, there has been considerable industrial expansion since 1940 but most of the industries contributing to this expansion are small diversified corporations which were developed elsewhere. These industries were attracted to Meredith by the conservative Republican tradition for which the community had become known after Grantham College came to dominate its way of life. These industries have contributed to Meredith's commercial economy without detracting from its college town atmosphere. Fourth, as Meredith's commercial enterprise expanded, the retail corporations have displaced many of the independent merchants.
that once existed in the community. Fifth, the communal associations that once existed have been replaced by a variety of state and nationally affiliated social, civic, and commercial associations which seek to promote the special interests they represent locally and nationally.

These cultural changes, taken together, have made Meredith less communal than it once was. The local economy that now exists is firmly attached to that of the larger society while the enterprises which comprise this economy, except for Grantham College, are less firmly attached to the local society. Many of the industries that have located in Meredith have done so in order to take advantage of the conservative Republican traditions existing there. Similarly, many of the associations now existing represent private and not communal interests. These cultural changes have brought into existence certain autocratic trends in the community. Grantham College has served to create an upper class interest in the community while, at the same time, discouraging the development of the interests of other classes. The upper class interest consists of the expressed desire on the part of its members to maintain Meredith as a college community. Those who promote this interest are those who are privileged in the community. At the same time, the promotion of this interest has served to reduce the variety of cultural differences that once existed as a basis for dissent. The differences that now exist between the social classes do not provide a basis for dissent.

The more immediate changes in the power structure resulting from these cultural changes have been described in Chapter VI. The
data presented there suggest the following conclusions with respect to local government, the ownership or control of investment and productive property, and institutional participation as means of power. First, local government is no longer an important source of power. Since most of the decisions that profoundly affect the community's social order are no longer communal decisions, the cooperation of the whole community is no longer as necessary as it once was. As a result, local government has been taken out of the realm of politics and political parties are no longer able to influence even those decisions that are left to local government.

Second, the ownership or control of investment and productive property is no longer distributed in such a way as to unite a relatively small group of individuals who display the characteristics of a single dominating elite. Instead, these means of power serve to divide individuals into relatively independent interest groups. Many of these interest groups are not institutionalized and tend to exist, for short durations, when some situation develops in the community which creates a mutual interest for their members.

Third, the institutionalized interest groups (e.g., the Chamber of Commerce) reflect both the special interest and the class interest of their members. The representation of special interests by such associations is reflected in the division of their membership into a variety of special function committees which seldom meet with one another. The representation of the class interest of the members of
such associations is reflected in their over-all policy with respect to maintaining the community as a college town with conservative Republican values.

The power structure that now exists was described in Chapter VII in terms of the distribution of social class membership. The following conclusions may be drawn from the data presented there. First, members of the community tend to perceive four social classes. These classes inhabit different ecological areas in the community.

Second, when these ecological areas are used as sample areas, and when objective social class criteria are employed to compare one area with another, significant differences are found to exist on almost every criterion used. Since these differences are in accord with the differences expressed by members of the community, it may be concluded that four social classes exist as an important characteristic of the power structure.

Third, when these classes are compared with one another in terms of their objective and ideological relationship to the means of power, it may be concluded that the contemporary power structure displays the following characteristics. The most formidable means of power are controlled by members of different interest groups whose special interests are not very often those of the whole community. Most of the members of these different elites belong to Meredith's upper class and they share a class interest in maintaining Meredith as a college community with conservative Republican traditions. The class structure, as it now exists, provides no basis for dissent or
opposition in the power structure. The upper class is a non-alienated group by virtue of its objective and ideological attachment to the means of power. The middle class is a disjunctively alienated group. Its members are more separated from the means of power than the members of the upper class while, at the same time, they express much the same ideological attachment to the means of power as do the members of the upper class. The two lower classes, one located in the Eastside and the other in the Southside, display privatized alienation. The members of these groups are objectively and ideologically alienated from the means of power.

Finally, in these terms, the power structure existing today is a pluralistic power structure. It divides individuals into different and relatively independent interest groups. These interest groups, because they are primarily upper class interest groups, seldom compete with one another in such a way as to alter their position in the power structure. Furthermore, these interest groups are relatively inaccessible to members of the middle and lower classes except as individuals from these classes, through vertical mobility, may themselves become members of one or more of these interest groups. Finally, the middle and lower classes, because their members do not belong to independent groups or to independent classes capable of organized dissent, are easily manipulated by the upper class interest groups.

The organization of power which presently exists was described with the use of case studies in Chapters VIII and IX. The following
conclusions may be drawn from the data presented in these two chapters. First, when power is organized, those individuals in the upper class whose private interests are most affected by the situation which has emerged coordinate the means of power. Second, in applying the principle of foresight, these individuals exclude from the decision-making process those people who are suspected of dissent and, by employing various techniques, they tend to repress or control what public discussion may be possible in the community. Third, in decisions that affect the entire community, the individuals participating in the decision-making process are primarily responsible to the special interests they represent and not to the community as a whole. Fourth, it is these special interest groups, and the upper class in general, that are primarily compensated from the ends achieved when power is organized. Fifth, as a result of these organizational techniques, the exercise of power in situations that involve decisions important to the community's social order is usually lacking in some form of public consensus; as a result, power is often exercised coercively. The techniques of coercion (e.g., intimidation, force, and manipulation) are particularly observable in those situations where some form of feeble opposition emerges.

In terms of these findings, the power system today is a pluralistic type of power system. However, those cultural conditions that have brought about the existence of non-competitive upper class interest groups are the same cultural conditions which have reduced the differences that once provided for dissent and opposition in the
community. The independent ethnic groups no longer exist. Political parties and local government no longer are able to provide access to the making of important decisions. There are no labor unions to represent the interests of the blue and white collar workers in Meredith. Independent associations and organizations are primarily upper class membership groups. These cultural conditions are factors contributing to the conditions of alienation in the community. Alienation, in turn, has reduced political participation and made possible the use of autocratic techniques in the organization of power. Should changes occur which would destroy the separate interests of the upper class interest groups and bring about a unity of power by virtue of the class interest the members of these groups share, there would indeed exist a power elite in Meredith capable of fabricating a tenacious autocracy. However, such changes are unlikely to occur. The cultural conditions that support the power system now existing in Meredith also serve to tie the community more firmly to the larger society; and, therefore, such changes are unlikely to occur in Meredith unless they are preceded by similar changes in the larger society. The power system now existing is oriented to maintaining rather than changing the status quo and, more so than during the historical period, the sources of change tend to be located in the larger society.

Summarizing the substantive findings of this study, the following conclusions appear to be substantiated by the data presented in the preceding chapters. First, during the historical period frontier cultural conditions gave rise to an elite-dominated system of
power. Other cultural conditions, however, made Meredith a pluralistic community. As a result of this cultural and social pluralism, the elite-dominated system of power tended to function in a relatively democratic manner. Second, as these cultural conditions of power changed, they brought into existence conditions which gave rise to a pluralistic type of power system. These new changes, however, destroyed the social and cultural pluralism existing in the community and left Meredith without independent groups capable of dissent and opposition. At the same time, the interest groups that came to monopolize the means of power are upper class interest groups which do not compete with one another, not in the local community at least. As a result of these changes in the cultural conditions of power, the pluralistic power system that now exists tends to display certain autocratic characteristics. Having presented these substantive findings, it is now possible to turn to the theoretical findings of the study.

The Theoretical Findings of the Study

The theoretical findings of the study may best be discussed by considering the substantive findings in terms of the elite and pluralist theories of power. Each of these theories may be employed to explain the systems of power existing for the historical and contemporary periods in Meredith in order to determine the extent to which each theory would adequately account for the characteristics of these power systems.
As was suggested in Chapter I, the elite theory makes the assumption that those few individuals who control the means of power will exercise the power they control in such a manner that the non-elite will not have access to the decision-making process. In order that the elite exercise power in this manner, it is not only necessary that the non-elite not have access to the elite by way of influence, but it is also necessary that the elite have relatively unlimited access to the non-elite by way of influence. Otherwise, the danger would always be present that the power exercised by the elite would so affect the non-elite that the position of the elite would be threatened.

In order to suggest that this theory of power would adequately account for the power system existing in Meredith during the historical period, it is necessary to ignore completely the cultural conditions of power which provided for a pluralistic type of society. There existed strong independent ethnic groups in Meredith during this period. These groups were not easily manipulated. Furthermore, politicians, including members of the elite, competed with one another for their support. This provided a basis for dissent in the system. As a result, even though the elite was relatively exclusive and incapable of direct control, it was impossible for the elite to organize power continuously in the manner suggested by the elite theory. At the same time, because of the organizational characteristics of the system, the elite was able to provide the non-elite with access to the making of decisions and still maintain its position in the power structure. It may be concluded,
therefore, that the organizational assumptions which the elite theory makes are not substantiated with respect to the power system that existed during the historical period, and the elite theory of power does not adequately account for the characteristics of this power system.  

For somewhat different reasons, the application of the elite theory to the power system presently existing in Meredith is also inadequate. The findings with respect to the contemporary structure of power demonstrate that there exists no single dominating elite in Meredith today. Sociometric methods could be employed, as they were employed in Hunter's study of Regional City, in such a manner that a status elite would probably emerge in Meredith (most small communities probably have status elites), but such an elite would not be a group that would organize power in most of the situations which involve decisions affecting Meredith's social order. Instead of a single dominating elite, there exist many elites. These are upper class interest groups which do not compete with one another. Some of these interest groups (e.g., the college administration) are institutionalized; many of them are not. Those that are not institutionalized tend to be created temporarily by some situation which emerges and that creates some kind of mutual interest. Thus, with respect to the contemporary situation, it is not the organizational assumptions which make the elite theory inadequate; rather, the structural hypothesis which the elite theory advances is not substantiated by the data.
In contrast to the elite theory of power, the pluralist theory makes the structural assumption that there exists several relatively independent and competing interest groups in the power structure. This assumption, as was pointed out in Chapter I, suggests fundamentally that the distribution of the means of power is such that there exists a middle class society. Otherwise, the competing interest groups would not have equal power and the balance of power would not be maintained. It would be extremely difficult to justify this assumption in terms of the findings with respect to the power system which existed in Meredith during the historical period. The class division recognized in the community during this period clearly pointed to the existence of two lower classes. One of these classes consisted of poorly educated Irish and German railroad workers. The other consisted of a small group of Negroes living in the Southside. Furthermore, it would be difficult to substantiate this assumption with respect to the power structure described in Chapter IV. When the community's major investment and productive property is owned or controlled by twenty-two individuals who developed this property as partners of one kind or another, it is difficult not to consider such a group as a local elite. Finally, it would also be difficult to explain, in terms of the pluralist theory, how in almost every important activity undertaken in Meredith, some members of this elite had to participate in order to insure the successful achievement of the ends sought.
For somewhat different reasons, the pluralist theory would not account adequately for the power system which now exists. The assumption this theory makes that there exists numerous interest groups in the power structure is substantiated. However, the assumption that these interest groups compete with one another is not substantiated. The major interest groups are upper class interest groups and they seldom compete with one another in a way which would alter their position in the power structure. It may be concluded, therefore, that the elite and pluralist theories do not adequately account for the kinds of power systems described in this study.

As was suggested in Chapter I, the difficulty with both these theories is that they fail to maintain a distinction between the structure of power and the organization of power; and to account for the conditions which affect these two aspects of the power system. The theoretical framework employed in this study has the advantage of combining the virtues of the two orthodox theories of power while avoiding the structural and functional assumptions which prohibit an objective and meaningful analysis of power systems. The assumptions of these theories are avoided by considering the power system as a culturally determined pattern of social action rather than by focusing attention on preconceived models. This permits an empirical analysis of the actual distribution of the means of power as well as the techniques employed when these means are organized in specific situations. It also permits the power system to be considered in terms of its cultural setting in order to evaluate the conditions which affect
the power system in ways so as to maintain or change it.

These considerations suggest the following conclusions with respect to the theoretical findings of this study. First, the cultural conditions existing in a community can profoundly affect the characteristics of the power system. Second, an elite-dominated power system need not involve an autocratic organization of power when cultural conditions are such that they provide a basis for dissent in the power structure. Third, a pluralistic system of power may involve an autocratic organization of power when cultural conditions are such that (1) the interest groups dominating the power structure are of the same social class and do not compete with one another, and (2) when there exists no basis for dissent in the power structure. Fourth, neither the elite nor the pluralist theories can adequately account for the systems of power that display the above characteristics. Finally, the theoretical approach employed in this study, at least as far as Meredith is concerned, provides a conceptual framework which can account for these variations in systems of power.

Some General Implications of the Study of Meredith

The substantive and theoretical findings resulting from this study suggest considerations of a more general nature for those who are interested in the study of community power systems. They also suggest considerations of a more general nature for those people who are particularly concerned with the problems associated with the maintenance of political democracy.
Concern for the distribution of power in American society is not new. It has been both an intellectual problem and a problem of the every-day world of practical politics since the days of the authors of The Federalist. The empirical investigation of community power systems, however, represents a relatively new endeavor which has, in recent years, been undertaken by sociologists and anthropologists. While sociologists, for some time, have been studying power systems in settings other than the community, Floyd Hunter's relatively recent study of Regional City represents one of the first empirical investigations which has concentrated on the power system characteristic of an American community. It is understandable, therefore, that, implicitly or explicitly, the ideological conceptualizations of political philosophers have found their way into the theoretical frameworks of the few empirical studies that have been made. It seems safe to suggest that the use of the elite and pluralist theories of power are such ideological conceptualizations.

While it is virtually impossible to free any empirical study of social phenomena of certain ideological biases, an attempt has been made to minimize these biases by virtue of the theoretical and methodological approach employed in the study of Meredith. This attempt has been carried out by employing some of the tools that have been developed by sociologists who have not particularly concerned themselves with such large scale problems as must be involved in any study of community power. These research tools have been combined with some of the theoretical thinking that has emerged from the works of anthropologists.
who have been concerned with comparing systems cross-culturally. It is believed, that in the study of Meredith, the methodological tools employed have helped to minimize observational biases. It is also believed that the theoretical framework of cross-cultural analysis has helped to minimize ideological biases. The theoretical framework employed in this study, while it has proved itself to be useful in Meredith, needs to be tested in other American communities as well as in communities in other societies before it can be considered to have achieved the objectives for which it was designed.

The context in terms of which the research problem was derived is a social scientific context. The study itself was oriented to the facts and the data reported in the preceding chapters must be confronted as facts. These data suggest that community power systems are, indeed, complex social systems. A great deal needs to be known as to how these systems are related to the cultural conditions prevailing in communities. The decision-making process by which the community's social order is maintained or changed cannot be understood in terms of sociometric diagrams and prestige scales alone. Communities have cultures and these cultures have much to do with the kind of power structures that prevail. Furthermore, the distribution of power in communities does not reveal all there is to be known about how decisions are actually made and with what ends in view. Specific empirical events must be investigated in order to determine how power is actually organized to achieve particular ends. These are subjects of investigation that remain to be more fully explored.
As far as the study of Meredith pertains to the problem of maintaining political democracy, perhaps there is reason for serious concern. De Tocqueville once stated:

A nation may establish a system of free government, but without the spirit of municipal institutions it can not have the spirit of liberty. The transient passions and the interests of an hour, or the chance of circumstances, may have created the external forms of independence; but the despotic tendency which has been repelled will, sooner or later, inevitably reappear on the surface.9

De Tocqueville maintained that local institutions were useful to all nations but indispensable to a democratic people. He predicted that a populace, unaccustomed to freedom in small affairs, could not learn to use it temperately in great affairs. When private individuals are impotent and when citizens are not united by any common tie; those who control power are relatively free to exercise it as they please. When such conditions prevail in the local community, individuals may be unaccustomed to freedom in small affairs.

In Meredith, the municipal institutions which now exist are not the kind that promote a lively spirit. These institutions are flouted by some of the very individuals who have had the most to do with shaping them. They are spurned by the middle class and ignored by the lower classes. At the same time, there are those private individuals who are impotent in those affairs which have a profound effect on the kind of life they must live as long as they wish to live in Meredith. Meanwhile, there exists no common tie which unites the citizenry as a whole in the community. Those individuals and groups
which control power in Meredith are relatively free to exercise it as they please. The individuals who have no power to exercise have withdrawn from the political life of the community. The powerless go about their every-day affairs expressing little interest in the local or non-local forces which shape their lives. They, it seems, have been led to surrender the exercise of their own will.

Notes


2Ibid., p. 337.

3Among such scholars one would have to include the names of C. Wright Mills, James Burnham, Robert A. Brady, and Robert S. Lynd. The most recent work which is addressed to this problem is William Kornhauser's The Politics of Mass Society (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959).

4Kornhauser, in discussing the two views which are often taken of mass society, pays particular attention to the aristocratic and the democratic criticisms of mass society as representing two extreme and orthodox points of view that are similar to those discussed here and in Chapter I. Kornhauser argues that each conception requires the other for its completion in much the same way that it has been suggested that the elite and pluralist theories, as they are presently used, are both incomplete statements of a more general theory which must be employed in order to analyze power systems as total systems. See Kornhauser, Ibid., pp. 21-38.
It might be maintained that the criticism that has been presented of the elite theory does not apply to that version of this theory which hypothesizes a circulation of elites and which, therefore, must provide a conceptual basis for handling the problem of dissent and opposition. However, the circulation of elites version of the elite theory presents the same difficulties that have been discussed with reference to the elite theory in general. For example, in Meredith, during the historical period, individual members of the elite did circulate. Some members of the elite went bankrupt and lost the power they controlled. The elite as a whole, however, did not circulate. If it is admitted that elites, as groups, can circulate (and undoubtedly they did under certain cultural conditions), this does not change the basic structural characteristics of the power system and the elite theory still must account for the distribution of power as well as the organization of power.

The question might be raised as to whether the elite Hunter found in Regional City is one which organizes power in most or all situations or whether it is a status elite which emerged as a result of the sociometric techniques Hunter employed. See Floyd Hunter, op. cit.

Proponents of these two theories, for example, have accused one another of ideological biases. See Mills' criticism of the pluralist theory which was discussed in Chapter I.

APPENDIXES
APPENDIX I

THE SURVEY INSTRUMENT AND SCALES

The survey instrument employed in the study of Meredith consists of two parts. The first part is an interview schedule which was filled out by the interviewer. The second part consists of a number of paper and pencil items which were filled out by the interviewee. The following items were included in the interview schedule.

1. How many years have you lived in Coos County? In Meredith?
2. Where were you born?
3. Where was your husband/wife born?
4. What is your occupation?
5. What is the occupation of your husband/wife?
6. What is your father's occupation?
7. What is the occupation of the father of your husband/wife?
8. What is your educational background?
9. What is the educational background of your husband/wife?
10. Age.
11. Sex.
12. Race.
13. What is your religious affiliation?
14. What church do you attend in Meredith?
15. How often do you attend church?
16. Where do you work in Meredith?
17. Do you rent or own your home?
   If rent, approximately how much rent do you pay per month?
18. Do you rent an apartment or rooms in this house to other people?
   If yes, are they students?
   If not students, would you give us their names?
19. Do you own other property in Meredith?
   If yes, what kind of property is it (industrial, commercial, rental, or unused land)?
20. If other property is owned, is it located in town or in the country?
21. If it were possible for you to build a house anywhere within the city limits, where would you choose to build (specify street)?
22. Do you think there are any slums in Meredith?
   If yes, where do you think they exist?
23. How do you usually spend your vacations, at home or away from home?
   If away from home, where do you usually spend them?
24. When on vacations, do you usually visit with relatives? Visit with friends? Tour? Other?
25. Where are some of the places you have spent your vacations during the last three years?
26. Approximately how long have you stayed in each place?
27. Are you married? Divorced? Widowed? Legally separated?
28. Have you ever been widowed? Divorced? Legally separated?
29. How many children do you have?
30. How many of your children are now living at home?
31. Are any of those living at home over twenty-one?
   If yes, what are their names (we would like to interview them)?
32. Besides your children and husband/wife, what other relatives live in your home?

33. Where were you married?

34. When you were married, approximately how long had you known your spouse?

35. Was your husband/wife, at the time of your marriage, living in the same neighborhood? In the same city? In the same county? Other?

36. Excluding in-laws, approximately how many relatives do you have living in the city or county?

37. How often do you visit with relatives living in Meredith?

38. On what kinds of occasions do you get together with relatives?

39. If you needed money ($100 or less) in a hurry, to whom would you go to borrow it? A relative? A friend? Your minister? Your boss? A loan company? A bank?

40. Do you have business associations with any of your relatives?

   If yes, what relationship is this individual to you?

   If yes, what is the nature of this business relationship?

41. Would you mind giving us the name of the individual you consider to be most effective in making his political, economic, and civic views felt in the community?

42. Did you vote in the general election of 1958?

43. If yes, how did you vote for governor? For Senator? For state representative? How did you vote on the right to work issue?

44. If you voted, how did you vote on the school bond issue this past March?

45. If you voted, how did you vote on the 5 mil levy this past May?

46. We are interested in the kinds of local social and civic organizations which people join in Meredith. Do you belong to any?

   If yes, to which organizations do you belong?

47. What newspapers do you read regularly?
48. What magazines or other publications do you read regularly?

49. Would you tell us the name of your three favorite T. V. programs?

50. Where did you live before moving to this address?

51. Would you mind telling us your approximate annual income?

52. Is your source of income exclusively from salary or wages?

If no, what other sources of income do you have?

This portion of the instrument was given to the interviewee to complete in the presence of the interviewer.

53. Of the following statements, check the one which most closely represents your feelings about labor unions.

- Unions undermine the American way of life and should be outlawed.
- Unions are a necessary evil.
- There are good unions as well as bad unions.
- Unions represent the working man and should be allowed to operate with a minimum of restraint.

54. The following is a list of issues with which Americans have been more or less concerned. Rank the issues in the order of their importance as you see them. Give the most important issue the rank of 1.

- Property taxes.
- Economic aid to less fortunate countries.
- Cost of community improvements.
- Need for some form of world government.
- Need for better municipal services.
- Need for an improved system of state highways.
- Need for correcting labor abuses.
- Need for improving the state's mental health facilities.
- Unemployment in the United States.
- Need for a new high school.
55. The following is a list of reasons why people voted as they did on the right to work issue. If you voted, or if you could have voted, would you check the statement which comes closest to the way you feel about this issue?

- Pro-union.  
- Unions are too powerful.  
- Anti-union.  
- Unions are too corrupt.

- Right to work endangers job security.  
- Right to work was not needed.  
- The right to work issue was confused.

56. The following is a list of reasons given by people who voted against the school bond issue. If you voted against it, or if you could have voted and would have voted against it, would you check the statement which comes closest to representing the way you feel?

- The new school would have been improperly located.  
- Taxes are already too high.  
- The new school is not needed.  
- The new school had too many frills and was too costly.  
- I didn't like the way the issue was presented.

57. The following is a list of organizations in Meredith. Indicate the organization you believe to be most effective in making its political, economic, and civic views felt in the community.

- Rotary  
- Kiwanis  
- Grantham College  
- Lions  
- Jaycees  
-County Fair Association  
-League of Women Voters  
-Chamber of Commerce

58. Would you look at the political rating meter and indicate how strong a Republican or Democrat you consider yourself to be.

Republican [ ] 0 [ ] Democrat

59. The following is a list of what some people consider to be problems confronting Meredith today. Indicate, by ranking, which of these you consider to be the most serious. Give the most serious problem the rank of 1.

- Taxes  
- Schools  
- Zoning  
- Form of City Government  
- Need for more local industry  
-Town-Gown relations  
-Race relations  
-Housing  
-Protestant-Catholic tensions  
-Slum clearance
60. The following is a list of reasons why people often vote for particular candidates. If you voted in 1958, indicate the reason you voted as you did for governor, senator, and state representative.

G S S.R.

- - - Party.
- - - Past Record.
- - - Voted against other candidate.
- - - The candidate's virtues.
- - - The candidate's position on the right to work.
- - - Knew the candidate as a person.
- - - Other.

61. Below are a number of characteristics associated with upper class membership in many American communities. Check each characteristic that you regard as essential to membership in the upper class in Meredith.

- Education.
- Income.
- Place of residence.
- Value of home.
- Occupation.
- Membership in a service club.
- Religious affiliation.
- Length of family residence in Meredith.
- Type of business affiliation.

(The above item was employed as a class consciousness scale. In order to make the item scalable, it was necessary to omit membership in a service club and to dichotomize the responses by using the following categories: (1) important class symbol; (2) unimportant class symbol. The scalogram ranked the items as follows: (1) education; (2) income; (3) place of residence; (4) value of home; (5) occupation; (6) type of business affiliation; (7) religious affiliation; (8) length of family residence. Reproducibility for these eight items equaled 89.2%.)

62. The following is a list of problems which have been of increasing concern to people in recent years. The list of groups across the top are often considered as having the responsibility of providing for the solution of one or more of these problems. By placing a check in the appropriate place, indicate the group which, according to your way of thinking, ought to be primarily responsible for solving each of the problems listed. Check only one of the five groups for each problem.
(The above item was employed as the government dependency scale. In order to make the item scalable, it was necessary to omit education and standard of living. It was also necessary to dichotomize the government responses against the family and voluntary group responses. The scalogram ranked the items as follows: (1) Slums; (2) Mentally Retarded; (3) Over-population; (4) Indecent Literature; (5) Care of the Aged; (6) Housing; (7) Medical Care. The seventh item received the fewest government responses. Reproducibility for these seven items was 87.78%.)

63. Status Aspiration Scale:

Suppose you were offered an opportunity to make a substantial advance in your job or occupation. Here are some things that might affect your attitude toward making the change. Show how important each item would be in stopping you from making that advance by indicating the following responses by each item: (1) It definitely would stop me; (2) It might stop me; (3) It wouldn't stop me, but would be a consideration; (4) It would definitely not stop me.

1. If your health were endangered
2. If you had to leave your family for some time
3. If you had to move around the country a lot
4. If you had to leave this community
5. If you had to give up some leisure time
6. If you couldn't express your political views as freely as now
7. If you couldn't express your religious views as freely as now
8. If you had to leave your friends
9. If you had to work harder than you do now
10. If you had to take on more responsibility
(In order to make the above items scalable, it was necessary to omit item number ten and to dichotomize responses one and two against responses three and four. The scalogram ranked the items as follows: (1) item four; (2) item eight; (3) item nine; (4) item five; (5) item three; (6) item two; (7) item six; (8) item seven; (9) item one. The reproducibility for these nine items was 85.11%)

64. Powerlessness Scale:

This is a survey to find out what the public thinks about certain events which we face in our society. Each item consists of a pair of statements. Please select the one statement of each pair (and only one) which you more strongly believe to be true. Be sure to check the one you actually believe to be more nearly true. This is a measure of personal belief; obviously, there are no right or wrong answers.

1. _ I think we have adequate means for preventing run-away inflation.  
    _ There's very little we can do to keep prices from going higher.

2. _ The individual is almost always responsible for his own success or failure.  
    _ An individual's success or failure depends primarily on circumstances over which he has little control.

3. _ In public elections, I feel that my own opinions have considerable influence on the way others vote.  
    _ My own opinions seem to have little effect on the way others vote.

4. _ The international situation is so complex that it just confuses a person to think about it.  
    _ Active discussion of politics can eventually lead to a better world.

5. _ By studying the world situation, one can greatly increase his political effectiveness.  
    _ Whether one likes it or not, chance plays an awfully large part in world events.

6. _ There's not much use in worrying about things...what will be will be.  
    _ When things don't go well, I try to figure out what I have done wrong.
7. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it. The average citizen can have an influence on government decisions.

8. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work. It's not wise to plan too far ahead because most things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

9. For the most part, the individual is master of his own fate. On those days when the odds are against you, it just doesn't pay to try to do much of anything.

10. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption. Some political corruption is a necessary evil of government.

11. Making a lot of money is largely a matter of getting the right breaks. Promotions are earned through hard work and persistence.

12. Most people can't really be held responsible for themselves since no one has much choice about where he was born or raised. People are usually the victims of their own planning, not circumstances.

13. Getting promoted is really a matter of being a little luckier than the next guy. In our society, a man's future earning power is dependent upon his ability.

(Of the above items eight, nine, ten, eleven, and thirteen, were not scalable. The scalarm gram ranked the remaining items as follows: (1) item three; (2) item one; (3) item seven; (4) item four; (5) item five; (6) item two; (7) item twelve; (8) item six. The reproducibility for these eight items was 85.9%.)

65. Normlessness Scale:

This part of our survey is designed to describe what various people feel is required to achieve certain goals in our society. In marking the following section, please try to forget about the "good" or "bad" and simply present the facts as you see them. All of the questions can be answered either on the basis of your personal experience or as you best estimate (or guess) about the situation. Check one of the described alternatives to indicate your answer.
1. Those elected to public office have to serve special interests (e.g., big business or labor) as well as the public's interest.

   Certainly    Quite often    Hardly ever    Never
   true___    true___    true___    true___

2. For business interests to be protected, putting pressure on government officials and legislators is required.

   Almost always___    Hardly ever___
   Quite often___    Practically never___

3. Having "pull" is more important than ability in getting a government job.

   Almost always___    Often___    Seldom___    Never___

4. Those running our government must hush up many things that go on behind the scenes, if they wish to stay in office.

   Quite often    Fairly often    Hardly ever    Never
   true___    true___    true___    true___

5. In order to have a good income, a salesman must use high pressure salesmanship.

   Almost always___    Quite often___    Seldom___    Practically never___

6. In order to get elected to public office, a candidate must make promises he does not intend to keep.

   Almost always___    Quite often___    Hardly ever___    Practically never___
   true___    true___    true___    true___

7. Living beyond one's means ("keeping up with the Joneses") is required for social acceptance in this community.

   Quite often    Fairly often    Hardly ever___    Practically never___
   true___    true___    true___    true___

8. In getting a good paying job, it's necessary to exaggerate one's abilities or personal merits.

   Always___    Often___    Seldom___    Never___

9. Successful salesmanship requires that one over-emphasize the merits of one's product.

   Almost always___    Quite often___    Seldom___    Practically never___
10. In getting a job promotion, some degree of 'apple polishing' is required.

Almost always  Often  Seldom  Never

11. For a strike to be effective, picket-line violence is necessary.

Quite often  Fairly often  Seldom  Never

12. For a man to be successful today, his wife must be a good 'social operator.'

Certainly true  Hardly ever true
Usually true  Never true

13. Success in business and politics can easily be achieved without taking advantage of gullible people.

Almost always  Often  Seldom  Never

14. A newspaper can build up its circulation without making news events (e.g., crime stories) seem more sensational than they really are.

Certainly true  Quite often  Hardly ever true  Never true

(Of the above, items five, nine, twelve, thirteen, and fourteen, were not scalable. The response categories for the remaining items were dichotomized in order to produce a scale. The scalogram ranked the remaining items as follows: (1) one; (2) three; (3) four; (4) two; (5) six; (6) seven; (7) ten; (8) eight; (9) eleven. Reproducibility for these nine items was 88.4%.)

It should be noted that the name and address of each interviewee, the time of the interview, and the name of the interviewer were recorded on each interview schedule in order to permit occasional checks to be made on the work of each interviewer who was employed in conducting the community survey.
APPENDIX II

DISTRIBUTION TABLES FOR OBJECTIVE CRITERIA OF SOCIAL CLASS

The following tables present the distribution of eleven social class criteria and a correlation matrix for the scales employed to measure five dimensions of ideology. The data reported in these tables were discussed in Chapter VII in conjunction with the social class characteristics of Meredith's power structure.

TABLE XII

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION BY SAMPLE AREAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Affiliation</th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\text{df} = 6 \quad X^2 = 3.770 \quad P = \text{Sig.}$

TABLE XIII

CHURCHES ATTENDED BY SAMPLE AREA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Churches</th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\text{df} = 18 \quad X^2 = 109.703 \quad P = .01$
### TABLE XIV

**FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE BY SAMPLE AREAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Once a Week</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twice a Month</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a Month</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twice a Year</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a Year</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ df=15 \quad X^2=22.297 \quad P=.10 \]

### TABLE XV

**PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT BY SAMPLE AREAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Employment</th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self Employed</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Productive Industry</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>76</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ df=6 \quad X^2=45.507 \quad P=.01 \]
### TABLE XVI

**HOME OWNERSHIP BY SAMPLE AREAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owners</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df=3</td>
<td>$X^2=25.709$</td>
<td>$P=.01$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE XVII

**AMOUNT OF RENT PAID BY SAMPLE AREAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rent/Month</th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$40-$60</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$61-$80</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$81-Above</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df=9</td>
<td>$X^2=68.579$</td>
<td>$P=.01$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE XVIII

**INDIVIDUALS OWNING PROPERTY IN ADDITION TO THEIR OWN HOMES BY SAMPLE AREAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owners</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Owners</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df=3</td>
<td>$X^2=6.329$</td>
<td>$P=.10$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE XIX

**KIND OF PROPERTY OWNED BY SAMPLE AREAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Property</th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unused Land</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rental</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial or Commercial</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>66</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$df=6 \quad X^2=34.734 \quad P=.01$

### TABLE XX

**PEOPLE WHO VACATION AT HOME BY SAMPLE AREAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Away from Home</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>148</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>598</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$df=3 \quad X^2=39.916 \quad P=.01$

### TABLE XXI

**NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY BY SAMPLE AREAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-Above</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>600</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$df=6 \quad X^2=52.533 \quad P=.01$
### TABLE XXII

**POLITICAL PARTY IDENTITY BY SAMPLE AREAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>600</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ df=6 \quad \chi^2=65.488 \quad P=.01 \]

### TABLE XXIII

**TOTAL MEMBERSHIPS HELD IN SOCIAL AND CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS BY SAMPLE AREAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Memberships</th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-2</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-Above</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>600</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ df=3 \quad \chi^2=64.502 \quad P=.01 \]

### TABLE XXIV

**KINDS OF NEWSPAPERS READ REGULARLY BY SAMPLE AREAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinds of Newspapers</th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitan</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>147</strong></td>
<td><strong>148</strong></td>
<td><strong>139</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>584</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ df=6 \quad \chi^2=52.051 \quad P=.01 \]
### TABLE XXV

**TOTAL NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS READ REGULARLY BY SAMPLE AREAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Newspapers</th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-Above</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>600</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( df=6 \quad X^2=38.326 \quad P=.01 \)

### TABLE XXVI

**PEOPLE WHO READ NEWS MAGAZINES REGULARLY BY SAMPLE AREAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Readers</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-readers</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>600</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( df=3 \quad X^2=93.632 \quad P=.01 \)

### TABLE XXVII

**TOTAL NUMBER OF MAGAZINES READ REGULARLY BY SAMPLE AREAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-3</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-6</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-Above</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>600</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( df=6 \quad X^2=69.303 \quad P=.01 \)
### TABLE XXVIII

**KINDS OF FAVORITE TELEVISION PROGRAMS LISTED BY SAMPLE AREAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Programs</th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Westerns and Detective</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quiz and Family Type</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variety and Musicals</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specials and Plays</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Favorite</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>600</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[df=15\quad \chi^2=51.874\quad P=.01\]

### TABLE XXIX

**PEOPLE MOVING INTO SAMPLE AREAS FROM SPECIFIED LOCATIONS BY SAMPLE AREA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specified Locations</th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Southside</th>
<th>Eastside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outside County</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside City</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastside</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Area</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>145</strong></td>
<td><strong>147</strong></td>
<td><strong>143</strong></td>
<td><strong>122</strong></td>
<td><strong>557</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[df=15\quad \chi^2=353.483\quad P=.01\]
TABLE XXX

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR SCALES EMPLOYED TO MEASURE IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF POWER STRUCTURE (N=600)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scales</th>
<th>Correlations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status Aspiration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normlessness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powerlessness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Consciousness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Dependency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*P=.05
**P=.01
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______, and Lunt, P. **The Social Life of a Modern Community.** New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.


I, Leo Arthur Despres, was born in Lebanon, New Hampshire, March 29, 1932. I received my secondary school education in the public schools of Lebanon, New Hampshire, and my undergraduate training at Notre Dame University, which granted me the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1954. From Notre Dame University, I also received the Master of Arts degree in 1956. While in residence there, I was a Graduate Teaching Fellow and taught introductory courses in sociology. In September, 1956, I was appointed Graduate Teaching Assistant at The Ohio State University, where I specialized in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, and where I taught introductory courses in sociology and anthropology. I relinquished my teaching assistantship in June of 1957, when I accepted a position as an Assistant Research Associate in the Social Research Division of The Columbus Psychiatric Institute and Hospital, Columbus, Ohio. I held this position for three years while completing the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy.