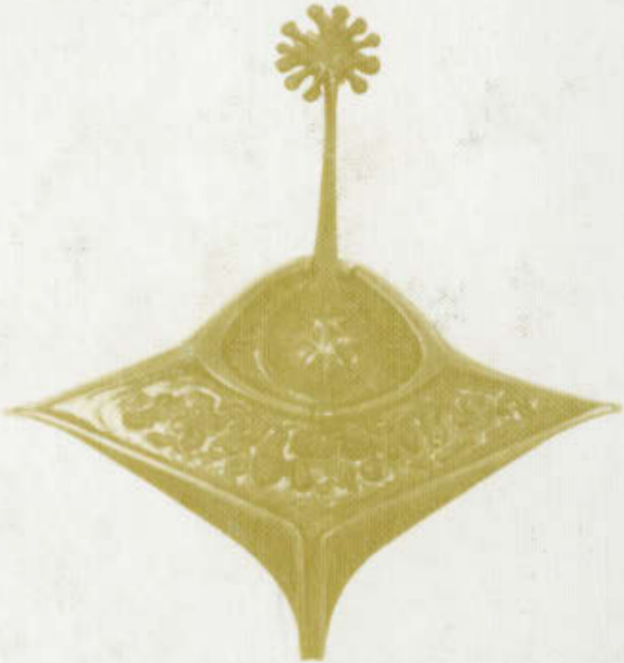
1970

# Fort Hays Kansas State College Inauguration 1969

Fort Hays Kansas State College



# INAUGURATION
# 1969

# Fort Hays Kansas State College

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# INTRODUCTION

In October 1969 Fort Hays Kansas State College inaugurated Dr. John W. Gustad as the fifth president of the Western Kansas institution. This book includes the texts of the addresses given at the inauguration and during the week following the ceremony. Scholars from throughout the United States as well as distinguished faculty members from the Fort Hays State staff appeared during the inauguration series.

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## WALT W. ROSTOW

Dr. Walt W. Rostow, professor of history and economics at the University of Texas, reflected on the continuing problems facing a new administration in the keynote address as the investiture, "Irrelevance of the Relevant."

A former presidential assistant to John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, Rostow has combined academic positions in the United States and England with governmental service. He holds bachelor's and doctor's degrees from Yale and was a Rhodes scholar at Balliol College, England.

His published works include books on economics and diplomatic history and policy.

## The Irrelevance of the Relevant

I

In the fraternity of current intellectual and academic life there are few things more worth doing than standing beside a colleague as he assumes the responsibilities of president of a university.

The news every day underlines that university administrators are in the front line of national life, as we move forward to reshape our educational institutions to the nation's hopes and dreams and purposes.

In coming here to share this occasion, to honor Dr. Gustad, and to represent The University of Texas, I could not help feeling how fortunate this college is in having as President a man who combines experience of academic administration with long study and research in the field of psychology.

As you will see, if there is a single theme that runs through the observations I have to make, today, it is that, ultimately, education is an intimate, complex, and highly personal human experience. I am sure Dr. Gustad knows that better than any of us.

My formal title is "The Irrelevance of the Relevant." In choosing that title, I was, of course, aware that a good many students and others are pressing hard to reshape the subject matter of teaching in our universities around "relevant" subjects and materials.

But, despite my title, I am not engaging in confrontation politics. I share many of the concerns of those who are now critics of our educational policies and who advocate change. I believe that we in the United States—and peoples in almost every part of the globe —are undergoing an educational revolution.

This is a time in history when societies are moving forward on every continent, conscious that their future will be different from the present as well as the past. They are trying to estimate—to guess —what kind of educational system will best prepare citizens for those futures. And that means debate and change. Since 1965 we in the United States have seen the most massive and far reaching legislation passed by the Congress, under President Johnson's leadership, in all our history.

This summer I traveled with my family around the world from Tokyo to England. We visited nations whose gross national product per capita ranged from, say $100 in Indonesia to over $2000 in

Western Europe. But whether we were in the midst of the roaring automobile age of Japan or the exciting take-off in Korea; in the early drive to technological maturity of Iran; or the late automobile age atmosphere of comfortable Paris or London—wherever we went, university problems were an inevitable and major subject of conversation. And this was true not merely of fellow academics but of prime ministers.

The Koreans, for example, are confident that by the turn of the century they will probably be as advanced as Japan is now: the Iranians are confident they will, by the year 2000, be at least up to the level of contemporary Europe. They are striving to adjust their educational institutions to those confident hopes. The fundamental problems of education in modern society are being re-thought and the institutions of education being reshaped as each nation takes stock of what it has inherited from the past and what it thinks it will need in the future.

And that is also true of us here in the United States. But we know less about our future than South Korea or Iran, because right now we're out in front. We must be pioneers in education as we are in space—and as we once were in this part of the West. The adventure of building a satisfying and humane, decent and orderly life in the world of mass affluence, modern technology, and bureaucratic organization, is as challenging a task as our society has faced from its beginning. And what we do or fail to do in education will have a great deal to do with the outcome.

In our country we are all aware that we have experienced a most extraordinary expansion in the scale of higher education. The figures are familiar, but are worth repeating: in the school year 1939-40, about a million and a half students entered colleges and universities; in 1968-69 the figure was about seven million. More than 40 per cent of all Americans of an age to attend college now enter college; that is, more than half of all high school graduates.

We have carried out this revolution for the reason that we Americans have done most big things in our history: because idealism and practical self-interest converged. As children of Jefferson still, we have continued to act in gradual fulfillment of the idea which underlies so much in our society; namely, the principle of equality of opportunity. And a college education is increasingly a basic human opportunity for those capable of qualifying for it. But we have also acted to expand college education because the kind of highly technological society we have created requires for its working force a vast corps of men and women who command tools and

perspectives and habits of mind which a college education almost uniquely can provide.

Some have achieved these qualities without a formal college education. Some who complete a college education never acquire them. But a college education is the best device we know in our society to impart these qualities.

It was, perhaps, Adam Smith who, in criticizing the irrelevant curriculum at eighteenth century Oxford, first formally linked the right kind of education with economic development—or The Wealth of Nations, as he put it. No single act of legislation in our history did more for the economic and social development of our nation than the Morrill Act of 1862 which launched so many schools devoted to training in agriculture, mining, and engineering—many of which are now the kind of wide-ranging, complete universities our society requires, a century later. And education has always been the underlying basis for hope and faith that democracy could work. No contemporary study of economic or political development, past or present, would be judged complete without references to the educational system.

I start, then, by assuming that education is a fundamental determinant of the kind of society we are and shall become; and a legitimate object of public policy.

But education is also what happens to unique human beings at a sensitive and critical phase of their lives.

Legislation and adequate financial resources are essential. They provide the necessary framework within which education can happen. But they do not educate. For example, we are only beginning to face the simple fact that it is easier to take in students and to build buildings than it is to provide first-rate teaching. That is one of the central problems that we confront in making good the historic new commitments to education in the United States of recent years.

When, in February, I returned to teaching, I was anxious to lay out a set of ideas on which I had been working for ten years and more. But I was not yet ready to lecture to a large class. I first needed the give and take of an intimate seminar. But, haunted by the statistics of growth in the student population, I decided I simply could not lay out the new set of ideas to a dozen students. So we set up the seminar table in The University of Texas television studio and put the whole affair—warts and all—including the seminar discussion and the presentation of student papers—on

videotape so they would be available immediately and for the long pull to a wider audience.

I cite this limited exercise not because it was unique or revolutionary, but because all of us—trustees, administrators, faculty, and students alike—will be thinking and acting in somewhat new ways in the time ahead.

## II

My underlying judgment, then, is that education is both an affair of public policy and an intimate individual experience. I shall now turn to the lessons that one student and teacher has drawn, after thirty years, about education in the narrower sense—about education as a matter of individual learning and what there is to learn.

My propositions are these:

First, the currently relevant is not likely to prove relevant in the future.

Second, education is a mysterious process that takes time.

Third, the heart of education is learning what it is to be first rate.

Fourth, in the end education is a private affair—a proposition I almost took as my title.

Fifth, contemporary problems can be highly relevant to education.

## III

My first proposition is: *the currently relevant is not likely to prove relevant in the future.*

Let me immediately explain the particular sense in which I think that proposition is true.

In the early 1950's at M. I. T. we were engaged in preparing the way for the Sloan School of Industrial Management. A group of the faculty interviewed systematically the presidents of a number of major American corporations. In a series of informal lunches, which stretched into long afternoon conversations, the following central question was put to them: What would you like us to teach men who, in time, might be your successors?

These men were interviewed one by one; but there was an extraordinary convergence in their answers.

As I recall, they all agreed on this: 'Don't try to teach them how to run a business. Leave that to us. They will have to unlearn what you teach them when they go to work for us.'

Next, they urged: 'Try to teach them something about history and the process of change.' These responsible business leaders explained that industrial life was changing so fast in itself and in

relation to our society that some feel for where we had come from and where we might go was essential.

Then they pleaded: 'Try to teach them to write.' It emerged that one of the greatest weaknesses they felt was the lack of men who could write clearly, tersely, to the point.

Finally, they advised: 'Try to teach them something about human beings. We doubt that you can, but try.' As they talked of life in great industrial organizations, with their links to government and stockholders, labor unions, and the mass media, they were conscious that the heart of their job lay in dealing successfully with people rather than with machines.

Now these men did not expect us to abandon the notion of a school of industrial management and return, let us say, to a curriculum like that of Oxford Greats—which did, indeed, through the study of classical times, teach men something about history, writing, and people. They knew we were going to proceed with a mixture of engineering and the social sciences. But they pierced through and identified—I believe correctly—what, ultimately, students entering the world of affairs should acquire from their training, whatever its technical subject matter.

Educational experience is designed, after all, to provide men and women a foundation for at least forty years of work in the active world. If there is anything we know about the world in which we live, it is that the problems that will be confronted over that span of forty years will be very different from the problems that immediately surround us. (Economists of my generation, for example, were trained in an environment obsessed with the problem of unemployment and business cycles in the United States; but have spent a great deal of their working lives on problems of inflation, in war and peace, and on problems of growth in distant continents.) University training should prepare students to cope intelligently and effectively with the process of change over the span of their lives; but obviously in a fast moving world like ours, it is, in the end, the fundamentals that count, even if those fundamentals can only be taught by rigorous attention to whatever materials find their way into the curriculum.

And there are fundamentals—in intellectual life, in public life, and in man's relations to his fellow man—which, over the centuries, have withstood the test of time.

## IV

My second proposition: *education is a mysterious process that takes time.*

In the summer of 1948 I was working in the secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe at Geneva. I was sent to talk to the Yugoslav government about a new committee we were setting up, devoted to industrial problems. In Belgrade I found the government trying rapidly to increase the number of engineers and technicians. During the German occupation men with technical training had been decimated. It was necessary, in a nation with industrial ambitions, to replace rapidly those lost skills. Government officials worked long hours. But those with an engineering training were also teaching at night.

The method then adopted by the Yugoslavs to make up their loss was to break down the various specialized fields into narrower subfields in which men might be given short, intensive courses. For example, they were not training coal-mining engineers. They were training coal-face engineers; underground coal transport engineers; pit-head managers; and so on.

Some years later, one of the officials who had been engaged in this duble duty visited me in the United States. I told him I remembered with admiration the effort I had observed in 1948 and asked how it had come out. Had it been successful?

He said he was then a member of a government commission reviewing the whole experience. 'Bluntly,' he said, 'the effort failed. We found that men with narrow, specialized training in short courses were not useful. We concluded that to make a good coal-mining engineer a man had to spend a certain number of years in an academic setting before he could be effective.'

I remember that my Yugoslav friend and I then probed for a while at the mystery: What is it that, apparently, only a sustained period in the environment of a university could provide? What is it that distinguishes those who have absorbed a full university training from those who have not?

We didn't solve the mystery then, and I cannot give you a confident answer now. But the nearest thing to an answer I know is my third proposition.

V

*The heart of education is learning what it is to be first-rate:* for there are abiding values in intellectual life; and there is such a thing as academic excellence. Learning what those values and standards of excellence are and, for a time, setting your own unique capacities against those standards is, as nearly as I can perceive, the essence of education.

President Kennedy used to recall often—it was perhaps his most

fundamental judgment about life—the old Greek definition of happiness as the maximum exercise of a man's capacities against standards of excellence. There are, of course, standards of excellence to be perceived and upheld in many other dimensions of life beyond the university: in business and sport, drama and music and painting, and in politics, too. Our religious and moral codes even tell us a little of what excellence is like in man's relations with other human beings. In wandering through history and various parts of the contemporary world, I have found that a good man is identified at different times and places in rather similar ways, despite differences of culture and environment. And elements in university life as a whole may touch on all these dimensions of life and excellence; but the university mission, at the core, is to provide a glimpse of what it is to be excellent in terms of the pursuit of truth, by academic standards, in the world of ideas.

This proposition immediately raises the question: 'assuming you are right, where are we going to glimpse this first-rateness: in our routine classes, pressing for the high grades we need for graduate school? In our text books? How do we students bring ourselves in touch with this intellectual grandeur?' Some may even add: 'that is why we are trying to retrieve our professors from Washington and from other irrelevant diversions.'

My answer is: look for it and you will find it.

I am sure distinguished professors should be about the campus a good deal of the time; and students should have access to them. But the educational process is not built merely out of administrative rules and formal curricula—although both are, evidently, necessary and important. It is built out of a student's total intellectual experience in a university environment.

I have asked many men: what do you most remember from your education? What was truly important in your university experience, in shaping your life and your ideas? Without exception, the answer centered on powerful moments that happened—moments which no faculty, no matter how wise and strengthened by student participation, could have truly anticipated.

Often, it is a conversation with a teacher which suddenly broke through the mechanics of college routines and revealed the depth of the teacher's quality and commitment to the life of the mind and the university; or which opened, unexpectedly, a door through which the student then passed. President Johnson, for example, tells the story of how C. E. Evans, distinguished President of Southwest Texas State College, once dispassionately laid out for him the challenges of public life versus those of teaching; and this single exposi-

tion helped lead him to his final choice. Sometimes it was a lecture that lit a bonfire in a student's mind—or a passage in a book or article that happened to come at the right moment.

For example, I studied English history as an undergraduate at Yale. As a sophomore I joined a seminar in formal economic theory, given for four undergraduates by a friend—a graduate student, Richard Bissell, just back from the London School of Economics. We gathered once a week in his rooms at night, after which we repaired to a hamburger joint.

The first lecture was by another graduate student, a philosopher named Julian Ripley—its subject: the scientific method.

To this day Ripley's talk in 1933 remains clear in my mind—as clear as his dropping his cigarette ashes in the cuff of his trousers. But Bissell's seminar, as a whole, was the occasion for my posing the key intellectual issues at which I have since worked down to the present day; that is, the linking of economic theory and economic history and the relation between economic factors and politics.

The body of modern economic theory expounded in the Bissell seminar was itself important, because it was not then taught at Yale. But it was the excitement of the seminar as a whole—and what it stirred in each of us—that finally mattered.

There was another happening in my time as an undergraduate. Professor Henri Foçillon came from Paris to lecture at Yale. He was an historian of mediaeval art. A number of us went to hear him out of curiosity. I had to tune up my best New Haven High School French for the occasion. What we heard was a superb example of formal French academic exposition. Foçillon was also, clearly, a master of his materials. The combination of this mastery and the elegance of his presentation was a striking experience for all of us—a glimpse of true excellence in a field in which none of us was engaged. (But I should add that Foçillon's magnetism was such that two of my friends then became art historians.)

The case of Foçillon is worth pondering. He left a permanent mark on a good many men not because he spoke in a field in which they worked—or most of them would work. He spoke formally. I don't believe I ever shook his hand. What he said about flying buttresses I cannot recall. But no man left his lectures without being better educated than when he had entered.

Education ought to include learning a great deal about something, but also learning something about a good many subjects which may never play a part in your professional life.

Where, then, does the regular faculty fit? Is education to be achieved only through black market mutual education and visiting Frenchmen?

Of course not.

In my own case, for example, a whole group of history teachers at Yale spurred me on: Sidney Mitchell, David Owen, Stanley Pargellis, Wallace Notestein. None pretended to knowledge of—or even interest in—the rather curious kind of economic history which appeared to attract me. But in telling me of their work, guiding me to books and courses and people, making sure my enthusiasm was matched by the technical quality of my work—they were invaluable, especially David Owen who helped me along in a hundred ways but then decided, when I was a senior, that I had done enough economic history for the moment and made me write a paper on the reception initially accorded by the British public to Gilbert and Sullivan.

I do not believe there is a faculty in the United States which lacks men capable of opening the door to the inner qualities of intellectual life: its rigors and its excitement, its frustrations and triumphs—and the nature of academic excellence.

In the end teacher and student are in a curious relation: they meet and do important business together; but they are and must remain on separate tracks.

The teacher—out of his personality and experience—chooses a path to pursue in academic life. Out of all that he has achieved and experienced, the student can acquire much, directly and obliquely.

One of the glories of being a teacher is to see a student absorb in an hour a set of ideas you have spent twenty years developing, and go briskly beyond. You can feel the weight of his feet on your shoulders as he climbs up; and it is good.

But basically the student is in the process of deciding what he will do; and it can never be what his teacher did, given the uniqueness of personalities and the passage of time.

What the teacher owes the student is a combination of respect and loyalty to the standards of university life. And simple affection easily finds its way into that equation.

What the student owes the teacher is respect for the path the teacher has chosen, as the student seeks, in the best sense, to exploit to the hilt all that the teacher can offer him.

What can never work is for students to decide what the teacher should teach and say; for the most important asset the teacher has

to contribute to education is the integrity of what he has done, what he perceives, what he stands for.

Equally, the teacher should never look for disciples; for the integrity of the student's track must be protected and encouraged as much as the teacher's.

VI

My fourth proposition follows, I believe, from the third: *In the end, education is a private affair.*

Pope John XXIII made one of the most profound observations I know about the process of development in underdeveloped areas, which bears, as well, on the struggle against poverty in our own society. He said:

> "Special effort . . . must be made to see to it that workers in underdeveloped areas are conscious of playing a key role in the promotion of their personal socioeconomic and cultural betterment. For it is a mark of good citizenship to shoulder a major share of the burden connected with one's own development."

In the best sense a student is in the process of development; and, finally, that development will take place within him, out of his own effort and private struggle. The purpose of a school—like a good foreign aid or poverty program—is to create an environment which will maximize the chance that inner effort and development will occur.

It may seem heresy, but perhaps the most important thing a university offers a student is a library and a brief phase in his life when he has the time to read books, if he fights for that time.

I have no doubt, for example, that the stacks of the Yale library did more than anything else to draw me into academic life. As a freshman, I made my way quite illegally into them while writing a paper on a dreadful French revolutionary journalist named Jean-Jacques Hébert. Before I was finished I had read not only the files of his yellow journal, *Le Pére Duchêne,* but all the histories of the French Revolution, and the files of *Le Moniteur Universel,* Paris' *New York Times* of the period. In fact, I had assembled most of this material on a long desk for graduate students in the reserve book room. I would guess the row of books stretched about seventy-five feet.

This proved too much even for the benign and charming lady who presided over the reserve book room.

In the ensuing crisis, my brother, a distinguished senior, was called in to consult on the aberrant behavior of his sibling. Despite his embarrassment, he was firm but statesmanlike on my behalf.

And a compromise was reached: I could assemble no more than 100 books at a time.

But the excitement of staring at all there was—all the documents and pamphlets, journals and passionate histories—each geared to the historian's current politics—in fact at much of all the written word that bore on the French Revolution—this was an enduring experience.

There is a marvelous challenging loneliness in the stacks of a good library. There you are; there is all you must absorb and master before you have the right to state your own view; but, with the help of God and many hours of labor, you're going to do it. In the end, what you say will be yours; but along the way the insights of others will have left their mark on you.

The resource and the stimulus of the faculty and the library may be great; but in the end, what you finally draw and learn from all this happens when you are alone. And it happens from your own effort.

In a memorable piece of light verse on the classical theory of taxation, Stephen Leacock evokes a masochistic character, representing the taxpayer who wanders around saying from time to time:*

> All Incidence falls on me, as it must
> Hit me again,
> Amen.

In education it is, in fact, not quite that bad. The student is in a somewhat better position than the taxpayer. The incidence—the burden—of education is more evenly spread. There are teachers and text books, classes and the benign foundations. But in the end, education is a lonely, private affair: one unique individual coming to grips—and ultimately to terms—with what we think we know; how we think we know it; and where the areas of darkness lie which are most worth trying to push back a little.

It is essentially the same whether the occasion is an undergraduate term paper; a doctoral thesis; or the latest book of a well-known professor.

In education there is no Santa Claus.

## VII

Now my fifth proposition: *contemporary problems* CAN *be relevant to education.*

By this time, I suspect, you understand what my title really means. So far as one man's experience as a student and teacher is

* *Hellements of Hickonomics*, New York, 1936, p. 31.

concerned, the critical issues of education have little to do with what are currently called "relevant" matters.

One can have an excellent college education without spending one classroom moment, one homework assignment, writing one term paper:—on Vietnam or NATO; the missile balance or techniques of guerrilla warfare; on urban problems or race conflicts, or African history. There are ample bodies of material whose study can yield all that education can provide.

On the other hand, there is not the slightest reason that these and other contemporary problems cannot be the legitimate subject of academic research and teaching—if the research and teaching are conducted by reputable academic standards.

We know two things about curricula in universities.

First, they are always in the process of change in the direction of more relevance to problems of contemporary society, but with a considerable time lag and much impassioned debate, because universities tend to be conservative institutions. (In British universities, where only M. A.'s can vote on such matters, protectors of the *status quo* used to bring in the nearby country parsons—usually university M. A.'s—to defeat or slow down new proposals.)

Second, we know with hindsight that these famous battles turn out to have been not nearly as important as they looked at the time. They have to be fought; but modernizing the curriculum is no panacea.

And I say these things as one who has regularly lined up in university life—and line up today—on the side of modernizing the curriculum and drawing contemporary problems into the stream of academic life. For example, in giving my Inaugural Lecture at Oxford in 1947, I put aside "Method in Economic History" and chose "The American Diplomatic Revolution." At M. I. T., in 1951, I helped set up the Center for International Studies, an institution devoted to research and analysis bearing on the nation's problems in the world. About half my time in the 1950's was devoted to writing books about such contemporary problems. And from time to time I have contributed what I could offer to public service—experiences for which I shall always be grateful.

Surely I cannot argue that contemporary issues of policy are irrelevant to academic life. And I would not so argue. But I do believe this: what matters in education is not the subject matter but how it is approached.

I recall vividly in 1951, when we were setting up the Center for International Studies, a discussion with Julius Stratton, then the

Provost of M. I. T. He said he would support our efforts if the standards we set and upheld matched those that would be applied at M. I. T. to less contemporary problems.

He recalled that science and technology were not developed over the centuries in an ivory tower vacuum. Much of it began with such problems as the control of flooding on the Nile or how to navigate accurately at sea.

In economics, for example, the great classics, almost without exception, were addressed to real problems of the active world: from Adam Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo down through Marshall, Pigou, and Keynes. But these works were classics not because they were addressed to contemporary problems. The libraries are filled with books and pamphlets, written at the same periods on the same problems, which have left little heritage. Their works were classics because, in seeking to understand and to solve contemporary problems, these men brought the highest order of intellectual discipline and creativeness to their tasks, and reshaped the basic concepts of their science—concepts which changed the way, first, economists and, then, a wider circle, including politicians, looked at the world around them.

Of course, those so minded in a university should by all means not deny themselves the study of questions which they judge of burning importance in the life of their society or of the human race. But if their products are to be part of university life, there are standards of discipline—and self-discipline—and creativity—to be met.

## VIII

And now, if I may, a final word.

I would hope that in the course of a college education students would all come to sense, at least a little, the character and variety of what is involved in pursuing the truth by academic standards through intellectual disciplines. Relatively few of those who experience a college education will, in fact, devote their lives to university teaching and research. But there is a special quality in this flow of human endeavor designed to push back the ignorance with which man is surrounded.

Vannevar Bush once described what goes into building the world of ideas and knowledge in natural science; but his image holds for academic life as a whole. He said:

"There are those who are quite content, given a few tools, to dig away unearthing odd blocks, piling them up in the view of fellow workers, and apparently not caring whether they fit anywhere or not. Unfortunately there are also

those who watch carefully until some industrious group digs out a particularly ornamental block, whereupon they fit it in place with much gusto and bow to the crowd. Some groups do not dig at all, but spend all their time arguing as to the exact arrangement of a cornice or an abutment. Some spend all their days trying to pull down a block or two that a rival has put in place. Some, indeed, neither dig nor argue, but go along with the crowd, scratch here and there, and enjoy the scenery. Some sit by and give advice, and some just sit.

"On the other hand there are those men of rare vision, who can grasp well in advance just the block that is needed for rapid advance on a section of the edifice to be possible, who can tell by some subtle sense where it will be found, and who have an uncanny skill in cleaning away dross and bringing it surely into the light. These are the master workmen. For each of them there can well be many of lesser stature who chip and delve, industriously, but with little grasp of what it is all about, and who nevertheless make the great steps possible.

"There are those who can give the structure meaning, who can trace its evolution from early times, and describe the glories that are to be, in ways that inspire those who work and those who enjoy. They bring the inspiration that all is not mere building of monotonous walls, and that there is architecture even though the architect is not seen to guide and order.

"There are those who labor to make the utility of the structure real, to cause it to give shelter to the multitude, that they may be better protected, and that they may derive health and well-being because of its presence.

"And the edifice is not built by the quarrymen and the masons alone. There are those who bring them food during their labors, and cooling drink when the days are warm, who sing to them, and place flowers on the little walls that have grown with the years.

"There are also the old men, whose days of vigorous building are done, whose eyes are too dim to see the details of the arch or the needed form of its keystone; but who have built a wall here and there, and lived long in the edifice, who have learned to love it and who have even grasped a suggestion of its ultimate meaning; and who sit in the shade and encourage the young men." *

The pursuit of truth—which none of us will ever find—by fallible men, gripped in the continuity of intellectual life, building on each other's work, debating contentiously as they strive to go forward—this is one of man's finest efforts.

Even in a world of modern buildings—of IBM cards and computers, of debates on relevance and participation—it requires exactly the same qualities of stubborn, questing integrity that it did more than 2000 years ago when Socrates got himself into trouble.

* Vannevar Bush, "The Builders," *Technology Review*, February 1955, p. 178.

## DR. JOHN W. GUSTAD

Dr. John W. Gustad, fifth president of Fort Hays Kansas State College, served as a college professor and administrator most of his adult life. Following his graduation from Macalester College and service in World War II he enrolled in graduate school at the University of Minnesota where he completed his master's and doctor's degrees in psychology.

Combined with his teaching and administrative background, Dr. Gustad has a reputation as the author and editor of nearly a dozen books and over two dozen articles and papers.

His response to the charge of office was entitled "Our Object is Man."

# Our Object Is Man

Response to the charge of office as fifth President of Fort Hays Kansas State College by Dr. John W. Gustad.

One frequently hears talk about the good old days in higher education when everything was peaceful and quiet, when professors were tweedy, devoted Mr. Chipses and did not fly all over the world consulting with governments and industries, when students were happy to have the opportunity to get an education and raised their voices only at football games. These good old days usually turn out to be whatever period was covered by the particular speaker's days in college.

Actually, there never was such a period. The struggle to survive and adapt to changing conditions has taken many forms, but it is at least as old as higher education. In reading the histories of the mediaeval universities, one learns about irate townspeople lynching students, of marauding bands of students assaulting and murdering the citizens of the towns. In 1666, thirty years after the founding of Harvard College, the students there rioted because of the poor quality of the butter served to them.

Our task is not to achieve the millenium of peace and quiet. There is far too much to be done and far too much urgency about getting on with it even to ask for peace and quiet. Rather, we need to organize ourselves so that we may become stronger through successfully meeting our challenges, and capitalize on our opportunities. We need to remind ourselves constantly that the Chinese use the same symbol to stand for the words "trouble" and "opportunity."

We must admit, however, that these are especially troubled times in which we live. Many of the friends who have written to congratulate me on being selected for this post have sounded rather plaintive in their expressions of good wishes. A few have even hinted quite broadly that anyone who takes a college presidency these days ought to have his head examined. Perhaps so.

Virtually all public colleges and universities will continue to grow even if at a slower rate, and growth brings with it problems. There will continue to be a shortage of well qualified instructors for some years to come. We have by no means seen the last of campus disorders. Our already antiquated teaching methods will, in the face of the explosion of knowledge, either bring chaos to our

institutions or undergo a revolutionary set of changes. Increasingly, the vast social problems such as war, over-population, poverty, the squandering of our dwindling natural resources, the denial of civil and human rights to minority groups, and the sheer necessity of saving this tiny bit of terrestrial dust we call Earth from destruction will echo across our campuses. These are some of the things our students are calling "relevant." As Dr. Rostow has wisely pointed out, however, they are not *all* that is relevant.

Important as are the many tasks before us, I would submit to you that there is at least one other to which we must address ourselves first, because I am convinced that, unless we can succeed in that one, our hopes for doing much about the others are perilously reduced. That task is this: to reunify education, to recapture something of what we once had, to find a mission to which we can all, each in his own way, devote ourselves with all our energies.

Higher education once had such a unifying mission. It was Christianity. Modern higher education traces its ancestry to the mediaeval universities founded during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These universities were adjuncts first of the Catholic Church and then, after the reformation splintered Christianity, of other churches as well. Almost without exception, students and faculty members were members of the clergy. No matter what their fields of study, their mission was to further God's work on earth.

Scholars might and indeed did debate with great enthusiasm and heat, but sooner or later, they came to a point where there could be, if not ageement on substance, at least agreement on the ground rules for debate. They were, to use a current colloquialism, playing in the same ball park. That is no longer true with the result that we are frantically racing off in all directions, frenetically pursuing whatever will-o'-the-wisps our respective disciplines tell us to chase. Small wonder that our students are, as Alexander Pope put it, ". . . confused in the maze of schools."

The last century has seen the almost total secularization of higher education. For a time, it was hoped that the search for truth, based principally on the ideas and methods imported from Germany about research and scholarship, might replace the Christian mission as the unifying force in higher education. But that has not worked altogether well. As we learn more and more, we find it harder to communicate with one another. Now, not only can humanists not communicate with scientists, but biologists cannot communicate with other biologists, physicists with other physi-

cists. We have not two cultures as C. P. Snow said, but many, literally hundreds. I find some of the work being done by colleagues of mine in psychology as incomprehensible as some of them must find my work.

What has happened as a result? We have college catalogues the size of Sears Roebuck catalogues. We find an endless and wasteful proliferation of courses as departments feel compelled to add courses to reflect each new increment of knowledge. Students are faced with a kind of educational smorgasbord, but, rather than being well nourished, far too many suffer from intellectual malnutrition. The process of curriculum construction can no longer address itself to questions such as what kinds of men and women will or ought our graduates be. Instead, it amounts to academic log-rolling: I'll vote for requiring six credits of foreign language if you'll vote for six hours of mathematics.

After my experience on the staff of The Ohio State University with its forty-one thousand plus students, I find myself in considerable despair of saving the great multiversities. Although the hour is late, perhaps one minute before midnight, I do believe that institutions such as this *can* save themselves if they will do so. If they will, the question is: how?

When I was assembling New College several years ago, I said in a statement of objectives that we would ". . . teach little but teach that supremely well." I still believe that that was right. A recent edition of *Harper's Magazine* carried an article by the distinguished author, Mr. John Fischer, which I found intriguing. He was addressing himself to the same question. Although I do not believe he went down it far enough, the path he was following could lead us out of the present morass.

He proposed the establishment of a new institution of higher education to be called Survival U. Its solitary aim would be, as he put it, ". . . to look seriously at the interlinking threats to human existence, and to learn what we can do to fight them off." The motto of the university would be the question, "What must we do to be saved?"

He then went on to say, "Neither will our professors be detached, dispassionate scholars. . . . He will be expected to be a moralist; for this generation of students, like no other in my lifetime, is hungering and thirsting after righteousness. What it wants is a moral system it can believe in—and that is what our university will try to provide. In every class it will preach the primordial ethic of survival."

A few brief examples will suffice to give you an idea of what he had in mind. "The biology department . . . will point out that it is sinful for anybody to have more than two children." Later, the biologists will show how evil it is for anybody to pollute the environment in which we live. Engineering students, he continues, will learn not only how to build dams but where *not* to build them. Other classes will consider the folly of building skyscrapers in already over-congested cities. Political science classes will ask such questions as: are nation-states any longer feasible when several now have the capacity to destroy the world in a matter of minutes? At the center of the curriculum will be the study of human ecology which will deal with such matters as: ". . . how sulphur-laden fuel oil burned in England produces an acid rain that damages the forests of Scandanavia, why a well-meant farm subsidy can force millions of Negro tenants off the land and lead to a Watts and Hough."

Intriguing as Fischer's idea is, however, I do not think that this foundation on which he would have us erect the new university is either broad enough or high enough. I would not suggest for a moment that the questions to which he would have Survival U. address itself are not important. If we do not survive, all other questions are meaningless.

Man, of all of the animals on earth, has the capacity to consider not only how to survive but, perhaps in the long run more importantly, the conditions of his survival. I find it hard, for instance, to see where, in the curriculum of Survival U., most of the humanities would fit. It is true, of course, that we use both art and music in the treatment of patients in mental hospitals. However, I hardly think that this use would justify the vast creative effort that goes into art and literature and music.

Man survived when he lived in a cave and ate raw meat. Even then, as we know from paintings on the walls of some of those caves, he was stirred by feelings that have little or nothing to do with mere biological survival. Surely, in the seventy-five thousand generations of man's existence we have developed the capacity for more than this kind of survival. If man is, indeed, little lower than the angels, then our lives should reflect that fact, and our colleges and universities must concern themselves in everything that they do with it.

We need a platform or foundation which is broad enough for all of us to stand on and, more importantly, high enough so that from it we may survey all that concerns us. We need a common cause not merely for survival but for the greatness of which we are

capable. The late philosopher, Alfred North Whitehead, once described the essence of liberal education as ". . . the habitual vision of greatness." And l'Enfant, the French engineer who laid out our nation's capital city, said, "Make no little plans."

Rather than survival, we have before us a nobler and more unifying concern about which we can, if we will, join forces to create the kind of higher education we need for today and any tomorrows we have left. *It is man himself,* man in all of his infinite variety, man the compassionate, man the cruel, man the creative, man the mindless clod. Our natural scientists can study and teach our students about the world and the universe in which man lives and what he *must* do to survive and what he *can* do to enrich his life. Our biological and social scientists can study man himself and perhaps help us learn how better to live and live together so that each of us may be fulfilled. Our humanists can help us to appreciate the creative efforts of man so that our lives may be enriched and ennobled, so that we can attain the greatest possible measure of our humanity.

Our object is not mere survival; our object is man. If we will accept this as our mission, if we will bring to bear all of our talents and energies, then perhaps some day we shall be able to answer the question asked centuries ago by the Psalmist: "What is man that *Thou* art mindful of him?"

## DR. E. LAURENCE CHALMERS, JR.

Dr. E. Laurence Chalmers, Jr., had been chancellor of the University of Kansas less than a month when he appeared as a part of the Fort Hays State inauguration week program. Speaking on "Convocation—Tribute or Expectation," the newly installed chancellor addressed an Honors Convocation on Monday.

## Convocation—Tribute or Expectation

Whenever a college administrator publicly recognizes the accomplishments of distinguished undergraduates he contends with at least two potential sources of resistance in his audience. One resistance stems from the suspicion that his remarks are merely a part of the annual administrative facade; a repetitive act in the traveling circus of higher education. The other resistance arises from the expectation that his remarks will conform to the usual deadening pattern of extolling scholarship and extending profuse, flowery congratulations.

Let me assure you that my presence here today is far from routine. Although I have addressed students at my own university on numerous occasions, I have seldom addressed the students of another college or university. Let me also assure you that I'm the last person President Gustad would select for a conventional address. One recent address, for example, I delivered to the Third Annual Instructional Television Conference. The most accurate title of my remarks would have been "The Evils of ETV."

Now please don't misunderstand. I'm not going to *reprimand you for your achievements.* In fact I do extend sincere and hearty congratulations, but I do so for a variety of motives that aren't always well understood, and the first thing I'd like to do this morning is to make these motives overt. I wonder how many of you have seriously asked yourselves why your professors should leave their offices or the pressures of unfinished work to be here with you this morning? A generation ago the answer to this question would have been simple altruism; a Mr. Chips-type of interest in your success. But you're a part of that cynical generation where positivistic and/or existential philosophies demand a more rigorous explanation than amorphous altruism. Why indeed should we be here this morning? To tell you what you already know, that you're talented? To describe in detail the virtues of high scholarship? That would be completely ridiculous since your presence at Fort Hays attests to the fact that you already know the advantages of scholarship.

No, we are with you this morning because we are entirely dependent upon you for three vital reasons and we frankly cannot afford to slight you or to overlook your accomplishments.

The first reason is that our livelihood depends upon you. That's

harsh, perhaps shocking, but it's inescapable. It's obvious that the students who fail courses and eventually flunk out make no lasting contribution to our livelihood. Consider for example what would happen if all students entering Fort Hays during the next three or four years were to flunk out, the College would fold and your faculty would be on the open market seeking some less challenging form of employment. Like any successful business, our income depends upon a good product and you represent an outstanding one. The achievements of our students are analogous to the results of our automated peach sorters where the smaller underdeveloped fruit fall into the 25 cent bin while the largest and finest fruit make it to the fancy cellophane wrapped baskets labeled ten dollars and up. The more students in that "cellophane wrapped" category at the end of a college program, the better our academic "season."

Now the analogy breaks down at this point because we don't immediately receive a salary increase in direct proportion to an increased number of talented students. There's some inertia in the system due to the necessary chain of events. Some of you will go on to graduate school where your continued high performance will be attributed, in part, to your undergraduate programs. Thus other colleges and universities will regard Fort Hays with additional respect. As a result, some of your professors will receive better job offers. A few may even accept them. For the most part, however, the College will try to prevent such competition before it occurs by providing significant salary increases for the most effective professors, and there's no better way to demonstrate teaching effectiveness than to consistently attract and effectively challenge talented students.

There are other ways by which you will affect our incomes. In the future, many men and women, many of you for example, will find your way into positions of leadership—in government, in business, and in industry. Others will go into public school teaching and in that capacity will send your own talented students to continue this upward spiraling cycle. Some of you will encounter wealth and may decide to directly affect the income of one or more faculty members through endowments. Any and all of these things may occur among the group assembled here this morning. But our dependence upon you for our livelihood is only the first of three reasons for our presence here today.

The second reason is due to our identification with you and the vicarious pleasure we take in your accomplishments. You see, the faculty members here this morning are quite similar to you. Their

undergraduate performance was recognized by similar awards. And the identification persists. In fact, it's one of the most unshakeable affiliations we know. Let me illustrate by making a public confession. For fifteen years I have taught undergraduates and yet I'm still extremely nervous during the first several class sessions of each new academic term. On the other hand, I've addressed faculty members and college and university administrators on dozens of occasions on college campuses, at State and national conventions with little or no feelings of anxiety. Why the difference? In a class or lecture I'm still a student, only this time I'm the student who has been asked to go to the board and stay there throughout the entire period, and *that's nerve racking.* In my appearances before faculty members and administrators, I'm just one of the boys and there's no need to be nervous. I mention this to illustrate how thoroughly conditioned we've become and how completely we identify ourselves with each of you. Your academic success is our academic success and the failure of some of your colleagues is our failure too. Look closely at the faculty here today; we're praising ourselves and using the thinly veiled excuse of praising you.

The third reason we are here with you is related to our own personal search for individuality and immortality. Fundamental to the motives of most faculty members engaged in teaching and research is the ambition to occupy a unique slot in our society; unique not just in the sense of being a college professor, but unique among one's colleagues as well. By contributing to and reinforcing your unique talents we satisfy a need to perpetuate ourselves through the effective instruction of thousands of students during one lifetime. But this type of immortality depends heavily upon demonstrable results. If we thought you would retain or use little or none of our instruction, or worse still, that you would misinterpret and perpetuate error, most of us would seek other forms of employment. Your successful performance, on the other hand, convinces us that we can acquire, and have a bit of this pragmatic immortality.

These, then, are our reasons for acknowledging and supporting your accomplishments. You give to each of us a sense of continuity, a clearer identity, a salary increase, and a bit of immortality. Is it any wonder that we take the time on this and other occasions to express our gratitude and to extend our congratulations?

Now that you understand more fully why your professors and administrators are here this morning, I'd like to provide what I hope will be an acceptable reason for *your* presence on this occasion. Although we respect and applaud your individual accom-

plishments, I sincerely doubt whether this is a satisfactory reason for sitting uncomfortably for thirty minutes listening to someone else's President. At the risk of making you more uncomfortable, I'd like to outline several alarming discrepancies between the presentation of these awards and the real accomplishments that these awards imply.

Let's begin with the business of academic grades. I understand that each student recognized this morning has achieved a reasonably high grade point average. But, a course grade is necessarily based upon an extremely limited sampling of your total repertoire of skills and knowledge. Let me illustrate. Each of us, you and I, has experienced the distress which results from studying industriously for everything *except* the material that actually appears on a final examination; on the other hand, a few of you may have enjoyed the hollow triumph of hitting only one or two items that seemed important to the professor and discovering that the entire content of an examination was based upon these items of information. This is the problem that results from basing grades upon small samples of behavior. Indeed it is possible, though highly improbable, that a few of you are here today purely as a matter of chance, an accident, as it were, of sampling error.

The second obstacle which may completely negate your award is related to retention. Some of you will recall, as can I, those occasions when one stayed up all night to *cram* for an examination. Occasionally, this is successful, but often within days it was impossible to recall even the smallest fraction of the information that was acquired solely for the purpose of the examination. Skills and knowledge rotely learned for prompt regurgitation seldom stay with any of us. Unfortunately, it is frequently successful for examination performance. Accordingly, a few of you may be recognized today as a result of knowledge which you once possessed but which has slipped away sometime between then and now.

The third obstacle that stands between your current awards and later success relates to the known inequalities between college courses. Try as we might, it is frequently impossible to equate either the ability or effort required to obtain a high grade in one course with that required in another course. Thus the high grade point average which brings some of you here this morning may actually reflect less new knowledge than that which has been acquired by others not recognized today merely as a function of course selection. Some students find quick, easy paths to distinguished awards even to Phi Beta Kappa keys while others never surpass a "B" average but arm themselves with skills and knowl-

edges from some of the most difficult courses to be found anywhere in your College catalogue. Moreover, if I were asked to bet upon the success of one route versus the other, my money would ride, without hesitation, upon the latter; that is, upon the student who leaves this campus, perhaps undecorated, but uniquely equipped with a set of hard-earned skills and knowledge.

The fourth and fifth obstacles lie for the most part in the future. One of these is the synthesis of skills and knowledge while the other requires the application of your abilities to the problems of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Let me return briefly to the fourth obstacle and ask how many of you have made an effort to relate the information from introductory mathematics to introductory biology? Or to be more precise, what thought have you given to the mathematics of biology or the biology of mathematics? How many of you have attempted to relate world history to freshman English; to consider the history of literature or the role of literature in history? These are not meaningless questions and unfortunately the answers depend heavily upon you. We can give grades within courses but not between courses. Only you can know with what success you have related your knowledge from one course, one field, or one discipline to another. Lest you regard such an effort to be unnecessary or wasteful, let me remind you that the great successes of the past several decades have been recorded in interdisciplinary ventures; by lawyers versed in interstate commerce, by physicists knowledgeable in biology, by mathematician-psychologists, or by the rare politician who is knowledgeable about higher education. In fact, ten years after your graduation, it will be your ability to relate these knowledges one to the other, not the knowledge of course contents per se, that will serve you best.

The fifth and final obstacle is that of applying the synthesized skills and knowledges to the problems of your society. Despite the popular misconceptions about the egghead scholar who wanders about in a cloud, never to help in the solution of the problems which plague his fellow man, none of us can afford the luxury of knowledge for the sake of knowledge alone, any more than you can afford the luxury of attending college for the principal purpose of enhancing your wage-earning potential or to find a husband or wife. You must respond to the challenge to apply your abilities to the unknown problems of the future whether these be in the world of business and industry, in government, in education, in the professions, music, art or literature. Learning that will not be applied is a waste of your time and ours. If our talented, educated

men and women don't respond to these challenges in the decades ahead, our society will be forced to turn to less qualified men.

This brings me to the third and final theme of these remarks, to what I believe to be the most basic challenge of your generation and my own, the challenge of constructive individuality.

It may surprise you to learn that I regard your enrollment at Fort Hays Kansas State College as a distinct advantage for you. It will be less surprising if you recall that The University of Kansas was smaller than this institution less than a quarter century ago. There as here, the faculty and administration are constantly engaged in an effort to base the academic programs and student activities upon the demands of your generation rather than to adhere to courses and programs of instruction modeled after their own undergraduate experiences. This is a bold endeavor among faculty members who are characteristically rational, tolerant, and liberal about everything else except the curriculum. When it comes to curriculum revision, the ivy of alma mater often hangs heavy over out-moded academic programs designed to provide neatly packaged solutions to yesterday's problems. Unlike many undergraduates, you have opportunity to defend and support a college that has the audacity to educate for the frequently nebulous and inevitably complex problems of the 70's, 80's and even of the twenty-first century (when most of you will be in your prime and most of us will be retired or dead).

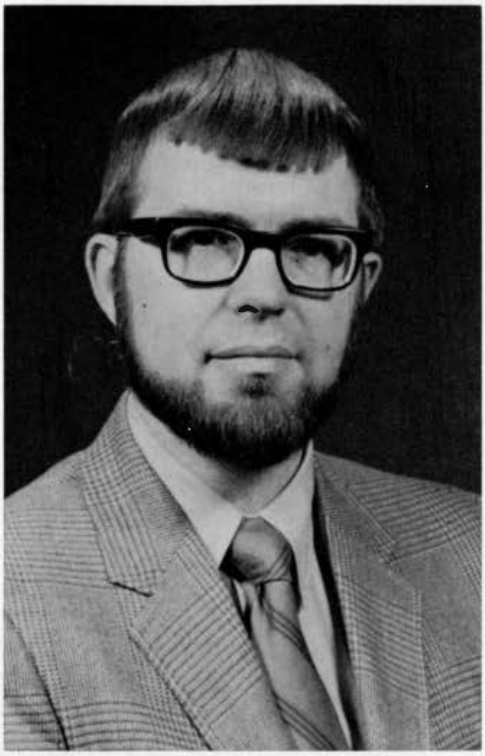
Your professors are admirably equipped for their role in this effort. Unfortunately, the presence of an excellent faculty and a liberated academic program provides only the potential for excellence. The rest is up to you. *You* must select the courses and combine the acquired knowledge into a unique pattern of abilities that complement the unique genetic stuff you started with. Some of you will ignore this challenge and settle for the comforts of conformity. Others will pursue a path over which few can follow. I sincerely believe the threats implicit in George Orwell's *1984*, or B. F. Skinner's *Walden II*, are real threats to your generation. Bionic or adaptive computers can and will be able to perform all of the tasks which large numbers of people perform today. And don't settle for the false security implied by the assertion that man can always pull the plug that supplies electricity to the computers. The only real security you will ever know resides in your unique ability to outperform the machines and your fellow man through an unduplicated set of skills and knowledge.

This morning you've won a preliminary bout in this struggle for

uniqueness. You've made a fine initial showing in the Collegiate Golden Gloves league. If each of you continues the fine performance you've demonstrated to date throughout a pattern of challenging and uniquely different courses, carefully synthesizing your learning each step along the way in order to bring this capability forcefully to bear upon the problems in the decades ahead, then this *is* a day worth recognizing.

If I could have a single wish granted to me on this occasion, it would be that each of you could be present at a mythical Honors Convocation ten years hence and that each of you could say that the further obstacles had been overcome. Then the recognition received ten years earlier will have been a most significant beginning to a lifetime of distinctions. I congratulate each of you upon your accomplishments and wish you Godspeed over the hurdles ahead. You've made the first plateau and are entitled to enjoy today's honor . . . realizing, of course, that your responsibilities begin anew in the morning.

Thank you.



## DR. LEO OLIVA

Dr. Leo Oliva, Chairman of the Department of History and one of the leading authorities on the Santa Fe Trail, opened the faculty symposium during Inauguration Week with a paper "The Indian Battalion on the Santa Fe Trail."

A graduate of Fort Hays State, Dr. Oliva holds advanced degrees from the University of Denver. His book "Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail," was published in 1967.

# The Indian Battalion on the Santa Fe Trail 1847-1848

The Indian Battalion of Missouri Volunteers provided protection for the Santa Fe Trail during the last phases of the Mexican War, 1847-1848. The story of that organization provides an interesting drama of soldiering on the Plains, fighting Indians, and surviving in a hostile environment. In addition the activities of this unit help fill a gap in the history of Indian relations in the Great Plains region and provide evidence that volunteer troops could perform valuable service despite serious handicaps, especially lack of discipline and training.

Most studies of Indian-white relations and conflicts in the Great Plains give only brief, if any, attention to what happened prior to the Civil War.[1] All too often the Indian uprisings and a few dramatic battles of the Civil War years are used as the base from which to launch the great story of the postwar era when Civil War officers moved westward to face a new enemy. After presenting William T. Sherman, Philip Sheridan, George Crook, and a host of lesser luminaries, followed by the legendary George A. Custer, the typical study culminates with the final defeat of the Indians and the closing of the frontier in 1890. One could conclude that either nothing happened on the Plains before the Civil War or what did happen was unimportant and unworthy of serious consideration.

This is unfortunate because developments from about the time of the Mexican War until the Civil War were of much significance for the Indians and for the army.[2] It was during this era that Plains Indians and white emigrants and soldiers had their first meaningful contacts. It was the period in which the civil and military policies toward the Plains tribes were taking shape, when a system of military posts was established to provide a defense system which would last until after the last Indian war, when many Indians became openly hostile for the first time, and when whites learned much of the geographical conditions under which they would have to labor in meeting the natives. The era from 1846 to 1865 was a major period in the history of westward expansion, and the military actions of these two decades are fundamental to understanding the better known post-Civil War conquest. The Indian Battalion was one of the first military units to make contact with Plains Indians, and thus it is a part of that important early story.

The American people had long been distrustful of a large, permanent military organization [3] and thus had to rely upon volunteer citizen-soldiers in times of crisis. Such troops had served the nation well from time to time, but they also presented serious problems. The record of volunteer success in campaigns against hostile Indian bands had been good under such leaders as Andrew Jackson, but the behavior of citizen-soldiers in the Black Hawk War, 1831-1832, had demonstrated what could happen when inadequate discipline, training, and leadership were combined. In that war some 40 Indian warriors frightened almost 400 volunteers from their camp, in which they abandoned all baggage and supplies, chased the citizen-soldiers about twenty-five miles through the night, after which most of the volunteers went home leaving the field to the regular army troops. The reputation of volunteers had suffered a severe blow, and the officers and men of the regular army had little use for undisciplined volunteers.

But when the Mexican War came the United States had to depend on volunteers for the greater part of military manpower. Altogether 30,476 men served in the regular army during the conflict while 73,532 men served in volunteer units.[4] Robert Utley has declared that the regular army had, throughout the Mexican War, "consistently outshone the Volunteers in every test of military ability and had been largely responsible for the succession of triumphs. . . ." [5] Yet the volunteers of the Indian Battalion, performing a duty in which no regular troops were employed during the war and demonstrating all the weaknesses of using citizen-soldiers, successfully completed the mission to which they were assigned.

This battalion played no direct role in the war itself and participated in none of those glorious, victorious campaigns which saw the defeat of Mexican armies and the establishment of the United States on the Pacific and in the American Southwest. This detachment was ordered into service on the Plains, 1847-1848, to protect the vital supply lines following the Santa Fe Trail to American troops in the Southwest. Their enemy was not the Mexican soldier but the hostile bands of Indians—Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Kiowas, Comanches, Pawnees, Osages, and Apaches—who brought havoc along the unprotected highway to the Land of Enchantment.

In the military history of the Santa Fe Trail, this was the first force sent onto that route for the specific purpose of clearing it of Indian hostilities, and it was the most successful command in carrying out such an assignment until after the Civil War, actually until the winter campaign of 1868-1869 against the southern Plains Indians.[6]

The success of the Indian Battalion is remarkable when the obstacles which it had to surmount are enumerated: (1) all soldiers were one-year volunteers (most of whom had no previous military experience and had not even seen Indians before), (2) two of the five companies were German immigrants (most of whom understood little or no English) who were fearful of and feared by the other companies, (3) no training in military tactics or discipline was provided before the citizen-soldiers were marched away from civilization to a new life on the lonely prairies, (4) although ordered for service on the Plains along some 500 miles of a wilderness thread called the Trail to Santa Fe to deal with nomadic natives mounted on swift ponies, the battalion contained more foot soldiers than mounted troops, (5) for the duration of the campaign the force operated without adequate provisions at great distances from its source of supplies, (6) it operated as an independent battalion without being assigned to any military department (and thus had no superior officer to direct it, although the commanding officer directed his reports and requests to the Secretary of War and the Adjutant General of the Army in Washington, D. C.), (7) the troops wintered on the Plains in the midst of the Indians, despite inadequate clothing, forage, and medical supplies, and (8) they faced hostile Indians who had committed more depredations along the Santa Fe Trail during the preceding year than in all other years up to that time. That each of these obstacles created serious problems is a matter of record and that they were overcome is, indeed, remarkable; that the Indian Battalion was able to clear the Santa Fe Trail of Indian hostilities while dealing with those problems is extraordinary. In the history of volunteer troops on the American frontier, the Indian Battalion established a record in accomplishment of assignment and in Indian control that was rarely equaled and perhaps never surpassed.

While the effective results obtained along the Santa Fe Trail seem an improbable accomplishment of the impossible, it is just as remarkable that neither the War Department nor the Interior Department followed the fruitful service of the Indian Battalion with any immediate program of military operations or treaty negotiations. As a result all the advantageous gains of 1847-1848 were lost, not to be regained for two decades. However, it must be remembered that the battalion's campaign was an emergency measure of the Mexican War.

Although Plains Indians had periodically attacked traders and travelers on the Santa Fe Trail since the 1820's, none was so daring

as to attack any section of Stephen Watts Kearny's Army of the West as it marched down the Trail to occupy New Mexico in 1846. That overwhelming force caused the hostile bands to maintain a secure distance. But the supply trains which followed, each comprised of approximately twenty-five wagons, were not so fortunate. Then, while the Trail was an indispensable route of supply to the soldiers operating in New Mexico and beyond, hostiles attacked and destroyed the supply trains and traders caravans at an alarming rate.

During the spring and summer of 1847 the incursions became increasingly severe; almost every party traveling between Missouri and New Mexico was attacked at some point on the Trail. One of the soldiers, John T. Hughes, explained that, in 1847,

> . . . the Indians . . . infested the Santa Fe road, committed repeated depredations on the government trains, . . . killed and drove off great numbers of horses, mules and oxen, . . . and in several instances overpowered, and slew, or captured many of our people. They openly declared that they would cut off all communication between the western States and New Mexico, and capture and enslave every American who might venture to pass the plains.[7]

Quartermaster General T. S. Jesup summarized the situation in his annual report for 1847:

> There is a great difficulty in keeping up the supplies for the troops in New Mexico. The Indians of the plains have committed many depredations on the trains; they have driven off all the cattle of some of them, and have killed many of the drivers. Unless an imposing mounted force be employed against them, and they be severely chastised, it will be impossible to send supplies on that route.[8]

The increased hostilities and concomitant loss of supplies and lives, plus the pleas for protection being heard from soldiers in the field, officers in high positions, and newspaper editors, led the War Department to abandon the policy which it had hoped would be sufficient, that of requiring the men of the supply caravans to protect themselves. On July 24, 1847, Secretary of War William L. Marcy requisitioned five companies of volunteers from Missouri to protect the Santa Fe Trail from hostile attacks and "to chastise the offenders, and procure, as far as practicable, the restoration of the plundered property." [9]

Missouri Governor John Edwards issued the call for men and persuaded William Gilpin, who had served as major with Alexander W. Doniphan's First Regiment of Missouri Mounted Volunteers (1846-1847), to accept the rank of lieutenant colonel and command the Indian Battalion. Recruitment proceeded quickly. Two com-

panies of cavalry were furnished by Jackson County and were commanded by Captain John C. Griffin (Company A, 93 men) and Captain Thomas Jones (Company B, 83 men). St. Louis furnished a company of artillery and two companies of infantry. Captain William Pelzer headed the artillery (Company C), comprised of 104 Germans with four heavy six-pound howitzers. Captain Paul Holzscheiter recruited an all-German company of infantry (Company D) which included 79 volunteers. The other St. Louis company of infantry (Company E) was Captain Napoleon Koscialowski's Kosciusko Guards, which had not been accepted into the Third Regiment of Missouri Volunteers raised earlier that year, totaling 80 men. The field and staff officers added 9 men to the total roster, which was 448.[10] All companies assembled at Fort Leavenworth, in September of 1847, where they were mustered into the service of the United States and outfitted for service on the Plains.[11]

The man responsible for outfitting the battalion and seeing that it was dispatched for service along the Santa Fe Trail as quickly as possible was Lieutenant Colonel Clifton Wharton, First Dragoons, commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth. Like many other career officers in the regular army, Wharton had little faith in, perhaps even contempt for, volunteer troops. Although he had no official jurisdiction over Gilpin's operations, Wharton presumed to design the plan for the forthcoming campaign (which roused Gilpin's ire), and he failed to supply the troops with adequate equipment and provisions for field operations which, as a result, were conducted under serious handicaps.

After the battalion was assembled, Wharton issued directions on September 20 for the duties of the command during the coming autumn and winter. Captains Griffin and Jones were ordered to depart with their cavalry companies on September 22 and proceed to the Crossing of the Arkansas where they were to investigate and provide protection, attack any hostile Indians encountered, and recover any United States property found in the marauders' possession. Then the two companies were to go into winter quarters at Fort Scott near the Missouri border, far from the Trail which they were to protect. The artillery and infantry companies were ordered to occupy Fort Mann, a small post erected by the quartermaster department during the preceding year a few miles west of present Dodge City, and there "erect temporary defenses, quarters, store houses and hospitals." Gilpin was to be the commander of this division of the battalion.[12]

Gilpin took issue with Wharton regarding the purpose of the battalion. Wharton understood that the command had been raised to protect people traveling along the Trail and therefore directed that the troops should not leave the route. Gilpin interpreted the instructions "to chastise the offenders" more broadly, and he asserted in strong terms that the troops should pursue hostile Indians wherever they might retreat and punish them. Wharton commanded Gilpin to retract his insubordinate assertion or be placed under arrest. Gilpin refused and was arrested, although he later retracted what he had said and was released.[13] It should be added that both Gilpin and Wharton were ill at the time, which probably made them both disagreeable, and Wharton was apparently an unhappy soldier because he had been left behind while a war was going on.

Gilpin was further enraged when his troops were provided with what he considered to be the poorest equipment available. He later charged that Wharton refused to issue sabers, books of military regulations or instructions, musical instruments, officers' arms, and forage. Medical supplies were almost entirely overlooked; defective arms were furnished; the camp equipage was worn and decayed; and transportation, food, arms, and ammunition were insufficient. In addition the men were not given time to procure adequate clothing for wintering on the plains. Finally, the troops were dispatched onto the Trail with no time allowed for training in military tactics or discipline.[14]

It is impossible to determine just what kind of equipment was available at Fort Leavenworth but, considering the fact that supplies were continually being shipped from that post to troops in the Southwest, it is possible that Wharton did the best he could. Nevertheless Gilpin held Wharton personally responsible for discriminating against his battalion. In fact Gilpin's hatred of Wharton continued, perhaps increased, during the year of service as he saw his command suffer from want of clothing, medical supplies, and other provisions. And Gilpin gave vent to his feelings in his written reports.

In January 1848 he complained to Secretary of War Marcy about the shortage of provisions and declared that because of "the malice of the commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth, my battalion was precipitated into the field in a most naked condition."[15] He later complained to Adjutant General Roger Jones about the "continually crippled condition and destitution of supplies caused by the ignorance, the laziness and the vicious character of the officers in the frontier depots. . . ."[16] In his summary report of the year's

operations, Gilpin declared that Wharton had "displayed towards the companies of the battalion and myself the most unrelenting malice." After recounting the poor quality and inadequate quantity of equipment and supplies provided, he observed that "the whole [battalion] was rushed upon the wilderness in a raw and crippled condition." Finally, after charging that "a misdirection was given to its winter operations," Gilpin concluded that the battalion had a "disastrous commencement" from which it was "unable to recover." [17]

Gilpin must have been a disappointed and discouraged commanding officer as his unprepared force left Fort Leavenworth during the latter part of September and the first week of October. In addition to the problems of undisciplined recruits, an inexperienced staff, two companies of Germans who understood little or no English, inadequate provisions, and no orders except the general directions of the War Department in the requisition for volunteers and the presumptuous orders issued by Wharton, Gilpin was in ill-health. He continued to suffer from the malaria he had contracted in Mexico while serving with Doniphan, and he had a severe cold during the winter. At the conclusion of the battalion's service he would report: "My health has continued to grow worse . . . & is disastrously bad." [18]

Despite all these handicaps, the lieutenant colonel led his command onto the vast prairies to provide as much protective relief as possible under the circumstances. The only difficulty encountered as they marched to the region of hostilities was dissension between the German and non-German companies of foot soldiers, which first flared up on October 23. The reasons for the enmity that existed between ethnic groups has not been found, but the fears of the other faction that existed within both elements seemed to be without foundation and were a discredit to both groups. The incident provides evidence that the troops were not soldiers, knew no discipline, were in need of military training, and in fact the incident contributed to the lack of discipline.

At a later date First Lieutenant Amandus V. Schnabel, Company D, was charged with part of the responsibility for the disturbance on October 23. He was accused of spreading "certain false rumors of his invention to the effect that the two German companies" (C and D) were going to be surrounded by Company E and thus created a "mutinous spirit" among the Germans and excited them to "great breaches of discipline." [19] Captain Pelzer, Company C, was accused of making seditious speeches to the German volunteers on the same day, "thereby inciting his men to mutiny and to resistance

of lawful authority." The captain was later charged with mutiny because he distributed cartridges to the two German companies and ordered them to load their weapons under the pretense of the contemplated attack by the other company, although Gilpin had expressly forbidden both the distribution of ammunition and loading of firearms.[20]

Just how Gilpin managed to avert open confrontation that day is unknown, but the incident was settled peaceably. It was, however, a portent of future problems, for many of the foot soldiers never submitted to military discipline, the ethnic enmity remained, and both Schnabel and Pelzer were to be a discredit to the battalion. In fact, Pelzer gave his first reported exhibition of drunkenness on October 25, and that was the only other incident of note before the battalion concentrated at Walnut Creek, where the foot soldiers joined the cavalry on November 1.

As he proceeded westward, Gilpin gathered information about the Indian situation from traders, government teamsters, and other travelers returning from New Mexico, in order that he might further plan the operations for the winter. As a result of his inquiries, he estimated the American losses to Indians during the summer of 1847 at 47 men killed, 330 wagons destroyed, and 6,500 head of stock stolen or killed. He discovered that there were no points of security on the Trail between Council Grove and Las Vegas, a distance of approximately 550 miles. Fort Mann had been abandoned by quartermaster employees.

The information gathered indicated that the Pawnees, Comanches, and Kiowas had made their attacks along the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers, while the Apaches had operated primarily along the upper Canadian River. In addition Gilpin was apprised of the rumor that the Apaches were seeking an alliance with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes (located along the upper Arkansas River) in order to continue the war and to close the Santa Fe Trail with their united strength during the coming year.

With this better understanding of the Indian situation along the Trail Gilpin issued his directions for the winter months. The foot soldiers were stationed at Fort Mann, under command of Captain Pelzer, for the purpose of repairing and enlarging that post. This small fort would provide a safe stopping place for those traveling the Trail and would be used by the battalion as a base of operations during the coming spring and summer. Gilpin took the two mounted companies to the upper Arkansas (present southeastern Colorado) and encamped "in the midst of the winter residences of the Chey-

ennes and Arapahoes," hoping to prevent them from allying with the Apaches.[21]

Wintering on the plains proved to be a most difficult task, which Gilpin succinctly summarized: "Being without provisions and transportation, my command, dismounted for the most part, endured in tents the rigors of the long winter, subsisting the men upon such provisions as could be procured from New Mexico and the Indians, and the horses upon the dead winter grass." [22] But the endurance of the season was worthwhile, for Gilpin's venturesome boldness in placing his troops "in the midst" of the Indians produced the desired results.

The Cheyennes and Arapahoes were reported to be so "overawed by this immediate contrast of a military force" that they broke off relations with the Apaches and Comanches and persuaded the Kiowas to withdraw from their alliance with the Comanches. And the effect lasted beyond the winter months; the Arapahoes, Cheyennes, and Kiowas committed no hostilities along the Trail during 1848. This separation of the Plains tribes and neutralization of these three was a major accomplishment of the entire campaign, and the battalion was now freed to concentrate on the other hostile bands, especially the Comanches, during the spring and summer months.

Meanwhile things had not been going well back at Fort Mann. Captain Pelzer had mishandled his first attempt at Indian relations. His inexperience and inability to command effectively, plus the nature of the volunteers who seemed unwilling to be commanded, the dissatisfaction of the troops with some of their officers, and other incidents, combined to produce a situation that was quite unmilitary. These problems continued to plague Gilpin and to bring discredit to the battalion; fortunately for the mission of the command the incidents did not restrict seriously the military impact of the troops upon the Indians.

The volunteers at the fort met Indians on November 16 when a band of approximately sixty-five Pawnees approached the post from the south side of the Arkansas, crossed the river, and stopped nearby. Four came closer to the fort carrying a white flag, and Pelzer took Lieutenant Caleb S. Tuttle and a six-man guard out to meet them. The chief produced several letters which alleged that the Indians were a party of friendly Pawnees. Then, as Pelzer reported: "they shekt Hands with us and i envoited them to come with me to the Fort." [23]

After a smoke with the Indians, Pelzer showed them his artillery. What aroused the captain's suspicion is not clear, but it occurred

to him that the Indians might be investigating the strength of his garrison preparatory for an attack. Thus he ordered the volunteers to go to their quarters, quietly load their firearms, and remain there. He invited the remainder of the Pawnee party into the fort, and all but three or four were brought in and seated around the flagpole. While the Indians were coming in the guards were told that they were not to let them go out. [24]

What followed is not easy to piece together because of conflicting reports, but it seems that Pelzer and the battalion adjutant, Henry Routt, decided the letters were not sufficient proof that the Indians were friendly. Pelzer wanted to hold them as captives until Gilpin could be notified by express and send back orders directing the proper disposition of the Pawnees, but Routt cautioned that the command did not have sufficient provisions to care for so many prisoners. At that moment it was reported that a large body of Indians was seen on the opposite side of the river. The chief denied that the new arrivals were part of his party, but Pelzer, by means of signs, accused him of lying. The chief became agitated (perhaps realizing the precarious position in which his men were placed), and Pelzer decided to hold the Indians inside the post as prisoners and sent a small detail to bring in the three or four Pawnees still outside. When these were being brought through the gate, the chief gave a signal and the entire party made a rush to escape. Pelzer ordered his men to fire, but the Indians succeeded in getting away, losing two killed and an estimated twenty-five wounded (two of whom did not get out and were held as prisoners). The volunteers had two men slightly wounded. It was later discovered that two more of the Indians, unable to escape, had hidden in Pelzer's quarters. They were both killed at Pelzer's order when they attempted to break away.

Although this unwarranted attack on the Pawnees was later declared to result "from ignorance and mutual suspicion . . . and not from bad motives," [25] the incident was severely criticized. A Missouri newspaper accused Pelzer of committing "cold blooded murder." [26] The War Department investigated, and Pelzer was later charged with "gross violation of good faith in his intercourse with the Pawnee tribe of the Indians, and a wanton destruction of the lives of a portion of the said Indians, conduct tending to a subversion of all attempts on the part of the United States to maintain peaceful relations with said tribe." [27]

The next episode at Fort Mann, although less serious than the killing of Indians, reflected again the difficulties of using undis-

ciplined volunteer troops and added to the popular view that the expedition was basically a farce. Before departing from Fort Leavenworth Lieutenant Amandus Schnabel of Company D had succeeded in recruiting as a private in his company an "abandoned female" named Caroline Newcome. Disguised in man's apparel and assuming the name of Bill Newcome, she had marched to Fort Mann without detection. This happy situation continued for several weeks and was only revealed when Private Newcome became pregnant and the lieutenant encouraged her to desert. She was caught, her true identity was discovered, and she was sent to Missouri with a returning wagon train. Lieutenant Schnabel was later court-martialed; the charges against him were interesting:

Gross fraud upon the United States in obtaining and conniving at the false muster of a female into the service of the United States as a soldier known by him to be such, and mustered under a false guise and name by his procurement. . . . [He] was in the habit of calling her and did call her in the presence and hearing of members of said company, by the false and assumed name of "Bill Newcome" and passed her off by such false name, at the same time resorting to various means to keep the said female disguised as a male, off from duty in the company under different pretexts and during all or portions of that period was tenting, sleeping and co-habiting with the said female, thereby defrauding the United States of the service of a good and competent soldier. . . .[28]

Other violations of military discipline followed. In December a detail of soldiers from Fort Mann was dispatched to escort a supply train to Gilpin's cavalry camp. Lieutenant William O'Hara, an Irish officer in the predominantly German Company D, was placed in command of the escort, but the German troops refused to obey his orders. All but four of his command refused to march or camp with the wagons. Two privates, Auguste Falbush and William Goldbeck, were the apparent ringleaders of the dissidents, and they took the soldiers' baggage wagon with them. They remained separated from Lt. O'Hara and the wagons until the day they all reached Gilpin's camp.

Gilpin wasted no time in ordering a court-martial to try the offenders for "disobedience of orders and disorderly conduct." He declared that "in the desultory warfare of this country, with green troops, discipline cannot be maintained without severe examples being made of prominent criminals."[29] The court found the defendants guilty and sentenced them to hard labor for one month during which they were to forfeit all pay.[30]

On the return march to Fort Mann, the same men refused to obey Lt. O'Hara, shot at him, and forced him to abandon his command. After an investigation, Goldbeck was charged with mutiny, found

guilty, and sent under guard to Fort Leavenworth to be discharged in "disgrace." Private Falbush faced the same charge, but was also accused of fatally shooting a fellow soldier (Mathew Ambruster), and he was dismissed from the service to be turned over to civil authorities in Missouri to be tried for murder.[31]

The troubles were not over at Fort Mann, but Gilpin had to devote his attention to the mission of the battalion. In January he ordered Company E (infantry) and a portion of the artillery company (with one six-pound howitzer) to join him at his camp above Bent's Fort. He hoped to find horses and mules for these troops and then undertake an expedition against the Apaches and Comanches. But he had not yet left the Arkansas camp when problems at Fort Mann disrupted his mission.

He first received a written complaint from three officers stationed at Fort Mann: Captain Holzscheiter, Lt. Edward Colston, and Lt. Albert F. Schnabel (apparently a brother of Amandus Schnabel). These men lamented the lack of discipline at the post and charged Pelzer with being intoxicated and totally unfit for duty at a time during an Indian alarm, with disobedience of orders in that he had refused to carry out the punishment of privates Falbush and Goldbeck as ordered by Gilpin following their conviction, with misuse of government property and abuse of the battalion quartermaster, with ordering the men of Captain Holzscheiter's company to disobey their captain's orders, and with "ungentlemenly and unofficerlike conduct during the entire period of his command." [32]

The charges of these officers were soon followed by a petition from 112 men of companies C and D. They requested Gilpin to remove Pelzer from his duty as commanding officer of the post and of his company of artillery because he had lost all confidence of his men and was "not capable to sustain military order & discipline." [33]

Gilpin communicated his distress to Secretary of War Marcy and requested that the two German companies be discharged from the service and that he be authorized to summon "courts of sufficient power to scoup out the evils every day aggravating in the service in this country, which requires above all others effective & active troops in a high state of discipline." [34] Adjutant General Jones supported the request that the two German companies be discharged and recommended that, since Gilpin's command was scattered and probably could not get together to form a court-martial, Brevet Colonel John Garland, commanding officer of the Third Military District (with headquarters at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri) be sent with Lieutenant Colonel Wharton to Gilpin's headquarters to in-

vestigate the disorders reported and discharge the guilty parties.[35] President James K. Polk approved the recommendation for an investigation, and Secretary of War Marcy sent notice to Garland and Wharton on May 9. Wharton started from Fort Leavenworth with Garland, became too ill to proceed, and returned to his post where he died on July 13, 1848. Garland proceeded alone to Fort Mann, arriving there early in July. During most of this time Pelzer remained in command and the other acts of insubordination went unpunished. Before Garland arrived, Gilpin had completed his expedition.

Early in March Gilpin took his enlarged command (approximately 300 officers and men) to Mora, New Mexico, where, with the aid of William Bent and Ceran St. Vrain, provisions were secured and mules were purchased to remount part of the cavalry (whose horses had failed to survive the winter) and to mount the infantrymen and artillerymen. This mounted force then proceeded to the Canadian River on a campaign against the Apaches and Comanches. The purpose of the expedition was to catch those two tribes, attack them in their Winter villages, and prevent them from moving northward to harass the trail. During the remainder of March, April, and the first half of May, the troops marched down the Canadian but never located the Indians.

The Apaches and Comanches had been warned of the soldiers' advance by a party of Mexican hunters, had evacuated their traditional winter quarters, set fire to the countryside, and had dispersed in several directions, some going into Texas and others into the Mexican state of Chihuahua. On May 18 Gilpin, convinced that he would not overtake the Indians, headed toward Fort Mann where he arrived on May 30. He had not chastised the Apaches and Comanches, but he had prevented them from raiding along the Trail during those months.

At Fort Mann Gilpin found the chiefs of the Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes awaiting his return and desirous of signing a peace treaty. Gilpin did not have the authority to sign treaties with the Indians, so he sent them back to their homes on the upper Arkansas and requested them to wait there until an Indian agent or government commissioner could be sent to negotiate with them.[36] The chiefs complied with this request, remained at their camps for the rest of the year, but did not secure a negotiator.

Indian Agent Thomas Fitzpatrick confirmed the peaceful behavior of these three tribes, but he left Bent's Fort in the spring of 1848 without concluding any agreement with them.[37] It is possible

that he did not have the authority to sign a treaty with these Indians.[38] This complicated matters for the Indians and the military. Gilpin's assurances of a treaty were not carried out; the Indians would be reluctant to trust the military in the future.

Up to the end of May, 1848, the Indian Battalion had been successful in its mission despite all the difficulties within the command. The Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes had withdrawn from the Trail, and the Apaches and Comanches had been prevented from raiding along the route. However, bands of these latter two tribes returned to the Trail during June. The Apaches committed hostilities along the upper Canadian and near Raton Pass in New Mexico, but they were driven off by troops sent out from Santa Fe.[39] The Comanches offered the most serious threat along the Trail during 1848.

The Comanches usually met with members of the Osage tribe near the confluence of the Cimarron and Arkansas rivers during the month of May to obtain arms, powder, lead, knives, and other supplies. The Osages secured the trade items from their licensed Indian traders; the Comanches "paid" for them with mules which they had stolen in Texas and Mexico.[40] After obtaining their supplies, they usually ascended the Arkansas and began to attack travelers using the Santa Fe Trail, often commencing their attacks in the vicinity of Walnut or Pawnee creeks. They did not deviate from this pattern in 1848, but then they were met by the Indian Battalion which inflicted considerable losses on them in a series of engagements.

The first major encounter with the Comanches came on June 18, when approximately 500 Indians attacked two government supply trains and a paymaster's train which Lieutenant Philip Stremmel's detachment of artillery from Fort Mann and Lieutenant William B. Royall, First Dragoons, with seventy-one recruits, were escorting. In the ensuing battle, the Comanches lost 23 killed, about 50 wounded, and obtained only a few horses and mules. The troops reported losses of four wounded, none killed.[41]

Gilpin, upon receiving word that Indians were attacking along the Trail, set up a system of small escorts for caravans moving in both directions. These operated throughout the summer months, and Gilpin later reported that they had "defeated the Indians [Comanches, Pawnees, Osages, and Apaches] on many occasions with great slaughter."[42] The successful operation of these escorts is attested by the fact that, while more people traveled and more commodities were shipped over the Trail in 1848 than in any pre-

vious year, fewer robberies were committed by Indians than during any recent years and only three travelers were reported killed by Indians (two of those by Apaches in New Mexico).[43] On the other hand, Hubert Howe Bancroft concluded that over 250 Indians met their death at the hands of the Indian Battalion.[44]

While the escorts were safeguarding the route, Gilpin devoted special attention to chastising the hostile Comanches. On July 7 he sent Captain Griffin with 100 officers and men and one six-pounder to search out and attack the Comanches' encampment on the Cimarron River. Two days later the soldiers located a camp of about 600 warriors and attacked. After a fierce battle of three hours, the Indians abandoned their camp. They had lost at least 30 killed and an undetermined number wounded, while the soldiers had two officers slightly wounded. Too exhausted to pursue the Indians, and lacking necessary supplies to do so, Griffin's force encamped for the night on the battlefield and returned to Fort Mann on July 12, sighting no Indians on the return march.[45]

Gilpin, believing that the Comanches were still encamped at some point near the Cimarron, sent another detachment from the fort on July 15, under command of Captain Jones, with instructions to find and attack the Comanches' camp. With 109 officers and men, one six-pounder, and 12 days' provisions, Jones marched eastward along the Arkansas for two days, turned south, and on July 19 reached the Cimarron. The troops found fresh Indian signs but no Indians. It appeared that the Comanches had moved up the river, and the soldiers moved in that direction the following day. About ten o'clock in the morning of July 20 they sighted an Indian near a grove of trees by the river. The soldiers investigated and were attacked by about 50 Indians, believed to be Pawnees, who had remained concealed. Jones's command killed 21 Indians and wounded many more and suffered five men injured and none killed.[46]

The volunteers quickly scouted the region for additional Indians and discovered a Comanche village which appeared to have been hastily abandoned, there being a considerable amount of provisions left on the campground. The troops destroyed what the Indians had left behind. Captain Jones estimated that the number of lodges had been between 800 and 1,000.

The command then returned to Fort Mann because Jones wanted to get medical attention for his wounded men. From his observations, he reported that the Comanches had "been effectually driven from the Arkansas, and to have retreated in the direction of the

lower Canadian." [47] No evidence has been located to show that the Comanches harassed travelers on the Trail during the remainder of 1848.

That there was heavy use of the Trail in 1848 is attested by Gilpin's estimate that over 3,000 wagons passed Fort Mann during the spring and summer. He considered his estimate of 12,000 people and 50,000 head of livestock to be a conservative guess.[48] The great migration was only beginning; the Gold Rush of the following year would turn that stream into a flood.

While the battalion was fulfilling its mission of clearing the Trail of Indian threats, the internal problems of the command were also resolved. For the first time since the previous November, Gilpin was in command of the troops left at Fort Mann. In addition Colonel Garland arrived to investigate the conduct of the officers and men at the post.

Garland found one of the wounded Pawnee Indians, who had been captured in November, still a prisoner in irons. The Pawnee was released, sent to Fort Leavenworth with directions to return him to his nation at the earliest opportunity. Garland instructed him to report to his people that the President of the United States was sorry for the unfortunate incident at Fort Mann and that the officer guilty of the bad conduct had been punished and sent out of the Indian country in disgrace.[49]

Captain Pelzer had been arrested by Gilpin, and he was now brought before Garland and charged with "violation of good faith in his intercourse with the Pawnee tribe," mutiny, habitual drunkenness, conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, and conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline. Pelzer offered to resign from the service and Garland, knowing that the service of the volunteers was about to expire, accepted the resignation and ordered Pelzer to leave the region.[50]

Garland then heard the charges against Amandus Schnabel regarding the case of Private Bill Newcome, and Schnabel's resignation was accepted and he was ordered to leave the Indian territory. Three other officers tendered their resignations and all were accepted. They were lieutenants John Stephens, William Cudgington or Crudington, and Willam O'Hara. Each was declared to be inefficient and "an absolute drawback to the discipline of the battalion." [51]

Falbush and Goldbeck were then tried and their cases decided as reported above. In addition Garland investigated several charges of horse stealing and found that there was no evidence to support

the charges. Garland closed his proceedings and returned to Missouri, reporting that Gilpin was satisfied that "no further investigation would be necessary for the vindication of discipline in his command." [52]

In August the Indian Battalion, its year of service about to expire, was ordered to go to Independence to be discharged. The removal of this unit from the region left the Trail without military protection.

Gilpin summarized the accomplishments of his command: "The active operations of the battalion have . . . been constant and successful. The Indians inhabiting the waters of the Arkansas river have . . . been either held in peace or effectually defeated." [53] Indian Agent Fitzpatrick noted the "cessation of hostilities," and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, Thomas H. Harvey, as well as Secretary of War Marcy, commended the successes of Gilpin's battalion.[54]

It is difficult to explain how the battalion overcame the obstacles and achieved success in its mission. Several possible reasons can be suggested. It is clear that the two cavalry companies enjoyed better leadership and discipline than the foot soldiers, and the mounted troops were the ones who accomplished the goals of the campaign. The major advantage the volunteers had in engagements with the Indians was superior firepower; few warriors had guns at this early date. Although the number of troops in the Indian Battalion was quite small, the Indians may have been "overawed" by their presence mainly because several thousand other troops marched down the Santa Fe Trail during the course of the Mexican War. Many of those same troops marched back over the same route upon completion of their tour of duty in the Southwest. Thus it is impossible to evaluate the true military impact of the Indian Battalion by itself. Finally, it should be reiterated that the Plains Indians were not united in their attacks upon the Trail or their resistance to the battalion. Thus the amount of credit deserved by the battalion and the amount of credit that belongs to other circumstances is a moot question. The one thing that is clear is that the threat of Indians to the Santa Fe Trail was limited and finally removed during 1848.

With the close of the Mexican War and the expiration of legislation authorizing the raising of volunteer forces, the services of additional volunteers for duty on the Trail could not be secured. The continued protection of the Trail would depend upon the regular army. The accomplishments of 1847-1848 were only temporary, and unless troops were sent out the following year and proper agreements were negotiated with the Indians, all the gains of the Indian Battalion would soon be lost.

Lieutenant Colonel Gilpin recognized that his accomplishments were only a beginning of a solution for the problem facing the War Department and Bureau of Indian Affairs, and he made several recommendations to the government near the end of his period of service. He believed that the establishment of five or six military posts, the assignment of a large number of mounted troops (at least 1,000) to garrison those forts and provide escorts along the Trail, and the negotiation of peace treaties with hostile tribes would bring an end to hostilities. Indian Agent Fitzpatrick made similar recommendations.

Neither these nor other recommendations were followed in the immediate postwar period; in fact no policy was developed for dealing with the Plains Indians for almost two years. By that time the tribes had regained a position of power along the Santa Fe Trail and throughout the Great Plains which was not to be broken for at least twenty years. Thus, in the long run, the operations of the Indian Battalion had only served to postpone more serious difficulties with the Plains Indians.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Ralph K. Andrist, *The Long Death: The Last Days of the Plains Indians* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1964).

2. A recent study of this era is Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1967).

3. "Americans were simply not military minded, and in peacetime abhorred a standing army." Howard H. Peckham, *The Colonial Wars* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 215.

4. Russell F. Weigley, *History of the United States Army* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1967), p. 183.

5. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue*, p. 28.

6. There had been several military escorts provided for caravans using the Santa Fe Trail during the pre-Mexican War era; see the author's *Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), chap. II. For the winter campaign of 1868-1869, see William H. Leckie, *The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963) and George B. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956).

7. John T. Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition* (Cincinnati: J. A. and U. P. James, 1848), p. 403.

8. Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1847, U. S. Congress, *H. R. Exec. Doc. No. 8*, 30 Cong., 1 sess. (Serial 515), p. 545.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

10. *Daily Missouri Republican*, November 1 & 6, 1847.

11. The companies were accepted into the service of the United States on the following dates: Co. A: September 3, 1847, Co. B: September 11, Co. C: September 10, Co. D: September 18, and Co. E: September 18. William E. Connelley, "Mr. Gilpin's Santa Fe Trace Battalion," *Kansas Historical Collections*, X (1907-1908), 114-115.

12. *Daily Missouri Republican*, November 1, 1847.

13. *Ibid.*, October 11, 1847.

14. William Gilpin to William L. Marcy, January 8, 1848, Letters Received, MSS., Adjutant General's Office (Record Group 94), National Archives; Gilpin to Roger Jones, August 1, 1848, U. S. Congress, *H. R. Exec. Doc. No. 1,* 30 Cong., 2 sess. (Serial 537), pp. 138-139.

15. Gilpin to Marcy, January 8, 1848.

16. Gilpin to Jones, August 1, 1848.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Gilpin to John Garland, August 18, 1848, Letters Received, MSS., Adjutant General's Office (R. G. 94), NA.

19. Court-Martial Record of Lieutenant Amandus V. Schnabel, enclosed with Garland to Jones, August 16, 1848, Letters Received, MSS., Adjutant General's Office (R. G. 94), NA.

20. Court-Martial Record of Captain William Pelzer, enclosed with *ibid.*

21. Gilpin to Jones, August 1, 1848.

22. *Ibid.*

23. William Pelzer to Gilpin, November 19, 1847, enclosed with Garland to Jones, August 16, 1848.

24. The encounter with the Indians is described in *ibid.* and the following: *Daily Missouri Republican,* December 15, 16, 1847, February 7, 1848; *Saint Louis Reveille,* December 15, 16, 31, 1847; *Saint Louis Daily Union,* February 9, 1848.

25. Garland to Jones, May 24, 1848, Letters Received, MSS., Adjutant General's Office (R. G. 94), NA.

26. *Daily Missouri Republican,* December 16, 1847.

27. Court-Martial Record of Pelzer.

28. Court-Martial Record of Schnabel.

29. Gilpin to Marcy, January 8, 1848.

30. Court-Martial Record of Privates Auguste Falbush and William Goldbeck, enclosed with Garland to Jones, August 16, 1848.

31. Second Court-Martial Record of Falbush and Goldbeck, enclosed with *ibid.*

32. Paul Holzscheiter, Edward Colston, and Albert F. Schnabel to Gilpin, February 20, 1848, enclosed with Gilpin to Marcy, March 10, 1848, Letters Received, MSS., Adjutant General's Office (R. G. 94), NA.

33. Petition of Companies C and D to Gilpin, February 22, 1848, enclosed with *ibid.*

34. Gilpin to Marcy, March 10, 1848.

35. Jones's endorsement to *ibid.*, April 29, 1848.

36. Gilpin to Jones, August 1, 1848.

37. Thomas Fitzpatrick to Thomas H. Harvey, October 6, 1848, U. S. Congress, *H. R. Exec. Doc. No. 1,* 30 Cong., 2 sess. (Serial 537), pp. 470-473.

38. See LeRoy R. Hafen, "Thomas Fitzpatrick and the First Indian Agency of the Upper Platte and Arkansas," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* IV (December, 1928), 374-384.

39. *Santa Fe Republican,* June 28, August 1, 1848.

40. Rupert N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1933), pp. 186-187.

41. William B. Royall to Jones, June 21, 1848, and Philip Stremmel to Gilpin, June 23, 1848, U. S. Congress, *H. R. Exec. Doc. No. 1,* 30 Cong., 2 sess. (Serial 537), pp. 141-146.

42. Gilpin to Jones, August 1, 1848, *ibid.*, p. 138.

43. Harvey to William Medill, October 4, 1848, *ibid.*, p. 440; Louise Barry (comp.), "Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals, Part Seventeen, 1848," *Kansas Historical Quarterly,* XXXI (Summer, 1965), pp. 162-163.

44. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The History and Life of William Gilpin* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), p. 41.

45. John C. Griffin to Gilpin, July 12, 1848, U. S. Congress, *H. R. Exec. Doc. No. 1*, 30 Cong., 2 sess. (Serial 537), pp. 146-149.

46. Thomas Jones to Gilpin, July 23, 1848, *ibid.*, pp. 149-151.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

48. Gilpin to Jones, August 1, 1848, *ibid.*, p. 139.

49. Garland to Jones, August 3, 1848, enclosed with Garland to Jones, August 16, 1848.

50. *Ibid.* and Court-Martial Record of Pelzer.

51. Garland to Jones, August 3, 1848.

52. *Ibid.*

53. Gilpin to Jones, August 1, 1848.

54. Fitzpatrick to Harvey, October 6, 1848, U. S. Congress, *H. R. Exec. Doc. No. 1*, 30 Cong., 2 sess. (Serial 537), p. 472; Harvey to Medill, October 4, 1848, *ibid.*, p. 440; Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1848, *ibid.*, p. 77.

## DR. SAMUEL J. SACKETT

Dr. Samuel J. Sackett, professor of English, questioned his audience at a faculty symposium by asking, "How Can You Be so Sure You're Right?"

Dr. Sackett, a native of California, holds bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Redlands and a doctorate from the University of California at Los Angeles. He is the author of several books and articles on folklore.

## How Can You Be So Sure You're Right?

At the time of the first effort to restructure Columbia University, in May 1968, *Life* magazine assigned six graduate students from the university's School of Journalism to provide a composite "inside view." One of them, James A. Grossman, interviewed one of the demonstrators:

> "How can you be so sure you're right about everything?" I asked one. "We're just right," he said. "Everybody knows when they're right." (10 May 1968, p. 45.)

This interchange spotlights one of the central problems of our age—that although advances in knowledge have given failing grades to the ancient and traditional answers, the questions still persist, and the twentieth century has produced no new answers to them. One of the chief of these old questions is the one Mr. Grossman asked: "How can you be so sure you're right?"

The answer Mr. Grossman received was a frank and open expression of one basic attitude toward the problem of moral authority in our day. For a long period in Western civilization, the question had a simple answer: What was right and what was wrong was revealed to us by God. Until the sixteenth century, the revelation of God's will was regarded as a continuing process, which unfolded to the successors of Peter not the changing mind of God but the consistently developing stages of His intention. Any question of right or wrong, therefore, could be laid before an arbiter of unquestionable authority.

But over the past several centuries this view has sustained a series of shocks from which it is unlikely that it will ever recover. The first of these was the Protestant Reformation. In denying the authority of the Pope and accusing him of distorting divine revelation, Luther, Calvin, and the other reformers were saying in effect that revelation was not continuous but had been finally completed. The whole of God's will was to be found in the books of the Old and New Testaments, and the process of revelation had stopped when the most recent of those books was closed. The reformers did not, of course, intend that this was to be the outcome of their activities; they thought they were making the divine ear available to all men, without intermediaries. But since in practice the voice of God spoke something different in reply to each petitioner, the ultimate effect of the Protestant Reformation was to cast doubt on the authenticity of

any single revelation. In this respect, Martin Luther was the first Death-of-God theologian, for he preached a God who had finally withdrawn Himself from those activities of deity which most intimately affected mankind. Each stroke of the hammer with which Luther tacked up his theses drove a nail into the coffin of Christianity.

Hard on the heels of Luther and Calvin came Copernicus and Galileo. And once again churchmen, seeking to defend their patron institution, helped to destroy it. The sun must revolve around the earth, they said, because if it did not, Joshua would have commanded the earth, not the sun, to stand still. And, of course, they were wrong. You or I may be wrong occasionally and no matter; but once a man has proclaimed his infallibility, he had better be right all the time. Once one prop of a mutually dependent system collapses, it all falls to pieces. It was foolish for Urban VIII to allow Cardinal Bellarmine and the Dominicans to maneuver him into a position which allowed no flexibility; but he did this foolish thing, and thus Pope Urban must share with Luther the responsibility for having destroyed the authority of the Christian revelation as a guide to conduct.

Since then we have seen Christianity shivered by shock after shock. Most recently the cases of Lyell in geology and Darwin in biology have recapitulated that of Galileo in astronomy; it has taken the new religion of Marxism to point out that Christianity had lost that humanitarian charitability with which it had been endowed by both its alleged founder and its earliest propagandist; the Christian religion had allowed itself to become associated with a restrictive and life-denying behavior code which would have seemed Pharisaical to the friend of whores and lushes whose name it bears, and from which it has had to be rescued by Freud's disclosures of the effect of that code upon its practitioners; and its claim to uniqueness has been tarnished by a series of disclosures from those of Frazer and subsequent anthropologists and comparative religionists to the archeological discoveries of Qumran. That it has survived these blows and has not collapsed, like the one-hoss shay to which Holmes once likened it, is a tribute to the power of habit and wishful thinking.

Whatever may have been the value of the teachings of Jesus when they were first promulgated can now hardly be determined, for we have no way of judging the accuracy with which they were originally recorded or the quantity of doctoring they underwent in the copying and recopying of early manuscripts. Variations be-

tween manuscripts and contradictions between accounts indicate the existence of corruption but give neither any hint of its extent nor any clue to its emendation. But however valuable the teachings of Jesus may once have been, the institution which was erected on those teachings has ceased to function as a moral authority for a great number of people. Even those who still cling to it can hardly deny the existence of millions of individuals who—no matter how much they may wish to—simply cannot swallow the teachings of any of the shards and fragments of sects into which Christianity has shattered and which the desperate efforts of the ecumenists can at best only glue, not fuse, together. For these people there is no longer any quick and easy answer to the question, "How can you be so sure you're right?" And yet there is not a single human being alive who does not daily confront that question in the form of having to make choices between competing courses of action.

The literature of the past four hundred years offers us innumerable examples of men struggling to find an answer to that question. Although it does not provide us with an instance of anyone who was successful, the story of their efforts may prevent some waste of time in our own search. As I view the heritage of the literature written in our language, I perceive two conflicting traditions. One finds moral authority within the individual and hence may be called the subjective tradition; the other, the objective tradition, rejects the premises of the first. I intend to use Milton, Emerson, and Mark Twain as examples of three strains in the subjective tradition, and I will let Swift embody the rejection of their solution. Finally, I will bring the two traditions into confrontation through a comparison of two recent manifestations—J. D. Salinger as an illustration of the subjective tradition, and William Golding as his opposite.

Milton, Emerson, and Mark Twain may seem to make strange bedfellows—the first among the most sophisticated representatives of Old World civilization, the second a builder of intellectual bridges between that civilization and the New World, and the third a cultural savage who scorned everything out of that civilization with the single exception of Joan of Arc. But they have in common an impulse to turn inward as they search for a guide to moral behavior; and thus they show successive steps in the development of the attitude that each man is his own moral guide.

When Calvin cast loose from Papal authority, he and his followers viewed this action as achieving a closer and more direct communication with God. One of Calvin's principal objections to

Catholicism had been that the priest served as an intermediary between God and man. When you stop viewing the priest as intermediary, you allow man to confront God directly; thus religion eliminates the middle man, and the church becomes a factory-to-you outlet.

In Milton's day it was still possible to take seriously the mechanism of Christian theology, and the Calvinist deity was viewed as a kind of celestial directorate, with God the Father as president and chairman of the board, God the Son as vice-president in charge of redemption, and God the Holy Ghost as vice-president in charge of customer relations. Throughout Christendom there were large numbers of people who referred moral decisions to God; they prayed about their problems until they heard His Spirit speaking to them, like a voice in their consciousness. The religious literature of the period is shot through with references to "the inner light" which dawns when the individual makes contact with God and receives divine guidance. Milton's contemporary George Fox founded the Society of Friends on the belief that if a man would sit quietly, meditating passively, the Spirit—not his individual spirit, but the Holy Spirit, equal partner in the Trinity—would move him.

It is in this tradition that Milton, as he opens *Paradise Lost,* invokes not the nine pagan muses but the one Heavenly Muse, the Holy Ghost, praying to one aspect of his triune God for guidance in how to proceed:

> Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
> Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
> Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
> With loss of Eden, till one greater Man
> Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,
> Sing, Heavenly Muse, that on the secret top
> Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
> That Shepherd who first taught the chosen seed
> In the beginning how the heavens and earth
> Rose out of Chaos: or, if Sion hill
> Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flowed
> Fast by the oracle of God, I thence
> Invoke thy aid to my adventrous song,
> That with no middle flight intends to soar
> Above th' Aonian mount, while it pursues
> Things unattempted yet in prose or rime.
> And chiefly Thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
> Before all temples th' upright heart and pure,
> Instruct me, for Thou know'st; Thou from the first
> Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread,
> Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast Abyss,
> And mad'st it pregnant: what in me is dark

> Illumine, what is low raise and support;
> That, to the height of this great argument,
> I may assert Eternal Providence,
> And justify the ways of God to men.

This invocation is not a mere literary convention; it is the earnest and sincere prayer of a man who believed that he could describe the creation of the world because he was being given an accurate description by One who was there as an eye witness and, indeed, a participant.

For Emerson, over a century later, it was no longer possible to believe in the machinery to which Milton's faith, nearly as much as his genius, gave life in *Paradise Lost.* Like Milton, Emerson believed that man could come into direct contact with divinity; like him, he believed that the place for man to search for divinity was within himself. But the divinity which Emerson sought was not Milton's triune God; it was what Emerson called the Over-Soul, a deity who wore the visible world like a garment, a spirit which put out little projections of itself in the souls of men, who could therefore open a pipeline to the Infinite by re-establishing communication between their small souls and the great soul from which these lesser ones came. The heart of Emerson's belief comes in the climax of his essay "The Over-Soul":

> Let man, then, learn the revelation of all nature and all thought to his heart; this, namely: that the Highest dwells with Him; that the sources of nature are in his own mind, if the sentiment of duty is there. But if he would know what the great God speaketh, he must 'go into his closet and shut the door,' as Jesus said. . . . He must greatly listen to himself, withdrawing himself from all the accents of other men's devotion. . . . The soul gives itself, alone, original, and pure, to the Lonely, Original, and Pure, who, on that condition, gladly inhabits, leads, and speaks through it.

As the voice of the Over-Soul speaks through the soul of the individual man, thus the individual comes to know and do what is right.

This is why Emerson could write, in "Self-Reliance," "Trust thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string." A man may rely on himself not because of his own human power but because he hears the Over-Soul within him, guiding him. This is why Emerson could say, in the same essay, "No law can be sacred to me but that of my nature." The laws which a man's own nature prompt him to follow are sacred because through his intuitions and impulses speaks the divine law which is superior to any merely man-made code:

> The magnetism which all original action exerts [he wrote] is explained when we inquire the reason of self-trust. Who is the Trustee? What is the aboriginal Self, on which a universal reliance may be grounded? . . . The inquiry

leads us to that source, at once the essence of genius, of virtue, and of life, which we call Spontaneity or Instinct. We denote this primary wisdom as Intuition, whilst all later teachings are tuitions. . . . We lie in the lap of immense intelligence, which makes us receivers of its truth and organs of its activity. When we discern justice, when we discern truth, we do nothing of ourselves, but allow a passage to its beams.

It was to tap this intelligence, letting it speak through him, that Emerson advised "The Poet" and "The American Scholar"; and also, in "The Divinity School Address" that shocked Harvard College, the theological student was to lay aside his Bible and come face-to-face directly with his God.

Emerson's younger friend Thoreau has left us a vigorous statement of his agreement with this position, in the essay "On Civil Disobedience," in which he establishes the principle that the moral view of the individual may well be superior to that of the society in which he finds himself, and that thus the individual is justified in disobeying an immoral law. Since the conscience of the individual, in Thoreau's view, was directly in contact with the Supreme Authority, it was superior to the authority of the State:

Must the citizen ever for a moment [he asked], or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience, then? I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterward. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right.

One alternative to civil disobedience, as Thoreau saw it, was to work toward the repeal of unjust laws until a majority of the people were persuaded that the laws should be repealed; but he rejected this alternative:

I do not hesitate to say, that those who call themselves Abolitionists should at once effectually withdraw their support, both in person and property, from the government of Massachusetts and not wait till they constitute a majority of one, before they suffer the right to prevail through them. I think that it is enough if they have God on their side, without waiting for that other one. Moreover, any man more right than his neighbors constitutes a majority of one already.

So strongly did he feel the importance of self-reliance that he concluded the essay by saying, "There will never be a really free and enlightened State until the State comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power. . . ."

By the time we come to Mark Twain, we come to a concept of man which does not admit the possibility of his finding any power outside himself with which he can make contact. The point is explicitly made by Huckleberry Finn in Chapter III of the book which bears his name:

. . . Miss Watson she took me in the closet and prayed, but nothing come of it. She tole me to pray every day and whatever I asked for I would get it. But it warn't so. I tried it. Once I got a fish-line but no hooks. It warn't any good to me without hooks. I tried for the hooks three or four times but somehow I couldn't make it work. By and by, one day I asked Miss Watson to try for me, but she said I was a fool. She never told me why, and I couldn't make it out no way.

I set down one time back in the woods and had a long think about it. I says to myself, if a body can get anything they pray for. . . . Why can't Miss Watson fat up? No, says I to myself, there ain't nothing in it. . . .

Huck, then, has no external source of moral guidance. Without such support, then, he must face the moral crisis of Chapter XVI, in which he must decide whether to turn in the runaway Negro slave, Jim, to two men he meets in a skiff. They ask him, "Is your man white or black?"

I didn't answer up prompt. I tried to, but the words wouldn't come. I tried for a second or two to brace up and out with it, but I warn't man enough —hadn't the spunk of a rabbit. I see I was weakening; so I just give up trying, and up and says:

"He's white."

In Twain's account of this crisis the irony lies in the fact that although the morality of the society Huck lives in requires that he betray his friend, as a primitive and as a youth he has been so little touched by that society that he chooses to violate its commandments—and we, as readers, applaud his choice. The morality of the individual has been placed into confrontation with the social ethos; and the individual, drawing sustenance not from any power outside himself but merely his natural feelings, reaches the solution which Twain wants us to feel is right. And Twain drives the point home again in the famous passage of Chapter XXXI in which, after struggling with himself as to whether he should obey the dictates of society and be saved, Huck decides, "All right, then, I'll *go* to hell"; he will follow the promptings of his heart, instead, and continue to protect Jim. And these promptings lead him to virtuous actions—a clear indication that the true sources of morality are within the individual and can be relied on provided that the individual has not been corrupted with too much civilization.

Against this strain we may counterpoise the tradition represented by Swift, whose portrayal of human nature may be found in *Gulliver's Travels.* In Book IV Swift shows us the Yahoos, filthy and abominable creatures who externalize what colloquially is called "the old Nick" or "the old Adam" but what Swift, as a professional clergyman, would have called "original sin." But the Yahoos are only climactic, for Swift has been developing reminders of the

bestial side of man's nature throughout the work. Here we may recall the images in Book II of Gulliver as a weasel and various other kinds of animal, and the King of Brobdingnag's evaluation of Englishmen after hearing Gulliver's careful description of them:

> As for yourself . . . who have spent the greatest Part of your Life in travelling; I am well disposed to hope you may hitherto have escaped many Vices of your Country. But, by what I have gathered from your own Relation, and the Answers I have with much Pains wringed and extorted from you; I cannot but conclude the Bulk of your Natives, to be the most pernicious Race of little odious Vermin that Nature ever suffered to crawl upon the Surface of the Earth.

Swift continually calls our attention to the Yahoo side of our natures, with the result that we are forced to confront the grave danger in following our impulses: these impulses may lead us to the virtuous conclusion that we must help free Jim from slavery, but they may equally well arise from the Yahoo in us. And human ability to rationalize is so powerful, based on such frequent experience, that we can readily persuade ourselves that the gratification of our Yahoo lusts has the highest and most altruistic of purposes. Gulliver himself shows something of this power of rationalization at the end of his *Travels;* here he has been convinced that all Yahoos, by which he means all men, are despicable and that the values of the noble Houyhnhnms represent the only truth:

> My Reconcilement to the *Yahoo*-kind in general might not be so difficult, if they would be content with those Vices and Follies only which Nature hath entitled them to. I am not in the least provoked at the Sight of a Lawyer, a Pick-pocket, a Colonel, a Fool, a Lord, a Gamester, a Politician, a Whoremonger, a Physician, an Evidence, a Suborner, an Attorney, a Traytor, or the like: This is all according to the due Course of Things: But, when I behold a Lump of Deformity, and Diseases both in Body and Mind, smitten with *Pride*, it immediately breaks all the Measures of my Patience; neither shall I be ever able to comprehend how such an Animal and such a Vice could tally together.

How proud Gulliver is here that he has no pride! How blind he is to the fact that he exemplifies the vice in the very act of denouncing it! And how practiced and skillful a rationalizer he must be to be able to blind himself to his absurdity so completely!

Both these strains are still with us—both that which I have called "subjective" and exemplified by Milton, Emerson, and Twain, and that which I have called "objective" and exemplified by Swift. The subjective approach to morality has been popularized recently by J. D. Salinger's novel *The Catcher in the Rye.* In this book a prep-school flunk-out named Holden Caulfield has a series of adventures which bring him into confrontation with many facets of adult society. Each confrontation serves only to increase Holden's disillu-

sionment with the world as it is and the way people live. Holden ultimately finds himself unable to adjust to reality, and at the end of the book he is undergoing psychoanalysis. But the total impact of the novel makes the point very clearly that Holden's inability to adjust is caused by his virtue and innocence; his own values are superior to those of our society. Salinger does not show us a society in which there is nothing good; rather he shows us a society in which the only good can be found in children, like Holden himself and his younger sister Phoebe, because they have not yet been spoiled by the adult world. The superiority of Holden's values can be demonstrated, for instance, in the passage in Chapter 22 which gives the book its name. Holden is describing to Phoebe his ambition in life:

> . . . I keep picturing all these little kids playing some game in this big field of rye and all. Thousands of little kids, and nobody's around—nobody big, I mean—except me. And I'm standing on the edge of some crazy cliff. What I have to do, I have to catch everybody if they start to go over the cliff —I mean if they're running and they don't look where they're going I have to come out from somewhere and *catch* them. That's all I'd do all day. I'd just be the catcher in the rye and all. I know it's crazy, but that's the only thing I'd really like to be. . . .

Holden's vision is to devote his whole life to the salvation of other people. Such altruistic idealism is not matched by the values of any of the adults he meets. Like Huck Finn, Holden pits his standards against those of the world he lives in, and they are superior. This is true only because Holden's youth has prevented him from being corrupted by adult society, and one factor in his alienation from reality is that he is rebelling against the process of maturation which will inevitably, by forcing him to cross the line into adulthood, destroy his moral superiority.

Exactly the opposite view is taken in William Golding's *Lord of the Flies.* In this work a planeload of boys, including a choir, crashes on a desert island. In this primitive environment, in the absence of adults, they find themselves free to give vent to the savagery that Golding sees at the heart of mankind. Even murder is not beyond them. The majority of the boys follow Jack, a natural leader, into a rigidly totalitarian tribal life, with Jack as chief of the tribe. Only two of the boys are gentle souls—Piggy, an ineffectual intellectual, whose asthma and myopia make him physically useless, and Simon, whose fully developed intuition marks him as the type from which religious leaders come. Both are killed by Jack's tribe.

The reader is clearly intended to identify with Ralph, a generally

decent but not terribly bright boy, who is initially voted into leadership but who is unable to get the other boys to follow him. Even Ralph, however, has his weakness. Entrusted with Piggy's nickname on the condition that he will not tell the other boys, Ralph cannot forego the pleasure of seeing Piggy suffer and consequently blurts it out before the whole group. In a famous letter to Pope, on 29 September 1725, Swift wrote that man was not *animal rationale* but "only *rationis capax*"—not a rational animal, but only capable of reason; similarly we may say of Ralph that he is not *animal crudele* but only *crudelitatis capax*—not a cruel animal, but one capable of cruelty.

As in *The Catcher in the Rye,* it is in the explanation of the title of *Lord of the Flies* that we can find its author's central thesis. There are wild pigs on the island, and the boys manage to kill one of them; in triumph, they cut off the pig's head and put it on a stick. Naturally, the decaying flesh attracts flies; it becomes the Lord of the Flies. In Chapter 8 Simon, the boy with religious instincts, comes upon the Lord of the Flies and, while contemplating it, has a mystical vision in which he imagines that the dead pig head speaks to him. In the course of this vision, the Lord of the Flies gives Simon an illuminating insight into the nature of what the boys have called the Beast. The Beast is a kind of projection or personification of all boys' fears of evil things in the night. While the boys come to believe in the Beast as an external reality, the Lord of the Flies reveals its true nature to Simon:

> "Fancy thinking the Beast was something you could hunt and kill!" said the head. For a moment or two the forest and all the other dimly appreciated places echoed with the parody of laughter. "You knew, didn't you? I'm part of you? Close, close, close! I'm the reason why it's no go? Why things are what they are?"
>
> The laughter shivered again.

What Simon learns from this moment of *satori* is that the evil of the world does not exist externally to man; it is part of man. Why do we find, all of us, that it's no go? Why are things the rotten way they are? Because of the Beast in man. For man to give way to the impulses of his nature, then, is not to find intuitively the source of a morality superior to society's; it is to become savage, like Jack and his followers. Only if he puts his essential bestiality under the control of intellect, like Piggy, or of religion, like Simon, can man hope to achieve either rescue from the island on which he finds himself marooned or a peaceful accommodation to it. But most men are at the mercy of their inner Beasts not in control of them; and both Piggy and Simon are killed by Jack's tribe of choirboys.

As we compare these two novels, with their opposite and mutually exclusive points of view, we may well feel doubts about our own responses. Both books are superbly written, and as we read them we find ourselves utterly convinced by them. Both Salinger and Golding command that willing suspension of disbelief which Coleridge tells us constitutes poetic faith, and consequently we put down both books feeling that what we have read is the truth, that is the way it really is, that the authors have proved their points. Both books are in Zola's sense "experimental novels": that is, novels in which the authors set up certain situations, put the characters into the situations, and then let the characters work out their own destinies according to the determinism of the phenomena. And as we close the books, we feel that both experiments have been successful.

Further consideration, however, will suggest to us some weaknesses in Salinger's position. When we saw Huck Finn's morality pitted against that of a slave-owning society, we could agree with Mark Twain that here the individual's private morality was superior to the public morality of his environment. But when we examine Holden Caulfield's private morality, we are not so sure that he is right. His attitude seems plausible; but obvious error would be powerless. If error were not plausible, it would have no attraction.

What is the moral judgment which Holden makes? Probably the most frequently used word in *The Catcher in the Rye*, with the possible exception of "I," is "phony." The moral disgust which drives Holden to his rejection of society is directed against hypocrisy as the over-riding sin. This is, we may note, an attitude which is frequent in our society; even popular songs like "The Games People Play" and "Harper Valley P. T. A." contain savage attacks on hypocritical behavior.

But if we examine the world around us, we will find many arguments which can be raised in defense of hypocrisy. Here we will merely sketch three of them: that hypocrisy is essential to enable men to live together in groups, that the attack on hypocrisy blinds men to other sins, and that hypocrisy is merely an inevitable by-product of idealism.

The opposite of hypocrisy, in the lexicon of those who attack it, is honesty. What they say they favor is telling the truth. But what "telling the truth" really comes down to, in practice, is speaking out their opinions without inhibition. I am reminded of the boy who went to a party after having been told by his mother that he must say something nice to all the girls he danced with. After once dance

he said to his partner, "You sure don't sweat much for a fat girl." But such subjective opinions may be distinguished from objective truth; and if we were always to speak out our subjective opinions without inhibition, the world would quickly become completely uninhabitable. There is a scene in the motion picture *Head,* in which Mike Nesmith underwent a frightening experience only to discover that it led to a surprise birthday party which his friends had planned for him. Instead of being relieved and pleased, Nesmith spoke his mind; he didn't like surprises, and if his friends wanted to wish him a happy birthday, they should have just done so. It was a cruel thing to say in response to the well-intended efforts of well-meaning friends; and Mickey Dolenz looked as crestfallen as it is possible to imagine that irrepressible young man to look. Here Nesmith was being "honest" according to Holden Caulfield's definition; but his doing so hurt his friends' feelings. Human beings cannot live together in close association without such pious deceptions as pretending to be pleased with surprise parties, even if we despise them. This incident also suggests a further danger. In *Head* Nesmith was not being intentionally cruel to Dolenz and his other friends, but his behavior had the effect of cruelty. There is always the possibility that "honesty" of this type may be used to justify or to mask worse crimes: "That's right, Mrs. Jones, I killed your baby, but I didn't like the little brat, and at least I wasn't a hypocrite about it."

Another weakness of Holden Caulfield's notion of morality is that it leads to tunnel vision just as surely as an inordinate emphasis on any other sin. If you use the word "morality" to a college student, he will immediately conclude that you are talking about sex, because our society, which is still trying to overcome the after-effects of Victorianism, has had for decades tunnel vision on the subject of sex. There are, after all, nine other commandments besides the one against adultery, and six other deadly sins besides lechery. There is far more to living a moral life than merely being chaste or faithful. There is, as well, far more to morality than avoiding hypocrisy. Specifically, one quality which Holden Caulfield conspicuously lacks is charity—not the giving of alms, but *agape* or *caritas* as St. Paul defines it in the famous thirteenth chapter of I Corinthians. Holden finds it difficult or impossible to forgive people for their weaknesses; he makes no effort to try to understand them, and hence he is without pity or compassion for them. Although he requires excusing on the grounds of his own immaturity, he seems incapable of imagining that there are grounds on which he might excuse the moral defections of other people. His standard is rigorous; he probes for phoniness, and when he finds it, he is through

with that person forever. One is reminded of Thoreau's harsh judgment on his Concord townsmen when he was released from prison:

> I saw to what extent the people among whom I lived could be trusted as good neighbors and friends; that their friendship was for summer weather only; that they did not greatly propose to do right; that they were a distinct race from me by their prejudices and superstitions . . .; that in their sacrifices to humanity they ran no risks, not even to their property. . . .

Thoreau may have been the superior of his neighbors in keenness of the sense of justice; but he was himself not strong on the charitable forgiveness of human frailty.

Finally, we might consider what hypocrisy really is. Its genus is that it is a moral failing; but its differentia is that it is characterized by a failure to live up to one's ideals. We might look at hypocrisy from another direction, however; we might say that it is characterized by a person's having ideals higher than he is able to live up to. Now all of us will agree that the healthiest moral situation is that of having ideals which are high enough to make us stretch but low enough that we can attain them; that is why "Be ye therefore perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect" is not helpful as a moral guide. But if we had to choose between a situation in which ideals were unattainably high and one in which there were no ideals at all, or very low ones, probably all of us would agree that excessively high ideals are better than none at all. And, after all, if there were no such thing as ideals, there would be no such thing as hypocrisy. Hence the existence of hypocrisy may be viewed as merely the price we have to pay, as a society, for having set our ideals higher than some people among us are able to reach. From this standpoint, being phony is by no means so reprehensible as Holden Caulfield finds it.

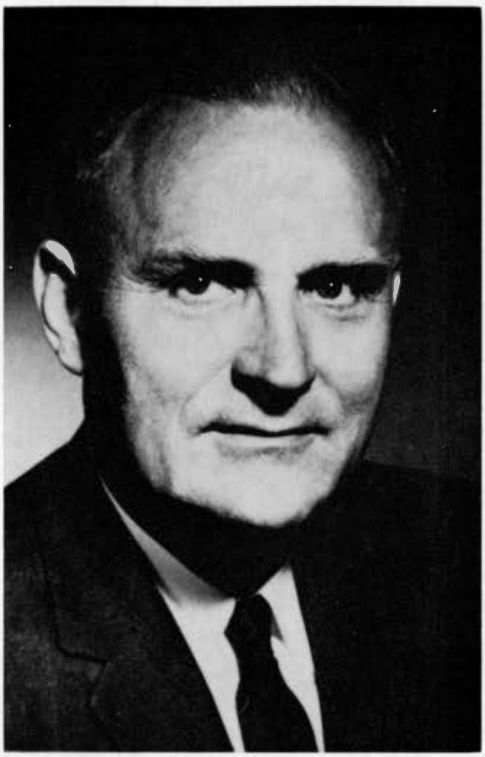
For these reasons I find that Holden's reliance on his inner, private morality has led him astray. Such reliance will not always lead an individual to error; Huck Finn's similar self-reliance led him, as most of us will agree, to the truth. But the example of Holden Caulfield makes clear that the moral impulses of the individual are a doubtful guide; they fall short of being trustworthy in all circumstances. I do not maintain that hypocrisy is always a virtue; but I do maintain that the example of Holden Caulfield suggests that one's interior sense of rectitude is an unreliable guide to making discriminations between good and bad manifestations of it. The trouble with Emersonian self-reliance is that the self cannot always be relied on. Thus comparing the subjective moral authority advocated by Salinger and the objective moral authority implied by

Golding, the need for an objective moral authority becomes evident. If we contrast Salinger's view of man as innately virtuous until corrupted by a vicious society with Golding's view of man as innately vicious and hence needing as much help as possible to restrain his capacity for cruelty, we conclude that Golding's view is on the whole, while perhaps overstated, more nearly accurate. Certainly it is a view easy to accept in a quarter century which has seen the horrows of Auschwitz, the quagmire of Vietnam, the assassinations of two Kennedy brothers and Martin Luther King, and the sieges of Prague and Chicago. Given the decay of external moral authority since the Reformation, in the long run it has been the attitude of Swift and Golding which has proved itself out, rather than that of Milton, Emerson, Twain, and Salinger; man cannot trust his own inner moral promptings, for many reasons but perhaps chiefly because he is prone to rationalize and find good justifications for bad actions. My own acquaintance with this characteristic of mankind has in fact led me to wonder whether his objection to slavery was not really only Thoreau's rationalization for a reluctance to release hard-earned money to the tax collector.

Our discussion of the moral dilemma of our century, however, has led us only to a heightened sense of how excruciating that dilemma really is. What has happened in our civilization over the past four centuries is that we have gradually lost willingness to accept an external moral authority; yet, as has been shown, that very loss has created the circumstances in which we may see how much man needs an external moral authority because his own inner light is so dim.

Not only is this dilemma excruciatingly pointed, but we are at a juncture in history where it happens to be extraordinarily relevant. Emerson and Twain show us that it is the individual in a state of nature, uncorrupted by an evil society, who can arrive at virtue; Thoreau testified to his agreement by living in the wilderness at Walden Pond. And what is today's so-called "hippie" movement but a contemporary primitivism in the same tradition? Thoreau's doctrine of civil disobedience is reincarnated in Gandhi's doctrine of Satyagraha, which in its own turn reappears in the nonviolent protest of Martin Luther King; this in a distorted form has now become epidemic in support of all sorts of causes in all sorts of communities, including academic ones. No phenomenon of our day is more important or wide-ranging than the rebirth of subjective moral authority. And yet no doctrine is more dangerously half-true than that the unfettered impulse will always lead man to virtuous behavior.

How, then, are we to answer Mr. Grossman's question, with which we began: "How can you be so sure you're right?" I hope it will be observed with what consummate skill I have delayed confronting that question until I could fairly plead that limitations of time do not permit me to answer it. But, indeed, where so many others have failed, perhaps I could hope to be excused from the attempt. My own feeling is that the question may simply be unanswerable—that is, that we may just have to get used to living in a world where we need a moral authority but do not have one. Much as I agree that it might be desirable if we could put the responsibility for moral behavior on God—perhaps we might picket Him and demand that He provide us with a new moral authority to replace the old ones—I suspect that we are going to have to face the realities of our present situation, whether it is temporary or permanent, and each of us accept the responsibility for the morality of his own behavior. As a small, tentative first step, I would propose that each of us adopt the habit of self doubt as he makes his own moral choices; that each of us realize that his inner convictions may really be the result of rationalization; that each of us bear continually in mind that his feeling of self-rectitude is untrustworthy; and that each of us meditate on the fact that such men as Sirhan Sirhan and probably even Lee Harvey Oswald firmly believed they were right and thus would pass the test for judging morality proposed by Mr. Grossman's Columbia informant. These things being so, we should proceed on the assumption that our feeling that we are right is not a green light, but flashing amber: "Proceed with caution."



## DR. O. MEREDITH WILSON

Dr. O. Meredith Wilson, President and Director of the Center for Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University, discussed "Education and the Evolution of a Democratic Society," as one of the features of Inauguration Week.

Dr. Wilson has been president of the Universities of Oregon and Minnesota as well as holding faculty positions at Brigham Young University and the University of Utah. He holds a bachelor's degree from BYU and a doctorate from the University of California.

## Education and the Evolution of a Democratic Society

There are two tendencies within the historical craft. They are the tendencies toward particularization and generalization. And each historian must feel their effects, each at the appropriate time. In the pressing hours of research he finds so many bricks of fact that don't fit and so little natural mortar lying at hand to make the bricks adhere; and without the stuff for a building he may ask, "Why should there be an architect." In this mood he will find no patience with "the philosophy of History," but will accept sympathetically H. A. L. Fisher's comment:

> One intellectual excitement has . . . been denied me. Men wiser and more learned than I have discovered in history a plot, a rhythm, a predetermined pattern. These harmonies are concealed from me. I can see only one emergency following upon another, as wave follows upon wave, only one great fact with respect to which, since it is unique, there can be no generalizations . . . the play of the contingent and the unforeseen.[1]

For some historians, as with Mr. Fisher, this is perhaps the dominant mood. Recent events may well have increased the ranks of those who see only emergency piled on emergency, contingency following upon confusion, and chaos upon it all, confirming the judgment that the life of man, which is history, is "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." Certainly there is a modicum of wry humor to be extracted from the embarrassments of Russian historians who have constructed a system of history on the Lenin-Marxist view which rejects the great man theory, minimizes the role of any actor, and discovers events as environmentally determined; and who now are required to explain all the misfortunes and crimes of Russia from the death of Lenin to the ascendance of Breshniv and Kosygin by making of Stalin the great, albeit evil genius, and of Kruschev, the poor relation. And since many may fail to find even wry humor in the situation, there soon may be as many refugees from "the Marxist Philosophy of History" as from Hungary or Czechoslovakia.

Nevertheless, in spite of the shortcomings of any theory of history, in the hours of reflection after he has gathered the detailed data, each historian has the desire to know what significance there may be in all his accumulated facts. Whether in the atmosphere of pure

1. After completing his *History of Europe.* Quoted in L. Einstein, *Historical Change* (1946) p. 112.

reflection and speculation, or in anger and dissatisfaction at another's theory of relevance, each historian in some fashion has tried to give meaning to events and to draw some lesson from history. At this point the second tendency—to generalize—leads to some philosophy of history. And the generalization is usually made in terms of an hypothesis about the force, or the cause, which motivates men. I have already suggested my meaning by reference to economic determinism and the great man theory. There are also teleological, scientific-mechanistic and religious theories. Each in some way presupposes a location of force, either beyond or among men, which will explain past events and present circumstance.

Each of us knows the limitations of any such theory of history. To break history up into periods small enough to permit treatment is itself a violation of reality, for life is a movement of forces in a ceaseless cavalcade of time. Each period is a fragment of life, bleeding at either end; and yet the historian must deal with such fragments or with nothing. And in addition, as he classifies events, he must classify in and classify out—that is, he must include and exclude on some principle of interest or in pursuit of some theory of cause. To give any view of history, his craft first requires that he select artfully and that the result be artificial. Since the periods selected and the data used have been selected for our convenience, we must be doubly sure that the hypothesis upon which we have organized has merit, and that within the limits it defines, we have been faithful to the reality around which we hope to organize understanding. But, after all professional care has been exercised, there is still room for doubt. Perhaps no one has better stated the appropriate skepticism toward "theories of causation" than did Professor Unwin when he remarked:

> If we steadily ignore much that seems to lead nowhere, and much that leads in the opposite direction, we soon perceive a chain of historic causation leading to one great result.[2]

Since the tendency to generalize will affect every historian, and since it is associated with great difficulty if not danger, generalizations are best when made with care by those who have earned the right to reflection about the general, though serious examination of the particular. Since I am an administrator, you may properly assume that it is some time since I last earned this right. Yet in the face of these warning facts, I am disposed to offer an hypothesis which is that *the most satisfactory explanation for the evolution of a highly developed society in the United States will be discovered*

2. Quoted from *Studies in Economic History* by Barraclough, *History in A Changing World*, 1956, p. 37.

*through an analysis of our attitude toward education.* I am aware that, in this proposition, I have used terms which ask for definition, and that I have suggested a thesis which calls for a fresh introduction.

Some years ago the Wilson family had one of those rare and beautiful evenings when we were all together as a family—Mrs. Wilson, our six children, and I. From the din of sibling chatter we heard one of the older children say with protective affection of our twelve-year-old, "What John wants, he gets!" Immediately, apologetically, almost as though from the wings, our seven-year-old replied, "You mean what John wants, I go and get for him." The conversation revealed not only a pattern of family relationship, but also the constant problems that result from imperfect communication. Even so, at the risk of being misunderstood, I am not going to define again the meaning of education or of democracy. While these words convey different ideas to an East European than to a West European, in Eastern and Western America they represent common ideals, which may be stripped of some of their implicit richness by our efforts to define and express them. The pattern of human relations, however, may require some explanation. However much affection may flow between our David and our John, it is clearly true that the younger, and weaker, is the hewer of wood and the drawer of water, the "go-getter and the go-asker" for the elder and stronger. And though we had been unaware of it, in spite of the deep pride and devotion the seven-year-old invests in his brother, he is aware of being used and apparently feels a latent resentment.

With tender and loving, but unconscious irony, David had reminded us of Thucydides' comment that justice is a matter between equals only, while the powerful take what they can and the weak yield what they must. I know no better way to come by a satisfactory description of our evolution toward a democratic society than to suggest that it has been a relentless struggle for justice—and against the injustice which Thucydides considered inherent in every social relationship. On occasion we have sought to make all men equal, mindful of Thucydides' warning. At other times we have hoped for little more than to soften the hearts of the strong in the interests of "justice by grace," if not by right. In spite of our pessimism we have made progress. It has not been easy. It has not been without cost. But it has been considerable. And whether it has been a consequence of raising the weak or mitigating the avarice of the strong, education has been the effective cause.

Almost every schoolboy knows enough of Greece in the hour of

her glory to think of Athens as the first Democratic society. To be sure, Athens had an enlightened view of the machinery of democracy, and if the slaves and slaveholders are overlooked, she provided a kind of political equality. But, in the first place, that requires a lot of overlooking. In the second place, when the real test was applied, Athens failed.

Election machinery is to democracy an important piece of equipment. Freedom of education, the uninhibited ranging of the inquiring mind, is its life. Without such freedom, a society's principles are rooted in prejudice and are at best accidental truth. The continuing movement from less than perfect to more nearly perfect generalizations about man, about society, and about man's relation to man, is the road to justice. It is also the road of education. It was also the road which Socrates hoped to follow—the road which he held to in the face of the most violent political criticism and which he yielded only to death. The cup of hemlock was Athens' symbol of failure. It was placed in the hand of Athens' greatest contribution to education. The dramatic nature of Socrates' trial, the tragic ending, and the pathos and beauty of the Apology made Athens, even in failure, a seminal force in society's evolution toward democracy; and Athens' force was Socrates, and therefore her force was education.

In the years that have intervened the search for justice has been unrelenting. With all his pride, selfishness, and mortal weakness, man hates injustice, is protective of the underdog, and on reflection feels shame in his own willful advantage over another's weakness. The catalog of gains made in mitigating the demands the strong make upon the weak is long and impressive indeed. It must include hundreds of charitable organizations and foundations, all disaster relief laws, and millions given in private donations to ameliorate suffering or to help weakness overcome itself.

The effort to provide a guarantee of justice by moving men toward equality has been so dramatic that we have described it as revolutionary; its progress in at least three areas—equality of legal rights, equality of political power, and equality of economic opportunity and condition—deserves careful attention.

In an Anglo-Saxon society the classic symbol of equality of legal rights has been the guarantee of trial by jury, the jury to be composed of one's peers thus protecting against the prejudice and special interest of class. But in addition to trial by jury it is necessary that one be protected against the law's delay. There must be courts and juries and there must be easy access to them. But such

easy access is dependent upon lawyers, judges, craftsmen, mechanics, and philosophers of the law in adequate supply to meet the demands of litigation. It is dependent, therefore, upon wide diffusion of knowledge of the law and a numerous professional body of lawyers drawn from all classes of society and prepared to represent any member of society before the bar. In other words, easy access to the courts has no meaning unless it is preceded by an easy access to the schools.

Equality of political power, and of economic opportunity and condition, has a special relation to our own American Revolution. The generalizations of the Declaration of Independence include the propositions that the rights to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness are unalienably ours. Our liberty is predicated on an assumed equality of political power. Any political power persistently, consistently but unwisely exercised is of short duration. Any right to political power, therefore, is predicated upon the availability of political wisdom upon which sound judgments may be based. Our founding fathers believed we were born equal. They knew we were not born wise. They based their hope that we could continue to share equally the responsibilities of political power upon the assumption that free men could be made wise, and they urged strongly the development of the educational institutions that would be required. The statements of Washington, Rush, Jay and Jefferson on the critical role of education if free institutions were to be made safe are so commonplace that to you I need only make the allusion.

Given the Lockean origins of the Declaration, it is not unfair to assume that Jefferson's "pursuit of happiness" was a mellifluous restatement of a common assumption that each man shared with all other men the right to equality of economic opportunity and condition. Certainly, nowhere has the American record been as dramatic as in the area of economics, and nowhere has education played so dramatic a role. That there has ever existed an equality of economic opportunity and condition is more subject to question. That there exists among us wide contrasts in wealth and comfort is obvious. The significant fact is not the absence of dull uniformity, but the freedom of motion within the economy. In the idiom of Lincoln, it is important that no man need be a laborer for all his life. The economic mobility which made possible Lincoln's boast was not something imported from Europe with the other intellectual furniture which our early colonists cherished and protected. It developed locally in spite of a conditioned regard for the orderliness and stability of class structure. No better account

of the development of this mobility or of the dismay with which it was greeted is needed than the record of John Winthrop's Journal for April, 1645, opposite which, in his manuscript, Winthrop wrote: "impertinent." The passage reads:

> The wars of England kept servants from coming to us, so as those we had could not be hired, when their times were out, but upon unreasonable terms, and we found it very difficult to pay their wages to their content (for money was very scarce). I may upon this occasion report a passage between one of Rowley and his servant. The master, being forced to sell a pair of his oxen to pay his servant his wages, told his servant he could keep him no longer, not knowing how to pay him the next year. The servant answered, he would serve him for more of his cattle. But how shall I do (saith the master) when all my cattle are gone? The servant replied, you shall then serve me, and so you may have your cattle again.[3]

The environment that dissolved the rigid social barriers which caste and class required, also forced a new estimate of the value of life. In the old country land had been scarce and life had been cheap. But here acres piled upon unused acres deep into the wilderness, idle and unprofitable for the want of Christian souls to cultivate them. And since there was always much less labor at hand than could be easily used to the general profit, the objective of society was to make each man as effective as possible. It occurs to me that this early scarcity of man in relation to other resources has more than an accidental relationship to our modern amazing per man per hour production rate as compared with similar rates in other countries. Since man and his skill was in short supply, we bent our ingenuity in multiplying his effectiveness. Education was the means available for magnifying each man's individual powers; and schools were the instruments society had at hand to provide the education.

Certainly a cursory view of the modern economy quickly confirms the role of education. Either there is equality of educational opportunity to all members of a democratic society, without regard for economic origins, or there is no such thing as equality of economic opportunity and there will be no reasonable approach to equality of economic condition. Much, indeed most modern industry is completely dependent on trained personnel. Here Whitehead's remark is pertinent:

> In the conditions of modern life the rule is absolute; the race that does not value trained intelligence is doomed.[4]

Literally thousands of items we accept as necessary to our

3. John Winthrop, *Winthrop's Journal*: History of New England ("Original Narratives of Early American History,") ed. J. K. Hosmer, N. Y. 1908, II, 228.

4. Alfred North Whitehead, *The Aims of Education*.

economy and our well-being would not be available if there were no Ph. D.'s. We have, from the Jamestowns to the Levitt Towns, been involved in three hundrd and sixty years of contest with nature, in which we have continuously wrested more and more comfort and well-being from an apparently depreciating nature. We have managed to do so by shifting a continuingly larger share of the burden of life from man's back to man's mind.

The historian should be able to trace the particulars by which this shift has been made. He should, in the process, discover that the sheer quantitative achievement of man in the American economy is the greatest revolutionary force in the world today. He would, I believe, also discover that our respect for the individual has been best exemplified in our concern that each man be raised to his optimum powers in production, although we have done less well in encouraging his self realization in the noneconomic aspects of his personality, indeed less well than many nondemocratic societies. To raise man's productive powers to their optimum we have invested more energy and time in the education of our children than have any other people. For this reason I believe that, by and large, our progress and our failures, our national characteristics and our national personality will be better illumined if we examine the American attitude toward education and its consequences, in the same way that we once so vigorously explored, "The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, (in order to) explain American development." [5] This educational thesis may be as partial as was Mr. Turner's. I think it might be more useful; for no community has ever more consciously accepted the role of reason; nor can any force be more seminal than the human mind. To complete my suggestion, for this paper is only a suggestion and not a demonstration, I should like to remind you of the views of two early authors. One is John Wise, an American expressing his attitude, which I believe to have been shared by his New England parishioners:

> (Man) is the favorite animal on earth; in that this part of God's image, namely, reason, is congenate with his nature.[6]

The other is Alexis de Tocqueville, one hundred and thirty years later, expressing his estimate of the Americans. He observed that:

> Men living in this state of society cannot derive their belief from the opinions of the class to which they belong; for, so to speak, there are no longer any

5. Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *American Historical Assoc., Annual Report* (Wash. 1893), p. 199.

6. John Wise, "A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches" (1772), quoted in *The People Shall Judge*, I, p. 31.

classes, or those which still exist are composed of such mobile elements that the body can never exercise any real control over its members.

. . . and when, as no signs of incontestable greatness or superiority are perceived in any one of them, they are constantly brought back to their own reason as the most obvious and proximate source of truth.[7]

Here, in the conviction that reason is that part of God's image born in us, the Colonial expressed his respect for the individual and his pride in and reliance upon human reason. The desperate necessity to inform that reason if man is to succeed is emphasized by de Tocqueville's observation that we depend upon our own reason as the proximate source of truth. In expressions such as these I find the American attitude toward education, and from them I derive my judgment that the moving cause or force in American history has been her attitude toward education.

7. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. Francis Bowen (4th ed. Cambridge, Mass., 1864) II, p. 1.

## DR. GERALD W. TOMANEK

Closing the faculty symposium series Dr. Gerald W. Tomanek used an illustrated program to outline the "Grasslands of Kansas." The illustrations follow the text of his address.

A native of Western Kansas, Dr. Tomanek is one of the leading authorities on grassland ecology. He holds a bachelor's and a master's degree from Fort Hays State and a doctorate from the University of Nebraska. He is currently Chairman of the Division of Natural Sciences and Mathematics.

## Grasslands of Kansas

Grasslands are important to the economy of Kansas. At one time the native vegetation of Kansas was almost all grassland. However, in extreme eastern Kansas the Oak-Hickory forest forms a savannah with bluestem grasses. It is possible that the forest is thicker today than it was before the settlers came and protected it from lightning fires. The only other forested areas are found along the streams where the high water table allows the trees to compete successfully with the grasses.

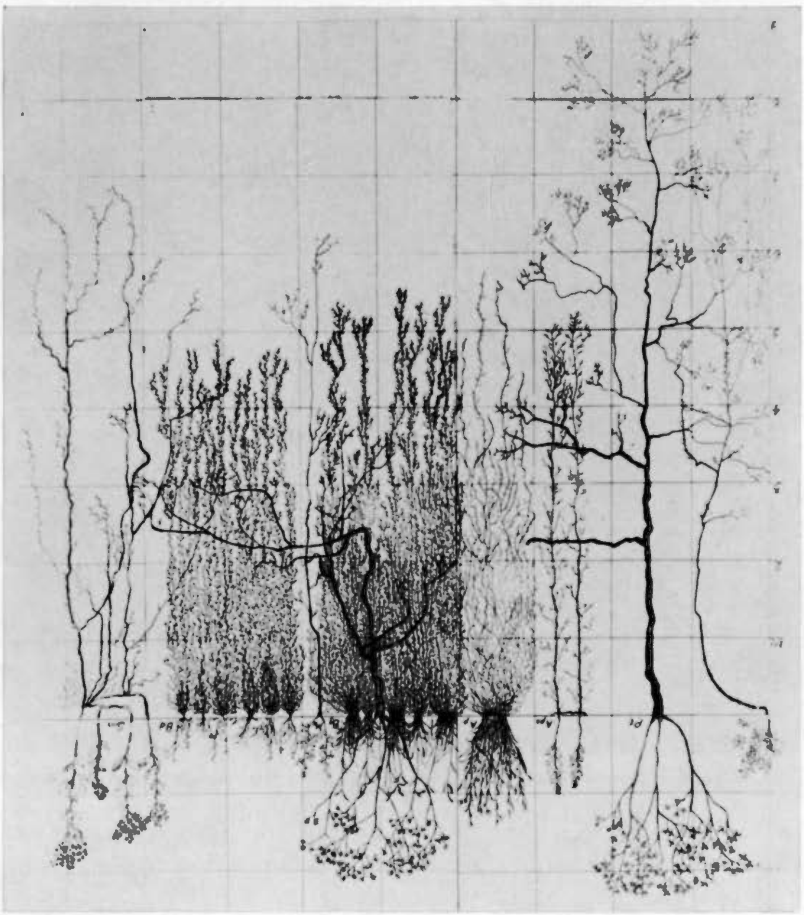
Much of Kansas' virgin prairie has felt the pioneer's sod breaking plow and today only about 40 per cent is left in native grass. Even so, grasslands give us many things and before we discuss the different kinds of grasslands in Kansas I would briefly like to enumerate some things we get from them.

Grasslands give us beefsteak. Our cattle serve as conveyors of the energy stored in grass to energy in a form more palatable to us (Fig. I). Since our state ranks fourth in the United States in the

I. Fat cattle on good grassland near Hays, Kansas.

production of cattle, this alone confirms the importance of our grasslands. But we get many other things from our native prairie.

One of our most important heritages from grasslands is wonderful, rich topsoil. The richest soil in the world is developed under grasslands, richer than under any other plant formation. One of the reasons for the rich soil is the mass of roots found under grass. Each plant has literally thousands of roots and most perennial grasses reach depths of six to ten feet (Fig. II). Many forb roots



II. Root systems of prairie plants in a typical cross section profile of a short grass prairie.

grow to much greater depths and form deeper layers of soil. Weaver and Zink (1946) found that individual grass roots live only one to three years. This means that each year hundreds of roots under each plant die, decompose and add organic matter and

nutrients to the soil. The roots also exert mechanical pressure on the soil particles forming them into soil aggregates which maintains the excellent structure of prairie soils.

Grasslands also give us water—good clean water. The grass leaves catch the raindrops, break the impact of their long fall and then guide them gently to the soil surface where they can follow thousands of root channels into the soil. If they are not absorbed by the roots themselves, the raindrops move down through the soil until they strike an impenetrable rock layer. They follow this rock layer until they break out on a hillside as a bubbling spring feeding a small clear water stream (Fig. III). The sluggish, silt

III. Clear water stream flowing out of a bubbling spring through a beautiful grassland.

laden stream flowing through our campus was once a clear water stream offering a beautiful recreation area for swimmers and fishermen and providing a fine water supply for our towns and cities. However, too many of our grasslands have been plowed and many of our streams have been ruined. Where large tracts of native grassland remain the water in streams still runs clear.

Grasslands also act as protectors of the soil from both wind and water erosion. Without the grassland cover water runs off the land carrying the soil with it which not only lowers the value of the land,

but also ruins our streams. In the 30's and again in the 50's much of the remaining grassland suffered severely from overgrazing and drought. These denuded prairies along with unprotected cropland were continually buffeted by drying temperatures and high winds until the infamous duststorms damaged areas so severely they could hardly be recognized as grasslands (Fig. IV).

IV. Former grassland completely denuded by soil erosion and deposition. Sharon Springs, Kansas.

In a study at the Fort Hays Experiment Station, a cultivated area was compared to a native grassland in their effects on water and soil conservation. During a nine-year period from 1930 to 1938 nearly 20 per cent of the water was lost as runoff on the cultivated area as compared to less than one-fourth of one per cent on the native grass (Table I). Soil loss on the cultivated area was nearly 16 tons per acre but was almost absent on native grass.

TABLE I. Soil and water losses from cultivated land and native prairie near Hays, Kansas, 1930-38. (Drake, 1940).

| *Land Treatment* | *$H_2O$ Losses %* | *Soil Loss T/ac* |
|---|---|---|
| Cultivated | 19.24 | 15.83 |
| Native Grass | 0.24 | .03 |

The grasslands also serve as a home for many wild animals like prairie horned larks, grasshopper sparrows, mourning doves, prairie chicken, hawks, owls, eagles, rabbits, skunks, badgers, antelope and hundred of others (Fig V). Man has learned that God's other

V. Meadow lark nest with grass pulled away showing eggs of this typical prairie inhabitant.

creatures are important to him and so maintenance of their home, the grasslands, becomes important to him.

One of the values man derives from the grasslands is often not clearly recognized. The prairies are beautiful, supporting one of the richest flora of any plant formation on earth (Fig. VI). More flowers grow in the prairie than in any other formation and their many bright colors mixed with the green of the grasses present scenes of great beauty to the eyes of the beholder. Too often we miss this beauty as we travel 70 miles an hour over our super highways and the beautiful countryside turns into a gray blur. The grasslands even exhibit beautiful fall colors if we but take time to look. One can see for miles in the prairie and gets the feeling of vastness, the cineramic view, a large hunk of God's natural beauty (Fig. VII). If we put them all together we find the benefits from grassland are truly impressive and, in fact, important to our well being.

VI. Flowers that add beauty to the prairie. Principal flower is New Jersey Tea (*Ceanothus ovatus*).

VII. View across a vast prairie in the Flint Hills of Kansas.

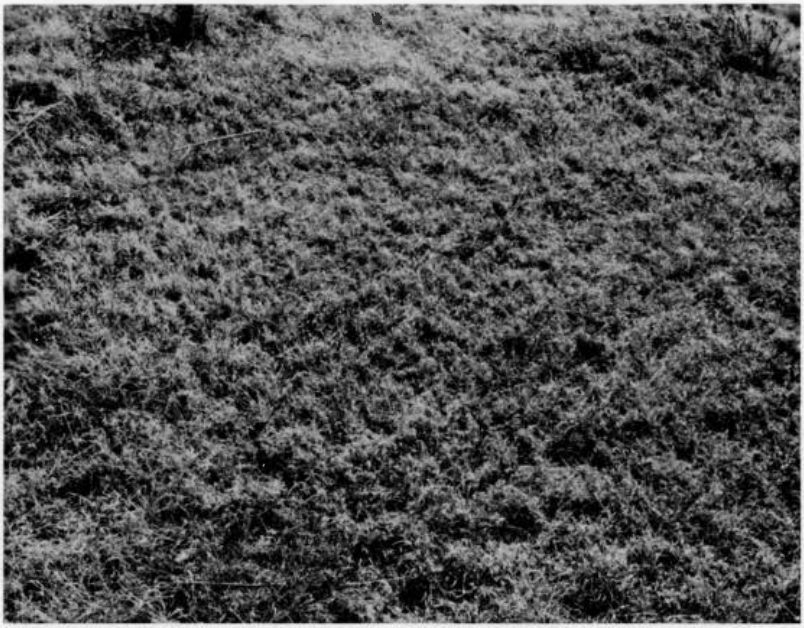
We have nearly 200 different species of grass in Kansas, but if we would but learn six or seven species we would know nearly 70 per cent of the grass cover of our native Kansas prairies. I would like to introduce you to these important grasses.

Blue grama is one of the most important grasses in the entire Great Plains (Fig. VIII). It is found all the way from the prairies

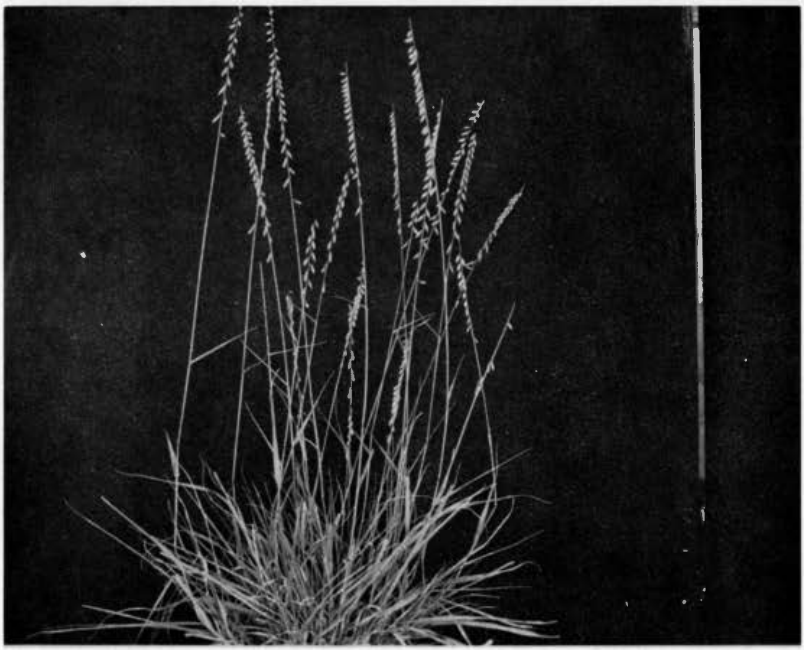
VIII. Blue grama (*Bouteloua gracilis*), one of the most common grasses in the Great Plains.

of Canada down into Mexico and is one of the two most important species in the short grass plains. The other species, buffalo grass, is not a widespread but is perhaps better known because of its ability to spread rapidly in denuded areas (Fig. IX). Both are short grasses. All grasses may be artificially placed in three size categories—short, mid and tall. Short grasses are less than 1½ feet tall at maturity, midgrasses between 1½ and 3 feet and tall grasses over 5 feet. Buffalo grass and blue grama are easy to distinguish from each because the leaves of buffalo are hairy on both surfaces while blue grama has only a few hairs at the base of its leaves.

Side-oats grama is a mid grass found throughout our state and in practically all the grasslands of the Great Plains (Fix. X). It is easy to recognize because of the oat-like spikelets that grow on one side of the flower stalks. It is a productive grass well liked by cattle.

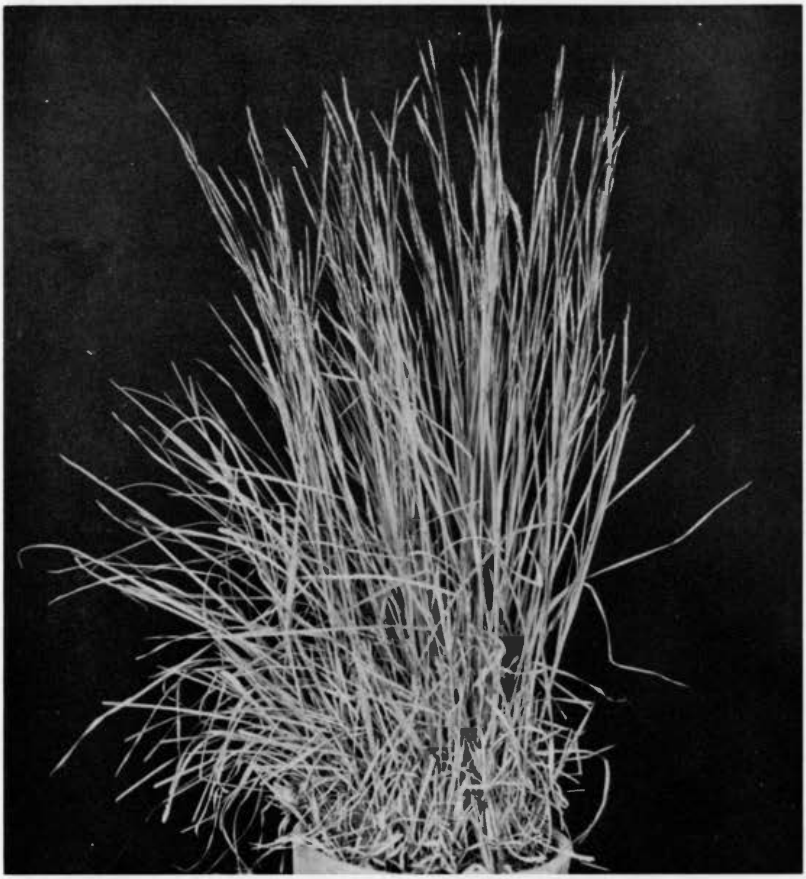


IX. A continuous, nearly solid cover of buffalo grass (*Buchloe dactyloides*).



X. Side-oats grama (*Bouteloua curtipendula*), a common midgrass in the Great Plains, especially on calcareous soils.

Little bluestem is a bunch grass most important in the eastern part of Kansas, but found throughout the state (Fig. XI). In the

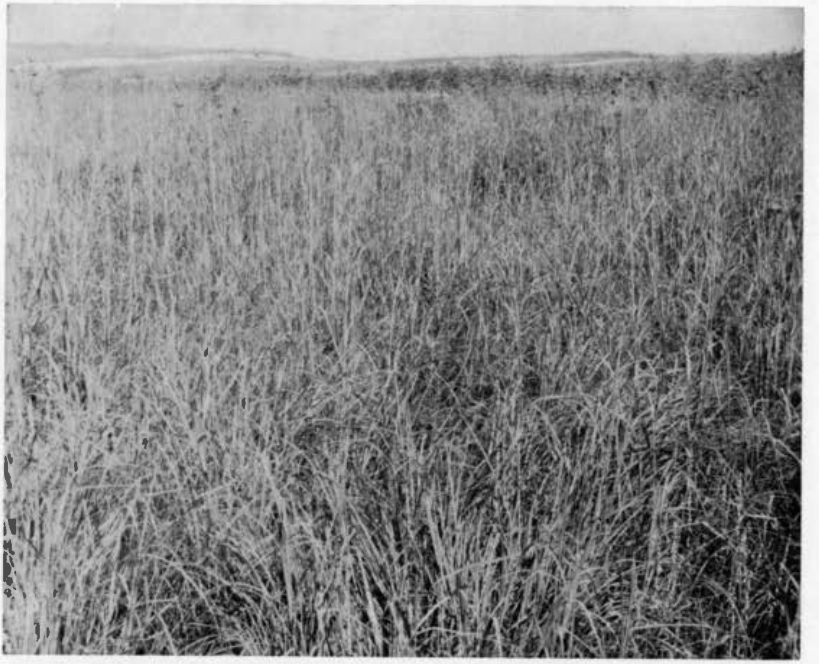


XI. Little bluestem (*Andropogon scoparius*), a bunch of grass that is widely distributed throughout North America.

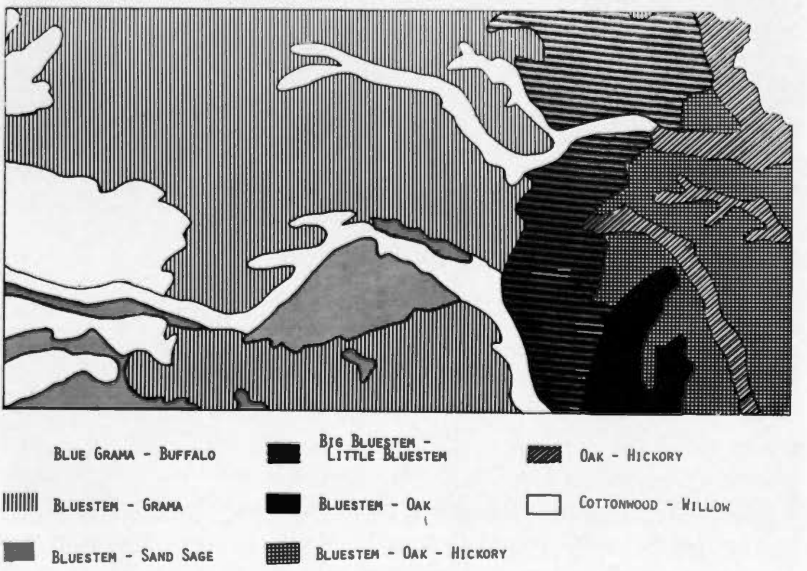
western areas it is most common on the rocky hills. Big bluestem is a tall grass common in eastern Kansas on all sides but limited to the moist lowlands in the west (Fig. XII). It is the "ice cream" grass often sought by grazing animals.

Western wheatgrass is a mid grass easily recognized by its blue-green color and prominent veins on its leaves.

I have mentioned these six grasses because they are important in the classification of Kansas grasslands. Küchler (1954) prepared a map of the potential vegetation of the United States and we have the Kansas portion to illustrate the grassland types of our state (Fig. XIII). He divided the grasslands of Kansas into six different



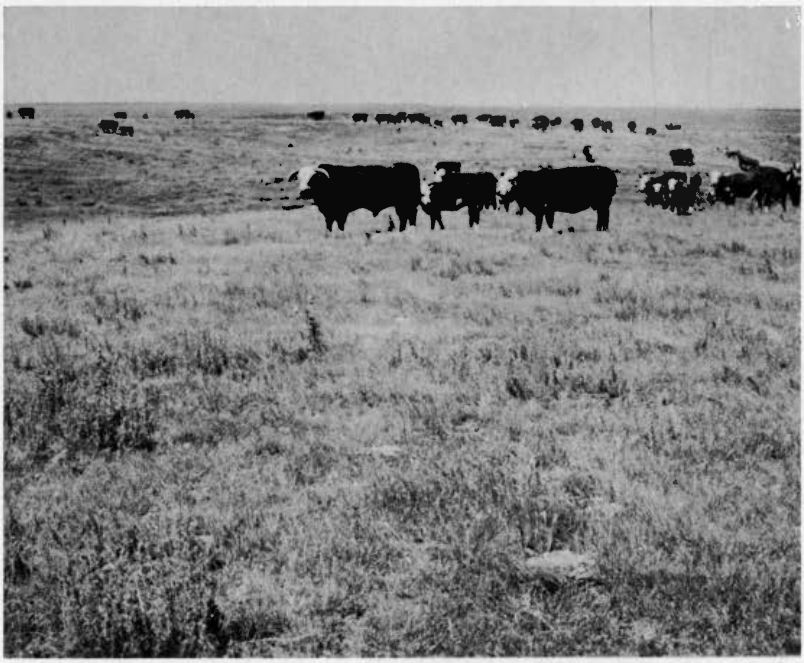
XII. A pure stand of big bluestem (*Andropogon gerardi*) in a lowland prairie.




XIII. Map of vegetation of Kansas (after Kuchler, 1954).

types: (1) short grass plains (Blue grama—Buffalo), (2) mixed prairie (Bluestem—Grama), (3) sandy grasslands (Bluestem—Sand Sage), (4) Flint Hills (Big Bluestem—Little Bluestem), (5) Cross timbers (Bluestem—Oak), and (6) Grass—Forest Mosaic (Bluestem—Oak—Hickory). Two forest types are delineated by Küchler but are limited to the major streams. In eastern Kansas the streams are bordered by oak-hickory forest while in the west is a flood plain forest dominated by cottonwood and willows.

The reduced precipitation in the western portion of the state supports vegetation dominated primarily by the two short grasses, buffalo and blue grama (Fig. XIV). Although the grasses are



XIV. Short grass prairie in western Kansas dominated by blue grama and buffalo grass.

short they are quite productive and nutritious, supporting large herds of cattle.

The mixed prairie or bluestem—grama prairie is dominated by a mixture of short, mid and tall grasses and covers almost the entire center of the state (Fig. XV). The four dominant grasses are little bluestem, big bluestem, side-oats grama and blue grama.

The sandy soils, found primarily south of the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers, support wonderful stands of grass if properly managed (Fig. XVI). However, poor management becomes appar-

XV. Mixed prairie in central Kansas dominated by short and mud grasses, primarily gramas and bluestems.

XVI. Sandy grassland south of the Arkansas River dominated by sand sagebrush and bluestems.

ent very soon and often results in permanent damage (Fig. XVII).

The Flint Hills is one of the most famous grassland areas in the world (Fig. XVIII). This large area of grassland has remained essentially intact since most of the soils are non-tillable. The

XVII. Sand dunes formed as a result of overgrazing sandsage-bluestem prairie.

dominant grasses are little bluestem and big bluestem. Most of the grasses are either tall or mid grasses.

There are two areas that might be called savannahs since they support a mixture of trees and grass. One is an extension of the cross timbers which forms a band across Texas and Oklahoma (Fig. XIX). The two principal trees are the post oak and black jack oak with the understory of bluestem grasses.

The other savannah is a mosaic of the oak-hickory forest and bluestem grasses (Fig. XX). It is possible that the trees in this area of Kansas are more abundant today than they were before the settlers came. Today, management of these areas often involves the control of the trees so as to provide more grasses for livestock.

Grasslands do then make up a large portion of the Kansas scene. We must learn to understand them, manage them economically, preserve them and, above all, appreciate them as an important part of our past, present and future environment.

XVIII. The Flint Hills, the Kansas portion of the true or bluestem prairie.

XIX. Cross timbers (post oak and blackjack oaks) extending on favorable habitats in the bluestem prairie.

XX. Oak-hickory forest and bluestem prairie mosaic in eastern Kansas.

I would like to close with my favorite passage from Alan Paton's "Cry the Beloved Country." It expresses in a very few words what I have been trying to say.

"The grass is rich and matted. It holds the rain and mist and they seep into the ground feeding the streams. . . . It is well-tended, and not too many cattle feed upon it; not too many fires burn it, laying bare the soil.

Stand unshod upon it, for the ground is holy, being as it came from the Creator. Keep it, guard it, care for it, for it keeps men, guards men, cares for men. Destroy it and man is destroyed. . . ."

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