Boarding Schools and the Moral Community

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Abstract

In this paper American boarding schools are examined in terms of their impact on students' moral development. It is argued that boarding school students undergo a specific "moral career"; as a consequence of this experience, boarding school graduates have a world view that is compatible with their most likely future statuses. Viewing boarding schools as total institutions or moral communities, the moral careers of students are traced. Through this process students are encouraged to accept the obligtion of becoming "the best". Evidence for this study was derived from a review of the literature and from investigations undertaken by the author on two separate occasons.

Peter W. Cookson Jr.*

Boarding Schools and the Moral Community

Introduction

The literature concerning American secondary boarding schools is quite diverse. Some authors, such as Baltzell, Domhoff and Levine, have examined these schools from a historical point of view and found them to be important in the creation and integration of a national upper class.[1] Other historians, McLachlan for example, are considerably less sure that American boarding schools have played a significant role in creating a self-conscious national elite.[2] There are studies by Baird and Kraushaar that examine boarding schools' general characteristics, but make few references to their place within the larger society. These studies are basically descriptive and non-theoretical.[3] There is also a rather large body of literature that is anecdotal and often biographcal, or autobiographical. This literature is often quite colorful and entertaining, but does little to systematically clarify the relationship of these schools to the larger society.[4] Recently studies by Armstrong, and Lewis and Wanner have assessed the impact of boarding schools on their graduates' futures.[5] The present author has examined the effect of boarding schools on students' college destinations.[6]

The theoretical context in which the study of American boarding schools has taken place is also quite diverse. Conflict theorists, whether Marxist or Weberian, have tended to stress these schools' critical role in creating an elite national class with shared world views, credentials and personal friendship networks.[7] Consensus theorists have tended to emphasize the schools' educational programs and minimize their possible importance in creating an elite class and consciousness.[8] Some authors, such as Persell, recognizing that there is little empirical evidence either way, have called for a closer examintion of these schools.[9]

In Great Britain, where boarding schools are called Public Schools, there has been an extensive examination of these schools' effects on their graduates' lives and on the larger society.[10] Gathorne-Hardy's recent work has illuminated much about Engish residential schools in terms of their origins, organizational structures, traditions, and social significance.[11] Weinberg has emphasized boarding schools' theoretical significance and their importance to sociologists interested in the effects of total institutions on individuals' lives.[12] In particular, he maintains that elite secondary schools "play a key role in socializing members of certain strategic elites."[13]

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In this paper American boarding schools are examined in terms of their environments and their possible impact on student's development. It is argued that boarding school students undergo a specific "moral career." As a consequence of this experience, boarding school graduates have a world view that is compatible with their most likely future statuses. This moral career "entitles" the boarding school graduate to certain social privileges.[14] The boarding school is seen as a moral community in which the themes of character development and service are stressed. Whether the point of view of boarding school graduates is aristocratic as Baltzell maintains, or bourgeois as McLachlan argues, it does place upon them the imperative to be "the best".[15]

The data for this paper were drawn from several sources, including a review of the available literature and, in 1978 and 1979, visits to ten American boarding schools. Through surveys and interviews, students', teachers', and administrators' attitudes on a variety of educational issues were assessed.[16] It should be pointed out that there are several hundred boarding schools in the United States.[17] According to McLachlan and others not all these schools are considered to be "elite".[18] From a review of the literature, however, and from survey data, it seems reasonable to assume that most college preparatory American boarding schools are fundamentally similar in their basic organizational characteristics.[19]

Adolescence, Moral Development and the Total Institution

It has been pointed out by a wide variety of thinkers that adolescence is a crucial point in an individual's development.[20] Erikson, in particular, has emphasized that during this period of development many young people experience an "identity crisis" in which they struggle to shed the identity of childhood and gain a new adult conception of themselves and the world in which they live; he writes:

> The adolescent mind is essentially a mind of the *moratorium*, a psychosocial stage between childhood and adulthood, and between the morality learned by the child, and the ethics to be developed by the adult. It is an ideological mind — and, indeed, it is the ideological outlook of a society that speaks most clearly to the adolescent who is eager to be affirmed by his peers, and is ready to be confirmed by rituals, creeds, and programs which at the same time define what is evil, uncanny, and inimical. In searching for the social values which guide identity, one therefore confronts the problems of *ideology* and *aristocracy*, both in their widest possible sense which connotes that within a defined world image and a predestined course of history, the best people will come to rule and rule develops the best in people. In order not to become cynically or apathetically lost, young people must somehow be able to convince themselves that those who succeed in their anticipated adult world thereby shoulder the obligation of being the best.[21]

Scott, in his study of the internalization of norms, maintained that adolescence, which he calls the third moral stage, is the most moral age; at this period in an individual's life, he or she rehearses the roles they will actually come to perform in the future in what might be called "symbolic anticipatory socialization."[22] In effect, adolescents are able to act out a number of moral stances protected to some degree from the consequences of the positions they take.

However, long before modern psychology and sociology, innovative European educators had recognized the plasticity of adolescents' attitudes toward the larger world.[23] Because adolescents were curious and impressionable, idleness was perceived as dangerous in that it might lead to unproductive behaviors. Some educators recommended an education that was "total". For example, Fellenberg, an early nineteenth century educational thinker, maintained that, "The great art of educating consists in knowing how to occupy every moment of life in well-directed and useful activity of the youthful powers, in order that, so far as possible, nothing evil may find room to develop itself."[24] Ariès, in discussing the development of European boarding schools, maintained that the boarding school was, ". . . substituted for society in which all the ages were mingled together; it was called upon to mold children on the pattern of an ideal human type."[25] According to

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Gathorne-Hardy English public schools explicitly took on the task of character training after Arnold placed morality and religion as the center of the Rugby curriculum[26]

Early European boarding schools had virtually all the same characteristics that Goffman attributes to total institutions:

> First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority. Second, each phase of the member's daily activity will be carried out in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same thing together. Third, all phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled, with one activity leading at a prearranged time into the next, the whole circle of activities being imposed from above through a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials. Finally, the contents of the various enforced activities are brought together as parts of a single overall rational plan purportedly designed to fulfill the official aims of the institution.[27]

Goffman describes the "encompassing tendencies" of total institutions which act to bar their "inmates" from social intercourse with the outside.[28] He refers to boarding schools specifically as within the fourth type of total institution, ". . . institutions purportedly established the better to pursue some technical task and justifying themselves only on these instrumental grounds."[29] He includes, in this type of total institution, boarding schools, army barracks, ships, work camps, colonial compounds and large mansions.

The idea of providing adolescents with a moral education in a total institution was first suggested in this country by two American educators who had traveled widely in Europe, Joseph Green Cogswell and George Bancroft.[30] Together they founded the Round Hill School in Northampton, Massachusetts in 1823. Cogswell, according to McLachlan, was "frankly a cultural elitist" and sought to found boarding schools where children could be educated to become scholars and gentlemen and, as adults, direct an emergent national culture.[31] Like Fellenberg, Cogswell was highly suspicious of adolescent idleness and sought to keep his students extremely busy intellectually, socially and physically. Round Hill closed in 1834, but the boarding school idea endured and by 1880 several national boarding schools were established. McLachlan suggests a number of reasons why these boarding schools succeeded when earlier ones had failed; the most important of which were, the negative reaction of the middle and upper classes to the increasingly chaotic conditions of urban life, the bureaucratization of the public schools, the new admissions standards imposed by some colleges and the need of the rich and the nouveaux rich to provide the "best" education for their sons.[32]

These eastern socially elite prep schools were often founded by strong charismatic headmasters such as Endicott Peabody of Groton who, McLachlan claims, was called by some of his contemporaries, "Sun God".[33] Weber points out that charismatic authority rests on the personal qualities of the leader.[34] In a boarding school a headmaster or headmistress has extensive authority over the entire operation of their school.[35] A headmaster or a headmistress is quite literally the captain of his or her ship. The importance of this is underscored by the fact that boarding school administrators believe that they are educating students for leadership roles in society;[36] thus, the role model that the headmaster or headmistress presents to students may be critical in influencing students' conceptions of the proper exercise of authority.[37] This is especially true in light of Erikson's proposition that adolescents' search for identity is quite acute.

Headmasters are most often chosen for their positions because of their personal qualities.[38] When administrators were asked what qualities were most important for the development of an outstanding headmaster, they chose moral character. Following moral character in order of importance, were ability to deal effectively with students, tolerance and consideration, resourcefulness, ability to deal effectively with parents, efficiency, and intellectual acuity.[39] The stress on the moral character of headmasters and, in school life in general, has been present since boarding schools were founded.

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Endicott Peabody, for instance, founded Groton to promote "manly Christian character" and to "provide a thorough education" for those engaged in "the active work of life."[40] The idea of service was critical to Peabody's philosophy, particularly as it applied to the emerging American empire.[41] Thus, the Groton motto, "To serve is to rule," brilliantly resolves the contradition between service and domination by equating them. The concept of service helps to minimize the role confusion experienced by adolescents and, thus, gives shape and direction to the idea of becoming "the best."[42]

Boarding schools' concern with the development of student character has not diminished since the time of Peabody. As was discussed earlier, a headmaster's moral character is of utmost importance. Headmasters believe that moral character is also the most important quality for the development of an outstanding teacher.[43] It appears that boarding schools are total institutions that, quite self-consciously, aim to create moral communities. It is in this milieu that entering students are introduced to new conceptions about themselves and their role in the world. The headmaster of one prestigious boarding school introduced his curriculum as follows:

> Moral training consists of facing up honestly and directly to challenges, some exhilarating, some painful . . . Schools do not build character; situations do. To the extent that the School provides situations that involve genuine challenge, it encourages the testing and strengthening of character. To the extent that the School honors positive actions that are at the same time sensitive to the needs of others, it encourages the formation of a system of values. To the degree that it insists on honest acceptance of the consequences of one's actions, the School enhances ethical maturity.[44]

Moral Careers Within Boarding Schools

Goffman speaks of moral careers within total institutions. He believes that through the "mortification of the self", radical shifts can be made to occur in individuals' moral outlooks.[45] In boarding schools the "inmates" (to use Goffman's term) are adolescent students who are, more or less, voluntarily enrolled and are exposed to a "treatment" the object of which is to create, in Erikson's terms, the sense of being "the best". Becoming the "best" is often expressed in terms of service. In this way, boarding schools are similar to other total institutions, such as military academies, in that they aim to develop socially identifiable graduates.

Dornbush has outlined the steps by which he believes students at total educational institutions are assimilated into attitudes and behaviors that prepare them for their future statuses. Quoting the work of Park and Burgess, Dornbush defines assimilation as follows:

> A process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life . . . The unity thus achieved is not necessarily or even normally like-mindedness; it is rather a unity of experience and of orientation out of which may develop a community of purpose and action.[46]

To be assimilated is to "fit in". Parenthetically, when this investigator interviewed headmasters and teachers at a number of boarding schools they often referred to students and teachers as "fitting in" or "not fitting in". When asked to describe what made one "fit in", respondents usually lapsed into thoughtful silence, eventually shrugged their shoulders and admitted that defining the art of "fitting in" was close to impossible and probably quite pointless as well. It may be that when individuals are thoroughly assimilated into a way of thinking, the rules by which assimilation takes place become obscure to the conscious mind.

Dornbush believes that the unity of experience and orientation which develops within a community with a common purpose is achieved through a set of prescribed sequential experiences which, in the vocabulary of this article, might describe the guideposts by which students' moral careers can be marked. As part of a student's "rite de passage", he or she passes through a set of experiences that are

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designed "to build character". Below is a discussion of the incremental steps that Dornbush believes students experience during the process of assimilation.

The Suppression of Pre-Existing Status

As both Dornbush and Goffman point out, a critical step in the creation of a "new person" is the "stripping" process by which their old identities are removed or substantially altered.[47] Historically, boarding school students were initiated to their school through elaborate and often cruel hazing rituals. The living conditions of students were somewhat primitive and, in general, boarding school life was quite Spartan. In Great Britain junior members of the student body often served as personal attendants to the more senior members. The purpose of these trials was to create a sense of unity among the students by diminishing the importance of students' linkage to their families and previous statuses. Students who did not "fit in" when they arrived at their boarding school, generally adopted the dress and mannerisms and perhaps the values of those who preceded them. Today, students' introductions to their boarding schools are by no means as harsh as they were in the past, yet new students are quickly taught what they need to know about living in their particular total institution, through a variety of formal and informal initiation ceremonies.

Learning New Rules and Adjustment to Conflicts Between Rules

Most boarding schools have quite extensive rules of behavior; often these rules extend down to dress and etiquette. Generally, these rules are enforced consistently because, in a total institution, overt infractions of rules indicate that an "inmate" is not accepting the authority of the institution. Informally, rules are often violated systematically; perhaps, a cardinal informal rule is that one should not give evidence against another student. The moral questioning created by the disparity between the formal rules and the informal rules is an important stage in students' moral careers because they are able to work out, in a relatively protected environment, a pragmatic morality that will perhaps stand them in good stead in the quest for being "the best". Scott has called this process "symbolic anticipatory socialization."[48]

The Development of Solidarity

Strenuous efforts are made at boarding schools to create a sense of solidarity among the students and between the students and the school. Solidarity is created in a number of ways; students, for instance, are introduced to the folklore and informal history of their school. Legendary students and teachers, who represent in some way critical aspects of the school's ethos, are often referred to by older students and by teachers. The very hardships that are imposed on students create a sense of solidarity that is often expressed in terms of the sharing that students do among themselves. Sports is a major mechanism by which schools promote solidarity. Unlike many large public high schools, nearly every boarding school student participates in some kind of sports activity. Through other school activities, such as assemblies, students are encouraged to believe that their experience is special and that either directly or indirectly their school is partially responsible for their becoming "the best."

The Development of a "Charismatic" Spirit

Dornbush claims that cadets' experiences at the Coast Guard Academy creates a "bureaucratic" spirit. At boarding schools a student's individuality, indeed his or her uniqueness, is often stressed, especially in the upper grades or forms. Boarding school students, who are being prepared for leadership roles in society, are taught to appreciate the virtues of individuality and initiative. As mentioned previously, headmasters and headmistresses at boarding schools are seen to be individuals with special qualities and they best represent the values of the school. As role models for

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students headmasters and headmistresses symbolize the ideal unity of being a team player and an individual. Thus, while there is solidarity with one's peers and to the school, students still retain a sense of individual aspiration and achievement. This can best be seen in students' efforts to be accepted by highly selective colleges. Almost all boarding school students plan to go to college, emphasizing their solidarity of purpose, but *where* a student goes to college is a mark of his or her achievement and individuality.

New Satisfactions in Interaction

By sharing so much of their lives together, students at boarding schools develop an ease of communication with each other and from that communication grows a set of shared experiences. Students who have gone through the boarding school experience have been called, either humorously or derisively, "Preppy". Boarding school students do, indeed, develop styles of dress, manners of speaking and general points of view that are identifiable, at least, to those who know the cultural codes. One of the functions of total institutions may be to provide their "inmates" with a set of highly structured relationships that are useful for some instrumental end. In this case, a shared pattern of attitudes and behaviors among boarding school graduates creates the possibility that at a future time graduates will be able to recognize each other and, through a shared set of cultural experiences and expectations, establish a friendly and possibly profitable relationship.

Social Mobility and the Justification of Institutional Practices

Historical studies have indicated that boarding schools have been used by certain social groups as a method of gaining admission to a higher social status.[49] While America's "High Society" may not be as sharply defined as it was in the past, graduation from boarding school often is still an important credential when individuals attempt to join exclusive clubs and gain prestigious occupational positions.[50] Graduation from boarding school also provides a student with the practical advantage of perhaps attending a more highly selective college than he or she might have attended if he or she had graduated from a different type of secondary school.[51]

This mobility function of boarding schools provides, in part, the justification for certain institutional practices. Within this context, the challenges and constraints of boarding school life are seen as a form of training that enables students to be both "moral" and competitively successful. Students who cannot withstand this training are generally sent home. Developing a toughness of spirit is a critical aspect of the boarding school student's moral career. Graduation implies that the student has met the challenges and survived the constraints of the institution's training program and is now ready to face the larger world.

Reality Shock

Dornbush discusses Everett C. Hughes' concept of reality shock as a sudden realization that there is a disparity between the way a job is envisioned and the actual work situation.[52] Generalizing this concept somewhat, boarding school students are confronted with a world that is in many ways different from the one encountered in the total institution. This reality shock can be eased by maintaining relationships with former boarding school friends, by seeking out other boarding school students at college, and by joining exclusive social clubs. There are a variety fo adaptive mechanisms by which boarding school students adjust to the "real world". Some lose their "preppiness" while others go to lengths to retain this image. Undoubtedly, the confrontation with the real world is eased by the fact that many of these students come from families which have substantially the same values that are emphasized at the schools.

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Upon graduation, boarding school students leave the moral community and are, presumably, prepared for life by having experienced a shift in their moral careers. In Erikson's terms, the moratorium period is over and the student now has a new identity. At the core of this new identity, is the idea of service. Enlightened self-interest calls for an active participation in the world in which, again in Erikson's terms, "the best" should and do provide leadership for the rest of society.[53]

How successful are boarding schools in creating students with similar moral and social perspectives? Evidence that these students often attend similar colleges and have similar adult occupations provides indirect data that there is a shared perspective.[54] Inter-marriage among boarding school students might also provide evidence of a shared perspective. Some would argue, however, that most of the effects that are attributed to boarding schools are better explained by the fact that many boarding school students have similar family backgrounds. Nonetheless, some graduates of boarding schools must feel that their schools have "independent effects," since alumni often contribute large amounts of money to their school, return for class reunions, and send their own children to boarding school.[55] Moreover, one seldom finds a boarding school graduate who is not interested in discussing his or her experiences in the total institution.

Conclusion

In this paper it has been argued that boarding schools, as total institutions, endeavor to "treat" students and produce certain kinds of graduates. Through a specific process of assimilation boarding school students undergo a moral career that is designed to shape their characters and their general social perspective. This experience comes at a time when adolescents are searching for new adult identities. Boarding schools provide protective environments by which students may act out their identity struggles guided by the moral perspective of the school community. This form of symbolic anticipatory socialization creates identifiable social actors.

Providing students with moral communities is not incidental to the purpose of boarding schools, but central to the historical and contemporary importance of these schools. By teaching students to have the "character" to "shoulder the obligation of being the best," boarding schools instill in their students the idea that service is both an obligation of and a reward to those enjoying the privileges of leadership status. Thus, there is an important relationship between the communal life of boarding schools and their role within the larger society.

Notes

[1] E. Digby Baltzell, *The Protestant Establishment* (New York: Random House, 1964); William G. Domhoff, *Who Rules America?* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967); Steven B. Levine, "Private Education and Class Integration," *Social Problems,* 28 (1980), 63-94.

[2] James S. McLachlan, *American Boarding Schools: A Historical Study* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970).

[3] Leonard L. Baird, *The Elite Schools* (Lexington, Ma.: Lexington Books, 1977); Otto F. Kraushaar, *American Non-public Schools: Patterns of Diversity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).

[4] Lisa Birnbach, *The Official Preppy Handbook* (New York: Workman Publishing, 1980); Peter S. Prescott, *A World of Our Own* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1970); William G. Saltonstall, *Lewis Perry of Exeter* (New York: Atheneum, 1980); William S. Strong, "New England Prep Schools: Are They Still the Ultimate?" *Town and Country,* August 1980, pp. 65-72; Angela Stent, "The Prep School Boom," *Change,* August 1976, pp. 16-18.

[5] Christopher F. Armstrong, "Private Education and the Persistence of Privilege: The Case of Two New England Schools" (Paper, Eastern Sociological Society Meeting, 1978); Lionel S. Lewis and Richard A. Wanner, "Private Schooling and the Status Attainment Process," *Sociology of Education,* 52 (1979), 99-112.

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[6] Peter W. Cookson, Jr., "Private Secondary Boarding School and Public Suburban High School Graduation: An Analysis of college Attendance Plans," Diss. New York University 1981. See also, Floyd Morgan Hammack and Peter W. Cookson, Jr., "Colleges Attended by Graduates of Elite Secondary Schools," *The Educational Forum,* XLIV (1980), 483-490.

[7] C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 64-65; See also Baltzell, Domhoff and Levine.

[8] For example, McLachlan, pp. 11-15.

[9] Caroline Hodges Persell, *Education and Inequality* (New York: Free Press, 1977).

[10] David Boyd, *Elites and Their Education* (New York: Humanities Press, 1973); W.R. Fraser, *Residential Education* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1968); Royston Lambert, *The Hothouse Society* (Middlesex, England; Penguin Books, 1974); The Open University, *The Education of Elites* (Milton Keynes, England: The Open University Press, 1977); John Wakeford, *The Cloistered Elite: A Sociological Analysis of the English Public Boarding School* (London: Macmillan, 1969); Ian Weinberg, *The English Public Schools* (New York: Atherton Press, 1967); and "Some Methodological and Field Problems of Social Research in Elite Secondary Schools," *Sociology of Education,* 41 (1968), 141-156; Rupert Wilkinson, *Gentlemanly Power* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).

[11] Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy, *The Old School Tie: The Phenomenon of the English Public School* (New York: Viking Press, 1978).

[12] Weinberg, "Some Methodological and Field Problems," pp. 141-142.

[13] Ibid.

[14] For a discussion of how education may be used as a form of cultural capital see Randall Collins, *The Credential Society* (New York: Academic Press, 1979); and *Conflict Sociology* (New York: Academic Press, 1975).

[15] For a discussion of what it means to be "the best" in this context see Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963), pp. 262-263. See also David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest* (New York: Random House, 1969).

[16] Peter W. Cookson, Jr., "Teacher Evaluation and Professional Growth in Independent Schools" (Report, The Spencer Foundation, New York University, 1978); and "The Educational Attitudes of Private School Educators" (Paper, American Sociological Association, 1980).

[17] Porter-Sargent Publishing Company, *The Handbook of Private Schools* (Boston: Porter-Sargent Publishing Company, 1978).

[18] McLachlan, pp. 6-7.

[19] Cookson, "Private Secondary Boarding School," p. 234.

[20] For example, Erikson, pp. 262-263; Lawrence Kohlberg, "Development of Moral Character and Moral Ideology," M.L. Hoffman and L.W. Hoffman (Eds.), Review of Child Development Research (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964); John Finley Scott, *Internalization of Norms* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971).

[21] Erikson, pp. 262-263.

[22] Scott, p. 170.

[23] Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965).

[24] McLachlan, p. 60.

[25] Ariès, p. 285.

[26] Gathorne-Hardy, p. 75.

[27] Erving Goffman, "The Characteristics of Total Institutions," A. Etzioni (Ed.), *A Sociological Reader on Complex Organizations* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1969), p. 314.

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[28] Goffman, p. 313.

[29] Ibid.

[30] McLachlan, p. 71.

[31] Ibid, p. 31.

[32] Ibid, p. 272.

[33] Ibid, p. 246.

[34] Max Weber, "Types of Authority," L.A. Coser and B. Rosenberg (Eds.), *Sociological Theory — A Book of Readings* (New York: MacMillan, 1976), p. 132.

[35] Kraushaar, pp. 144-145.

[36] Cookson, "Educational Attitudes," p. 5.

[37] Emile Durkheim, Moral Education: *A Study of the Theory and Application of the Sociology of Education* (New York: Free Press, 1973).

[38] Kraushaar, p. 182.

[39] Cookson, "Educational Attitudes," p. 21.

[40] McLachlan, pp. 254-255.

[41] Ibid, p. 295.

[42] Erikson, pp. 262-263.

[43] Cookson, "Educational Attitudes," p. 19.

[44] Ibid, p. 26.

[45] Goffman, p. 317.

[46] Sanford M. Dornbush, "The Military Academy as an Assimilating Institution," *Social Forces,* 33 (1955), 316.

[47] Goffman, pp. 317-318.

[48] Scott, p. 170.

[49] For example, Levine, p. 91.

[50] Domhoff, pp. 34-35.

[51] Cookson, "Private Secondary Boarding School," pp. 183-184.

[52] Dornbush, p. 321.

[53] Erikson, pp. 262-263.

[54] Cookson, "Private Secondary Boarding School," pp. 183-184; Hammack and Cookson, pp. 486-490. See also, Armstrong.

[55] Information drawn from Porter-Sargent's *Handbook of Private Schools* indicates, for example, that the average endowment of the most socially elite boarding schools (as defined by McLachlan and others) is over 21 million dollars. Most of this money is contributed by alumni. According to the 1978 alumni magazine of one such school, over 50 percent of their alumni participated in the annual fund drive. The amount collected was in excess of $800,000. The school also received a gift of four million dollars from one individual. This same report also recounts many of the school related activities of the alumni. It is not unusual for the children of alumni to attend their parents' boarding schools.

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