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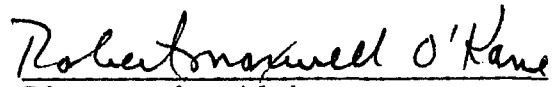
UNDERSTANDING OF LEADERSHIP

by

Ann Carswell Clontz

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

Greensboro
1984

Approved by

Robert maxwell O'Kane
Dissertation Adviser

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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Date of Acceptance by Committee

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CLONTZ, ANN CARSWELL, Ed.D. The Use of Biographical Data for a
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One infrequently used method of studying leaders and leadership,
which is wholistic in nature, is the analysis of sociological,
psychological, and biographical data of persons assumed to have been
leaders by virtue of their positions or legacies. Using this
approach, this study was concerned with the analysis of biographical
data of selected individuals.

The concept of transforming and transactional leadership des-
cribed by James MacGregor Burns (1978) was utilized as the opera-
tional definition of leadership. The literature was reviewed for
model studies of leaders by persons using a psychological and
sociological matrix in understanding their subjects.

One man who is not known to have been analyzed in such a manner
was selected as the main subject of this study. He was Charles
Brantley Aycock, former governor of North Carolina (1901-1905).
Using his official biography, Aycock's life, both public and pri-
vate, was put under the lens utilizing role theory as a framework
for the analysis. Considered were the behaviors and experiences of
Aycock, his heritage, significant childhood experiences, major roles,
self-concept, and the opportunities for leadership and his responding
activities.

After an intensive analysis of Aycock's overt behaviors as reported in his biography, his actions were compared to the behaviors of a leader and the components of leadership as given by Burns. Aycock exhibited several characteristics of a leader, but these were insufficient for him to be considered a leader by Burns' description. It was never established that his goals or motives were those of his followers. His major goals were established by the Democrat party and Aycock supported them. The biographical data indicated that the means Aycock used to accomplish party goals were unethical. Although there was natural conflict in the state, Aycock created additional conflict with tactics used to gain political support for the party. He did have adequate resources which he masterfully manipulated. However, in the end, Aycock was unable to accomplish the goals set by the party.

Although Aycock was not found to be a leader according to Burns' description and supported by the biographical data, the study was of great value in that the approach used as one way to better understand leadership was found to be a meaningful methodology.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Sometimes words are inadequate for expressing one's appreciation to those most deserving of it, and often space is too limited to name those who deserve recognition. Numerous friends and family members have been most supportive as I undertook this study. Those not mentioned below are very aware of their influence and contributions, and also of my gratitude.

Appreciation is expressed to Dr. Robert M. O'Kane, adviser and Chairman, who provided the guidance, support, and encouragement necessary to complete all phases of the doctoral program. The leadership he modeled was also a learning experience.

The other Committee members are also recognized and thanked for their contributions, not only in regards to the dissertation, but throughout the program. Dr. Dale Brubaker, Dr. Roland Nelson, and Dr. Elisha Rallings influenced me in many ways for which I am grateful.

Two other friends and educators gave me moral support and encouragement, and I want to recognize their influence in this endeavor--Dr. N. Andrew Miller and Dr. Charles H. Weaver.

The persons most deserving of recognition are my two sons, Greg and Jonathan, who unselfishly and willingly assumed responsibilities far beyond those expected of one's children. Their

acceptance of my goals was essential to my meeting them. Thank

you, Greg and Jonathan, for your assistance in reaching our goal.

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CHAPTER I

SIGNIFICANCE OF BIOGRAPHICAL DATA IN

UNDERSTANDING LEADERSHIP

Introduction

The concept of leadership has throughout the ages fascinated mankind. It may be the most observed, analyzed, discussed, and the least understood phenomenon of all times. "was a familiar theme to the distant forerunners of social science in classical antiquity and in the Middle Ages"[1] and continues to command attention today in the modern world.

According to Burns there are some 130 definitions of leadership.[2] Stogdill reported that although there are some similarities among the various definitions,[3] enough variety exists to suggest "that there is little agreement as to the meaning of the concept"[4] and that there is little in the way of a unified theory at this time.

Various theories or partial theories have been postulated in an effort to explain the phenomenon of leadership. Many general works regarding leadership have been added to the literature in the recent past. For example, Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership offered a review of just under 4000 different professional articles, research projects, and books presented from 1904 to 1974.[5] This did not include non-professional materials such as articles in the

popular media. Nor did it include a review of publications dealing with aspects of leadership which were not derived from acceptable methods of scientific inquiry. Therefore, accumulated information by respected social scientists concerning views and usage of aspects such as charismatic theory, psychoanalytic or historical biographical analysis was omitted.

An analysis of available information indicated that little progress seems to have been made. The same questions remain unanswered: What is this concept called leadership? Who is a leader and how does he differ from non-leaders? Burns restated the questions by asking explicitly, "Who leads whom from where to where, and why?"[7] While the academicians are concretely and minutely investigating these questions, Burns noted that "the hunger for compelling and creative leadership continues and accelerates."[8]

In descriptive and concise terminology, Blau and Scott noted that there were only three basic methods of obtaining data about people: "Watching them; asking them questions; and examining their droppings."[9] They also cautioned that until it is determined which method is found to be the most adequate, no process can be discarded.

It appeared from a review of the literature that the first two methods listed have been utilized extensively in an effort to illuminate the phenomenon of leadership. There was a definite scarcity of published materials engaging the third process which would include analysis of biographical data from a psychological

and sociological vantage point. The contributors of the <u>Daedalus</u>
Library of <u>Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership</u> demon-
strated that the biographical approach is a valid method to utilize
in understanding "the process of leadership in a modern world."[10]
Rustow saw leadership as a "process of innovation" and the
"recurrent interplay between private personality and public perfor-
mances."[11]

In order to understand this abstraction of leadership better,
assumed leaders should be studied as individuals interacting in
their societal environment. Therefore, the overall purpose of this
study was to provide insight into the phenomenon of leadership
through a psychological and sociological analysis of selected
persons whose legacies have indicated they led followers in signif-
icant ways.

Statement of the Problem

Many have notions and ideas concerning leadership. However,
these are spread over a wide spectrum and there seems to be diffi-
culty in integrating these ideas into a theory to explain leader-
ship, to describe a leader, or to delineate the process for becoming
a leader.

Often, persons who appeared on the surface to be leaders
assumed or were elected to positions of power and influence, and
then failed to perform as their followers expected. One of many
possible explanations for the inability to lead successfully as
anticipated by the constituency may be a result of the "leader"

being chosen because of personality, societal position, or some other factor or combination of factors which may or may not indicate leadership ability.

Choosing a leader may be a formal procedure such as electing the president of the United States, a member of Congress, or a state governor. Or, it may be informal as when a sandlot baseball team selects its captain or when a silently acknowledged leader is allowed to influence the actions of others such as was detected in the bank wiring room observations of the Hawthorne studies by Elton May.[12] In each situation, the leader was acknowledged because of evidence of persuasion, influence, competence, drive, power, or other attributes often associated with leaders.

Leaders in the intellectual sphere of ideas may not have immediate popular support or positions from which they can lead. Men in this category include, for example, Martin Luther, Mohandas Gandhi, and Sir Isaac Newton. They often worked against established institutions to promulgate their beliefs.

In an attempt to understand leaders, leadership, and the relationship between leaders and followers, it must be recognized that one does not lead in isolation. The leader must consider the followers, the destination, the expectations of contemporaries, historical circumstance, cultural influences, and the impact of success or failure of the endeavor.[13] When a person is perceived to be a leader, the group members adopt a followership role during the existence of common goals and motivations. Therefore, in this sense, the leader is as one of the followers.

Authors of <u>Daedalus' Philosophers and Kings</u> expressed a need
for the interdisciplinary historical approach as a tool for deeper
exploration of the concept of leadership.[14] Burns wrote that "one
of the most serious failures in the study of leadership has been
the bifurcation between the literature on leadership and the litera-
ture on followership."[15] The two cannot be effectively analyzed as
separate entities. Acts of leaders must be placed in the "structure
and processes of human development and political action."[16] Accord-
ing to Burns, in order to understand leadership better, one must
"look for patterns in the origins and socializing of persons that
account for leadership."[17] He believed that distinctive leadership
roles and qualities can be identified by using concepts that
emphasize structures of motivations, values, and goals. In order
to do this, the interwoven relationship between leaders (the indivi-
duals) and followers (society) must be noted.

Therefore, because of the value of an integrated approach to
understanding leadership, this dissertation was concerned with an
analysis of the psychological and social milieux, as described by
Burns and in <u>Daedalus</u>, of a personage, in this instance, Charles
B. Aycock. He has been recognized as a leader in North Carolina
by virtue of his alleged contributions to education and his
activities in politics. No other analysis of his behaviors is
known to exist.

Definition of Terms

Selected terms which were used throughout this study are
defined below.

Leadership. Although there are numerous descriptions and
definitions of this term, one offered by Burns was utilized for
the purposes of this paper. He stated:

> Leadership over human beings is exercised when persons
> with certain motives and purposes mobilize, in competi-
> tion or conflict with others, institutional, political,
> psychological, and other resources so as to arouse,
> engage, and satisfy the motives of followers.[18]

This implied that the goals sought must represent the values, and
meet or satisfy the needs and wants of both the leader and the
followers.[19]

The term leadership is often erroneously interchanged with the
term rulership. There are some similarities, but they are not
interchangeable terms. Both exist to achieve a given purpose which
satisfied needs. However, rulers do not necessarily consider the
goals and motives of subordinates; leaders do. Power is an aspect
of both leadership and rulership. Burns stated that all leaders
hold actual or potential power, "but not all power holders are
leaders."[20]

Biographical approach. This is not to be confused with a sim-
ple chronological listing of events which resulted in one's being
identified as a leader. Instead, there was an in-depth probing
into the psychological experiences and sociological relationships
of the selected subject. Autobiographical and biographical data

were utilized as well as other information concerning the social and political thought of the time period involved. The influence exerted during Aycock's lifetime and left as a legacy to succeeding generations was considered a component of his biography.

Psychological analysis. The behaviors and experiences of Aycock at various stages of his life were considered. Behaviors and experiences included those external actions which were observed by others or by self, as well as the "internal processes--thinking, emotional reactions, and the life--which one person cannot observe directly in another but which can be inferred from directly observed external behavior."[21] As used in Daedalus, this approach analyzed "the leader's character, the expectations of his contemporaries, the play of historical circumstance, and the success or failure of a movement in reaching its goals."[22]

Burns suggested that the personality development be considered and that wants and needs with the means used to satisfy these be subjected to analysis in an effort to determine motives and values.[23] Therefore, the specific stages at which point many persons experience identity crisis (childhood, adolescence, and adulthood), areas of tension, and conflict were carefully researched. Reactions to traumatic experiences were also targets for analysis. Attention was given to the positive, "healthy and sustaining relationships in the lives of leaders."[24] According to Burns, these areas do not receive adequate exploration.

Sociological analysis. Man, a social being, develops coopera-
tive and interdependent relationships with others in organizations
in society. The social systems through which he passes are con-
stantly evolving and changing.[25] This process plays an important
role in the shaping of personality and relationships. Therefore,
the social roles ascribed and assumed by Aycock in society were
studied. These roles included those related to areas of family,
education, politics, and career.

Assumptions

According to Burns, biographical data can be utilized to better
understand the concept of leadership. He commented that "it would
be gratifying if political leaders could probe the sources of their
ambition" which lie deep "in the biological, psychological, and
social forces that play on the child and adolescent."[26] Burns
theorized that factors which influenced leaders included the behavi-
ors and attitudes of parents, interpersonal relationships with
peers, education, and "youthful orientation toward leaders and
leadership positions."[27]

The contributing authors of Daedalus assumed that an inter-
disciplinary approach was necessary for a fuller exploration and
description of the phenomenon of leadership. In several cases,
they demonstrated by

> . . . relating the leader's outward personality to the
> intimate experiences of his childhood and his later
> years . . . in tracing the logic of social action that
> animated the followers, and . . . in assessing the
> influences of leaders and followers on a broader stream
> of events.[28]

Erik H. Erikson has made extensive use of biographical data of leaders to enhance the understanding of leadership. His recognition that personality continues to develop and evolve as it moves through crises in childhood, adolescence, and adulthood was a major breakthrough in understanding behaviors of man.[29] Erikson felt that the role of a leader, or innovator, "must be explained on two distinct levels: the personal or psychological, and the social, or historical."[30] His psycho-historical approach to the understanding of leadership was a new frontier in research which needs further exploration by scholars.

As indicated above, Burns, Erikson, and others, have theorized that the understanding of leadership can be enhanced by an analysis of the total milieux of an identified leader. Therefore, it was assumed that a psychological and sociological analysis of the life of Aycock, who was called a leader in his day, will assist in this process of understanding leadership.

Scope of the Study

This was a historical study which analyzed the biographical data of Charles Brantley Aycock, assumed to have been a leader in politics and in public education in North Carolina. He was not only recognized as a leader by his contemporaries but by virtue of his legacies, continues to be perceived as a leader by many historians and politicians today. The major focus of the research was an analysis of the psychological and sociological milieux of

Aycock in an effort to understand leadership better. In other words, a "leader" would be put under the lens of careful analysis and study.

The period of time involved was the mid-1800's to the early 1900's. A new social and economic system brought about by a post-civil war reconstruction and industrialization movement demanded leaders who could identify and meet the emerging needs of the people. It was during this time that the state public education system as is presently known was developed.

This paper was limited to a description and an analysis of events and environments which shaped the life of Aycock. No attempt was made to precisely define the concept of leadership or to develop a theory. Rather, the purpose was to raise to a higher level the understanding of the phenomenon, leadership.

Significance of Study

The concept of leadership and the identification of leaders are perennial and favorite topics of debate among professionals and nonprofessionals alike. The phenomenon of leadership is one of the more complex concepts of all time. It seems that the more complicated or advanced our society becomes, the more intricate, sophisticated, and diffused leadership appears to be. This complexity was observed as the history of leadership reported in the literature was reviewed. Within this century, it has ranged from simple trait theory to the more complex interaction theories.

An earlier reference was made to the three methods of obtaining data about leaders: questioning, observing, reviewing biographies. It appeared from a review of the literature that the historical process was least frequently used in studying leadership. However, leadership may actually be more fully understood through this approach. The study of assumed leaders from the past may result in a positive answer to a question raised about current studies: Are the right people being studied today in an effort to develop a theory of leadership?[31]

The study of leadership through biographies has been a focus, although somewhat limited, of scholars throughout the ages. Plutarch, one of the earliest biographers and moralists, captured the private and public lives of his Roman and Greek subjects. Richard B. Morris analyzed the lives of our founding fathers from biographical data for his book, Seven Who Shaped Our Destiny. Erikson used this approach in his analysis of Martin Luther and Gandhi.

Stogdill reported that the more recent researchers may have failed to "investigate certain areas of the leadership problem" in part because of "their empirical, as opposed to theoretical, orientation."[32] Only what could be observed was studied. Many modern-day researchers are more concerned with the precise measurement of minute components of the issue than in attempting to analyze the problem in its entirety.[33] With this statistical and fragmented approach, sight of the overall problem may be lost.

Burns believed that a "psychobiography, which depends on a psychoanalytic approach to biographical data, can be an indispensable tool in analyzing the shaping influences on leadership."[34] He admitted that there are some limitations with the use of this process, and advised that the method be used cautiously.[35] For example, biographical data may be incomplete, inaccurate, or distorted.

Burns found that the psychobiographies which have been completed, in the absence of a systematic explanatory theory, have been revealing. Additional studies and analyses of leaders may eventually result in a framework for generalizations and hypotheses.[36] It is, therefore, important to examine the motivations and behaviors of persons who have been considered leaders. It is imperative that researchers analyze "not only the psychological and social influences operating in him (a leader) in his early years, but the political forces that he both encounters and generates in his middle and later life."[37]

Also, according to the contributors to Daedalus, analysis of biographical data is considered a valuable method for a fuller exploration of leadership.[38] To accomplish advances, there is a need for a joint effort from the various disciplines. Gains made from the multidisciplinary approach would result in gains for the separate disciplines as well.[39]

A study of the nature and scope of this dissertation was significant because it utilized a seldom-used source of information,

biographical data, to enhance the understanding of leadership. Of

further significance, the individual selected for this study was

credited with influencing the direction of public education in

North Carolina. As an aside, insight was also gained into the

foundation and development of this particular institution.

Procedure

The procedure used to develop an understanding of the phenome-

non of leadership was an analytical, historical study of the bio-

graphical data of Charles Brantley Aycock, assumed by reason of

his influence and legacies to have been a leader in politics and

in education in North Carolina.

Role theory, an interdisciplinary theory, which draws variables

from studies of culture, society, and personality, was the concep-

tual tool utilized for the analysis of the biographical data.

Simplistically, role theory is an interaction theory which attempts

to conceptualize human behavior by stating that "when A initiates

an action to B, B's response to A serves as a stimulus for A,

etc."[40] In actuality, the theory is rather complex when the con-

structs are considered.

Compounding the complexity of the theory, various role

theorists often employ different terminology to convey the same or

similar constructs within the theory. At the same time, terms are

used with distinctly different meanings. In addition, select

theorists may concentrate on one aspect and disregard others which

are recognized by their peer theorists. Therefore, it is necessary
to list and to define the basic constructs or concepts of the
theory which are relevant to this dissertation.

Status--the position on a graded scale in a social system
occupied by designated individuals.[41]

Role--". . . a patterned sequence of learned actions or deeds
performed by a person in an interaction situation"[42] or "uniformi-
ties in the behavior of different individuals occupying the same
status" or a given position.[43]

Role expectations--those anticipated behaviors of an indivi-
dual in a specific role.[44]

Role enactment--the overt performances which validate or
invalidate the expectation of others.[45]

Role conflict--incompatible role relations and expectations.[46]

Self--". . . interaction of the human organism and its social
environment" which results in the development of the self-concept.[47]

It is recognized that each individual has multiple roles in
society at any given time. It would be an impossible task to con-
sider an analysis of each role. Therefore, the roles of Aycock
specifically analyzed were those considered to be dominant and
significant. These included roles as family member (child, sibling,
husband, father), student, citizen (local and state), and profes-
sional person.

Role theory which is postulated to assist in understanding
social behavior was selected as the analytical tool of this disser-
tation, because its antecedents lie in the disciplines of both

sociology and psychology.[48] It has been stated that the concept of role is

> "the theoretical point of articulation between psychology and sociology" in the sense that it is "the largest possible research unit within the former discipline and the smallest possible within the latter."[49]

Therefore, the constructs of role theory lent themselves to an analysis of the psychological and sociological milieux of the selected subject.

Utilization of role theory provided the framework for understanding the leader from a combined psychological and sociological point of view. However, to utilize this knowledge of the person in understanding his role as a leader, there must be a framework established pertaining to leadership in which to operate.

Burns' concept of leadership as described in his Pulitzer Prize winning book, Leadership, was used for this purpose. Details of his perception of leadership and the various components and types thereof have been described in Chapter II. Portraits of Gandhi, de Gaulle, and Nkrumah have been given in Chapter III and reflect three different leadership styles. Following that chapter is one in which the biographical data of Aycock were analyzed in an attempt to discover his motives (expressed and silent), his power base, his resources, his use of resources, and leadership style. Chapter V contains a summary of the findings and gives recommendations.

Review of the Literature

A search was made of Dissertation Abstracts for related topics; only a few were located through that source. Journal articles relating to the topic were located through the use of such sources as Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, Research in Education, and Current Index to Journals in Education.

General research summaries were found in the Encyclopedia of Educational Research and Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership. The International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences was another general source of information. Due to the interdisciplinary nature of this study, various sources pertaining to each discipline were reviewed. Major sources for a review on leadership included Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership, Burns' Leadership, and the Daedalus publication, Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership.

Selected biographies utilizing a psychological and sociological approach were read. These included Plutarch's Lives of the Noble Greeks and Lives of the Noble Romans; Leaders in American Education published by the National Society for the Study of Education; Seven Who Shaped Our Destiny by Richard B. Morris; Young Man Luther and Gandhi's Truth by Erikson.

Specific literature pertaining to education and politics in North Carolina was used as an avenue to identify potential candidates for this study. Biographical data of the following men were read and researched to determine if sufficient material was available to consider them for this study.

Archibald D. Murphey (1777-1832). Murphey, often referred to as the "Father of the Common School," was one of the first persons to take an active role in promoting the responsibility of the State to educate its children. He was not immediately successful in this endeavor, but laid the foundation for others.

Calvin H. Wiley (1819-1887). As a member of the legislature, Wiley was instrumental in the passage of a modified version of Murphey's plan which called for a state school superintendent. As a result of Wiley's dedication to the cause, the legislature appointed him to the position of the State's first School Superintendent.

Charles D. McIver (1860-1906). An established advocate for better trained teachers, especially females, McIver was primarily responsible for the founding of the institution now known as the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, where he served as the school's first president. He believed that the State had a moral commitment to provide an institution of higher learning for its young women. To this cause, he was dedicated.

James B. Dudley (1859-1925). Born a slave of a former North Carolina governor, Dudley became a free black man who campaigned for the freedom of black minds through public education. His efforts were climaxed in the founding of a school for blacks now known as North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University where he served initially on the Board of Trustees and then as its second president.

<u>Charles B. Aycock</u> (1859-1912). Sensitive to the needs of North Carolina after the Civil War, Aycock realized that a basic education for all youths was one avenue to the rebuilding of the state. Thus, through the office of Governor, he was given credit for leading the state in educational reforms and advancement. He is remembered in history books as the "Educational Governor of North Carolina."

Aycock was selected because he was intensively involved in politics and in education. Of the five men considered, history more often referred to Aycock with connotations that he was a leader. A considerable portion of the primary sources used for Aycock's biography was verified. Although a secondary source was used for the analysis, the primary sources in the North Carolina Archives in Raleigh and the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, were read.

CHAPTER I ENDNOTES

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[27]Burns, p. 105.

[28]Rustow, p. 2.

[29]Rustow, p. 6.

[30]Rustow, p. 6.

[31]Hunt and Larson, p. 27.

[32]Stogdill, p. 5.

[33]Stogdill, p. 5.

[34]Burns, p. 53.

[35]Burns, p. 53.

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[40]Theodore R. Sarbin, "Role Theory," Handbook of Social Psychology ed. Gardner Lindzey, (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954), p. 223.

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[47]Deutsch, p. 181.

[48]Deutsch, p. 173.

[49]Deutsch, p. 173.

CHAPTER II

LEADERSHIP AND LEADERSHIP ROLES

Introduction and Overview

Leadership has been a difficult concept to understand for several reasons which include common misconceptions and lack of theories to use in an analysis of leaders. A widely held view that politics and power are synonymous has been blinding and inhibiting, because power is intertwined in leadership. Power and politics are not the same, and neither are power and leadership; they are inter-related. To understand leadership better, one must understand power, for leadership is a form of power. They are not entities in isolation; they can exist only when people are involved in some manner of interaction.

Two aspects of power, motives and resources, must exist in order for power to exist. If there is no motive, no resource will materialize; having no resource, the motive fails to become acti-vated. Without either, power fails to emerge.[1] Power is to be viewed as a collective act and not the behavior of one person since it is a relationship and therefore cannot exist in isolation. The power process is one

> . . . in which power holders (P), possessing certain motives and goals, have the capacity to secure changes in the behav-ior of a respondent (R), human or animal, and in the environ-ment, by utilizing resources in their power base, including factors of skill, relative to the targets of their power-wielding and necessary to secure such change. This view of

power deals with three elements in the process: the motives and resources of power holders; the motives and resources of power recipients; and the relationship among all these.[2]

The motives of the power holders may be varied and numerous. A person with power may want to control others, "have status, recognition, prestige, and glory, or they may seek power as an intermediate value instrumental to realizing those loftier goals."[3] The power holder may see social needs of others and use his power to meet these needs. Whatever the motive the powerholder has, it must be congruent with the needs of the recipients for the power-holder to be a leader and not a powerwielder who simply uses power to manipulate and uses others for his own personal goals. Leaders are able to induce

> . . . followers to act for certain goals that represent
> the values and the motivation--the wants and the needs,
> the aspirations and expectations--of both leaders and
> followers. And the genius of leadership lies in the
> manner in which leaders see and act on their own and
> their followers' values and motivations.[4]

One may ask: Where do motives of leaders come from, or what is the source of motivation? These questions cannot be answered simply with a general or specific statement. The answers lie in the exploration of the psychological and sociological foundations and experiences of the individual person. The same scrutiny given a leader must also be accorded to followers to determine their reasons for following a particular person. If the needs of the people could be met with a given solution, it would be an adminis-trative problem, and no leadership would be required. Needs with more than one plausible solution result in a number of individuals

competing for the leadership position. The literature suggested that moral leadership implies that the followers, or those being offered leadership, have a "conscious choice among real alternatives."[5] Only the followers can define what their real needs are. Therefore, those who want to be the leader will have competition and conflict with others who want to lead. Conflict is not only inherent in leadership, but plays an important role in "expressing, shaping, and curbing it."[6] It can be a motivating force to move forward, or conflict can serve to bring a movement to a stop.

It must be stated that the actual needs of the followers and the leader may not or need not be the same. Leadership should operate at a higher level of need and value than that of the follower or potential follower but not at such a higher plane than the follower is able to transcend. In other words, as Rustow has written, "Successful leadership . . . rests on a latent congruence between the psychic needs of the leader and the social needs of the followers."[7]

According to Burns, the degree to which the leaders and followers interact in purpose and the availability of power and the use thereof, will determine the leadership style being exercised. Burns saw leadership as falling into two distinct categories: transforming or transactional. Each form has several subcategories which are described in the following section. This insertion of leadership styles was essential for providing a framework in which to view the subjects of this study.

Transforming Leadership

Burns stated that when "leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality,"[8] a transformation has occurred. He further explained his concept of transforming leadership with this description of the relationship between the leader and the led:

> Their purposes, which might have started out as separate but related, as in the case of transactional leadership, become fused. Power bases are linked not as counterweight but as mutual support for common purposes. Various names are used for leadership, some of them derisory: evaluating, mobilizing, inspiring, exalting, uplifting, preaching, exhorting, evangelizing. The relationship can be moralistic, of course. But, transforming leadership ultimately becomes moral in that it raises the level of human conduct and ethical aspiration of both leader and led, and thus it has a transforming effect on both. Perhaps the best modern example is Gandhi, who aroused and elevated the hopes and demands of millions of Indians and whose life and personality were enhanced in the process. Transcending leadership is dynamic leadership in the sense that the leaders throw themselves into a relationship with followers who will feel "elevated" by it and often become more active themselves, thereby creating new cadres of leaders.[9]

Burns has identified and described four types of leadership which he feels are symbolic and transforming leadership. They are (1) intellectual, (2) reform, (3) revolutionary, and (4) heroic combined with ideology. The main identifying characteristics of each follows.

Intellectual Leadership

As Burns described intellectual leadership, one concludes that although it may be credited to one individual, it is pluralistic in that the foundations of thought and ideas were laid by others. It

also seemed to be the culmination of thought and philosophies pro-

cessed and reprocessed through the years, thus making it evolu-

tionary. It is also a rare occurrence.

There is a distinction between the intellect and the intellec-

tual. To clarify this, Burns quoted Richard Hofstadler who wrote:

> Intellect is the critical, creative, and contemplative
> side of mind. Whereas intelligence seeks to grasp,
> manipulate, re-order, adjust, intellect examines, [10]
> ponders, wonders, theorizes, criticizes, imagines.

Burns elaborated on this distinction with:

> An intellectual is something more: a person concerned
> critically with values, purposes, ends bhat transcend
> immediate practical needs. By this definition the
> person who deals with analytical ideas and data alone
> is a theorist; the one who works only with normative
> ideas is a moralist; the person who deals with both
> and unites them through disciplined imagination is an
> intellectual.[11]

It was noted that the intellectual leader usually emerges dur-

ing a time of moral and social conflict. James Madison, one of the

founding fathers of the United States, is an excellent model to use

to demonstrate the characteristics and techniques of an intellectual

leader. The man from Virginia who is credited with writing the

Constitution of the United States, considered to be a masterpiece

and the result of intellectual leadership, relied heavily on the

ideas and philosophies of the past. Madison, along with other out-

standing Americans of the time period, was schooled "in the teach-

ings of the leading English and continental intellectuals."[12] These

men had read Plato, Aristotle, Vergil, Cicero, Cato, Plutarch,

Sidney, Pufendorf, Bolingbroke, and other men who are lesser known

today such as John Somier, Thomas Gordon, John Trenchard, and
Benjamin Hoadley.

In addition to being knowledgeable in philosophy, Madison was
also politically astute, having served as a Virginia assemblyman
and a member of the continental congress. Madison "clearly dis-
cerned the evolving needs of the American people, and his political
experience and political reading had left him with no illusions as
to the nature of man."[13] Madison was aware of the problems and of
the inability of known forms of government to meet the present
needs of the Americans. To obtain certain liberties and to protect
the people from government would require a new form of government.
Conception of the form of government to meet these needs required
intellectual leadership.

Madison was credited with the revolutionary and effective
creation. However, it was also acknowledged that he was not alone
in the development and framing of the United States Constitution,
but was one of many. Burns noted:

> If we stand back, however, we can see the American
> Constitution as the culmination of thinking that had
> its sources in centuries of hard political thought and
> analysis, in direct political experience, and in the
> special human needs and political circumstances of the
> American colonies . . . . It was a classic, perhaps
> even an unparalleled example of the power of political
> leadership by intellectuals in a situation where their
> understanding of human nature was firm and realistic,
> their grasp of earlier thinking broad and acute, their
> capacity to learn from their own and others' experi-
> ences discriminating, the nature of the theoretical and
> practical problems clearly delineated, and the time and
> circumstances ripe for a philosophical and operational
> resolution of the problem--the problem of curbing power
> and protecting the people's liberties.[14]

The framers of the American Constitution met the criteria set by Burns for providing intellectual leadership in the political world. They supplied ideas to those who were in a position to help them obtain power and write policy. Personal influence was used to accomplish goals. More significantly, and of most importance, they

> . . . conceived values or purpose in such a way that ends and means are linked analytically and creatively and that the implications of certain values for political action and governmental organization are clarified.[15]

Reform Leadership

Numerous persons throughout history have attempted reform through their leadership efforts. Some brought about slight change in the status quo, others effected no change at all, while a small number were able to bring about reform as intended. Most of the reformers in history had high moral standards and expectations but did not have the power and resources, which usually implied organization and planning, to effect reform measures successfully. According to Burns, reform leaders must possess specific qualities and characteristics to be considered successful. Reformists must have exceptional skill in the management and exploitation of power and politics. They must be able and willing to deal with those in the ranks who have their own goals and with those who have anti-leadership doctrines. Successful reform movements require extraordinary demands of strategy. Moral means to achieve moral ends must be utilized. There must be a knowledge and understanding of the real needs of society with a sense of purpose of transcending value. A narrow focus, rather than a general approach, is more

likely to be successful. These qualities will not insure success but are certainly instrumental in achieving it.[16]

Reform efforts often have their beginnings with persons at the top of the social order, those who are not directly affected by the reform. There are two main thoughts as to why this may occur. First, the reform effort may be launched by a potential reformer in order to protect his own position. Alexander II of Russia was an example of such a person. He, in an impulsive move, freed the serfs in an effort to modernize Russia and "transform the social and economic foundations of agrarian life and thus generate significant liberalization or modernization of Russian Society."[17]

The idea of emancipation itself was humanistic and of high moral value. However, the czar had not adequately planned for the reform; therefore, his wishes were not implemented throughout the social order of the bureaucracy. It was simple enough to order the serfs freed, but there was not sufficient support for implementation of the reform. Changes were made in Russia, but not the ones desired by the reformer. In fact, he probably did not even conceive of the real needs of the serfs which would surface after emancipation. Freedom would mean little when they needed and wanted "literacy, land, agricultural technology, better roads, health services, education, nutrition, political influence."[18]

A second plausible reason that reform efforts are implemented from top positions may be that one has no need for self-fulfillment other than to help others. They may experience some feeling of

guilt for their excessive affluence, although many reformers have a
real sense of noblesse oblige. Persons in this position may not
have political skills to be actually involved in the implementation
of their reform goal. They, more than likely, will have powerful
political contacts who will become involved if the reform movement
can help with their political ambitions.

Far-reaching reform is difficult to achieve because of the
methodology and tactics which restrict reform leadership. Burns
wrote, "Reform is ever poised between the transforming and the
transactional—transforming in spirit and posture, transactional
in process and results. Revolutionary leaders understand this."[19]

Revolutionary Leadership

Reformers who perceived a social or political condition which
in their minds needed reforming and were unsuccessful in reaching
their goals may have inadvertantly planted seeds for a revolution.
No one with certainty can trace the birth of an idea which culmi-
nates in a revolution, which, according to Burns, can permeate and
transform the entire social system. He elaborated:

> It means the birth of a radical new ideology; the rise of a
> movement bent on transforming society on the basis of that
> ideology; overthrow of the established government; creation
> of a new political system; reconstruction of the economy,
> education, communications, law, medicine; and the confirma-
> tion and perhaps deification of a new leadership. The
> "pure" form of revolution is rare in practice. Also rare
> is the revolutionary leader who helps initiate a revolution,
> lasts through the whole revolutionary cycle of struggle,
> victory, and consolidation of power, and directs the process

of social transformation. The French Revolution devoured
its leaders. Lenin enjoyed just a few years of leadership.
Only Mao, Fidel Castro, and perhaps a few others have
experienced as transforming forces the revolutions they
helped to start. More often other leaders come to the fore
to play their parts during the succeeding stages of the
revolutionary cycle.[20]

Requirements for a successful revolution are rather specific.
There must be undying commitments by the leaders to the cause which
is demonstrated by making it a priority over all other aspects of
their lives. Willingness to sacrifice personal comforts, needs,
and even one's life is required. The real needs and aspirations
of the populace must be accurately perceived or else have adequate
resources to convince potential followers that the expressed goals
of the leaders should be their goals. Excessive conflict must
exist between two factions or must be created in order to delineate
clearly the division which is to be overthrown. For revolutionary
leadership to be transforming in nature, there must also be the
"raising of social and political consciousness on the part of both
leaders and followers."[21]

Burns described Mao who sufficiently met the above criteria
for an acknowledged leader in a given situation. He is considered
as one who provided revolutionary leadership. Mao was an acknow-
ledged Marxist; however, he was creative in his application and
utilization of Marxist theory. He was able to use the theory to
meet the needs of the agrarian population in China. He had the
peasant background to understand their needs and the political
knowledge for mobilization to meet these needs. When his forces

gained control of the government, he established lines of communica-

tion to maintain the contact with the followers who, with their

continuous input, were able to impact upon the decisions made by

those they elevated to positions of power. The leader-follower

relationship "was one of the most powerful leadership systems in

history"[22] and was one of the major contributing factors to a

successful revolution.

Heroic and Ideological Leadership

Burns had a chapter in his book entitled "Heroes and Ideolo-

gues." For analysis, description, and discussion purposes, he

separated the two topics. In his summary, he concluded that heroes

are not "authentic leaders"[23] in their own right, but that

ideologues are. A person who is both a hero and an ideologue has

unlimited potential for implementing real social change which

would be of a transforming nature.

Heroes. Burns expressed some difficulty with the term

"charismatic leadership." He felt that it has been used excessively

and incorrectly and therefore, was devoid of any real meaning. He

preferred to substitute the term "heroic leadership" which he des-

cribed as:

> . . . belief in leaders because of their personage alone,
> aside from their tested capacities, experience, or stand
> on issues; faith in the leader's capacity to overcome
> obstacle to crises; readiness to grant to leaders the
> power to handle crisis; mass support for such leaders
> expressed directly through votes, applause, letters, shaking
> hands—rather than through intermediaries or institutions.
> Heroic leadership is not simply a quality or entity possessed
> by someone; it is a type of relationship between leader and
> led.[24]

Heroic leaders usually arise in a society which is experiencing a crisis. They offer a value transformation which resolves the conflict being experienced by those seeking a solution. The transitional period of a colonial-ruled territory to one of self-rule provides an excellent opportunity for heroes to emerge. The bond which develops between the hero and the followers is perceived as

> . . . generally an effective and emotional one. Symbols of national unity and personal support overshadow policy issues. It is far easier . . . to communicate emotional and personal support than substantive government programs. But this kind of relationship . . . is "likely to wear thin;" expectations are built up that are hard for idolized leaders to follow.[25]

Burns felt that the heroic leader offered little more than temporary emotional and psychological support. However, consciously or unconsciously, that may be all the followers really wanted at the time. These needs are met in their contacts with the hero. When other needs become more dominant, and the hero has no other means of appeasing the crowd, he will be rejected. Burns wrote:

> Idolized heroes are not, then, authentic leaders because no true relationship exists between them and the spectators-- no relationship characterized by deeply held motives, shared goals, rational conflict, and lasting influence in the form of change.[26]

Ideologues. The word "ideology" which originated in the 1790's with French philosophers, has been as carelessly used as the term charisma, according to Burns. He expressed a desire to salvage this term which he saw as essential to understanding leadership. He explained:

> The crucial quality of ideology is that it combines both what one believes--one's belief system, value structure, Weltanschauung--and how one came to hold certain beliefs,

the lenses through which one regards the world, the ideas
and experience and motivation one brings to the process of
sorting out and evaluating the stream of phenomena that one
perceives.[27]

After stating his cause for maintaining the concept of

ideology, he defined it with this description:

. . . a set of major values and modes of cognition and
perception, seated in congruent need and value hierarchies,
all of which relate to one another and to social and econo-
mic forces and institutions in varying degrees of reinforce-
ment and antagonism. [28]

This model, Burns explained, contained all the elements for

implementing real social change of a transforming nature: "cogni-

tion, conflict, consciousness, value, and purpose."[29]

Burns described Mao Tse-tung as one who combined the heroic

worship accorded him by the masses with the ideology he possessed

to accomplish the goals he had for the Chinese people. He was able

to keep the two distinct but interrelated forms of leadership in

perspective. Therefore, he could meet the needs of the followers

while fulfilling his own. The successful combination of heroic and

ideological leadership resulted in a transformation.

Transactional Leadership

Transactional leadership was the second major category of

leadership identified by Burns. The potential for social change

was detected in this form; however, significant change through

transactional leadership is rare in actuality. In order to maintain

the purity of Burns' definition and description of transactional

leadership, he is quoted:

Such leadership occurs when one person takes the initiative
in making contact with others for the purpose of an exchange
of valued things. The exchange could be economic or politi-
cal or psychological in nature: a swap of goods or of one
good for money; a trading of votes between candidate and
citizen or between legislators; hospitality to another person
in exchange for willingness to listen to one's troubles.
Each party to the bargain is conscious of the power resources
and attitudes of the other. Each person recognized the other
as a person. Their purposes are related, at least to the
extent that the purposes stand within the bargaining process
and can be advanced by maintaining that process. But beyond
this the relationship does not go. The bargainers have no
enduring purpose that holds them together; hence they may go
their separate ways. A leadership act took place, but it was
not one that binds leader and follower together in a mutual
and continuing pursuit of a higher purpose.[30]

In an effort to explain transactional leadership more fully,

Burns described five types of leadership in this category: (1)

opinion leadership, (2) group leadership, (3) party leadership, (4)

legislative leadership, and (5) executive leadership. A brief

description of each follows.

Opinion Leadership

Elihu Katz and Paul Lazarsfeld described opinion leadership as

the simplest form of leadership. According to them, it

. . . is casually exercised, sometimes unwitting and unbe-
known, within the smallest grouping of friends, family
members, and neighbors. It is not leadership on the high
level of a Churchill, nor of a local politico, nor even of a
local social elite. It is at quite the opposite extreme:
it is the almost invisible, certainly inconspicuous, form of
leadership at the person-to-person level of ordinary, inti-
mate, informal, everyday contact . . . ."[31]

Sometimes it is difficult to determine who is the leader and

who is the follower in opinion leadership. Burns made the distinc-

tion in this manner: if a person simply reflects the opinions of

others, he is a follower and they are the leaders; however, if one

has an opinion and convinces others to accept or adopt it, he may

then be considered the leader.[32]

Political leaders in the Western Hemisphere use opinion leader-

ship frequently. They must master the strategic problem of getting

support for their opinions without losing the voter. According to

Burns, there were three ways in which this could be accomplished.

First, the leader may depend on a following consisting of

persons who see him as a hero-type or having charisma. This type

of support is not solid for it is the person, not the opinion,

which becomes the goal. When there is a successor with the same

goals, one finds that the allegiance has not been transferred.[33]

Secondly, a leader may appeal to a given socioeconomic class

for support of an opinion which, on the surface, would seem to

appeal to a given class. Actually, implementing this strategy

effectively is more difficult than it seems. Lower socioeconomic

classes are often lethargic and may perceive that their situation

is fate and cannot or should not be altered. They see no purpose

in supporting any person for any cause.[34]

The third way described to use opinion leadership is probably

the most effective way. The political party organization is

already established and can be used to generate public opinion for

the party's use. Most often party members tend to accept opinions

of the leaders; if they do not, they become members of the opposi-

tion. Party loyalty is usually transferred to whomever the party

leaders are. Leaders recognize this and therefore find the party

route attractive.

> Party offers the leader of a cause a large body of troops,
> experienced rank-and-file leadership, and a tested standing
> with a substantial portion of the electorate. Party also
> brings the leaders of opinion or candidate into a direct
> relation with the election process through which opinion
> can be converted into votes, government policy, and social
> and economic change.[35]

Group Leadership

Group leadership can be observed in such informal groups as

the Norton Street boys, in semiformal political interest groups,

and in the formalized structure of a bureaucracy. The behaviors

which occur between the leader and led are transactional in nature:

"mutual support and mutual promises, expectations, obligations,

rewards."[36] Burns described the three types of groups; each is

briefly reviewed below.

Small group. Although it has long been recognized as a basic

component of society, the role interactions and influences in the

small group have only recently been of interest to psychologists,

sociologists, and political scientists.

The primary purpose for the formation of a small group is

common interest. One person can usually be identified as being

central to the group's organization. The members of the group tend

to conform to the explicit and understood standards of the group.

Any deviation from accepted and established behaviors is viewed as

disloyalty and pressure is exerted upon the delinquent member to

conform or to leave the group. Burns defined the small group as

> . . . a collection of persons with shared purposes and
> values; with face-to-face or otherwise physically close
> relations to one another; with extensive social contacts
> among themselves as a result of shared interests and
> influence on one another; with some stabilization of
> roles.[37]

The major source of conflict comes from outside the small
group. Resources available to the group are used to confront the
threat to the common goals of the members. Burns described the
behaviors of the group when confronted by a change agent who
disrupts the normal equilibrium state of the group.

> In this state, efforts to change the group to a new level or
> type of activity will bring pressure to return the group to
> its former equilibrium. The effort to change may generate
> hostility toward the leaders as the initiator of change, for
> it is their role to maintain a balance between the individual
> needs and wants of group members and the goal-oriented acti-
> vity of the group as a whole.[38]

The leader of a small group usually is held in high esteem by
the members and also, most often, has a high regard for himself.
The power of the leader is more personal or positional than legiti-
mate in the small group.

Bureaucracy. As opposed to smaller and spontaneously formed
informal groups, a bureaucracy is a deliberately conceived and
highly structured organization with specific goals. Each member
has a definite well-defined role in the hierarchy. Power in the
bureaucracy is replaced by authority. Reliability and conformity
are characteristics of a bureaucracy.

The nature of bureaucracy with formal legitimate authority
implies that leadership is not needed or even allowed. However,
Burns observed and concluded:

To the extent that bureaucracy is in practice the simple
application of authority from the top down, it is not
leadership. To the extent that it exemplified conflict,
power, values and changes in accordance with leader-
follower needs, it embodies leadership.[39]

Conflict from outside forces as well as from within the organi-

zation is obvious. Struggle for power, prestige, or position is

the most common source of internal conflict. Power comes in the

ability to marshall the available resources through having goals

and motives congruent with the majority of the members of the

bureaucracy. The values of a bureaucracy are usually well defined

by virtue of the type of organization. Whether the values are

goals or a means may become fused in some situations. The potential

for change does exist within the bureaucracy with new leadership or

new policies, or with reorganization. However, it is usually exter-

nal conflict or forces such as societal changes which are most

influential as a change agent.

Political interest groups. The political interest group is

not to be confused with a political party. It is usually perceived

as a group which makes specific demands on the government. Persons

who want to assume leadership in such a group may need to initiate

contact with potential followers. The emerging leader may experi-

ence difficulty with the followers who may be at various levels in

regards to the issue. Burns identified this variety as a possible

conflict within the group. Some followers might be at a needs

level while others are at the want or expectation level.[40]

Most members of interest groups are middle class. Politicians
are often concerned that those persons from lower class or disen-
franchised are without power or representation of an interest group
to express their needs. However, it is possible that these indivi-
duals have accepted their position and status in life and feel
unable to change it by any means.

The interaction between leader and led in groups will almost
always be transactional. The individuals will probably have their
needs met as well as those of the group; however, little change in
society will be observed as a result.

Party Leadership

A political party may be defined as a loose alliance of indi-
viduals who rally together under a label which vaguely describes a
common political philosophy. This group, or party, attempts to
bring about the election of their candidates to public office, and
consequently, control or influence the actions of the government.

Political parties, and therefore party leadership, are a fairly
recent phenomenon in the history of government. Although there may
be some overlapping characteristics and features of parties in
general, they cannot be collectively described or analyzed. There
are several different types of political party organizations depend-
ing upon the form of government a given country has established.
These include the one party system which is found in a dictatorship
where there is practically no difference between the government and
the party. The citizens have little or no choice in deciding

whether or not to belong to the party, nor do they have a choice of candidates.

Other countries with a democratic form of government may elect to have multiparty systems. Usually in this case, the people have indirect participation in selecting the top ranking official, but have direct input at the local level in electing representatives.

The United States political party organization is an example of a two-party system. There are some splinter parties organized from time to time, but they are not usually threats to the major two parties because of the need to have large numbers to elect a party candidate to office. Since most Americans consider themselves to be either Democrat or Republican, whoever wins the party's approval as a candidate will be assured of a certain number of votes at the polls.

Information about the two-party system presented by Burns was examined and reported to demonstrate what is meant by party leadership. Can a party actually offer leadership, and if so, to what degree? Where does a party get its power? What are the resources available to the party? These and other points are addressed below.

Political parties in the United States originally formed around individuals whom others wanted as their representatives in a democratic government. After their formation and stability were insured, an individual could use the party system organization to reach goals which he may have in common with other members of the party. Parties still select and endorse persons who can best represent the collective goals and who stand the best chance of getting elected.

A person desiring the support of the party must convince the party leaders that he has similar goals and philosophical beliefs. Therefore, the party and the individual who is a candidate or is an elected official may be closely identified with each other. This is truer at the local and state levels than at the national level.

The source of power in a party comes from the ability of the leaders to correctly know what the followers—and more important, the potential followers—not only need but what they want and expect from their government. Knowing and understanding the citizenry are always characteristics of a leader. The followers may not always be aware of needs and goals; therefore, it is incumbent upon the party to inform the voters of certain issues, advise them of their choices, and convince them that together, as a united party, if you please, these goals are attainable.

Tocqueville, in his study of American political parties, noted that:

> A political aspirant in the United States begins by discovering his own interest, and discovering those other interests which may be collected around and amalgamated with it. He then continues to find out some doctrine or principle which may suit the purposes of this new association, and which he adopts in order to bring forward his party and secure its popularity.[41]

Correctly predicting the needs and wants, which is a source of power, must be translated into enough votes to get the party representative elected to a position from which he has the legitimate authority to act. This process of meeting needs is usually long and involved, especially in a democracy. The organization provides for the American people, long noted for their individualism, to be

involved. This results in decentralization of power and fragmented

leadership at all levels of government—local, state, and national.

In reality, the party system allows and insures dispersion of

leadership and therefore, weakens it as a result.[42]

At the present time, the party leaders in the United States do

not have the power once attributed to them. Until recently, party

leaders known as the "party machine" were credited with selecting

candidates who would be those on the ballot. The power now lies in

individuals, small groups, or large groups which support the candi-

date. After being elected to an office, the leader may not need

the party as much as the party needs him. Burns wrote:

> The upshot is that in the United States, behind the facade
> of party activity and organization, politicians gain office
> and stay in office largely on the strength of the personal
> organizations they have been able to build inside and out-
> side the party and across party lines . . . . Once elected,
> they dominate the party organizations—to the extent that
> they bother with it at all—to a far greater degree than
> party can influence them.[43]

A study revealed that promises made as part of a party platform

have been kept more often than not despite claims made by the party

opposition.[44] These questions arise: Do the kept promises result

in significant changes which require leadership or do the kept

promises simply maintain society? Is party leadership transforming

or transactional? Burns answered the last question with these com-

ments:

> We can conclude that party leadership is generally trans-
> actional, but it has vast transforming potential. As a
> structure of leadership in a competive political situation
> the party activates leaders throughout the structure; it
> also converts followers into leaders as conflict over

policy and position draws in more and more of the rank and
file. That conflict draws in great numbers of people pre-
viously outside the party organization as leaders try to
mobilize voters in support of the leaders' efforts. Hence
the ultimate test of the power of party leadership is the
capacity to mobilize millions of followers, to align and
realign voters, to shape and reshape public opinion. For
these processes create more millions of leaders whose indi-
vidual power may be slight but whose collective power makes
the leaders more subordinate to followers than controlling
of them, and potentially makes party leadership, thus broadly
defined, into a powerful instrument of social transformation
and historical causation.[45]

Legislative Leadership

Burns described legislative leadership as being the most classi-

cal example of transactional leadership. In the United States, as

in many other democracies, the legislature consists of a captive

audience of elected individuals who must repeatedly make decisions

to reach goals set by themselves, their peers, or their constituents.

In the process of decision making, which ends in a publicized vote,

the legislator must consider many factors. These include his current

status in the assembly, his future political plans, his need to

garner support from other members of the legislature, and the actual

needs of the people. Before a vote is cast, there will be trade-

offs, payoffs, bargaining, reciprocity, and other methods of

exhausting favors which will influence the way the individual votes.

Is it possible for leadership to emerge from this marketplace

of exchange? If so, how and how effective is it? The formal and

informal organizational structures of the legislature are the

foundations for providing a springboard from which potential leader-

ship can rise. Conversely, it is this same structure which may also

thwart leadership. Occasionally, an individual will emerge from the legislative chambers who personifies legislative leadership. Burns noted that Lyndon B. Johnson was such a man.

> So many channels of obligation, expectation, and exchange radiated through his towering and glowering presence that the source of his power was called the "Johnson network." Johnson had a considerable power base in the Senate that consisted mainly of decisive influence over prized committee appointments and certain chairmanships, allotments of congressional campaign funds, Senate services and perquisites, junkets, and more. He also gained from the close cooperation and collective leadership of a group of highly loyal lieutenants. But his greatest power resources consisted of his own skills in recognizing senators' needs and motives, amassing and disbursing credits, mixing techniques of deference and domination, and employing the Johnson "treatment," the tone of which has been defined as the powerful application of varying concoctions of "supplication, accusation, cajolery, exuberance, scorn, tears, complaint, the hint of threat."[46]

When Johnson became President of the United States, he was able to effectively transfer his legislative leadership skills to the oval office, and he continued to use them while serving as an executive. With his bargaining skills and the resources of the White House, Johnson was able to accomplish civil rights legislation which had a transforming impact on Southern politics. Generally speaking, it was the consensus of observers that a legislative body without strong external leadership is unlikely to bring about significant changes in society.[47]

One of the reasons that it is difficult for an individual to become a leader in the legislature is that the primary role is that of a representative or a broker who has promised to obtain certain goals. There are several restraints under which he or others feel

he must operate. First, he represents a constituency which is diverse despite their previously unified effort to elect him. Yet, this diverse group is erroneously perceived by some to be of one accord or attitude politically. Second, the legislator is often seen as being bound to organized and specialized interest groups in his jurisdiction. A third restraint may be the party with which he is affiliated. His political future may depend upon how he represents his party in office.[48]

The above are valid restraints, but only to a degree. They can be overcome by the legislator who has clear and definite perceptions about his role as an elective representative. He must be sensitive to how he is perceived by others and plan for changes in this area as needed. He may desire to educate his constituency to let him lead rather than follow their lead.

Regardless of who is leading, any act of legislative leadership will probably be relegated to function in and through a committee. The standing committees have been called

> . . . little legislatures that had full authority to generate legislation on their own and to approve, reject, or sharply modify legislative proposals by the executive, by individual members of Congress, or by members of the committee themselves.[49]

Yet, this structure and power base rarely generate

> . . . positive, comprehensive, principled--that is, transforming--leadership. . . . When committees do seem to exercise significant influence, either it is based on obstruction or it represents affirmative power granted to the committee by higher parliamentary or party authority--power that can be revoked at will by that authority.[50]

Executive Leadership

Burns described Charles de Gaulle as being the personification of executive leadership. De Gaulle displayed the qualities which Burns deemed characteristic of the ideal executive leader:

> Assumption of personal authority, marked self-confidence and political skill, the diminution of legislative and party opposition, personal and dramatic links with the people, the enhancement of executive function and responsibility, the exploitation of emergency powers."[51]

With all these skills, de Gaulle was not able to bring about fundamental changes or transformation

> . . . in the lives of millions of ordinary Frenchmen, despite his summonses to renewal and greatness. De Gaulle created a unifying atmosphere of drama in a nation struggling to redeem itself from the ambivalence and shame of the war. It was a theatrical episode but not a period of substance in achievement of social change.[52]

De Gaulle who had no parliamentary background had a clear conception that the legislative functions of government should be left to Parliament and the executive functions handled by the president. He strongly believed that the two functions must have distinct and separate identities,

> . . . or the result will be a confusion of powers which will reduce the Government to a mere conglomeration of delegation . . . . The unity, cohesion and internal discipline of the French Government must be held sacred, if national leadership is not to degenerate into incompetence and impotence.[53]

True executive leaders usually lack the support of political parties and institutions, therefore having to rely on themselves as de Gaulle did. He used his self-confidence and personal contact with the people as his main source of power. Burns wrote that:

Executive leaders in a power struggle may appeal to public opinion but lack the machinery to activate it, shape it, channel it, and bring it to bear on the decision-making process. Hence they, in contrast with others, must depend on personal manipulation and executive management than on institutional support.[54]

One may witness the process of personal manipulation and executive management activated by the leader in the form of granting or withholding rewards appropriately to subleaders or followers. Accurately determining what is considered a reward or a motivational base requires a sophisticated skill on the part of the leader.[55]

An additional skill needed by the executive leader is the ability to use the resources available without total consumption, thus resulting in indebtedness to those who previously were obligated to him. Timing is another factor which must be mastered by the executive leader. Does the person have adequate time to build a strong and long-lasting power base, or must he simply strike while he can, often at the risk of not accomplishing what he originally wanted?

The term "executive leader" has the connotation that the individual with the title would have the authority to make decisions in regards to that which was to be executed for implementation of goals established by the organization or institution. However, goals may be compromised in the complicated decision-making process used in reaching the goals. Burns explained:

. . . the pursuit of goals has a dynamic quality, and goals pursued can best be evaluated not as stable elements in organizational structures, but as elements that can be activated within and outside the organization. Depending on their own skills in manipulating power resources (including

communication techniques) relevant to the needs and motiva-
tions of officials and employees of their agencies, execu-
tive leaders can instill their own purposes into the agency
and suppress or modify competing or conflicting purposes;
or they will need to modify their own purposes in the face
of contrary goals sought by agency personnel; or (more
typically) they will trade off. In fact, the executive
leader deals with executive subleaders with needs of their
own and power resources and skills of their own. All sets
of leaders and subleaders will typically draw on outside
sources of support such as parties and legislatures, but
here we stress executive relationships within the executive
apparatus.[56]

The executive often finds himself gradually relinquishing what

he may have initially considered his right or duty as an executive

to the tactics used in legislative leadership--"bargaining, exchange,

and trade off."[57] The extent to which he does this and the frequency

will be the criteria which determine whether or not he is an execu-

tive leader.

As the goals of the executive may bring conflict, so may the

decision-making process used and decision reached. An executive

should have available to him the full continuum of decision-making

processes, that is, from independent and autonomous to restricted

and dependent with the option to use whatever seemed appropriate

for the situation. Various factors will determine whether or not

he has the freedom to use the different levels at his discretion.

These restrictions include the type of organization or institution,

the stability of instability of the organization, the degree to

which the subleaders are committeed to the goals, and the history

as well as the future of the organization. Burns saw decision mak-

ing as "a process, a sequence of behavior, that stretches back into

a murky past and forward into a murkier future."[58]

The lack of power and resources contributes to the executive

leader rarely being able to marshall support to bring about social

changes associated with a transforming leader. Burns wrote:

> . . . executive leadership in itself is inadequate for
> sustained and planned social transformation. Executive
> leadership is indispensable for crisis situations and
> effective in accomplishing specific and limited goals.
> But less of direction and control within the structure
> of executive leadership; the continuing weight of con-
> flicting commitments, motives, and goals; the restraints
> inherent in the executive process; the limited time
> accorded to most executive systems combined with the
> inability of leaders to marshall ideological and politi-
> cal resources outside the system--all these inhibit
> executive leaders who, on the face of it and for short
> periods, seem effective, practical, on top of things.[59]

Summary

Awareness and an understanding of the two general and nine

specific types of leadership as defined and described by Burns pro-

vide an added dimension to the reading of biographical data of

those who have been called leaders. In addition, awareness and an

understanding of the psychological and sociological sources of

leadership assist in the disclosure of the real motives underlying

the expressed motives of a leader. With this knowledge, one begins

to look for and understand the sources of power, the resources

available, and how the resources are used. The reasons for success

or failure become clearer. Whether the person who wanted to lead

actually became a leader can more readily be determined. These

findings and observations lead to a better understanding of leader-

ship.

Erik H. Erikson used his gift for insight into human nature and combined it with his knowledge of sociology and political science to produce a psychohistorical portrait of Gandhi from biographical data. Significant findings, those relevant to this paper, are given in Chapter III. A brief analysis of the leadership styles and the lives of Charles de Gaulle and Nkrumah are also presented to offer comparative studies of leaders.

In Chapter IV, an analysis of the life of Charles B. Aycock is presented. Although the analysis may not be of the same depth as that offered by Erikson and others, it does demonstrate the use of biographical data in the understanding of leadership using guidelines provided by Burns.

CHAPTER II ENDNOTES

[1]James MacGregor Burns, Leadership (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), p. 12.

[2]Burns, p. 13.

[3]Burns, p. 14.

[4]Burns, p. 19.

[5]Burns, p. 36.

[6]Burns, p. 38.

[7]Burns, p. 23.

[8]Burns, p. 20.

[9]Burns, p. 20.

[10]Burns, p. 10.

[11]Burns, p. 11.

[12]Burns, p. 154.

[13]Burns, p. 155.

[14]Burns, pp. 156-157.

[15]Burns, p. 163.

[16]Burns, pp. 169-170.

[17]Burns, pp. 184-185.

[18]Burns, p. 185.

[19]Burns, p. 200.

[20]Burns, p. 202.

[21]Burns, p. 203.

[22]Burns, p. 238.

[23]Burns, p. 248.

[24]Burns, p. 244.

[25]Burns, p. 246.

[26]Burns, p. 248.

[27]Burns, p. 249.

[28]Burns, pp. 249-250.

[29]Burns, p. 250.

[30]Burns, pp. 19-20.

[31]Burns, pp. 262-263.

[32]Burns, p. 265.

[33]Burns, pp. 266-267.

[34]Burns, pp. 267-268.

[35]Burns, p. 273.

[36]Burns, p. 289.

[37]Burns, p. 290.

[38]Burns, p. 290.

[39]Burns, p. 298.

[40]Burns, p. 304.

[41]Burns, p. 312.

[42]Burns, pp. 313-314.

[43]Burns, p. 327.

[44]Burns, p. 340.

[45]Burns, p. 343.

[46]Burns, p. 345.

[47]Burns, p. 345.

[48]Burns, pp. 347-350.

[49]Burns, p. 360.

[50]Burns, pp. 362-363.

[51]Burns, p. 371.

[52]Burns, p. 371.

[53]Burns, p. 370.

[54]Burns, p. 372.

[55]Burns, pp. 373-374.

[56]Burns, pp. 376-377.

[57]Burns, p. 377.

[58]Burns, p. 379.

[59]Burns, p. 396.

CHAPTER III

STUDIES IN THE LEADERSHIP STYLES OF THREE MEN

Introduction and Overview

In the Daedalus publication of Philosophers and Kings, there
are a number of chapters in which individual leaders and their
leadership styles were analyzed and described. The contributing
authors represented a variety of disciplines--political science,
psychology, economics, psychiatry, sociology, and history. Three
of the leaders described in the book were selected for presentation
here. Using Burns' taxonomy of leadership, one person was selected
to represent each of the following types: transforming leadership
(Gandhi), transactional leadership (de Gaulle), and heroic or
charismatic leadership (Nkrumah).

The portrayal of Gandhi by Erik Erikson, a psychoanalyst, was
limited to a few selected events in Gandhi's life. However, there
were adequate data to support that the biographical sources
analytically investigated by Erikson contributed to the understand-
ing of Gandhi's behaviors and therefore to the understanding of a
particular leadership style.

An analysis of Charles de Gaulle, a transactional leader, was
presented by Inge and Stanley Hoffman. Inge Hoffman, a student of
international affairs and social psychology, and Stanley Hoffman,
a professor of government at Harvard, combined their talents to

present a portrait of de Gaulle with a multidisciplinary approach. Their study confirmed de Gaulle's style as being that of executive leadership.

David E. Apter, a professor of political science at the University of California, Berkeley, described the period of time in Ghana when Nkrumah's leadership style was charismatic. Burns, as previously stated, preferred the term "heroic" to "charisma" in describing the aura surrounding certain individuals and in explaining the accomplishments or change accredited persons who had no legitimate authority. Nkrumah appeared to have met the criteria established by Burns as one who had "heroic" leadership without ideology or other related characteristics and skills necessary to provide real leadership. Apter consistently used the term "charisma" in his writings; it seemingly was congruent with the term "heroic" as described by Burns.

These three selections represented three types of leaders; more important, they reflected the value of a multi- or inter-disciplinary approach to understanding leaders and leadership. Each author, from his area of expertise, has made a contribution to furthering the knowledge base essential for the framework of a theory of leadership development and leadership styles.

Mohandas K. Gandhi

Erik H. Erikson contributed a chapter entitled "On the Nature of Psycho-Historical Evidence: In Search of Gandhi."[1] It was a

preview of the book, Gandhi's Truth, that Erikson was in the process of writing at the time. Erikson related several incidents which occurred in Gandhi's life and explored them from psychological, sociological, and historical perspectives. The illumination of Gandhi's drives and motives gave a depth of understanding necessary to appreciate and comprehend Gandhi's behaviors as he became the best modern example, according to Burns, of one who provided transforming leadership.

Erikson based his chapter on two major happenings in Gandhi's life. One occurred in his youth, the other much later in life. As Erikson perceived these situations, they were interrelated but yet independent of each other. They also were instrumental in shaping Gandhi's purposes, drives, motivations, and methodology. In this chapter referred to above and later in the book, Erikson described the adult situation first and subsequently the youthful event. For purposes of this paper, the selected incidents will be reported chronologically. A third event in Gandhi's life was discussed by Erikson to demonstrate how a seemingly innocent, clear-cut, and simple act by a renowned leader could be interpreted by careless though well-meaning psychohistorians.

According to Erikson and supported by the biographical data, Gandhi, at the age of sixteen, experienced psychological trauma which consciously and unconsciously affected him then and would impact upon him in later life. Gandhi had married early, as was the custom, but never forgave his father for arranging this. The

first two girls to whom he was betrothed died before the marriage
vows were taken. Gandhi admitted that in his youthful lust he
enjoyed the carnal aspects of marriage. As a result, his young
bride became pregnant. The pregnancy coincided with the illness
of his father who requiree constant care. Although it was consid-
ered feminine to do so, Gandhi nursed, or mothered, his aging father.
Erikson saw this as a means of Gandhi's repenting or denying that he
had previously desired to replace his father's role in the relation-
ship with his own young mother.

On the night of his father's death, Gandhi relinquished the
care of his father to an uncle for a period of time during which he
had intercourse with the pregnant wife. The father died while
Gandhi was away from the bedside; the pregnant wife later aborted.
Gandhi was filled with tremendous guilt over the two incidents,
feeling that his lustful desires had resulted in both his father's
death and the abortion. Erikson, writing from a Freudian back-
ground, considered the resulting guilt to be a curse which Gandhi
was unsuccessful in overcoming. Later in life, Gandhi would teach
that sexual intercourse was a destructive act in that it drained
one mentally, physically, and spiritually.

Another adult characteristic spawned in the youthful experience
was Gandhi's assumption of the mothering role to the followers he
attracted. Erikson discovered that Gandhi's most devout and inti-
mate followers were men who had weak or frayed relationships with
parents. In his interviews with the followers, Erikson found that
they seemed to have two common characteristics:

. . . a deep hurt which the informant had inflicted on one
of his parents or guardians and could never forget, and an
intense wish to take care of abandoned creatures, people
or animals, who have strayed too far from home . . . .[2]

Gandhi obtained loyalty from his followers by encouraging them to

sever whatever family connections they had with their families and

to accept him as a substitute. His care and concern for the

followers were more maternalistic than paternalistic in nature.

Gandhi had been somewhat a rebel in his youth and young adult

years. In fact, he may have felt that he deviated from his ances-

tral dharma, the humble acceptance of one's position

and station in Hindu society in order to return at a higher level

in a later life. Gandhi had studied law in England in preparation

for a law partnership with his brother. While in England, Gandhi

indulged in forbidden Hindu practices such as eating pork, and

becoming involved with English females who never knew he was

married. Gandhi returned briefly to India, but soon journeyed to

Africa with the intent of practicing law there. Instead, he found

himself an advocate for the Indians in Africa who were being dis-

criminated against. It was in Africa that Gandhi developed his

principles of militant but nonviolent protest against civil

authority.

A second incident which took place in 1918 was discussed by

Erikson and was referred to as "The Event." Gandhi returned from

Africa in 1914 at the age of 45 to his native India. He settled

outside Ahmedabad which was near his birthplace. He was generously

supported and accepted by a mill owner and his sister. Eventually,

the mill owner requested Gandhi to mediate a wage dispute he had

with the mill laborers. Gandhi sided with the laborers and the

sister who was actively involved in social work. It was during

the twenty-day strike that Gandhi fully implemented his technique

of nonviolent protest with fasting as a method to weaken the

oppressors. Gandhi had turned on his benefactor, or so it seemed.

Gandhi had taken the action necessary to remain true to his own

beliefs and goals. And, not without importance, Gandhi felt safe

and secure in protesting against a friend.

When Erikson interviewed the mill owner for information related

to The Event, he found that the mill owner transferred his feelings

of Gandhi toward him. On a previous trip to India, unrelated to

research on Gandhi, Erikson had too been the guest of the mill owner

and had been warmly received and protected. In similar fashion,

when Gandhi returned to India, the mill owner had offered him shel-

ter and the substitute parent he sought. Gandhi needed someone with

whom he felt secure, someone to support him and his cause; he found

this in the mill owner. He, therefore, felt safe in using the mill

owner to demonstrate and refine his technique of nonviolent protest

and fasting--Satyagraha. Although initially hurt by the outward

betrayal, the mill owner continued to support Gandhi, sometimes

anonymously. Erikson detected the transference of feelings when he

realized that the mill owner had concluded that Erikson would use

him as Gandhi had years earlier. He was very closed concerning The

Event; and so had been Gandhi. The Event should have been a high-

light in Gandhi's life and reflected as such in his biography. It

was not; he only briefly mentioned it. The resistance of the two main actors in The Event to discuss what happened fascinated Erikson. But, to his credit, he simply reported the observations without complicated psychoanalytic interpretations. However, Erikson used The Event to help explain some of Gandhi's later comments, actions, and writings.

On another occasion, Gandhi had the opportunity to defend the mill owner's actions publicly when he requested that dogs, which were probably hydrophobic, be put to death. Such action could easily give birth to riots in India. Although Gandhi did not believe in killing animals or human beings, there came a time, he wrote in defense of the mill owner, when it was justified.

Erikson struggled with the psychoanalytic interpretation of Gandhi's choice of the salt tax as one of the many issues to select for a cause to fight. Was it for practical or symbolic reasons or a combination of the two? Salt was essential to preserve foods as well as to make them more palatable. It was also a gift of the sea, so what right did the British have to tax it? The poor who needed the salt would be the most discriminated against by the tax. Symbolically, salt was associated in the Hindu mind with human semen. Did the march to the sea signify that the Indians demanded that the British grant them life figuratively and literally? Erikson, in presenting this situation, cautioned the potential psychohistorian not to read more into an event than exists. The tendency to do so is a common misuse of biographical data.

Gandhi was a rebel in many ways. It was in his rebellion that he conceived of and initiated reform movements which elevated his followers to a higher level of humanity. He and his followers were as one; they elevated each other. Gandhi, indeed, magnificently represents transforming leadership.

Charles de Gaulle

Burns described Charles de Gaulle as a man who portrayed the classic example of executive leadership. The portrait given of de Gaulle in "The Will to Grandeur: de Gaulle as Political Artist" by the Hoffmans[3] confirmed this perception of him. The Hoffmans looked at de Gaulle from psychological, sociological, and historical points of view. They reviewed the milieu in which de Gaulle spent his early years, the relationship with his immediate family, and listed those persons in his life who influenced him or were considered to be his heroes.

The affects of the sociological and psychological milieu of de Gaulle's youth and adolescence could be seen in the beliefs, actions, attitudes, and roles assumed by him in his later life. His paternal ancestors were impoverished nobles who were closely associated with the military, and who were scholarly in nature. Little was known about his mother except that she was "from a bourgeois lineage --a line of austere, small businessmen from northern France . . . ."[4] Although his family was not financially able to do so, it kept up the appearance of nobility with three homes in appropriate locations.

De Gaulle's family cultural heritage provided him with three
basic principles which were guiding forces throughout his life.
First, although unpopular at the time, there was an inner-directed
belief system which was to be upheld with pride and dignity. Yet,
there was flexibility in the value system "to examine issues inde-
pendently, on their own merits, and to judge them"[5] accordingly.
This process was deeply imprinted on young Charles.

Secondly, in his youth, de Gaulle internalized that the values
learned were publicly oriented:

> The love of France, Christian faith, honor, the lessions
> of history, respect for culture, the nation as both the
> highest temporal good and as the cultural partnership of
> the living and the dead, the virtues of the soldier as
> both the defender of the nation and the carrier of the
> Christian faith.[6]

De Gaulle would hold steadfast to these values throughout his life.

A third lesson, or guiding principle, came from the political
and social disorder in France. There was a certain stress experi-
enced by the family and transmitted to de Gaulle. It was not a
personal or family stress as such, but one that the family members
felt for their beloved country which was suffering from changes
imposed upon her, especially as a result of the war of 1870. They
passionately longed for France to return to her previous days of
glory.

Although there were these underlying tones of stress, de
Gaulle's early childhood years were apparently happy ones filled
with many cultural opportunities. The games he played were usually
of a military and political nature with himself portrayed as France

or as the protector of France. Later, he would literally make this childhood fantasy come true.

At the age of fourteen, when he wrote plays and poems, he learned to use the pen to relay his thoughts, dreams, and hopes for France. He would continue to use this form of communication, which served more often as a catharsis while he waited for France to need him. His love for the stage also developed in his youth. It would be amplified symbolically as he saw himself as an actor on the stage without a script, reacting to the events at the time, and making his entrance only upon cue.

When de Gaulle physically developed in his teens, he stood apart from his peers in several ways. His extreme height may have been the impetus for his enchantment with his own uniqueness and his belief that he could restore France to her rightful place in the world. That is, France would again become the leader, a model for other nations.

The reason for his early awareness of his uniqueness can also be contributed to his relationship with his family. He had not only internalized the values taught him, but he took them one step further; he personalized them and desired to put them into action. As he saw the situation, he had but one course in life: "He would serve France in such a striking way that the past would be renewed rather than just enshrined, and the nation might live according to the family's ideals."[7]

De Gaulle had to make a career choice as how best to serve France. He had considered the church, but since church and state

had been separated, he could not use the church as a means to the end. Therefore, he chose the military which, after all, was a family tradition and an acceptable and honorable profession.

De Gaulle was influenced by what he read, but only if it supported what he already believed about France and the military. He rejected all other thoughts and ideas. He accepted Hugo's concept of "concision in style, precision in thought, decisiveness in life."[8] He appreciated Peguy's love and hope for France and Barres' concept of the eternity of France. He exemplified Bergson's philosophy of intuition, fate, and timing. He could not, however, accept Neitzsche's call for the creation of supermen.

Colonel Pétain was de Gaulle's living idol. He served under him as a young cadet and later became his aide and protégé. He wanted to emulate the leadership style he saw enacted by Pétain which was domination of "task through his mind, and through his character,"[9] with his mark left on the task, and independent of others in decision making. For most part, this was how de Gaulle interpreted his own leadership style.

The Hoffmans described three aspects of characteristics of de Gaulle the leader. First, he was always ready and willing to serve whenever called upon by France to do so. Second, he preferred being right "even at the cost of immediate effectiveness or popularity . . . ."[10] Third, there was no depth to Gaullism which they described in the following manner:

> It is a stance, not a doctrine; an attitude, not a coherent
> set of dogmas; a style without much substance--beyond the
> service of France and French grandeur, itself never defined
> in its content, only by its context.[11]

De Gaulle believed that one could lead by having the character

of a leader. Thus, he created and developed the character of

General de Gaulle which would be the voice of France and who would

respond to events in history, "serve the present needs of France,

to protect her legacy, and to guarantee her future."[12]

The Hoffmans described de Gaulle as being two different persons.

There was Charles, the private individual, aloof from the public,

impersonal even with his family. The second personality was General

de Gaulle, the public man who saw himself as France. Both personali-

ties were aware of the other, and there was no conflict between

them. Both were in touch with reality.

The Hoffmans wrote that de Gaulle's charisma helped with his

successes in government. The charisma came from his ability to

predict correctly conflicts which would ensue for France and for

which he offered his services to resolve. Only when the crisis

came for France did the people remember that de Gaulle had said

that France could only save herself by saving her identity. At

that point. they called on de Gaulle to rescue France. A national

crisis demanded executive leadership; de Gaulle provided it. France

needed someone who could make decisions, and each time she called,

de Gaulle was waiting to serve. Three times he responded; twice he

moved off the stage when the crisis was alleviated. However, the

third time, he wanted to remain and use a different strategy to

assist France, but was unable to do so. It was only in a crisis of
national identity that the goals and motives of de Gaulle and the
people were similar or the same. When the crisis was over, other
goals were established by the people. A different type of leader-
ship was needed to accomplish the new goals—probably a combination
of executive and legislative leadership. De Gaulle would not
consider legislative leadership with the bargaining and constant
tradeoffs. That was beneath him. He did, however, attempt to use
reform tactics to reach the goals he assumed were common goals for
him (France) and the Frenchmen, but the followership did not
materialize. De Gaulle interpreted this act as their failure, not
his. In his mind, he had not been defeated; however, he resigned
from office.

Burns wrote that executive leadership was insufficient by it-
self to change society. Yet, it is most effective in crisis situa-
tions. De Gaulle demonstrated his leadership skills when France
needed him.

Kwame Nkrumah

David E. Apter had problems with the term "charisma" as did
Burns. He wrote, "In the past few years, the term 'charisma' has
been applied indiscriminately to most of the 'heroic' leaders of
nationalist movements who have been instrumental in the founding
of new states."[13] However, Apter felt that the term "charisma" was
appropriate to describe Nkrumah in his chapter, "Nkrumah, Charisma,

and the Coup."[14] His use of the term was congruent with the term "heroic" as defined by Burns.

In his sketch of Nkrumah, Apter did not attempt to analyze the behaviors from a psychological and sociological matrix. He felt that the charisma associated with Nkrumah for a specific and limited time frame was more a function of the political situation. As Apter perceived the situation, the political events in Ghana in the 1950's and the desire for a hero explained some of the appeal Nkrumah had. This leads one to question whether charisma is a quality actually held by a person or if the charismatic perception of the person is created by the followers.

According to Apter, Nkrumah used charismatic leadership to gain control of the government in Ghana. From the positions of prime minister and later as president, he no longer needed charisma, or so he believed, to maintain control. Yet, he had no other leadership skill to offer and no plan of action for the country. As a result, he was ineffective and was eventually rejected by the people.

From 1949 to 1954, the era considered by Apter to be the charismatic period in Nkrumah's life, Ghana was in the process of evolving from a British colony to an independent African nation. It would be the first in Africa to achieve independence from the Commonwealth; therefore, it was an important event in history. There were no models to follow, and the rest of the world was watching. The process of relinquishing British control to the Ghanaians was through a carefully conceived plan of "staged

constitutional steps."[15] The natives would gradually assume addi-

tional responsibilities in the government until the process was

culminated in the independence granted in March of 1957.

Apter described Nkrumah's role in the government, pre- and

post-independence, and the methods he used to gain entry and to

establish control. It must be noted that during the charismatic

period, the goals of Nkrumah and the people of Ghana were the same

or similar. However, he continued to be the legitimate head of

state until 1966 when his government was overthrown by the army.

At that point, he had few friends or followers, and there was

rejoicing in Ghana.

Nkrumah, who was born in 1909 in Ghana and educated there at

Catholic mission schools and in the United States at Lincoln Univer-

sity and the University of Pennsylvania, read law in England and

returned to Ghana in 1947 for political reasons. After violent

riots in 1948, he emerged as head of his own nationalist organiza-

tion, the Convention People's Party (C.P.P.). It would be this

loosely organized party of dissident groups of "strategic marginals

and youth"[16] with which the British would plan for transfer to

governmental rule. Apter wrote:

> A charismatic leader does not require a large number of
> devoted followers so much as a relatively small band of
> disciples who can create a movement and gather support.
> These disciples need a strong set of beliefs and commit-
> ments that enable them to validate their actions and to
> sanction otherwise unsanctioned acts. Charisma is one
> method of providing them with these.[17]

He had a small dedicated band of disciples who were able to generate support for him from a mixed group of the population. It was the combination of followers which would give rise to the charisma surrounding Nkrumah. These individuals had no commitments to traditional values and could easily be influenced.

Although Nkrumah was well educated, he was not intellectual. He was credited with having common sense and being reasonable. He was whatever those around him wanted him to be at the time and with a play on words or deliberate vagueness, he would appear to be sincere. He was immensely popular with the people and was accepted by the colonial officials as being "capable of talking good sense."[18] Apter further described his personal appeal:

> Handsome, small, Nkrumah had a natural grace and elegance, a finely shaped head, and a certain delicacy of manner. He was direct rather than devious. His voice, both deep and melodious, had a practiced resonance that audiences found attractive. He radiated warmth and attentiveness. In conversation he appeared to give undivided attention, listening carefully as if seeking advice and maintaining a solicitous manner . . . . He regarded himself in the tradition of great "thinker-politicians," a sort of cross-between Gandhi and Lenin (depending upon which ideological mood he favored and whom he wanted to impress).[19]

During the charismatic period, Nkrumah had the ability to attract large audiences who idolized him and made him into a popular hero. They carried him on their shoulders, high above the crowd which wore shirts with his image imprinted on them.

Although Nkrumah was a skilled public speaker and excelled in the use of "symbolic power of language,"[20] he was not able to debate skillfully and successfully in parliament. His short temper would

lead to impetuous decisions and misuse of his associates. He was

manipulative when he wanted something, and explosive when he failed

to obtain it.

Along with his ambiguous rhetoric, Nkrumah had a flair for

personal drama which was manifested in the different personality

types he played during the charismatic years. He interacted with

various groups, both the natives and the British, prior to indepen-

dence and gained their support by his personal charms. Yet, the

situation and relationship between Nkrumah and his followers were

paradoxical. Nkrumah trusted only a few of his most intimate

followers. He was not even sure of their loyalty, and knew that at

any moment, he could be abandoned for a more alluring cause.

Furthermore, his followers and the opposition doubted him. The

civil servants did not trust or respect him; they ignored him. The

following described the relationship:

> His populist followers worried that he would betray "the
> cause" to the British, although Nkrumah always succeeded
> in persuading them that tactical action was designed for
> the best. The revolutionaries were disturbed by his
> opportunism and worried about his lack of ideological
> sophistication.[21]

Nkrumah used his charisma to resolve these feelings by dis-

counting them with actions, words, and promises. Apter described

the situation as fatalistic:

> His charisma became a vessel into which all authority
> flowed. One did not need to believe that Nkrumah was
> a "man of destiny" in some ultimate sense. Rather,
> one had to feel that "destiny" was in his hands.[22]

It is important to remember that during the time Nkrumah relied on charisma, he had no legitimate authority or areas of responsibility. He had no other vehicle at the time for entry into governmental affairs and nothing to lose by using his charismatic skills. Apter pointed out that the charisma was not artificially constructed for this purpose or this time period. His motives, purposes, and resources were legitimate and goals congruent with those of the people of Ghana. They too wanted a nonviolent transfer of government from British rule to independence and self-rule for Ghana.

Nkrumah was active in the transfer to parliamentary rule without having any direct responsibility. Therefore, he could blame ill-conceived actions on either the tribal chiefs, the British, or both. He played the two factions against each other, rendered them powerless, and in doing so, created power for himself. In 1952 at the peak of his charismatic reign, he was elected prime minister.

As prime minister, Nkrumah had responsibilities, and he also had formal legitimate authority. His charisma was no longer adequate to lead the evolving nation from dependence on the Commonwealth to a secure and stable independent state. He began to lose control even before the colony was freed. He had failed to develop a strong Ghanaian parliament although it was dominated by the C.P.P. --his own party. Nkrumah, who was never committed to parliamentary government, was already planning for the establishment of a republic with a president and a one-party system.

By 1955 Nkrumah had lost his charismatic appeal and leadership style. The C.P.P., of which he had been the founder and was still the head, controlled the government and kept him in office. Nkrumah no longer interacted with the followers as he had previously. He had no blueprint for the country; he played it as he went, relying on what he perceived as support, but which he felt he did not actually need. He ruled by corruption and threat.

Nkrumah had perceived parliamentary government as a threat to his reign. With the support of his party and questionable tactics, he established a republic in 1960 with himself as the president. With the reorganization, Nkrumah became more dictorial, disorganized, and corrupt in his leadership style. Moreover, he was not able to control the army which on February 24, 1966, overthrew the Regimental Guards and announced the end of Nkrumah's reign. Few Ghanaians cared that their leader was dethroned; few tears were shed.

In an analysis of the failure of Nkrumah, Apter wrote:

> He understood neither charisma nor his normative obligations. He did not realize that charisma in a voluntaristic environment is based on populism, and that when it declined, that same populism was likely to turn the leader and his government into enemies of the people. He never confronted this problem. He tried to deflect his confrontation with the people first by appearing to sustain a parliamentary system with high political participation and then by dismantling democratic government and substituting for it a revolutionary ideal. Nkrumah lacked the imagination and skill to develop a country. He was a revolutionary without a plan--a visionary, but not a builder. The combination was a disaster--not only politically, but economically as well.[23]

In retrospect, one asks: Was there an alternative for the people of Ghana at the time? There, of course, is no definite answer to that question. However, the events which occurred must be analyzed and possible alternatives considered by other developing countries if they are to avoid the same problems in leadership.

CHAPTER III ENDNOTES

[1]Erik H. Erikson, "On the Nature of Psycho-Historical Evidence: In Search of Gandhi," Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership, ed. Dankwart A. Rustow (New York: George Braziller, 1970), pp. 33-68.

[2]Erikson, p. 55.

[3]Inge and Stanley Hoffman, "The Will to Grandeur: de Gaulle as Political Artist," Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership, ed. Dankwart A. Rustow (New York: George Braziller, 1970), pp. 248-316.

[4]Hoffman, p. 250.

[5]Hoffman, p. 251.

[6]Hoffman, p. 251.

[7]Hoffman, p. 254.

[8]Hoffman, p. 260.

[9]Hoffman, p. 263.

[10]Hoffman, p. 264.

[11]Hoffman, p. 264.

[12]Hoffman, p. 267.

[13]David E. Apter, "Nkrumah, Charisma, and the Coup," Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership, ed. Dankwart A. Rustow (New York: George Braziller, 1970), p. 117.

[14]Apter, pp. 112-147.

[15]Apter, p. 112.

[16]Apter, p. 124.

[17]Apter, p. 121.

[18]Apter, p. 113.

[19] Apter, p. 128.

[20] Apter, p. 129.

[21] Apter, p. 133.

[22] Apter, p. 134.

[23] Apter, p. 143.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF CHARLES B. AYCOCK

Introduction to Aycock

Charles Brantley Aycock, who served as governor of North Carolina from 1901 to 1905, has been described in the history books as the "educational governor" of the state.[1] He is still regarded by the Democratic party of North Carolina as having been an outstanding leader. He is honored annually, along with another former Democratic governor, Zebulon Baird Vance, who was of the same time period. Aycock's statue occupies a place of honor on the grounds of the State Capitol.

Aycock's official biography was written by Oliver H. Orr, Jr., whose doctoral dissertation was also on Aycock. The biography appeared to be unbiased, as both positive and negative aspects of Aycock's life were documented. There was no deliberate effort detected to either immortalize or defame the former governor's image. Orr clearly stated in the preface that Aycock was a complicated, controversial man whose "life has become a legend."[2] He added, "In the final analysis, the question as to which is the greater part of his contribution, the work of the man or the power of the legend, will perhaps be impossible to answer."[3]

An attempt was made to discover why Aycock was remembered as an educational governor, if he was a leader, and why his life has become a legend. With the application of theories and descriptive statements concerning leadership held by James MacGregor Burns and Dankwart A. Rustow, an effort was made to enlighten the issue. Aycock was analyzed and examined through biographical data to determine whether they supported history's designation and the description of leadership as given by Burns. If Aycock was a leader, was he transactional or transforming? Whom did he lead? What were his motives, and what were his sources of power? What conflicts did his leadership address? How successful was he?

The psychological and sociological events in Aycock's life were the foci of the analysis. There was some repetition of events as they were viewed from various points. This approached substantiated that his biographical data were sources for obtaining a better understanding of leadership or what was perceived as leadership.

Psychological and Sociological Matrix

Introduction and Overview

Erik H. Erikson was one of the first persons to explore both the sociological and psychological stages of an individual from infancy to adulthood in an effort to understand more fully his behavior. His book, Young Man Luther (1958), served as a model for his theory that continuous life events, not just those occurring in

infancy and childhood, must be considered in the examination of an individual.[4]

Burns stated that through the studies of biographical data, "We may come to understand better the powerful influences of family, school, and adolescent experience."[5] The studies, however, are not adequate if they concentrate on the early years and overlook the "potent effects of political learning, successes, and failures, of political and institutional context, during leaders' middle and late years."[6]

What an individual learns by being in a given social environment and by his reactions to the stimuli within that particular environment must be considered. The experiences, the people, successes, and failures dealt with, and the leaders he followed are points to explore in understanding the sources of leadership. The events in the life of Aycock which helped to gain insight or understanding of a man who has been called a leader were considered. The general topics explored included his heritage, childhood experiences, roles, self-concept, and healthy relationships.

Influence of Heritage

Burns briefly mentioned that one's "biological inheritance may have a direct, pervasive influence on persons' behavior throughout their lives."[7] In rare instances, a biological factor may be destiny for some. For example, a girl born into a society which has certain avenues closed to women is definitely limited in her development. While genetic factors are important, social heritage

cannot be ignored. It, too, can be significant in the development of personality and can help shape the destiny and philosophy of an individual. Social heritage often is the source of motives for a leader and can provide a significant power base.

In reviewing the lives of leaders, one readily saw how certain aspects of their heritage had unmistakable influences on their becoming leaders. Their philosophies, their tactics, their goals could often be directly linked to factors of heritage. The race or nationality of the person usually had a high positive correlation between political leaders and followers. For example, Mohandas Gandhi led his fellow Indians; Martin Luther King was more revered and followed by Negroes than by whites; and, Adolf Hitler's obsession with the superiority of the German people was the driving force behind his rise to power in Germany.

Aycock's biographer noted that "no one in Aycock's immediate family was significantly interested in genealogy to preserve records of the family's lineage . . . ."[8] Despite this paucity of information, three factors seemed to be directly related to Aycock's heritage, both social and genetic, which had a tremendous impact on his life and on his image as a leader.

First, Aycock came from a long line of farmers whose primary focus was to meet basic survival needs. A second factor, his Anglo-Saxon heritage, was the basis for his racial ideology. Third, he inherited from his father a predisposition to die prematurely with a heart attack. The factors, examined as separate entities, are

shown to have made their contributions to the total image of the man.

Farm family. Aycock's ancestors were farmers from the time they came to America from England in the Colonial period. His parents, Benjamin and Serena Hooks Aycock, began their married life in 1840 with fifty acres of land which had been inherited from Benjamin's father in 1836.[9]

Although Charles B. Aycock never farmed for a living and probably did no farm-related chores after he left home to enter the University of North Carolina, he had a life-long emotional attachment for the farm and for the simplicity of farm life as he remembered it. When he boarded with a farm family while attending Wilson Collegiate Institute, a friend recalled "that for a boy raised on a farm, Aycock showed surprisingly little interest in performing farm work,"[10] but the concept of farming and farm life seemed to fascinate him.

Aycock lived and governed in a period of time when the industrial revolution was moving southward from the north. Business opportunities were plentiful and prosperous. In fact, the least prosperous groups in the state were the farmers and laborers in the late 1800's when Aycock began his political career.[11] The farmers, however, were in a majority in the state, and politicians are prone to be influenced by numbers, for numbers translate into potential voters. As governor, Aycock's loyalty was a predominantly agricultural society as opposed to a predominantly industrial

society.[12] Orr wrote that, "He encouraged industrialization as a

desirable element in the economy, but he displayed a romantic notion

of agriculture as the core of the ideal culture."[13] With his senti-

ment for farm life and the potential support of a large faction of

voters, Aycock felt secure in maintaining his concept of and support

for the farm life. It was generally characteristic of Aycock to

look to the past, not for direction to move forward, but with

melancholy and a longing to return to that time.

Anglo-Saxon heritage. Aycock was extremely proud of his Anglo-

Saxon heritage for he felt that the Anglo-Saxon had specific

strengths which were peculiar to that race. On October 21, 1901,

the Charlotte Observer reported Governor Aycock saying, "Wherever

the Anglo-Saxon sets his foot he becomes a permanency. He has con-

quered the earth by his love of home and has found success in curb-

ing his own desires and passions."[14] He used the stability and

self-discipline traits of the Anglo-Saxons to point out the insta-

bility and lack of self-control that he perceived as dominant traits

in the Negro.

Aycock's childhood indoctrination in the belief that the white

man was superior in all aspects to the Negro was confirmed by John

Richard Green's book, Short History of the English People. Aycock

discovered the book while a student at the University and later

disclosed to a law partner that the book "influenced his political

life more than any other book."[15]

Aycock's white supremacy belief would go far in thrusting him into a leadership role in a state which was racially torn assunder. He used his belief, which was widely accepted in the post-Civil War South, as an issue to promote his political career. White supremacy would be his purpose, his goal, his motive for assuming leadership positions. Even when race was not an issue, Aycock made it one. This tactic of his was quickly recognized by his opponents, but they experienced difficulty in countering it. As was easily determined, Aycock's Anglo-Saxon heritage permeated his entire philosophy of life.

Predisposition to die young. A third factor, and equally important to the contribution of his image, was Aycock's early and unexpected death. Aycock had inherited from his paternal ancestors, the predisposition to die prematurely. His father, Benjamin Aycock, had died at the age of fifty-eight, an age which none of his own children is known to have reached. Four of the eight sons are known to have died of heart attacks.

Aycock often did not feel well, although his physical appearance belied this until his later years. He was a very dramatic, emotional lawyer and public figure with the exception of the four-year term he served as governor. During that period of time, he played the role of governor as he perceived he should. He was not his natural self, and behaved in a constrained manner, being more formal and guarded. This new lifestyle undoubtedly was stressful for Aycock. Although it cannot be documented that there was a

causal relationship, it was during his governorship that Aycock frequently began taking long vacations to resorts and being hospitalized for rest.

When Aycock's term as governor expired in January, 1905, he eagerly returned to private law practice and continued to be regarded as a Democratic party leader. However, he was not the popular politician in North Carolina that he was prior to the governorship. Speaking engagements in several other states to promote public education helped keep his name before the public.

He remained active in the Democratic party, but his declining physical health kept him from making political appearances. Since his primary power lay in face-to-face encounters with his followers, his poor health became a liability.

Aycock made his bid for the United States Senate in May of 1911, although he had stiff opposition inside, as well as outside, the party. His death in April, 1912, just prior to the election never allowed Aycock or history to discover whether he had the following and the support to send him to Washington and to fulfill a life-long dream. His premature death was all the more dramatic in that he was speaking before the Alabama Educational Association in Birmingham when he died during the speech.[16] His early demise and the circumstances thereof are primary contributors to the legend that Orr referred to.

In summary, Aycock was strongly influenced by his genetic and cultural heritage. His motives for offering leadership were founded in his Anglo-Saxon roots. He used his identification with the farm life to gain support and followers. His early death and the drama surrounding it spurred his supporters and friends to immortalize him.

Significant Childhood Experiences

The early theories of personality development which strongly implied "that an individual's personality is fully shaped in the first few years of his life,"[17] are credited for the emphasis placed on childhood experiences when analyzing the lives of persons considered to be important. This developmental period in one's life cannot be overlooked, but to contribute life-long behaviors of a person to this one period is not realistic. It discounts the fact that people continue to learn throughout their lives. The early years must be considered, of course, but only in their proper perspective.

Burns recognized that psychological needs in the early developmental stages continuously impact on the person's behavior throughout adulthood. He also believed that learning may be the most important force in molding leaders. He wrote:

> Learning from experience, learning from people, learning from successes and failures, learning from leaders and followers: personality is formed in these reactions to stimuli in social environments. Albert Bandura and Richard Walters have shown that behavior is learned not only by conditioning but by imitating persons with whom the learner identifies and whom he takes as models.[18]

The nuclear family was seen by Burns as a small political system with an unsophisticated system of leadership. Events in the early childhood years in this system are considered origins of political leadership. Burns quoted Tocqueville: "The entire man is, so to speak, to be seen in the cradle of the child."[19] The quote continued:

> We must watch the infant in his mother's arms, we must see the first images that the external world casts upon the dark mirrors of his mind, the first occurrences that he witnesses; we must hear the first words which awaken the sleeping powers of thought, and stand by his earliest efforts if we would understand the prejudices, the habits, and the passions which will later rule his life.[20]

It was impossible to experience what Charles B. Aycock experienced or to know his thoughts and his impressions as they were initially imprinted in his mind. From observation of role enactments and with some valid data, Orr concluded, "Aycock's total experience in childhood yielded most of the basic ideas which guided him in his political career."[21] Aycock spoke infrequently of his early childhood and left no written memoirs. Therefore, data available from other sources were used to reconstruct significant events in his childhood. Burns warned against the inherent dangers in the use of childhood experienced in understanding a leader. He wrote:

> Our knowledge of the early psychological experiences of famous leaders also is limited by the paucity of data. The little we have is pieced together from the memories of childhood friends and witnesses, from the few fugitive documents that families choose to allow scholars to examine, from memoirs or other autobiographical accounts of the eminent persons themselves. Memories of early years are woefully, even perversely, limited and distorted. If the truths that can be found naked on the battlefield

later put on their uniforms (as military historians like to
say), the recollections of doting cousins, proud and overly
protective descendants, and hometown chauvinists erect an
eulogistic camouflage of their own. It is the task of the
trained analyst--the psychobiographer or the history-
oriented psychoanalyst--to sift through this dross. But
this suggests another difficulty; in the absence of detailed,
dependable information, even such portraits--especially of
their subject's early years--tend to be speculative and
generalized. The more subtle and specialized the accounts
of the early years of eminent persons, the more debatable
the implications for leadership in general.[22]

Aware of Burns' warning and advice, and with discretion,

selected events which occurred in Aycock's early life are described

and the subsequent impact they had on his adult life shown. Those

selected for their significant manifestation in adulthood were his

mother's illiteracy, his father's politics, the Civil War and its

Southern heroes, the general lifestyle of the Aycock family, and

the cultural environment in which Aycock was reared.

Mother's illiteracy. According to Aycock, and confirmed by

friends and family, his mother's inability to read or write had a

profound affect upon him in his early years. He reported witnessing

his mother making her mark on a land deed, because she could not

sign her own name. Although a young boy at the time, he recalled

thinking that "every man and woman in North Carolina should have a

chance to read and write."[23]

The biographical data do not directly state it, but there

appeared another way, subtle to be sure, in which illiteracy may

have affected Aycock. Limited reading materials would have been

available in the home which, if available, could have possibly

broadened Aycock's frame of reference or implanted ideas not indigenous to the Aycock's culture. It may also be possible to relate Aycock's aversion to writing personal communications to foundations in his childhood. Since his mother could not write or read, she did not model this behavior for the children. Oral language was more important; and this became a method of expression used as a source of power by Aycock in his quest for leadership.

Father's politics. As an adult, Aycock verbalized that his mother was to be credited with his successes and achievements. However, observation of his behaviors indicated that Aycock learned much from his father, patterned his lifestyle after him, and adopted his political philosophy. Aycock was only sixteen when his father died which may account for the rigid adherence to his father's beliefs. He would have known his father only in a father-son relationship and not in an adult-adult relationship where differences of opinion and philosophies could be exposed, discussed, and resolved. Aycock may have tried to keep his fahter's memory alive by becoming the lawyer his father expected him to be and by fighting to maintain what his father had believed.

Benjamin Aycock was a farmer, as were most Southern men during the pre- and post-Civil War era. In addition to farming, he was actively involved in politics and held elective offices. He served as Clerk of Court for Wayne County for eight years. The county seat, Goldsboro, was twelve miles from Fremont where his family lived. The frugality practiced by the Aycocks was vididly portrayed

by Benjamin's walking to Goldsboro in order for the family to have another horse to use during his week-long absence.[24]

From 1863 to 1866, Benjamin Aycock served in the North Carolina Senate and was a leader of a minority faction which felt the Civil War should be won at any cost to the south. He chose to leave the Senate, because he did not agree with the ideas of reconstruction. Charles Aycock would use the threat of leaving office or the party when he met with opposition, but unlike his father, would not follow through.

Young Charles Aycock was introduced to politics at an early age. He was only four years old when his father was elected State Senator. Political party leaders or members were welcome to visit in the Aycock home to discuss the issue of the day. Young Charles seemed to show a precociousness for political vernacular, much to the pleasure of his father who often took him to political rallies. Aycock's gift for political oratory emerged at age nine when he made his first political speech. The speech was not original; actually, it was one Aycock had heard from an inept opponent during a political debate. Aycock memorized the speech and was called on often to recite it for entertainment purposes. He could do so with the same intonation, manners, and gestures as the original speaker. Aycock, reportedly, "always brought the house down"[25] with his performance.

Even as a child, Aycock probably felt "some emergent sense of mastery of the political world"[26] with this oratorical performance.

David Easton and Jack Dennis believed that a feeling of political efficacy in school-age children is a basis for the development of great leader-followers, and it is from this group that future leaders will emerge. Erikson expounded on this theory by adding that with political efficacy, there must be a positive self-esteem and a sense of purpose.

The developmental stages of a potential political leader and orator may have been fostered with the experience of the mimicking of another political speaker. It was also interesting that Aycock's initial political speech was viewed as hilarious and entertaining. His biography revealed that most of Aycock's own political speeches were remembered in similar fashion. After his first successful experience as a speaker, Aycock continued to develop his oratorical skills until he could manipulate any audience with his words. This talent would become a primary source of power for him.

Young Aycock not only adopted his father's political beliefs but also his father's religion, economic ideology, and attitude toward society and life in general. Basically and succinctly, his father taught "veneration for the people of the Confederacy, distrust of the North, and distaste for the Republican Party."[27] Inherent in this philosophy was the concept of white supremacy although there was no evidence in the biography that he taught this principle to young Charles.

Civil War and war heroes. In 1865, Benjamin Aycock, along with other Confederate farmers, helplessly saw personal property taken

from them without due process by the federal government. Aycock

was probably fortunate in that he had owned only thirteen slaves.

Therefore, he was able to continue operating his 1,036 acre farm

with his large family and limited hired help.[28]

Charles B. Aycock, only six years old, must have been influ-

enced by the anger, resentment, the sense of loss, and defeat that

prevailed in his community, state, and region. For much of his

early childhood, "his family experienced prolonged excitement,

uncertainty, and hardship . . . . Food was scarce, labor was hard,

and pleasures few."[29]

If there had not been a Civil War with its subsequent politi-

cal and social concerns, one wonders if Aycock would have had an

issue to discuss. The war and events surrounding it were used as

the foci of political speeches made throughout his entire life.

In 1911, just prior to his death, he was still glorifying the war,

the South, and its heroes:

> I am getting old now, sirs, but I wish I were older. It
> has been the drprivation of my life that I haven't within
> my heart and memory a recollection of those great days
> which glorified humanity and made the South immortal . . . .
> We cannot forget, and will not, their sufferings, their
> trials, and their fidelity. We do not stop to ask whether
> they were right or wrong. We merely inquire how did they
> bear themselves when the hour of peril came, and when we
> made this inquiry we are proud of the glorious men who
> made the charge at Gettysburg and laid down their arms at
> Appomattox.[30]

Orr wrote that Aycock's

> Unfaltering admiration for the Civil War heroes of North
> Carolina significantly influenced his political tendencies.
> He responded to the needs of the confederate veterans,
> supported the ambitions of former confederate leaders, and
> emphasized confederate history heavily in his political
> addresses.[31]

Zebulon Baird Vance was the confederate hero most esteemed by young Aycock. Vance was a colonel in the Civil War, governor during the war, and again in 1876. He remained active in politics for many years after the war. Aycock's father had openly differed with Vance's stand during the war, but this did not diminish the awe young Aycock developed for Vance.[32] In fact, when Aycock was confronted in his adulthood with issues conflicting with Vance, Aycock uncustomarily chose to remain silent rather than to speak out against his hero.[33]

Data supplied in the biography indicated that Aycock would have preferred to return to the prewar days of the South, which he envisioned as days of simplicity and order. Actually, it was an era known to him only vicariously since he was a young child at the time. From the speeches reported, Aycock seemed to do more reminiscing about the past than planning for the future.

Lifestyle and cultural environment. As a child, Aycock was rarely exposed to what may be considered the aesthetics--art, music, classical literature. Although his father had accumulated large real estate holdings and wealth, the family had few material possessions. The Aycock children received only the barest essentials. They had one pair of shoes per year and wore handmade clothes.[34]

Aycock was not, in all likelihood, aware of his relatively impoverished condition until he went to the University. There he could compare himself with those outside his limited world. He

would recall, laughingly in his later years, how he looked when he arrived in Chapel Hill: "I wore a homemade suit of homespun cloth. I had on home knitted white socks and the top of my shoes and the bottom of my britches lacked about two inches of meeting."[35] He could laugh about it later, but his defensive, arrogant attitude toward many fellow students implied that he was painfully aware of his appearance.

Aycock's parents were Primitive Baptist, a fundamental sect which held as its creed the very lifestyle the Aycock's exemplified --dignity, integrity, practical wisdom, "brotherhood, work, worship, pain, and sacrifice,"[36] great industriousness, and great piety. As an adult, Aycock joined a more liberal and sophisticated sect of the Baptist denomination, the Missionary Baptist. He never felt at ease with his choice and rarely attended church except when it was politically expected of him to do so. His biographer wrote:

> Emotionally, however, despite his intellectual sophistication, he was always bound to the Primitive Baptists and showed more pleasure in attending the Primitive Baptist service than in attending the services of his own church. He is reported to have been impressed with the "profound faith of the hard-shells" referring to them as the "salt of the earth."[37]

Aycock's parents never entertained on a formal scale, and rarely, informally. Yet, they had an open door for anyone who came by. Apparently, Charles Aycock adopted the same limited socialization skills. The biography does not indicate that Aycock and his wife had close social friends. In fact, Aycock's wife and family rarely enter into the biography and then only incidentally.

It was reported that Aycock never felt comfortable in the governor's mansion and really did not want to live there. He gave the cost of upkeep as the reason for not wanting to move into the official residence of the governor. However, he was convinced that it was the appropriate thing to do and moved his large family into the fairly new mansion. He and his wife gave only the required receptions, thus having a very limited social life in the capital city. Few visitors made their way to the governor's home. Orr said, "Unsophisticated people were too ill at ease there, and the sophisticated were too seldom invited."[38]

An earlier reference was made to Aycock's aversion to writing. He rarely wrote letters to his family when he was out of town as governor. He would send telegraph messages to his secretary, who in turn, would relay news to the family.[39] Aycock's father may have, inadvertently, established this practice. He, too, was absent from home for long periods of time, and probably did not write home since his wife could not read.

The psychological and sociological events described above which were dominant in Aycock's early environment were influential factors in his adulthood. Except for the token effort to join a different religious sect, there was no evidence that Aycock had any desire to be different.

Significant Roles

Burns wrote:

> The adolescent who can recognize, adjust to, reconcile,
> mediate among, and copy with shifting mixes of role
> requirements is a person with at least a latent capacity
> to thrive in a variegated society and social environment
> and to demonstrate some potential ability for political
> leadership in a pluralized, complex, and open society.[40]

There were no data to indicate that Aycock had difficulty in
accepting the roles he played as an adolescent. However, there
was supported evidence that he experienced some conflict in the
adult roles he enacted which were roles expected of him by signifi-
cant others. This concept is developed in a following section.

Aycock's two most significant ascribed roles were those of son
and sibling. He was the youngest child in a family of eight boys
and two girls. Although there were two sisters, one died prior to
his birth, and the other was seventeen years old when he was born.
His main female role model was his mother, who, because of her
husband's long absences from home, assumed most of the responsibili-
ties in the home and on the farm.

Friends of the Aycock family remembered Charles as the family
pet. It was reported that Charles was often carried to school on
the shoulders of his oldest brother, Frank. In the evenings at
home, after school, their mother would have the boys study for
several hours, reciting the lessons to her.[41] This indicated her
value of an education, which was an attitude she passed on to her
son. Even though young Charles may have been the "family pet," as
a child in an agrarian society, he would not have been exempted

from the necessary chores. With no slaves after the war and few hired hands, he would have been expected to carry his part on the farm.

Upon realizing that Charles was intellectually talented, it was apparently a family decision "that he should be educated so that he might read law . . . ."[42] Thus, his future was planned by those closest to him and who would be able to help him implement their goal for him. Young Charles was remembered by others as being "bright, cheerful, and industrious,"[43] and having a keen sense of humor. These characteristics would become assets needed to achieve his family's expectations of him.

The biographical data disclosed very little about the inter-personal relationships Aycock had with his immediate family. His later observable behaviors with his own family indicated that, although there was support, there was little overt affection. This would be in keeping with the lifestyle practiced by the Primitive Baptists.

Roles later assumed by Aycock which were significant in the analysis of his leadership included student, lawyer, husband (twice), father, school superintendent, school board member, United States District Attorney, governor, and party leader. These selected roles are described below, some in more detail than others. Role enactments relating to leadership follow in the section, "The Making of a Leader."

Student. Aycock probably attended Nanhunta Academy in Fremont, his home town, from 1867 to 1872. Members of the community privately funded the school whose master, J. B. Williams, a grave, muscular man and a strong disciplinarian, emphasized Latin, English, and mathematics.[44] Of the nine living Aycock children, only two went beyond the elementary school level; only Charles went to college. In fact, he was one of few from his home county to attend college.[45]

After Nanhunta Academy, young Charles went to Wilson Collegiate Institute from 1872 to 1875. It was approximately fifteen miles from home which meant he had to board with a family there. At Wilson, an emphasis was placed on public speaking which pleased Aycock. His major teacher, Sylvester Hassell, remembered by Aycock as "my great old teacher,"[46] was the minister who officiated at Aycock's first marriage.

Although it was not documented, the death of his father in 1875 may have interrupted Aycock's schooling, for he returned home for one year. Regardless of the reason for leaving Wilson, Aycock left as a very mature person for fifteen years of age. He had been a serious student with interests in areas such as problems of the government that were uncommon to other students.[47]

During the year Aycock spent at home, he taught school with many students in the classes older than he. He reportedly did a remarkable job under the circumstances.[48] After being home for one year, Aycock enrolled in the Kinston Collegiate Institute where he

was exposed to literature which gave him an opportunity to expand his knowledge base. There were no references to what he read while there and whether what he read influenced him in any way.[49]

From 1877 to 1880, Aycock was a fulltime student at the University of North Carolina. It was difficult to sketch a composite personality profile of Aycock in the role of a college student. There were conflicting descriptions of him. Negative statements were made by fellow students who would be significant persons in his later life. Josephus Daniels, to be editor of the Raleigh News and Observer, said that Aycock "is too smart. He thinks he knows it all."[50] Robert Watson Winston, who would become his law partner, thought that Aycock was "so ardent that he would not only destroy his adversary but jump on his dead body and punish him after death."[51] Edwin Alderman, later to be president of the University, described Aycock as having a "certain authority," a "lift of the head," and a mouth "set in grim lines of pride and purpose."[52]

In many respects, it appeared that Aycock deliberately tried to alienate certain fellow classmates while using diametrically opposed manners to make friends. The hostility associated with first impressions of Aycock usually changed after one became associated with him. The friends he made in his youth became life-long friends.[53]

Orr wrote that the University had little influence on Aycock: "His basic attitudes and beliefs had already taken shape by the

time he reached Chapel Hill, and while there he followed an independent course."[54] His interest in a formal education decreased steadily from his date of entrance. He was not interested in the academic courses of the University and barely met the requirements for graduation. In fact, he wanted to leave school when he realized that he had to take certain difficult courses, but he was persuaded by the faculty to continue. His main school-related interests were composition and oratory for which he was awarded two medals upon graduation. His primary interest was the world outside the University setting.

Orr was undoubtedly right about the three years in Chapel Hill not influencing or changing Aycock's basic beliefs. However, during the time there, Aycock was allowed to practice and refine his oratorical skills, meet persons who would benefit him later in life, and develop certain leadership skills. One of the most important aspects was that Aycock was exposed to new and different ideas and lifestyles without undue risks. It is interesting to note that Aycock excelled in composition at the University, and was editor of the town's newspaper for three months, but after leaving school, he more or less rejected this means of communication for his personal use.

Lawyer. Six months after being graduated from the University, Aycock passed an oral examination given by two justices of the State Supreme Court and received his license to practice law. In January, 1881, he and a friend, Frank Arthur Daniels, opened their practice in Goldsboro in Aycock's home county.

With the exception of his term as governor, Aycock earned his livelihood practicing his chosen profession. He gained a reputation early for fighting for the rights of individuals. The courtroom tactics used to defend his clients were considered controversial by even his closest friends. After considerable deliberation and with the support of other lawyers, his partner told Aycock that he was seen as too competitive, too critical, and "too hard on folks."[55] Aycock discounted the observation with a laugh and continued to behave in the same manner. He enjoyed the courtroom and used it as his private stage to perform for those present.

Husband. Orr wrote that Aycock met the Woodard sisters when he was attending school in Wilson. In 1881, he married Varina who was twenty years of age; he was twenty-one. Varina died in 1889, leaving Aycock with two young children. After two years of widowhood, Aycock married Varina's younger sister Cora.[56] Since there were few references to either wife in Aycock's biography, one readily concluded that the wives played functional roles. They apparently were not driving forces behind the scenes, but were supportive as needed.

Father. Charles B. Aycock, like his own father, had ten children. He experienced emotional trauma as a father when his first-born son died in infancy and his second-born son died at the age of eighteen while a student at the University of North Carolina. This event occurred during the first year of Aycock's term as governor.[57] When Aycock died in 1912, he left eight children

ranging from three to twenty-five years of age. He had accumulated little financial wealth, leaving his family to make its own way.

There was little reference to the Aycock family in the biography. It was mentioned that his family accompanied him on some vacations; however, he more often went alone.

School superintendent. In June, 1881, Aycock, a young struggling lawyer of twenty-one years of age, was named Superintendent of Wayne County Public Schools. He was selected in a joint meeting of the county commissioners and magistrates over a number of well qualified educators who had applied and were considered for the position. Prior to the appointment, Aycock had been actively engaged in a movement to establish free tax-supported schools for each race in the county. The movement had not been initiated by Aycock, but he sincerely supported the cause as he campaigned to convince voters of the need for the public school system. His hard work was rewarded with a political appointment to a public office. This was the first of such political rewards.[58]

School board member. In 1887, Aycock was appointed to the school board for the Goldsboro City Schools. He served on the board as long as he lived in Goldsboro, which was until January, 1901, when he moved to Raleigh as governor. His experiences as a school board member were instrumental in formulating his ideas regarding education. He learned that education was more than reading and writing. He also discovered during this time that it was possible for blacks and whites to work together for the common, but separate, cause of education.[59]

United States district attorney. Charles Aycock was once
again politically rewarded in 1893. He was appointed to serve as a
United States District Attorney for his efforts on the hustings to
help elect Grover Cleveland president of the United States.[60] Prior
to the actual appointment, Aycock experienced many anxious moments,
almost resorting to begging for the appointment. When it came, he
wrote a letter of apology for his uncustomary display of personal
and emotional reactions to the delay in receiving the appointment.[61]
He had wanted the position desperately for many reasons. The
prestige and contacts would be desirous fringe benefits for one who
aspired to be a United States Senator. In addition, a regular in-
come to care for a growing family would provide financial security
needed at the time.

Aycock took the position of District Attorney seriously enough
and did competent work. However, he did not fully use his talents
and abilities. Orr described his service in this manner:

> He was far more dynamic and inventive as an advocate of
> the rights of the people under the law than as a prosecutor
> for the government. He cherished freedom too much to be
> the most effective law enforcement officer. Although he
> handled the customary obligations of his office with care,
> he did not introduce reforms or study new areas of crime.
> He accepted his business largely as it came. He was compe-
> tent without being an innovator.[62]

The position as a United States District Attorney gave Aycock
an opportunity to broaden his political base. He felt that his
personal ambition to become a United States Senator would be more
easily attained as a result of this experience. Aycock apparently
did not fully realize the role that the political party machine

would play in his life. Just because he did not want to acknowledge its existence did not make it ineffective. Aycock would become aware, too late, that he was not in full control of his political life.

Governor. From January, 1901 to January, 1905, Aycock served as governor of the State of North Carolina. It was not a role he had actively sought, or even wanted, but one which he accepted when convinced by the party leaders that he was the peoples' choice. As shown in the section on "Leadership Opportunities," Aycock appeared to be a figurehead governor. However, it must be stated that this was the commonly accepted perception of the governorship at that time. He was simply playing the role as he saw it.

Aycock was sure that he would win the election before he allowed the party to nominate him as its candidate. When the ballots were counted, he had won by a wide margin. In fact, in some precincts, he won by more votes than there were registered voters.[63] Aycock would later justify this action, saying it was for the good of society. The ends justified the means for Aycock; according to Burns, however, a good leader is as concerned about the morality of the means as of the ends.

Party leader. Aycock's rise to eminence in the party was steady. He began his active participation in his early twenties as a local speaker on issues raised by others. He rarely initiated a controversial or innovative political topic, but was willing to speak out for the view his party supported. His fame as a speaker

spread; he was asked to campaign for candidates whose oratorical skills were less effective than his. He was an excellent entertainer, and people went to enjoy his speeches as much as to be informed about the issues and views of the Democratic Party.

Aycock's peak as a party leader within the state came in the years prior to being elected governor. This was the time the party needed him the most. More than a leader, he could be considered a supporter and representative of the party. He believed in the party above all other things, and used his power of words to persuade others to also support the party. Rarely, if ever, did he conceive of and initiate any program. He simply recommended the expansion of or slight reforms in ongoing programs. Whatever he did, Aycock had the good of the party uppermost in his thoughts.

Aycock's roles in society were, for the most part, related to politics. His behaviors in each remained within the expectations of society. He appeared to have been most comfortable in the role of lawyer and the least comfortable as governor. He experienced conflict in several of the roles which is pointed out in the following section.

Self-Concept

Burns wrote that the need for status, recognition, or esteem is a potent source of political motivation evident in the careers of leaders. The degree may vary in individuals and is often more evident when pathological. Biographers often dwell on the pathological or deviant behaviors of "the great."[64] All persons, the

great and the nongreat, experience psychological trauma at some
point in their lives. How they cope with it is a most revealing
aspect of their character. Persons who react in a manner which is
interpreted to be deviant may become famous, or infamous, as the
case may be, but may not be a leader in the truest sense of the
description. Burns explained that in most cultures, leaders exhibit
"prudence, calculation, and management,"[65] as opposed to uncontroll-
able ambition or irrational, immoral, or aggressive behaviors.

A. H. Maslow believed that all individuals have a need for
"stable, firmly based, usually high evaluation of themselves, for
self-respect or self-esteem, and for the esteem of others."[66] If
this need is not met through normal and conventional channels of
the home, school, or community, the deprived individual may seek,
in his own way, to fill the void. Psychobiographers often look for
signs of low self-esteem and theorize as to the causes. They then
attempt to find a cause-effect relationship. One example of this
process was Woodrow Wilson's perception of his childhood relation-
ship with his parents. According to researchers, Alexander and
Juliette George, Wilson's perception that his parents considered
him ugly and stupid was the basis for "his later unappeasable need
for affection and power."[67] Other factors, of course, must enter
the picture. Poor self-concept is inadequate as a theory to explain
motivation for achieving fame and recognition as a leader.

One other important factor involved in obtaining leadership
status is achievement orientation. Walter Mishel wrote that

"(P)ersons who are highly oriented to achievement and who are anxious
to avoid failure may react quite differently to failure experiences
than do people who are low in achievement striving."[68] The source
for being achievement oriented has not been discovered.

Aycock's biographical data concerning his personal life were
limited. His biographer did not attempt to explore Aycock's life
outside the political arena. However, there were clues which
revealed how Aycock felt about himself. Many questions were raised
for which there were limited or sometimes no explanations. Why
did Aycock perform poorly in academics at Chapel Hill? Why did he
feel the University should exempt him from certain difficult
courses he did not want to take for fear of failure? Why was he so
uncomfortable in the governor's mansion? Why did he refuse to run
for an elective office (except governor), always preferring to be
appointed to a position as a political reward? Why did he take
numerous vacations alone to rest? Was he an alcoholic, as his
opponents rumored him to be?

Limited insight into Aycock's self-concept was gained by con-
sidering the factual information along with his role enactments as
described by those around him. As has been previously noted, Aycock
left no autobiographical data which, in and of itself, may be a
statement of his self-esteem.

Aycock, the youngest child in his family, was reported to have
been "the pet." The term implies that Aycock may have been accus-
tomed to having his desires met with little or no opposition, or

maybe even without having to request or earn certain privileges. One could conclude that preferential treatment early in life would result in one's assumption that life was this way in general. His early scholastic achievement without serious peer competition must have added to an early positive self-concept. His family's high expectations of him were additional criteria which must have reinforced, in the security of the home environment, his idea that he was an exceptional person.

Role enactment as a student at the University demonstrated that this early perception of self was either invalid or simply not strong enough to withstand outside pressure and competition. When Aycock arrived at the University and confronted rules, regulations, and academic competition, he had great difficulty adjusting. This new environment exposed academic weaknesses which resulted in Aycock's requesting that the University excuse him from certain subjects which he did not want to take for fear of failure. Aycock threatened to quit school, but he remained, taking substituted courses and barely passing.

At the University, Aycock had to achieve recognition and earn privileges by his own efforts. His initial tactics to prove his superiority in oratorical skills were not appreciated by his peers. In due time, Aycock would modify his behaviors and comply with the standards, written and unwritten, of the University.

One other observation which indicated that Aycock lacked self-confidence was the fact that he never actively sought an elective

office. He accepted several political appointments as rewards for campaigning victoriously for other candidates, but was reluctant to campaign for himself. His candidacy for governor was thrust upon him by the party machine, and he did campaign as a member of the team for the party. However, he preferred the party machine's appointment to the United States Senate for his loyalty to the party. He once said that he saw himself as possessing legislative leadership abilities as opposed to having executive leadership skills.[69] His never seeking an elective office could indicate a fear of failure or rejection.

Aycock presented himself as a most independent person; he rarely requested assistance, and when help or advice was offered, it was most likely to be refused. He was very sensitive to criticism; even his closest political friends hesitated to approach him with constructive comments regarding his speeches, courtroom tactics, or lifestyle.

Aycock's methodology for dealing with conflict is discussed in a later section. Let it be simply stated here that when the conflict was perceived as personal, he would usually retreat. If the conflict was a legal matter, he delighted in dealing with the issue head-on in the courtroom. In that protected arena, he was acting as a broker for someone else who experienced conflict.

Aycock's feelings of discomfort in the governor's office and mansion may have been a reflection of his self-concept or it may have resulted from a feeling of unworthiness for the office since

unethical strategies were used to get there. Aycock's secretary,
Patrick Murphey Pearsall, recalled that Aycock informed him "that
they were in partnership together."[70] Pearsall furthermore wrote
that Aycock did not like being left alone in the office, and usually
kept the doors to the office open. Pearsall, in fact, did become a
partner of the governor. He was involved in helping Aycock make
decisions and even made decisions for the governor in his absence.
Pearsall felt secure enough as the partner to argue with Aycock in
public until Aycock requested that he not do so.[71]

Whether or not Aycock was an alcoholic may never be known. By
his own account, and with the disapproval of close friends, he did
drink and enjoyed it, despite his public commitment to prohibition.
His political opponents had planned to use this information against
him in his campaign for the Senate.[72] It was common knowledge that
Aycock took numerous long vacations to resorts to rest and spent
long periods of time in the hospital for fatigue. The actual medi-
cal reason for these stays was not given.

The above illustrations were not used to conclude that Aycock
saw himself in a negative manner. He did not. In fact, he probably
knew himself very well, and was aware of his strengths as well as
his weaknesses.

His public admired him greatly. His magnetic personality
attracted people of different political parties to his speeches.
He was viewed as a man of great "character and political ability."[73]
How he actually felt about himself was probably never considered by

his followers or the press. How the followers and potential voters felt about the man was the main concern. Whether or not he could represent the party and win for the party was the ultimate goal.

Healthy and Sustaining Relationships

Burns wrote that scholars should consider delving into the more positive relationships in the lives of leaders. From this course, data might emerge to assist in the development of theories of leadership.[74] Burns did not specify that these studied relationships be restricted to a particular age period. However, a review of the literature indicated that more emphasis was placed on relationships in the early developmental phase of life, or childhood. When healthy and sustaining relationships among adults were discussed, the failure or success of the relationship was often contributed to similar situations which had their foundations in childhood. This approach denies that individuals continue to develop personalities as they encounter and react to given situations after childhood.

Apparently, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanon (Lenin) had a most normal childhood in which there were many healthy and sustaining relationships. Psychologists have yet to discover deviant pathological conditions which could be considered the stimuli or motivations for his revolutionary behaviors. Thus, it has been concluded that he must have felt secure enough to become a radical.[75]

As has been stated before, the biographical data on Aycock did not reveal much about his interpersonal relationships, leaving many

questions about how he may have related to others. Orr acknowledged
his difficulty in writing a complete biography of Aycock with the
limited personal material available. Aycock left few letters or
other writings which would reveal himself. Most personal informa-
tion about the man was collected from friends after his death. This
tended to make Orr cautious about using some of the information
which could be less than accurate and somewhat biased under the
given circumstances.[76]

It was fairly apparent that Aycock's family gave him the moral
and financial support he needed to attend boarding schools and the
University. His family, "which was industrious, intelligent,
economically secure, and respected in the community, offered him
the advantage of affection, encouragement, and open admiration of
his accomplishment."[77] One would assume that if dramatic patho-
logical events had occurred in Aycock's life, they would have been
recalled by someone. The lack thereof indicated that most
occurrences were considered normal by those who witnessed them.

In Aycock's adult life, there were several men who were
involved with him intimately, supporting him, and sometimes, pro-
tecting him. Three of these persons are briefly mentioned here.

Aycock's brother, Benjamin F., six years his senior, held
several state political offices. He served in the Senate for the
first two years Aycock was governor. Orr write that:

> Benjamin F. Aycock cooperated fully with his brother,
> Charles. Charles' causes were his causes, even when
> he sometimes had to act against his personal opinions.
> Though he might be busy, tired, or sick and though his

wife Sally might admonish him, Benjamin would try to
give aid whenever Charles needed him.[78]

Henry Groves Conner, whom Aycock met while he was a young student at Wilson Institute, became a life-long political friend. He served in the State House when Aycock was governor, and was a sounding board for Aycock. Conner was one of the first to forecast that there would be problems ahead for Aycock and the state if Aycock continued his "white supremacy" campaign.[79] Conner provided counsel to Aycock upon request, and they usually worked out differences of opinion in order to present a unified front.

Josephus Daniels, editor and major stockholder of the Raleigh News and Observer,[80] fellow classmate at the University, and an avid political supporter, was a life-long friend. He made a point to print favorable reports of all that Aycock did and said. Daniels fought many battles in the press on Aycock's behalf.

One would conclude from the biography that Aycock was a trustworthy and loyal friend. As an individual relating to others as individuals, Aycock was considered to be honest and above-board. He did not use his friends as pawns to gain personal goals. In fact, he was reluctant to ask his friends for the support he actually needed. Had he done so, he may have attained the much desired position of United States Senator.

The Making of a Leader

Introduction and Overview

How does one evolve to leadership status? Is it necessary to progress through certain stages or to serve apprenticeships? What constitutes leadership? What training is necessary, if any, to develop skills usually associated with leaders? How does one obtain followers? What relationships must be established between the leader and the led? In response to some of these questions, Burns wrote:

> Leaders and followers may be inseparable in function, but they are not the same. The leader takes the initiative in making the leader-led connection; it is the leader who creates the links that allow communication and exchange to take place. The leader is more skillful in evaluating followers' motives, anticipating their responses to an initiative, and estimating their power bases, than the reverse. Leaders continue to take the major part in maintaining and effectuating the relationship with followers and will have the major role in ultimately carrying out the combined purpose of leaders and followers. Finally, and most important by far, leaders address themselves to followers' wants, needs, and other motivations, as well as to their own, and thus they serve as an independent force in changing the makeup of the followers' motive base through gratifying their motives.[81]

This paragraph described the activity expected of a leader. It served as a guide for studying Aycock.

Using data available in the Aycock biography, the developmental stages of Aycock's rise to leadership status and his relationship with followers were reviewed; the motives or purposes of both Aycock and the followers were discovered; Aycock's power sources, as well as his use of the power, were explored. Since conflict must exist

for a leader to emerge, this topic was also researched. In addition to the social, economic, and political conflict, the personal conflict experienced by Aycock and his management thereof was a focus.

Leadership Opportunities

Aycock's innate intellect as perceived by his family and the local educators was the basis for his being deemed an intellectual leader in school. In addition to being intellectually gifted, he was talented in oratory and had gained recognition of his peers and school masters. It became apparent early that Aycock's oratorical skill was a source of power. His friend, Josephus Daniels, said: "He never rose to declaim without pupils from all grades rushing into the chapel to hear him. He had the manner of a born orator. At commencement the whole community was thrilled by an eloquence that defies description."[82] Another classmate remembered:

> His voice was not melodious and he was rather awkward in
> his movements, but when he rose to speak every person within
> reach of his voice listened until his conclusion. There was
> about him an earnestness, a sincerity, and directness that
> seemed to compel attention.[83]

Various experiences in Aycock's life were invaluable to him in the preparation for being in a position to lead. These experiences are given and discussed in chronological order. In the truest description of the term "leader," in some situations listed, he did not lead. There were no followers during this time; there were no common goals or motives. The positions he held were more positions of honor than of leadership.

Student. While Aycock was a student at the University, he had
several opportunities to take leadership roles because of his
oratory. He was elected president of the Philanthropic Literary
Society while a fresnman. He was also elected to serve on the
North Carolina University Magazine editorial board. The highest and
most prestigious position to which he was ever elected was that of
chief marshal for the 1878 commencement exercise. This occurred at
the end of his freshman year when fellow students, who were con-
sidered "sans-culottes" as opposed to being aristocrats, elected
Aycock to the coveted post after the first two choices were unable
to serve.[84]

Several other honors were accorded Aycock at the University.
He was used by the president, "to act as intermediary between stu-
dents and faculty."[85] At commencement exercises, he was awarded
medals in oratory and composition.

For several months during his senior year, Aycock edited and
managed the Chapel Hill small weekly paper, Ledger. He learned how
to express himself in the editorials which he wrote, and also that
a newspaper can be a source of power. His editorials reflected
that Aycock was more interested in state and national problems than
the local issues of Chapel Hill.[86]

Lawyer. After Aycock graduated from the University, he moved
to Goldsboro where he became active in the Democratic Party. His
first political endeavor was educationally oriented. In the summer
of 1881, Aycock campaigned for a school tax to support public graded

schools in Goldsboro. The idea for public schools was not his; the movement had been started by others who utilized the talents Aycock offered.[87] Timing was a key factor: Aycock's law practice was not large enough to be time-consuming and therefore, he had time to devote to the campaign. Aycock, who was politically astute, was aware that the exposure of a young, articulate, grass-roots lawyer advocating education would be invaluable. He was right; Aycock was named superintendent. He held the position for approximately thirteen months, requesting that he not be reappointed, preferring to spend more time in his growing law practice. During the time he was head of the Wayne County School system, he attended a normal school and encouraged the teachers to do the same. He petitioned for a normal school to be built in Goldsboro, but the town was rejected as a site. He requested that additional teachers be employed to reduce class size. Whether this was accomplished is not indicated.[88]

Aycock may have been more of an opportunist than a dedicated educator at this particular time. Had he serious concerns for education and schools, he would have remained superintendent and fought for what he believed. Also, it could be pointed out that he should have not accepted the position initially, leaving it to one of the more experienced and professional educational administrators who had applied for it.

In 1887, an election was held in Goldsboro for a new school tax which Aycock actively and sincerely supported. The ballot also

included the names of the new board of trustees which would adminis-
ter both black and white schools. Aycock's name was included on the
list. As a member of the board and later chairman, Aycock learned
much about the needs and goals of education. Orr wrote:

> At this period in his life, Aycock viewed education
> primarily as preparation for citizenship. His pro-
> fessional associates, on the other hand, held the
> view to which he himself eventually subscribed, that
> the major purpose of education was to prepare people
> to live rich, full lives.[89]

Orr noted that Aycock advocated education for the blacks as
well as for the whites as long as they were separate; equality was
not an issue. For taking a stand for the blacks, Aycock was seen
"as an advocate of Negro education."[90] In fact, he was recognized
by the governor for his interest in education for blacks. The nor-
mal school for Negroes was moved to Goldsboro, and the governor
allowed Aycock to select persons to be on the board of trustees
with him.

Party leader. Aycock's interest in being a leader for educa-
tional causes was set aside in order to help restore his fledging
Democratic Party to its rightful place in the state--that was, in
control of government. There were other competent persons involved
in the advocacy of education at the time, and Aycock felt the party
needed him more than education did. Orr described the situation:

> Educators such as (Edwin A.) Alderman and (Charles D.)
> McIver were training teachers and arousing citizens to
> adopt local taxes; political leaders such as Aycock were
> championing education in the conventions of the Democra-
> tic party which dominated state government; and the
> Farmer's Alliance was responding to the educational
> leadership and at the same time demanding action by the

governmental leadership. But this harmony of interest, so effective in 1891, did not long endure. In 1892, the Farmer's Alliance, concentrating on economics and political rather than educational issues, formed the Populist party, which in 1894 joined with the Republican party to oust the Democrats from power. Thus, as the political parties wrestled over solutions to non-educational problems, the unity of sentiment necessary to the rapid growth of the school system was destroyed. Aycock remained loyal to the Democratic party, and in the struggle to restore his party to power, he was occupied primarily with problems of political organization and strategy rather than with education, except on a local level.[91]

As a matter of record, Aycock devoted seven years to restoring the Democratic Party to power. There were several token efforts made to support educational movements and school laws during this time. None was initiated by Aycock.

A second major reason why Aycock set aside his interest in education was that in September of 1893, he was appointed to serve as a United States District Attorney by president Grover Cleveland. The office did not lend itself to the promotion of education.

As has been indicated previously, the major talent possessed by Aycock was his persuasive oratory. He used this unrelentingly to rebuild the party. At the May, 1892 Democratic convention, Aycock "appeared in committee work, in intimate groups about the hall, and on the floor making nominations and motions."[92] He was elected to cover the eastern half of the state as the official spokesman for the Democratic Party. The party's gubernatorial candidate lacked oratorical power, thus Aycock was requested to engage "in the major contests with the champions of the other parties."[93] He was "assigned to the most important speaking engagements and paired for debates with the most prominent Populists."[94]

As early as 1892, Aycock warned that unless the Democrats remained in power, white supremacy was in danger. He was fearful that the Force Bill introduced by Henry Cabot Lodge would be passed if Republicans won. The bill provided for federal supervision of congressional elections.[95] This expressed fear may have been an indication of guilt for previously undisclosed acts of voting irregularities by the Democrats who controlled all aspects of the ballot. The Democratic Party was accused of vote fraud on various occasions. When Aycock was elected governor in 1900, there were numerous documented violations. No action was taken since it was so widespread and the persons who would be investigated were those in power.

Aycock's opponents easily recognized that the only issue the Democrats had in 1892 was the Negro. The Democratic Party was struggling to stay alive with defeats at the polls in 1892, 1894, and 1896. At the time, Aycock's oratorical skills were not enough to pull the party together. A major factor in the resurrection of the party must be contributed to the insight and farsightedness of Josephus Daniels. From his position with the United States Department of Interior in Washington, D.C., he saw a need for a strong favorable Democratic newspaper in North Carolina. With leading Democrats as investors, including Aycock, Daniels bought the Raleigh News and Observer in 1894.[96] There was a strong bond between Aycock and Daniels; they made an effective team for the Democratic Party to which they were dedicated. Aycock was an excellent speaker and made good copy for the editor who assigned reporters to cover Aycock's speeches.

In Orr's words, "The increased weakness and disorder of the Democratic party permitted Aycock to demonstrate strength and independence."[97] When asked to run for governor in 1896, Aycock declined. The Raleigh News and Observer gave no reason for his decision. According to Orr, Aycock probably realized that the chances of winning that year were not strong enough to justify his efforts.

In 1898, Aycock campaigned for the presidential candidate, William Jennings Bryan, and Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Cyrus Watson. When Watson was unable to meet his schedule, Aycock filled in for him. Thus, Aycock was able to gain state-wide recognition and support without having to risk personal rejection or defeat. His main purpose was to speak for the party; therefore, he was assured of support from other faithful party members wherever he spoke. The ideas and issues he presented were not usually germane to him, but originated within the party. He represented the party, and therefore, was relatively safe from personal criticism.

The integration of Negroes into the political, economic, and social world of the whites during the decline of the Democratic Party was a major concern of Democrats and others who advocated separate, equal or unequal, racial philosophies. Aycock and the party would seize this issue, reorganize their tactics, and approach the 1898 and 1900 elections as white against black.

Aycock was used, with his consent of course, to be the party's standard bearer in this campaign. If the idea to use race as an

issue originated with Aycock, there was no record of it. Orr

wrote:

> Many democratic leaders and newspapers were working for white
> supremacy, and years afterwards disputes still continued over
> who should receive the most credit for having chosen the race
> issue as one behind which the white classes—agriculture,
> labor, and business—could be united.[98]

The Democratic Party wanted desperately to return to power and

to maintain the southern tradition and custom of white supremacy.

The party needed reorganization and a "strong despotic party boss."[99]

This was obtained in the personage of Furnifold M. Simmons in 1898,

who literally controlled the Democratic Party for the next thirty

years. Simmons mapped out long-range plans for the party and its

leaders. This included Aycock's being elected governor in 1900, and

having himself appointed by the legislature in 1901 to be United

States Senator.[100]

By 1898, Aycock established himself as one of the prominent

Democrats concerned with the welfare of all people. Aycock felt

that the Democratic Party could best serve the people, and for the

next two years, he assisted in leading voters to the same conclu-

sion. Orr entitled a chapter in the biography, "Party Builder,"

which was appropriate when it was understood that Aycock was one of

many instrumental in returning the party to power. He had the

oratorical skills to manipulate the audiences; others had organiza-

tional skills to entice people to hear him. The roles played by

the News and Observer and the "Simmons' machine," as it was called,

must be given the credit due them in rebuilding the party.

The tactics used paid off in the November, 1898 election. The democrats "won a decisive victory, electing a large majority to both houses of the legislature and seven of the nine members to Congress."[101] Aycock continued to work for the party through the contacts he made with legislative members. "He helped to elect Henry Groves Conner speaker of the House and counseled the legislators on urgent problems confronting them."[102] It is interesting to note that Aycock worked with the legislators in this capacity, but when elected governor was unable to do so.

Although the Democratic Party had denied during the campaign that it would change the voting laws, this was the first order of business for them. Simmons and Aycock were instrumental in forming the piece of legislation which would be a constitutional amendment. It required a new registration, that the electorate be literate or prove they were "qualified voters on or before January 1, 1867, or who were lineal descendants of such voters,"[103] and pay a poll tax. Despite their denial of it, the amendment was aimed at disfranchising illiterate blacks, whites, and the poor. By limiting those eligible to vote, the Democrats felt secure in the perpetuation of their reign.

Since the grandfather clause of the amendment—the exception to the literacy test—would expire December 1, 1908, it behooved the party to educate all white males by then. The twelve-year-old males of 1899 would be the first generation totally affected by the new legislation. Education took on new meaning with the General

Assembly which had a Democratic majority. For the first time in thirty years, a direct appropriation was made for the public schools. And, for the first time in history of the state, the appropriation was paid.[104]

The Democratic legislature used its positional and legal powers to insure victory again in 1900. They "rewrote the election law, assuring themselves a majority of officials at every polling booth, and called for a new registration."[105] In addition, they separated the state election from the national election for fear that the trend to go Republican on the national level would affect the outcome of the state election.

Orr raised the question whether or not the Democrats had to resort to the racial issue in order to win the state in 1898. He pointed out that the Democrats had three other distinct advantages over the other parties:

> First, the Democrats had a much larger group of skillful,
> educated political leaders than did the Fusionists.
> Second, the Democratic party represented more white
> people and a wider range of white people than did the
> Populist and Republican parties combined . . . . Third,
> in 1898, the Democratic party, if sincere in its platform,
> offered a more balanced program for the development of the
> state than did the Fusion administration, which tended
> toward political subordination on non-argarian interests
> to agriculture at a time when the relative economic impor-
> tance of agriculture was declining.[106]

Apparently, the party leaders were not confident enough in their platform to eliminate the race issue or it could be that the race issue was their main concern and the other issues were superfluous. Aycock's strong belief in the Democratic Party and

white supremacy was reflected in the campaign speeches he made. He

felt it was the party's obligation to curb the gains made by the

blacks and to restore white supremacy. Orr described Aycock, the

party builder:

> In 1898, Aycock was at the point of transformation from
> a diligent party worker into a party sage and prophet.
> For eight years, he had served the Democratic party
> loyally without asking for an elective office. During
> the years of defeat, he had helped to keep the party
> from disintegrating. In 1898, he had been instrumental
> in rebuilding the party on a sound, durable basis, with
> regard for all classes of society. In his enthusiasm,
> he had waged a ruthless campaign against the Fusionists,
> a campaign in which he violated maxims of democratic
> government for the sake of restoring the white, Democra-
> tic supremacy which he believed indispensable to good
> government.[107]

Immediately following the above paragraph, Orr began a new

chapter entitled "A Vision of Progress," with the following com-

ments:

> The suffrage amendment proposed by the legislature of 1899
> presented Charles Brantley Aycock the greatest opportunity
> of his political career. Few political leaders in the
> history of North Carolina have been so favored by histori-
> cal events. He analyzed the situation perceptively, com-
> prehending the forces at work and grasping the nature of
> his opportunity. The role that he then played permitted
> him fully to express his most cherished ideals. It
> challenged his strongest intellectual talents and drew
> upon his deepest spiritual resources, but at times it
> drained his physical energies to a point of extreme weari-
> ness and fatigue. He had the satisfaction of giving him-
> self to a course, probably as completely as any human being
> is capable of doing, with conviction and purpose and then
> the pleasure of seeing his cause win popular approval.
> Never again after the elections of 1900 was his goal so
> clear, his path so certain, his achievement so unquestioned.
> He later succeeded in other specific areas and won many
> additional political battles, but in a broad sense, in
> regard to the full range of his beliefs and activities,
> he did not again experience any success comparable to the
> triumph of his leadership in 1899 and 1900.[108]

These comments were probably the most flattering and ambiguous
of those made by Orr. One expected to immediately discover
Aycock's "most cherished ideals," the "cause," "his goal," and the
successes "of his leadership." What followed was the plan to
nominate Aycock for governor in 1900 with comments from several of
the speeches made during this time. It was somewhat difficult to
determine what specific goal or cause Aycock had. Orr inserted
that Aycock had wanted to go to the United States Senate in 1890
and again in 1900, but party plans did not coincide with him. To
Orr, this was to the state's advantage for it benefited from
Aycock's direction pertaining to education.[109]

Throughout the chapter, Orr repeatedly reported that Aycock
and the party were most concerned with obtaining passage of the suf-
frage amendment which was clearly designed "to disenfranchise, in a
manner that would not be declared unconstitutional as many Negroes
and as few whites as possible."[110] Aycock firmly believed that the
proposed amendment was the best method for restoring white supremacy.
He defended the amendment in newspaper articles, as well as on the
campaign circuit. He united "the amendment, education, and the
future prosperity of the State into one inseparable issue."[111]
Aycock did emphasize that he would support and upgrade the public
school system if elected. In retrospect, it does not appear that
education was the goal or the cause to which Orr referred. It
appeared to be secondary and of importance only then to maintain
white supremacy and Democratic party rule.

The goal avidly sought by Aycock was realized when the
Democratic Party swept into office in August, 1900, with approval
of the amendment and amid valid cries of fraud from the opposition.
Orr made an attempt to justify the actions with, "Their cheating is
significant primarily as an illustration of their determination to
win and their conviction that defeating the Fusionists justified
the partial abandonment of ethics."[112]

Governor. Charles B. Aycock took office as governor in January,
1901, after having received approximately seventy percent of the
votes cast in the August, 1900 elections. The voters had also given
him a large majority of Democratic legislators with whom to work.
The suffrage amendment, the backbone of his platform, was also over-
whelmingly approved by the voters, most of whom were white males.[113]

Aycock had the backing of the people; he had a position from
which to lead; he had expertise and a plan approved by the party.
He was now the state's official leader. How would he respond to
the situation? What action would he take? Had he correctly pre-
dicted the natural occurrence of events under Democratic rule?
Would he be able to keep the promises made? A deeper analysis
of the biography helped answer these questions.

Most who heard Aycock's thirty-five-minute inaugural address,
of which half was dedicated to educational commitments, felt good
about having Aycock as their governor. Some expressed disappoint-
ment for not having heard a potentially strong legislative leader
which they felt the state needed. Aycock's political friend and

adviser, and speaker of the House, Henry Graves Conner, "foresaw grave problems"[114] ahead for the state.

Aycock as governor had the authority and duty to recommend to the General Assembly measures for its consideration. However, he hesitated "to persuade the legislature to act in conformity with his opinions."[115] When he wanted his points of view considered, he contacted key individuals who supported him and expected them to use their influence to disseminate his ideas.

Why did Aycock not assert and establish himself as a leader and not simply an administrator? Why did he not use his persuasive oratory to lead and to influence the General Assembly?

Aycock fulfilled the functional and limited duties of the governor, that is, those which were delineated in the constitution. However, he hesitated to go beyond those although it would have not been illegal to do so. He limited himself by his own interpretation of the office. Orr offered two possible reasons for Aycock's lack of leadership. First, Aycock had a _laissez faire_ concept of government. Government should concern itself with keeping the peace and providing educational opportunities for all. Progress in other areas—social, economic, and political—would then be inevitable. A second reason was his acceptance and support of the traditional concept of the role of the governor. Governors were more or less advisers to the General Assembly and not leaders.[116] It would surely be difficult for one who did not see himself as a leader to lead. Aycock had already established a pattern of being supportive

of ideas offered by others and rarely had experienced an opportunity to exercise leadership where it was least expected. It would have been out of character for him to violate the role expectations of the governor's office.

Orr described Aycock's tenure in office as two separate terms. The last two years saw a more aggressive governor, while the first two witnessed a governor of inactivity and hesitation. However, the actual accomplishments achieved through recommendations to the legislature were limited in both sessions. His credibility was most noted in his work outside the executive office.

According to the biography, Aycock sent only three messages to the General Assembly of 1901 regarding education. He asked the legislature to insure that schools were fully funded even if funds from other budgets were used. This request was rejected. His second and third messages dealt with support for the University of North Carolina and the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.[117]

It was not Aycock, but the elected Superintendent of Public Instruction, Thomas F. Toon, and James Y. Joyner, chairman of the North Carolina Teacher's Assembly, who gave the legislators direction concerning the public school system. The 1901 legislative assembly responded to their requests and revised the general school law in several ways. It provided for improved supervision, raised teaching standards, established standards for school buildings, and encouraged local school taxes.[118]

Other educational improvements sought and obtained by the
State School Superintendent and his committee included a revised
purchase policy for textbooks, the doubling of annual supplementary
appropriations for schools, libraries in rural schools, and addi-
tional appropriations for state-supported colleges.[119]

Aycock was actively involved with the legislative members in
two situations concerning education. First, he encouraged the
legislators to place North Carolina College of Agriculture and
Mechanic Arts under the State Board of Agriculture because of the
requests from farmers.[120] The motive for this move appeared more
political than educational.

Secondly, Aycock helped defeat two measures which would have
allowed schools to receive funds based on the amount of taxes col-
lected from each race, and to let either race in a given school
district vote additional taxes to support their schools. Aycock
saw these bills as being unconstitutional and spoke out against
them.[121] Aycock fought this same proposal throughout his adminis-
tration. The method would be unconstitutional, and he did not want
issues of unconstitutionality being raised. Had they been, he knew
that the North Carolina suffrage amendment would be declared
invalid.[122] The motive here also appeared to be political.

The Democratic legislators were determined to insure that
white schools would be superior to black schools, so another measure
was introduced. It would allow the distribution of funds from the
state to the counties on a per-capita basis. The county

commissioners who were predominantly Democrats could disperse funds

as they wished. The legislatures had interpreted the state constitu-

tion to mean that equal terms, but not necessarily equal facilities,

were required for both races. The governor could, and did, support

this measure.[123]

There were several other areas besides education which com-

manded the governor's attention during the first two years. He

recommended that a compromise be reached with the railroads regard-

ing taxes which would delay increasing their taxes until 1903. In

order to obtain necessary funds, the General Assembly had passed a

Revenue Act which placed the tax burden on land owners and business-

men of the state. Aycock's intervening for the railroad was seen

by many as being unfair and weak.[124]

Aycock had promised a fair election law in his inaugural

address. A new law was passed, but whether or not it was fair

depended upon the party being asked. It primarily strengthened the

Democrat's hold on the elections. It is not known how involved

Aycock was in the composition of the new law.[125]

Aycock had promised state aid for two road projects in western

North Carolina. Both projects ended in failure. Although the

state had made no commitment to roads, Aycock encouraged the Good

Roads movement to continue the work it had begun prior to 1901. A

State Highway Commission was created by the 1901 General Assembly,

but no funds were appropriated. At a Good Roads convention, Aycock

pointed out the connection he saw between good roads, good schools,

and progress for the state.[126] There was no evidence that Aycock
was a leader in this area; however, he was supportive of the idea.

Aycock's failure to deal with the party's platform on anti-
trust legislation, a direct primary law, and election of United
States Senators by popular vote was seen as a desire to maintain
harmony in the party.[127] He apparently exerted no effort or had a
desire to lead the legislators in these issues although they had
been specific goals set by the party which he now led. Orr stated
that by the end of the first two years in office, Aycock had estab-
lished a reputation for being a strong executive, if not a
leader.[128] Aycock had not been reluctant to make a decision when a
situation called for one; often the decision he rendered was not
one which was popular. He made administrative decisions; however,
he offered no guidance to the General Assembly; he presented no new
concepts or ideas for solutions to old problems. He maintained the
status quo.

When the 1903 legislature convened, there were many new faces,
but still a Democratic majority. It received the biennial message
from Aycock who had comprehensively outlined the government's prob-
lems, suggested recommendations for solutions, and encouraged the
members to take necessary action. The programs presented by Aycock
in the message had been selected from approximately fifty reports
submitted to him by various agencies and departments. It was an
impressive message, but apparently not impressive enough to convince
the legislature to respond favorably.[129] A summary of his requests
and action taken by the legislature are listed.

1. Aycock requested that the legislature increase appropriations for hospitals for the insane, and raise pensions for war veterans and their widows. No action was taken on these items.[130]

2. At the urging of the King's Daughters and Sons, Aycock recommended that a reform school for young criminals be established. This was not considered.[131]

3. Aycock pleaded for legislative action to halt lynchings and to provide domestic peace. To his dismay, nothing was done.[132] Earlier on the campaign circuit, Aycock had said that he would rather be "known as the man who brought rest" than the "educational governor of North Carolina."[133]

4. Aycock recommended a measure concerning alcoholic beverages, which was intended to placate the Anti-Saloon League and to unify the party. It was not accepted by the legislators who approved a compromise bill which was unacceptable to most people outside the General Assembly.[134]

5. The 1901 legislature had been unable to balance the budget; therefore, there was a deficit of $319,414.14. Aycock recommended that bonds in the amount of $500,000 be issued. A bond issue of $300,000 was authorized.[135]

6. Legislation to keep children out of the labor market was requested. The Child Labor Law of 1903, supported by social organizations and protested by industry, was considerably weaker than the bill proposed by Aycock.[136]

7. Aycock's recommendations for education were for expanded
    state facilities for the handicapped and higher education.
    Limited favorable response was given; some institutions
    received increased funding, others the same amount, while
    some had their budgets cut.[137]

8. Aycock submitted with his message the full report from
    State School Superintendent, Joyner, with his endorsement
    of all suggestions, recommendations, and requests made by
    Joyner for public schools in North Carolina. Aycock added
    one item: a raise for Joyner. This was granted along
    with the approval of thirteen of the fourteen requests
    from Joyner.[138]

Aycock had three avenues, perceived by him as independent and
not interrelated, which he could use to keep his promise to upgrade
public education. He could use his position as chief executive,
work with and through the legislature, or take the issue to the
people with personal contacts.[139] The Fusionists had correctly
warned Aycock in 1900 that the governor had no power to improve
education: "We all know that the Governor . . . can not even veto
a law much less secure its passage."[140] His belief in the separa-
tion of powers kept him from using the legislature. He simply
pointed out problems, made some suggestions, "and left them with
the responsibility of reaching the final solutions."[141] To accom-
plish his goals, Aycock would have to use the third option and go
to the people. Orr wrote:

> Aycock's major efforts to advance the growth of educational facilities in North Carolina consisted, not of his administrative efforts, or of his work with the legislature, but of his crusade to arouse the people locally to improve the schools. He determined to inspire in the people a powerful sentiment for education as a common cause. He sought to break down social, economic, religious, and even racial barriers, and generate a united movement. He resolved to talk directly to the people, and to talk again and again, until the citizens of each locality glimpsed the progress possible through education and became eager to sacrifice for local school facilities.[142]

This methodology was similar to that described by Burns of one who used heroic leadership without an ideology. Aycock offered psychological and emotional support, but no plan of action.

Ironically, it was a northern movement, the Conference for Education in the South, better known as the Southern Education Board, which helped Aycock reach his goals. The Conference selected Winston-Salem as the site for its fourth annual meeting in April, 1901. As the state's chief executive, Aycock was requested to give the welcome address. His reaction to northern interference in southern affairs was not overly enthusiastic. He diplomatically informed the press that he felt North Carolina could handle its own educational problems.[143]

Aycock later changed his mind. The Southern Education Board appointed to its executive board three of Aycock's former classmates at the University who had become nationally recognized; in February, 1902, the Board selected North Carolina as the first state to assist. Aycock gratefully accepted their assistance. He had spent most of 1901 reaching as many people as possible and realized that he could not accomplish his goal alone.[144]

He immediately called for a conference of educators from across

the state. Charles D. McIver, secretary to the Southern Education

Board, director of the Board's activities in North Carolina, former

classmate of Aycock's, and president of Normal and Industrial

College at Greensboro, presided at the meeting. The Association

for the Promotion of Public Education in North Carolina was formed

on February 13, 1902, under the auspices and sponsorship of the

Southern Education Board. Aycock, McIver, and Joyner, who was

recently appointed State School Superintendent, composed the

executive committee of the organization.[145]

The executive committee immediately began campaigning across

the state, urging people to vote for local school taxes which was

the major objective of the initial two-year grant received from

the Southern Education Board. The more Aycock presented this con-

cept of funding, the more convinced he became that local funding

was the better way to make progress in education.[146] Aycock used

his charm, eloquence, and dramatic oratory in his presentations.

Orr wrote:

> His popularity grew from his inspirational quality. Wherever
> he went, he spoke as if the local educational problems were
> the only truly great and crucial problem the people faced.
> By his contagious charm, conviction, and passion, he stirred
> the people's thoughts and feelings. When he had finished
> speaking, his listeners often believed that they must act
> immediately. They must raise money, build a new school-
> house, employ trained teachers, and send their children to
> school.[147]

The committee's recommendations, including Aycock's comments,

were not unconditionally accepted in all communities. There was

still widespread and vocalized opposition to education for Negroes.

Aycock counteracted with comments such as "The Negro would be

trained to vote and to work in commerce and industry . . . ."[148]

Aycock never conceived of, nevertheless contemplated, social or

racial equality for the Negro.

The audiences from 1903 heard a somewhat different theme from

Aycock about the purpose of education. He had previously espoused

that education was for the betterment of society. He now felt that

education was good in and of itself, that it was the individual

person who improved with education. Education was more than reading

and writing; it was learning to be the best that one could; it was

reaching one's potential.[149]

In January, 1904, Aycock announced that he would need to

restrict his campaign for education. It was election year, and the

party would make demands on him. Also, he knew he would have to

defend his administration before his critics at the Democratic State

Convention in August, and he wanted time to prepare for that

defense.[150]

For the record, the Executive Campaign Committee was not dis-

solved, but continued to operate from Joyner's office, sending out

information and speakers upon request from communities.[151] North

Carolina continued receiving funds from the Southern Education

Board until 1913.[152]

There were documented measurable gains in education for both

races during Aycock's term as governor. These included a slight

reduction in the number of school districts, increased number of schools constructed and in operation, increased enrollment with average attendance higher, a longer school-term average, additional libraries in rural schools, more and better prepared teachers, and increased salaries for all educators.[153]

Some unmeasurable achievements were significant and should be listed. Attitudes across the state toward education were more positive; a new pattern of school funding was established which included both the state and local resources, and the right of the Negro to be educated was preserved.[154]

It was difficult to determine to what extent Aycock was directly responsible for any of the above. He had stated two specific campaign goals regarding education. One was kept; the other was not reached. Aycock was unable to provide a public school system which after 1908 would have educated all white boys adequately enough to pass the literacy test required for voter registration. He kept his promise to devote his term to upbuilding the public schools, and was recognized for his efforts. Educators across the state bought and presented him a silver service on the day before he left office. One educator expressed "that Aycock had been more a teacher than a governor."[155] Orr probably gave credit where it was due. He wrote, "For seventeen years, 1902-1919, Joyner was the dominant figure, except for the three years he shared with Aycock, in the development of the public school system in North Carolina."[156]

Aycock, by the end of his term, realized that there was much opposition within the party, as well as outside the party, to his accomplishments or lack thereof. Aycock knew how to respond to this unrest. He prepared a speech to be delivered to the 1904 State Democratic Convention which would defend his administration and reunite the party. Orr was not sure why Aycock interjected the concept of a one-party system for the state into the speech. Aycock had never mentioned it before, and would not again.[157] It was possible that Aycock needed an issue which would distract from the main problem. He had used similar strategies in the past. Aycock was successful in his oratory to unite the delegates at the Convention in giving him a show of support for his administration. He had convinced the public that he was leaving office as a leader.[158]

After the governorship, Aycock returned to law practice in Goldsboro with his former partner, Frank A. Daniels. Aycock's questionable courtroom tactics and sharp tongue quickly returned along with an added "air of eminence."[159] Apparently, Goldsboro could not compete with the city of Raleigh, so in 1909, Aycock returned to Raleigh and opened a law office with Robert W. Winston. It was a financially successful move, and Aycock was able to pay off many of his personal debts.[160]

During the post-governor years, Aycock was influential to some degree in the Democratic Party. He insisted that he would not run for an elective office nor accept any political appointments. However, in 1911, Aycock relented. He felt that he could better

represent the party and the state in Congress than the present

senator; therefore, he announced his decision to be a candidate for

the United States Senate. At the time, it was an appointed posi-

tion, and he felt he had enough support in the state legislature to

obtain the appointment. Subsequently, the Democratic State Execu-

tive Committee changed the rules in 1912, because of the number of

candidates interested in the office; it offered a regular primary

which would force Aycock into campaigning for himself. He protested

the decision unsuccessfully.[161] His only hope to be a United States

Senator was in the hands of the voters. He would never know how

much support he had, for he experienced a fatal heart attack one

month later.

Aycock and the Components of Leadership

Burns' description of leadership, used as a guide in analyzing

Aycock's activities in various roles, gave several components which

must exist for leadership to have been exercised. He stated that

leaders must have motive or purpose, competition or conflict,

resources, and followers who are not only aroused and engaged, but

also satisfied. The goals of the leader and the followers should

be common or congruent, if not the same. The relationship between

the leader and the led is also a factor to consider. Burns des-

cribed how the combination of motives and resources equals power

and the responsibility required by leaders in the moral use of

power in reaching goals.[162]

The interrelationship, interplay, and the interdependence of these components made it somewhat difficult to isolate them for an analysis of each. However, it was attempted in an effort to better understand the behaviors of Aycock in his various roles. The components described below are motives, resources, conflict, followers, and achievements.

Motives

What was the real motive behind Aycock's offering himself to the people of North Carolina? Most references to Aycock in the literature associate him with his achievements in education during the time he was governor. This common association may have influenced Orr to concentrate on the numerous educational contacts and involvement that Aycock had. The question must be asked whether or not his involvement with education differed significantly from other educated persons at the time. The biography did not, of course, refer to this.

A brief review of Aycock's life did show that he actively supported education at the local and state levels. However, whether "universal education" was his primary purpose for engaging in public affairs must be questioned. Was this the greatest need of the people? Was this a common or related goal of both Aycock and the citizens? From the biography, it was evident that education was an instrument, a vehicle, or decoy for achieving what appeared to be his primary goal of establishing Democratic control in a white

supremacy society. It was clear that Aycock made no attempt to hide his real motives from the people. The inclusion of education in the platform would entice additional voters, and educated white males would insure the continuation of the primary goal.

Aycock's role enactments were supportive indicators that the Democratic party had priority in his life. His goal was explicit; but what about the goals of his followers? Whether or not the goals of the people were the same was difficult to derive from the data. Did the people of North Carolina want or need someone to restore and keep Democrats in power for what the party symbolized? Did the citizenry want or need a leader to restore their lifestyles to a pre-Civil War society? Did the people want or need a better public school system? Did Aycock correctly analyze the actual needs and wants of those he saw as potential followers? Would he use the available resources to meet the needs and wants of his followers or his own?

The biography did not deal specifically with the desires of the people. However, given the situation in the post-Civil War south, the people would be concerned with the relationship between Negroes and whites. The need to resolve or at least seek some solution to the problem cannot be denied. There definitely was a common need in the state--better race relationships--but no common solution proposed. The Republicans offered one alternative, the Democrats another. The Democrats wanted two separate societies, a repressed Negro society ruled by a white superior one. To reach

this goal, they would have to find some way around the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and deny one-third of the population its recently obtained constitutional rights. This common need in the state for better race relationships was restated or redefined by Aycock to include the solution to the problem. His goal and solution were the same.

What the state needed and wanted may have been two different things. The situation called for transformational leadership. In a dilemma, Burns stated, the leader should take the initiative to help followers understand what is best for them; to help them rise above the situation. The state did not have its actual needs met; therefore, it was not ready to move into the fulfillment of its desires. The south had just experienced unwanted reforms; Aycock was offering them, for the most part, something they could not achieve—a return to the prewar days. He had correctly identified the need for strong leadership. Individuals emerged, including Aycock, but no strong political leader was identified who could offer attainable and long-lasting solutions to the existing problems.

Resources

The major resources revealed in the biography available for Aycock to use in reaching his goals were rather apparent. No implied or subtle references to other resources could be detected. Aycock had for his use the Democratic party, the press, and his oratorical skills. These were intertwined in many combinations

with the sum effect being more influential than the separate parts.
Without a Democratic controlled press, the party would have had
limited means to influence people. Without a biased press, Aycock
may have not had the press coverage he received. Without his
oratorical skills, Aycock may not have been good press or been use-
ful to the party. And, so it goes. It was difficult, if not
impossible, to determine which was more important and helpful in
thrusting Aycock into some of the roles in which he would have
leadership opportunities. It may not be the degree to which these
were individually useful that is important, but the combination
was recognized as essential by all parties involved.

The above resources have often been referred to or recited
throughout this paper. It may be helpful to add additional comments
here to specifically document the use of these components as
resources.

Speech. Aycock's oratorical skills initially brought him to
the attention of the party and the press. Orr wrote that Aycock
was ". . . skillful with the weapons of sarcasm and ridicule. His
humor was as likely to be a sword thrust as a gesture of good
will."[163] Aycock, speaking without notes, would read the mood of
the people and then react to it. Orr wrote:

> He displayed rare versatility in style. He could use language
> that was simple and direct or he could weave passages that
> were intricate and circumlocutory. He could be coolly logical
> or dramatically emotional . . . . Aycock could readily switch
> from graceful, elegant expressions to the vernacular of rural
> audiences. His moods were numerous. He could plead; he could

scold; he could be humble; he could condescend; he could
revere; he could scorn. He could be gentle or rough,
amiable or angry, mild or tempestuous. Yet his sincerity
appeared to be constant.[164]

Aycock's opponents recognized this power, and the effect it

had on audiences. They warned each other to be aware of the

"shrewdest and most dangerous"[165] of the Democratic campaigners.

Aycock could definitely manipulate an audience by the manner

in which he spoke. He could also be very explicit and lead it to

take specific action. For example, in May, 1898, Aycock told his

audience that white men who had "love for their wives and daughters"

and "reverence for their mothers,"[166] had to support white supre-

macy. On the other hand, he could make general statements leaving

specific actions to the individuals. In stating that white men

needed protection against Negroes, he said, "We ask for it in the

law, but if we do not get it, we will protect ourselves."[167] With

such statements, he fostered anxiety, hostility, and hatred between

the Negro and the white, and later wondered why there was not peace

in North Carolina.

Negroes had been repeatedly intimidated by a group of white

men, wearing red shirts, and mounted on horseback, who appeared at

Aycock's rallies. Although Aycock never verbally sanctioned this

group, his lack of comment implied approval. He explicitly stated

his belief that white men must and should take necessary action,

legal or illegal, for protection of themselves and their women

from the Negro.[168]

Aycock's dramatic oratory was a major resource for him, the party, and the press. Aycock enjoyed public speaking and was ready to respond to requests regardless of the situation. With well-chosen words, a negative situation could be turned into a positive one for both Aycock and the party.

Press. From University days as editor of the small Chapel Hill paper, Aycock was cognizant of the power of the press. In 1885, he, with two other persons, founded the Goldsboro Daily Argus primarily as a voice for the Democratic Party. In 1894, Josephus Daniels bought the Raleigh News and Observer with Aycock and others as an organ to help build the Democratic Party in North Carolina. It reported favorably on all Aycock's activities and speeches, as well as contained editorials to support the party. The Charlotte Observer assigned a reporter to cover Aycock's speeches from 1898 through 1900. Aycock made a special effort to become acquainted with the reporter who became a friend. The thirty-two articles written about Aycock during this time were always flattering.[169] Aycock frequently used his relationship with the editor of the Wilmington Messenger to write editorials supporting the goals of the party.[170]

With strong supportive and party-controlled newspapers across the state, Aycock and the party could attempt to influence readers to any point of view they so determined. There was no apparent commitment from any newspaper to report the news objectively. Each party controlled certain papers which favorably reported its propaganda. The slanted news was in itself a source of power.

Party. The Democrats had controlled politics in North Carolina

from 1876 until 1894 when the Fusionists, a party formed by the

Populists joining the Republicans, gained control of the legisla-

ture. In 1896, the new party elected a governor. The Democrats

realized their party was in trouble in the early 1890's, and had

even thought of reorganizing under a new name. However, they

retained their name, reorganized, and returned to power.

A review of the party's history revealed that in 1876, the

Democrats removed the Reconstruction Republicans from power with

basically the same platform it would adopt in 1898 and 1900, when

it again would regain power from Republicans. In 1876, the Demo-

cratic party proposed thirty race-related constitutional amendments

which were eventually radified. Orr summarized the amendments in

this statement:

> The most important amendments, all of which were designed
> to strengthen race barriers and weaken the Republican party,
> provided for separate schools for the races, stipulated that
> magistrates were to be elected by the legislature rather
> than by popular vote, and authorized the legislature to
> alter the system of local government.[171]

The legislature, controlled by the Democrats, appointed magistrates

(Democrats, of course) who were given authority to appoint (Demo-

cratic) county commissioners who in turn "manipulated county elec-

tion machinery to ensure the re-election of a Democratic legisla-

ture."[172]

The Democratic Party had used the issue of race and white

supremacy as the main issue in obtaining power in 1876. The tactics

employed by the party to win were not given in the biography.

Whatever solutions were proposed to resolve the problems apparently were not totally effective or implemented, for Aycock was using the issue again in 1888. This was the first time that Aycock had been requested by the party to campaign outside the local area. He was assigned the nine counties which constituted the Congressional District in which he lived. His main objective, designated by the party, was to generate support for the national Democratic ticket and defend the local system of government established by the Democrats in 1876. In doing so, he used the argument that rule by the superior whites would lead to better government for all.[173]

The Democratic Party began losing its political hold on certain factions in the early 1890's. The weakened party had to be rebuilt with a broader platform which would appeal to all classes of society. It could no longer depend on a single issue to entice delinquent members back and to obtain new members. The party selected Furnifold M. Simmons as the state party chairman in 1898, for his organizational skills and the potential to be a strong despotic party boss. He fulfilled the expectations; for the next thirty years, he would control the party.[174]

Victory at the polls in 1898, which returned the Democrats to a majority in the legislature, was described by Aycock: "It is a glorious victory that we have won and the very extent of it frightens me. We shall need wisdom to prove ourselves worthy of it."[175] His concern was justified. The Democrats had used power to gain control almost to the extent of being considered power wielders.

They would do the same in 1900. With their strategies, they had
stimulated or created situations which could not be resolved through
legislation. The hatred, the tension, and the hostility between the
races would continue for years to come. One observer noted that the
racial conflict was not resolved, only postponed.[176]

Aycock's personal skills, the Democratic Party, and the press
were used extensively to reach the common goal of the party and
Aycock. The people had been convinced that the satisfaction of the
party's goals would be a means of satisfying the needs of the state.
Orr described Aycock's belief in and commitment to his goal:

> In his opinion, the (suffrage) amendment would restore
> and secure white supremacy, and it would weaken the
> Fusion opposition to the Democratic party. At the same
> time, the amendment would benefit all of the people by
> promoting racial peace, accelerating educational progress,
> encouraging economic growth, reducing political corruption,
> and creating an atmosphere conducive to constructive
> political thought.[177]

Aycock sincerely believed that he was right in forecasting
natural events which would evolve under the rule of the Democratic
Party. Orr wrote that Aycock felt the ends justified the means and
never felt any guilt over his use of power.[178]

Conflict

Burns included conflict or competition as a prerequisite for
an individual, a party, or other structured organization to offer
alternative solutions to a problem. If there are no alternative
solutions to the problem, conflict does not exist; an administrative
act, not leadership, is required. When there is only one solution

to a given problem, no decision making is required. One simply

does what must be done in the situation. Conflict does not exist.

If conflict is absent, or not obvious, and one wants to assert him-

self over others, conflict must be created, exaggerated, or

illuminated.

As the biography was analytically read, conflicts encountered

by Aycock were noted. An attempt was made to determine if the con-

flicts were real, and if realistic and obtainable solutions were

offered. It was interesting to discover three different types of

conflict with which Aycock was involved. First, there was the

natural political conflict between two parties which proposed dif-

ferent governmental solutions to the economic and societal problems.

A second type was the conscious personal conflict experienced by

Aycock. The third type appears to have been an unconscious conflict

which was revealed in differences between what Aycock believed,

what he said, and what he did. The combined conflicts help account

for many of Aycock's behaviors, aid in understanding his goals, and

explain why he had difficulty in reaching them.

Political conflict. The social, economical, and political

systems in the south had recently experienced reforms. Aycock was

one of many who continued to protest through the political system.

Conflict between the two major parties pivoted on the racial issue.

The Democrats wanted a white elitist government; the Republicans

wanted a representative government elected by a majority of the

citizenry. The Republicans wanted to incorporate the Negro into

society and politics; the Democrats wanted him excluded.

The racial issue was a problem. Whether it was the major problem of the south is not the question here; it was made the overriding issue by the Democrats. Their opponents recognized this, and accused them of having no other issue. Comments made by Aycock on the campaign trail substantiated the charge:

> I come to you today in behalf of the manhood and womanhood of Eastern North Carolina, in behalf of the goddess of Democracy, the white womanhood of the State and I appeal to you to come to their relief.[179]

> I cannot tell you how many thousands of wives and daughters of white farmers in Eastern North Carolina are afraid to go along the public roads of today.[180]

As would be expected, racial tensions increased with comments such as the above which were given wide press coverage. The tensions resulted in confrontations between blacks and whites which were used as documentation that there were racial problems in the state.[181]

The economic problems of the state were forced into a secondary role to the social and political conflicts. However, when the question of economics arose, there were alternative proposals offered by the parties. For example, the Republicans wanted high protective tariffs; the Democrats wanted tariffs abolished. The real economic needs may have never been addressed by either party.

The people did have an option of solutions offered by the parties. However, the method of expressing their choice--the ballot box--was under control of the Democratic Party. So, whether the individual citizen spoke, or whether it was the party, may never be determined.

Personal conflicts. When Aycock was confronted with circum-
stances in which he felt he was or would be personally rejected or
embarrassed, he often resorted to withdrawal or the threat of with-
drawal. The biography gave numerous illustrations; several are
described below.

At the University, he threatened to quit school if the offi-
cials would not adjust the course requirements for him; he wanted
to avoid certain difficult courses. The University initially did
not relent. Aycock was persuaded by the faculty to remain in
school; he did, and failed the required course. Eventually, to keep
him in school, the University allowed him to substitute another
course, take special examinations, and receive a degree.[182]

Orr described a situation which occurred early in Aycock's
political career. He wrote a friend of his intentions to leave the
party because of conflict with the more dominant leaders. Of
course, he did not follow through with his threat. His loyalty to
the party was stronger than his personal political views.[183]

In 1890, Aycock wanted to be the party's candidate for the
United States House of Representatives. As was the procedure, candi-
dates were nominated at party conventions. Four names, including
Aycock's, were submitted; no man had received a majority of votes
after 177 ballots. Aycock, aware that he could not win, withdrew
his name from the race. On the next ballot, a candidate was
selected. Instead of potentially being defeated, Aycock turned
the situation into a positive one for himself. He was credited
with giving up personal ambitions for the sake of the party.[184]

Prior to the 1900 election, certain leaders of the Democratic Party realized that the platform goal of providing adequate education by 1908 to the entire male population of the state was unrealistic. They wanted to extend the grandfather clause of the suffrage amendment to 1912. Aycock did not agree with this, and threatened to withdraw as the party's gubernatorial candidate. The party members retracted their recommendations.[185]

After being elected governor, Aycock contemplated resignation three times because of opposition within the party. In 1901, the legislature proposed an obviously unconstitutional method for funding the Negro schools. Aycock opposed this. He was concerned that if it passed, it would be contested, which might raise questions about the constitutionality of the suffrage amendment.[186] The identical situation was repeated in 1903.[187] In both cases, the legislature did not follow through; Aycock remained in office.

The third time Orr reported that Aycock threatened resignation from office was in 1901. As chairman of the State Board of Education, Aycock had appointed a Textbook Committee of ten men to recommend textbooks to be used uniformly across the state. He accepted the committee's report, endorsed it, and submitted it to the Board. The Board rejected the majority of recommended books and selected their own. Aycock took this personally, and threatened to resign. He was convinced by friends that he should not do so.[188]

In 1908, Aycock supported a particular person for the party to
select as gubernatorial candidate at the state convention. His
choice was rejected by the delegates. Aycock wrote a friend of his
intentions to withdraw from political involvements with the excep-
tion of voting.[189]

It is difficult to draw conclusions with the information pre-
sented about the psychology involved in using this method to handle
conflict. The behavior does provoke curiosity. Was Aycock emulat-
ing the earlier behavior of his father? Was it an attempt to
deliberately manipulate others? Was it lack of self-concept or
conviction? Was this a continuation of behaviors learned early in
life as the "family pet?" Answers to these questions would be
helpful in understanding more fully Aycock's behaviors.

In two of his political roles, Aycock experienced some con-
flict. He had acquiesced to the party machine and accepted the
gubernatorial nomination for the good of the party. His prefer-
ence was to be appointed to the United States Senate.[190] That
Aycock was not comfortable in the role of governor was reflected
in his behaviors. Aycock apparently was unaware of changes in him-
self but perceived that others had changed in their roles and per-
ception of him.[191] It was probably a combination of the two.

In another situation, Aycock had accepted the party's appoint-
ment as District Attorney primarily for financial reasons. Again,
it was a role he did not enjoy, preferring to be a defender of and
not a prosecutor of individuals for the government.[192]

Unconscious conflicts.   Conflicts of which Aycock may not have

been entirely conscious surfaced frequently in his biography by Orr.

If Aycock were aware of these conflicts, there was no indication

that he attempted to resolve them.   Orr's description of Aycock's

concept of political leadership and subsequent behaviors demonstrate

vividly discrepancies in Aycock's philosophy and actions.

> Aycock maintained that political parties should not divide
> on the basis of class interests, but along the lines of
> principles and objectives calculated to achieve the greatest
> well-being for the entire society. Parties should compete
> with each other in proposing the best plans for promoting
> the welfare of all. Party leaders should be men of convic-
> tion, but at the same time they must seek with detachment to
> moderate conflicts between social groups. Men who asserted
> themselves as political leaders must assume within their
> party the difficult task of defining the highest goals,
> accepting the goal upon which the conflicting groups could
> agree, and facilitating its adoption.[193]

Burns would certainly have no problem accepting this concept

of political leadership behavior.   He would probably add that the

value system used in defining the goals, the morality of the goals,

and the methodology used to achieve them are also essentials to con-

sider.   Examples of conflict in what Aycock said, what he believed,

and actions he took indicate that he violated his own concept of

political leadership.

Throughout the biography, Orr stressed Aycock's conviction that

education was important for the greatest well-being for the entire

society.   One wonders about his commitment to the conviction when

Aycock, without hesitation, dropped the educational issue when the

Democratic Party needed him; moreover, Aycock did not use detachment

as a means to moderate conflict between social groups.   Selected

events from the biography demonstrated the possible conflicts of
which Aycock was unaware. An example of placing party above other
interests was described by Orr:

> In 1892, Aycock was sufficiently prepared for a vigorous
> role in politics as a champion of the schools of the state.
> If the political pattern had not been disrupted, he might
> have found such a role much sooner than he actually did.
> It so happened that the role did not materialize for seven
> years, and during that period, Aycock's political interest
> focused, not primarily on education, but on critical pro-
> blems confronting the Democratic party.[194]

There was another way in which Orr could have interpreted the
situation. If the Democratic Party had remained strong and unified
with the continued support of the Farmer's Alliance for Education,
Aycock may never have been needed by the party. Therefore, he may
never have been given an opportunity to use education as part of
the platform to unify the party.

In the philosophy stated above, Aycock did not believe politi-
cal parties should appeal to certain classes. However, the Demo-
cratic presidential candidate in 1896 and 1900, William Jennings
Bryan, emphasized class conflict. Aycock strongly supported and
campaigned not only for him, but also with him, on the campaign
circuit.[195]

Another discrepancy can be observed in what Orr wrote about
Aycock's feelings for the Negroes and how he actually treated them.

> He had real affection for Negroes. He had assented to the
> Democratic policy of allowing the Negroes at least one
> place on the board of alderman of Goldsboro . . . . Aycock
> gave generously to Negroes who came to him in need. He
> defended them before the courts and believed that he, the
> judges, and the jury usually were predisposed in favor of
> them.[196]

Reading analytically what Orr wrote, it was clear that "affec-
tion" does not equate respect or acknowledgment of Negroes as
individuals for whom Aycock should initiate concern. He responded
to them if they came to him, which indicated a superior and
paternalistic attitude. Party loyalty had allowed his acceptance
of the Negroes as token appointments.

In the 1900 campaign, Aycock, inciting the whites to take what-
ever action was needed to protect themselves from the blacks, was
concurrently advising audiences to treat Negroes with fairness and
justice. The Charlotte Observer quoted Aycock as saying that white
men, who were "Agents of God Almighty," must "deal fairly with the
Negro."[197] Aycock's understanding of fairness was to remove them
"from government by force if necessary and restrict their civil
rights."[198] Aycock was definitely remitting conflicting messages
to the people of North Carolina about dealing with the racial pro-
blem.

It also appeared to have been a contradiction for Aycock to
have written an article for the News and Observer stressing "greater
toleration of opinion," "freedom of election," and "sanctity of the
ballot."[199] His own party was intolerant of opposing thoughts and
ideas, and had committed many acts of desecrating the ballot. Elec-
tion laws had been enacted by the party which restricted the freedom
of elections. One wonders if Aycock was cognizant of this conflict
of words and actions.

Orr pointed out Aycock's inconsistency in his philosophy of
governmental involvement in the lives of individuals. On August 6,
1900, he wrote H. E. C. Bryant, ". . . the best thing that can be
done is to secure absolute peace and quiet in the State so that
people can themselves work out unmolested their own destiny. Good
government and very little of it is the best government."[200] Two
months later, Aycock wrote another friend that he believed the
legislature must be involved in helping people work out their
destiny.[201]

Orr noted that the "strain of the campaign affected Aycock."[202]
Whether it was physical, mental, or a combination was not stated.
Aycock did have a heavy campaign which may have contributed to the
strain. One may speculate that his physical health problems began
to develop at this time. Orr wrote:

> He lived in cycles of accumulating fatigue and tension
> followed by a complete vacation at one of his favorite
> resorts. He was especially fond of Jackson Springs,
> where he visited for a week or two at a time. He would
> diet, drink mineral water, restrict his smoking to
> three times a day, and sleep long hours. Then, rested,
> refreshed, he would return to work again.[203]

One may also wonder whether there was also psychological
stress. Was there pressure to win at any cost? Was there guilt
over proposing an unconstitutional suffrage amendment to the people
and defending it? Did he feel remorse over the unethical tactics
for intimidating the Negro, keeping him away from the ballot box
for his last possible vote, if the amendment passed?

Regardless of the reasons, the campaign did take its toll on

Aycock. There was inner conflict which was not resolved. Aycock's

internal dissonance, Orr felt, resulted from the dichotomy of the

lofty idealism of political conduct he held and the behavior he

witnessed in the real political world.[204] This may be true to some

degree, but Orr did not adequately substantiate this concept. It

appeared from the biography that Aycock was a willing participant

in the activities of the party.

Aycock apparently did not have a well formulated ideology to

which he was committed. He more or less reacted to events as they

occurred which could result in ineffective and inconsistent behav-

ior. There seemed to be more conflict surrounding Aycock than

there was in society. Aycock's inability to resolve some of these

problems may have contributed to his being less effective as a

political leader.

Followers

When one is asked to identify the followers of Aycock, it is

difficult to immediately respond. One would most likely list mem-

bers of the Democrat Party first. Others include those persons who

provided healthy and sustaining relationships, white males,

supporters of white supremacy, educators, and the press.

After some thought, the responder might wonder if these persons

were followers of Aycock or of the Democratic Party. Was Aycock a

leader? If so, whom did he lead where? In an effort to answer

these questions, an analysis of relationships Aycock had with per-

sons who were considered followers assisted.

The biography related vividly how people responded to Aycock

and how he was observed responding to them. Many of the accounts

were taken from newspaper clippings at the time of a speech or

incident. However, there were numerous descriptions of relation-

ships given by friends, relatives, and party members after his

death. Aycock had few close, intimate friends, but those he had

were loyal, faithful, and supportive. Their comments would have

been positive at any time they were made.

Orr wrote that Aycock had built a reputation of responding to

the needs of "clients as they came to him, white or black, rich or

poor, powerful or weak, corporate or personal, innocent or guilty,

and advocated each cause with the determination to attain full

rights under the law."[205] This account was probably representative

of Aycock's relating style. He probably would not have become

personally involved with clients in most legal cases; the needs and

goals of the individual were already predetermined, and he would

not have needed skills in helping to determine or assess actual

needs. The role he played was one of a broker, helping people get

what they wanted however he could.

Aycock's oratorical skill was his main mode of communicating

with people. However, it was primarily a one-way process. He had

the ability to make them feel they were his friends, and that he

could identify with them, emphathize with them. He indicated that

he could also meet their needs, not as an individual, but as a member of the Democratic Party. When Aycock was on the campaign trail, he mingled with the ordinary people, stayed in homes of the common men and ate with them. He was able to make them feel he was one of them with both his actions and comments. He made each feel good about being a North Carolinian, a product of the Civil War, a southerner, and a member of the white race. He told them what they wanted to hear.

> In both county and town the people came to political meetings expecting and demanding an emotional experience. If they did not have it, they saved their plaudits for a speaker who could give it to them. Aycock always did. He had learned that "buncome" in reasonable quantities was injected into political speeches because the audiences like it, wanted it, or even demanded it. He had also learned that the listeners expected the speakers to eulogize the past. Aycock developed skill at drawing laughter with his anecdotes; he could inspire the men to uphold the traditions of the South and to protect their virtuous women; he could bring tears with pathetic stories of Confederate veterans; and he could arouse indignation, even anger, at the "dark days of Reconstruction," the Negroes, the carpetbaggers, the scalawags, and the persistent determination of the Republican party to restore the Reconstruction order.[206]

Aycock, through his oratorical skills, had a charasmatic quality which attracted people to him. He may not have been aware that people attended political gatherings to hear, see, and experience him. He would not have been impressed with those reasons. He wanted them to respond to the party and the party goals. He was willing to be used by the party as a vehicle to convey these ideas to the people. On the circuit, Aycock was able to relate to potential followers as politicians would be expected. Despite what appeared to be close relationships, they were politically inspired

The Democrats outlined their campaign strategy in their
state platform. Their plan was to attract, by various
pledges, as many white men as possible and as many Negroes
as would accept the doctrine that in the long run their
welfare would be benefited by a return to white, Democratic
supremacy. To the disturbed upper classes, the Democrats
offered efficiency, economy, and security of property. To
both upper and lower classes, the Democrats promised an end
to "negro domination." They invited the farmers and
reformers to note the Democratic platform, which like the
Populist platform, called for free silver, a new election
law, improved public schools, direct election of railroad
commissioners, and a just tax system.[209]

Orr did not specifically outline the 1900 campaign platform.

From the biography, it appeared that the suffrage amendment was the

platform although the candidates and the amendment would be two

different ballots. On the campaign trail, the Democratic candidates

and the amendment could not be separated. The amendment was not

only their platform, but was also the strategy to resolve all pro-

blems facing the state. The amendment was interpreted to mean that

the passage of it would result in racial peace, accelerated educa-

tional progress, economic growth, the elimination of political

corruption, and would create an atmosphere conducive to constructive

political thought.[210]

The one specific promise found in the biography made by Aycock

personally was, "If you vote for me, I want you to do so with the

complete understanding that I shall devote the four years of my

official time to upbuilding the public schools of North Carolina."[211]

Most of the achievements and failures of Aycock and the party

have already been discussed. Without elaboration, some of the more

significant ones are restated here:

1. Aycock and the party returned the Democrats to power.

2. Negroes were disenfranchised and removed from office
   through approval of the suffrage amendment.

3. The government was one of white, Democratic supremacy.

4. New election laws were written.

5. Public education continued to improve.

6. Aycock spent most of 1901, 1902, and 1903 "upbuilding"
   the public schools.

7. Racial and domestic peace did not occur.

8. All white males, twenty-one years of age in 1908, were not
   literate.

9. The state did not see significant growth politically,
   economically, and culturally.

Results of other promises were not clearly evidenced in the
biography. Therefore, they cannot be used in the final assessment
of Aycock. However, it was assumed that if the other promises had
been fulfilled, there would have been some mention of it.

Each of the first four achievements listed above should be
countered with the question, "However, did this achievement or
accomplishment lead to the greater implied goals?" The answer
would be negative in nature. If the implied goals had been reached
with both races involved, transformational leadership would have
occurred. However, that was not the case.

Measured promises and achievements indicated that some type of
leadership act took place. From the information presented, it was

apparent that the party was the leader and Aycock a follower. As

a follower of the party leadership, Aycock became a subleader in

the hierarchy of the institutional political bureaucracy. In these

roles as subleader and in positions of authority, Aycock exhibited

many of the behaviors Burns used in his descriptions of transac-

tional leadership. In the context of education, again Aycock was a

supporter not a leader. He left the formulation of plans for

improvement to others, and then used his talents to motivate the

public. The leadership behaviors, using Burns' typologies as a

guide, are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV ENDNOTES

[1]Oliver H. Orr, Jr., Charles Brantley Aycock (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1961), p. 310.

[2]Orr, p. vi.

[3]Orr, p. vi.

[4]Dankwart A. Rustow, "The Study of Leadership," Philosophers and Kings: Studies In Leadership, ed. Dankwart A. Rustow (New York: George Braziller, 1970), p. 6.

[5]James MacGregor Burns, Leadership (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), p. 60.

[6]Burns, pp. 60-61.

[7]Burns, p. 65.

[8]Orr, p. 4.

[9]Orr, pp. 4-5.

[10]Orr, p. 23.

[11]Orr, p. 11.

[12]Orr, p. 19.

[13]Orr, p. 10.

[14]Orr, p. 14.

[15]Orr, p. 31.

[16]Orr, p. 362.

[17]Rustow, p. 4.

[18]Burns, p. 63.

[19]Burns, p. 81.

[20]Burns, p. 81.

[21] Orr, p. 19.

[22] Burns, p. 51.

[23] Orr, p. 18.

[24] Orr, p. 12.

[25] Orr, p. 10.

[26] Burns, p. 90.

[27] Orr, p. 3.

[28] Orr, p. 11.

[29] Orr, p. 6.

[30] Orr, pp. 13-14.

[31] Orr, p. 14.

[32] Orr, p. 15.

[33] Orr, pp. 60-61.

[34] Orr, pp. 6-7.

[35] Orr, p. 26.

[36] Orr, p. 19.

[37] Orr, p. 18.

[38] Orr, p. 202.

[39] Orr, p. 259.

[40] Burns, p. 99.

[41] Orr, p. 7.

[42] Orr, p. 8.

[43] Orr, p. 8.

[44] Orr, pp. 7-8.

[45] Orr, p. 20.

[46]Orr, p. 25.

[47]Orr, p. 25.

[48]Orr, p. 20.

[49]Orr, pp. 25-26.

[50]Orr, p. 21.

[51]Orr, p. 21.

[52]Orr, p. 21.

[53]Orr, p. 22.

[54]Orr, p. 32.

[55]Orr, p. 41.

[56]Orr, pp. 36-37.

[57]Orr, p. 203.

[58]Orr, pp. 69-71.

[59]Orr, p. 74.

[60]Orr, p. 85.

[61]Orr, p. 94.

[62]Orr, p. 87.

[63]Orr, p. 182.

[64]Burns, pp. 112-114.

[65]Burns, p. 114.

[66]Burns, p. 95.

[67]Burns, p. 95.

[68]Burns, p. 96.

[69]Orr, p. 146.

[70]Orr, p. 200.

[71] Orr, p. 201.

[72] Orr, p. 349.

[73] Orr, p. 145.

[74] Burns, p. 56.

[75] Burns, pp. 55-56.

[76] Orr, p. v.

[77] Orr, p. 3.

[78] Orr, p. 205.

[79] Orr, p. 200.

[80] Orr, p. 98.

[81] Burns, p. 20.

[82] Orr, p. 24.

[83] Orr, p. 24.

[84] Orr, pp. 25-29.

[85] Orr, p. 30.

[86] Orr, p. 32.

[87] Orr, p. 70.

[88] Orr, pp. 71-72.

[89] Orr, p. 76.

[90] Orr, p. 77.

[91] Orr, p. 81.

[92] Orr, p. 88.

[93] Orr, p. 89.

[94] Orr, p. 91.

[95] Orr, p. 90.

[96]Orr, p. 98.

[97]Orr, p. 99.

[98]Orr, p. 112.

[99]Orr, p. 115.

[100]Orr, pp. 114-115.

[101]Orr, p. 135.

[102]Orr, p. 137.

[103]Orr, p. 138.

[104]Orr, p. 139.

[105]Orr, p. 140.

[106]Orr, p. 141.

[107]Orr, p. 142.

[108]Orr, p. 143.

[109]Orr, p. 146.

[110]Orr, p. 148.

[111]Orr, p. 157.

[112]Orr, p. 182.

[113]Orr, pp. 181-182.

[114]Orr, p. 200.

[115]Orr, p. 204.

[116]Orr, pp. 189-190.

[117]Orr, pp. 206-207.

[118]Orr, p. 207.

[119]Orr, pp. 207-208.

[120]Orr, p. 208.

[121]Orr, pp. 208-209.

[122]Orr, p. 246.

[123]Orr, pp. 209-210.

[124]Orr, pp. 211-213.

[125]Orr, p. 213.

[126]Orr, pp. 221-222.

[127]Orr, p. 220.

[128]Orr, p. 229.

[129]Orr, pp. 236-237.

[130]Orr, pp. 237-238.

[131]Orr, p. 238.

[132]Orr, p. 239.

[133]Orr, p. 235.

[134]Orr, pp. 239-241.

[135]Orr, pp. 241-243.

[136]Orr, pp. 243-245.

[137]Orr, pp. 245-247.

[138]Orr, p. 248.

[139]Orr, p. 299.

[140]Orr, pp. 168-169.

[141]Orr, p. 300.

[142]Orr, p. 308.

[143]Orr, pp. 310-311.

[144] Orr, pp. 311-313.

[145] Orr, pp. 314-315.

[146] Orr, pp. 313-316.

[147] Orr, p. 318.

[148] Orr, p. 322.

[149] Orr, pp. 324-325.

[150] Orr, pp. 326-328.

[151] Orr, p. 327.

[152] Orr, p. 333.

[153] Orr, pp. 329-330.

[154] Orr, pp. 332-333.

[155] Orr, p. 334.

[156] Orr, p. 333.

[157] Orr, pp. 251-253.

[158] Orr, p. 255.

[159] Orr, p. 336.

[160] Orr, pp. 336-337.

[161] Orr, pp. 339-340.

[162] Burns, p. 18.

[163] Orr, p. 33.

[164] Orr, pp. 117-118.

[165] Orr, p. 118.

[166] Orr, p. 112.

[167] Orr, p. 174.

[168] Orr, pp. 131-132.

[169] Orr, p. 130.

[170] Orr, p. 112.

[171] Orr, pp. 45-46.

[172] Orr, p. 46.

[173] Orr, pp. 48-51.

[174] Orr, p. 114.

[175] Orr, p. 136.

[176] Orr, p. 136.

[177] Orr, p. 149.

[178] Orr, p. 155.

[179] Orr, p. 124.

[180] Orr, p. 120.

[181] Orr, p. 128.

[182] Orr, pp. 27-28.

[183] Orr, pp. 42-43.

[184] Orr, pp. 58-59.

[185] Orr, pp. 169-170.

[186] Orr, p. 208.

[187] Orr, p. 304.

[188] Orr, pp. 304-306.

[189] Orr, p. 342.

[190] Orr, pp. 145-146.

[191] Orr, p. 201.

[192] Orr, p. 87.

[193] Orr, p. 47.

[194] Orr, p. 82.

[195] Orr, p. 101.

[196] Orr, p. 106.

[197] Orr, p. 178.

[198] Orr, p. 178.

[199] Orr, p. 150.

[200] Orr, pp. 193-194.

[201] Orr, p. 194.

[202] Orr, p. 180.

[203] Orr, p. 203.

[204] Orr, pp. 215-216.

[205] Orr, p. 39.

[206] Orr, p. 54.

[207] Rustow, p. 28.

[208] Burns, p. 22.

[209] Orr, p. 114.

[210] Orr, p. 185.

[211] Orr, p. 168.

CHAPTER V

IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS

Summary

In the preceding chapters, leadership has been described as being either transactional or transforming in nature with specific subtypes in each category. Also, a major section dealt with the lives of four men, assumed to have been leaders, because of their positions. The behaviors, actions, motives, and goals of the four men were analyzed with both public and private aspects explored. In this section, therefore, it appears not only appropriate, but essential, to compare Aycock, the subject of the analysis, with the three other men (Gandhi, de Gaulle, Nkrumah), and also to factor out the characteristics Aycock had in common with the leadership styles described.

Aycock and Transforming Leadership

For transforming leadership to have occurred, the leaders and the followers must have raised each other to higher levels of motivation and morality. This did not happen in Aycock's situation. He was part of a movement which resulted in the awareness and support of public education by more of the citizens. He was involved in the movement as a means to achieve other goals, not necessarily as a goal in and of itself.

In reviewing the descriptions of the various types of trans-

forming leadership with Aycock in mind, it was apparent that he did

have some of the characteristics of a heroic leader, referred to as

charismatic when mentioned earlier in reference to him. However,

he did not have an ideology. Burns wrote that a heroic leader

without an ideology was not an authentic leader. This description

more nearly fits Aycock than any of the other descriptions of

leaders Burns gave.

Aycock was able to develop a heroic relationship with the

people. He told them what they wanted to hear; he gave them the

psychological and emotional support they needed at the time. He had

them convinced that faith in him and the Democratic Party would

restore the state to the peaceful existence that it once had. The

citizens needed this security at the time; the state was experienc-

ing a crisis. The time was right for a hero to appear. Aycock was

heroic; he was charismatic, but without an ideology to lead the

people where he indicated that he and the party could. He had no

long or short-range plan of action to do what he wanted to do. His

personage was inadequate to accomplish the goal.

Another possible reason for his failure to reach his greater

goal was that his goal and that of the people may not have been

congruent. It was never established that the people had input into

the goals. Surely they wanted the peace and security promised,

and were willing to trust Aycock and the party to provide it.

Whether they sincerely supported the concept of two separate racial

societies cannot be documented at this time.

There were no apparent similarities between Aycock and intellectual, reform, revolutionary, and ideological leadership. In fact, it appeared that Aycock was almost an antitransforming person. According to Orr, Aycock had developed his philosophy of political leadership early in life, even before he was exposed to a variety of literature of political thought. It was an indoctrination which he had internalized in his youth. It did not evolve from being influenced by some of the greatest minds in the world to which he would be exposed through his readings at the University. He was not to be influenced. His rigidity was established.

Aycock's time period called for a transforming leader. But one failed to emerge. The timing may have been wrong for a person from within the political system to step forward. Republicans were blamed for the situation, and the Democrats fought it. The southerners had to become acclimated to the fact that they had lost the war between the states and that change was inevitable. But they could not accept it. Aycock and other political leaders wanted to return to the past. They wanted no change.

The state was reeling from transforming leadership imposed on it from outside forces. It was in no position to regroup for a counter-revolution with the north. The best that could be done was to find various methods to be defiant through the political system. The defiance was not strong enough to result in reform or revolution. Resisting the changes, as one observer noted, only postponed what eventually had to be done.

Aycock and the party were fighting forces larger than they. It was inevitable that they would lose such a battle in a democratic society. He and the party were instrumental in the suppression of the Negro for fifty or so years. He undoubtedly would not have believed that his own Democratic Party at the national level and a fellow southerner would be the leaders in overthrowing the unconstitutional legislation he had been instrumental in developing and implementing because of his commitments to the party and the south.

Aycock and Transactional Leadership

Aycock had several characteristics of persons who have provided transactional leadership. He and the party were only superficially involved with opinion leadership. In fact, it appeared that it was a reversal of the way parties and opinions are presently interrelated. Aycock and the party were the opinion givers; there were few opportunities for the voters to have input. They did not need or seek opinions; it was a one-way communication process--from the top party officials down. Party control of the ballot box also inhibited or negated public opinion.

Group leadership did not enter the picture significantly during this time period except when the Democratic Party became insensitive to one group of supporters (Farmer's Alliance) which withdrew their support and gave it to another party. This resulted in a temporary interruption of the control of the Democratic Party.

The Democratic Party could almost be identified as a bureaucracy. It was an institution in and of itself. It led through the party machine which was indigenous to this time period. The slow and unsophisticated communication system contributed to power being invested in one group of people. The biographical data used extensively in the text substantiated that Aycock was submissive to the party throughout his political career. There was no documentation that he influenced the party in any significant way with ideas or direction.

Aycock appeared to have been a frustrated legislative leader. maybe he would have developed into an excellent representative in the state General Assembly or the United States Congress. He had set personal goals rather high in the beginning. In 1890, at the age of thirty-one, he aimed for the United States House of Representatives without having held any other political office. He believed that the party would give him the nomination for the asking. He was apparently stunned by the rejection, for afterwards, he was reluctant to make additional requests publicly known and was willing to take whatever the party leadership wanted him to have.

Aycock did have some legislative skills. He had an air about him that indicated self-confidence; he had persuasive oratorical and manipulative skills, and he was politically astute. Nevertheless, there were other characteristics which would have inhibited his being an effective legislator. He wanted to be right and in charge. He did not necessarily need to have been the originator of

an idea or position, but if he supported it, there was no compromis-
ing. The records reflected that when Aycock was confronted with
conflict or opposition, he was threatened.

Whether or not he could have survived in the marketplace of
constant conflict is questionable. He had no record of being a
creative thinker so there is no foundation on which to base a
prediction that he might have become one. Consequently, he would
have been restricted to being a supporter and not an innovator.
Persons who are simply supporters of ideas developed or concep-
tualized by others often do not become great leaders.

Aycock may not have been strong enough politically, personally,
and philosophically to have withstood the competition. He found it
hard to use compromise which is a basic interaction and method of
bargaining used in legislative leadership. If Aycock had been able
to transfer the heroic leadership skills to a legislative setting,
he may have been effective. His unwillingness to learn from others,
accept ideas, and to compromise would likely have been serious
restraints as a legislative member. From the biographical data, it
appeared that Aycock might have been content with the position and
title of a United States Congressman, as he had been content with
the title of United States District Attorney.

Executive leadership was not really demonstrated by Aycock in
the role as governor. The primary reason was that the office was
not one with powers usually accorded an executive. There were some
bureaucratic functions which he had to fulfill, and he did so

admirably. He had no powers, and was not involved in decision making. He represented the state at various functions, delivered the expected addresses to the General Assembly, and made a few recommendations which carried no weight. There were no major situations in which he had to intervene. He did defend the state before the Supreme Court against a law suit; however, he was performing as a lawyer, not the governor.

Aycock exhibited several of the characteristics Burns associated with transactional leadership. But, he was too inhibited by internal and external forces to become a leader. He was more concerned with party goals and harmony, maintaining the status quo, than leading the government to serve the needs of the people. Aycock, unfortunately, equated the people of the state with the Democratic Party.

The potential may have been there for him to have fully developed into a transactional leader, but he could not overcome the numerous barriers. He had a strong personal conviction concerning the party and white supremacy. However, convictions and leadership are not synonymous.

Aycock did not have organizational skills, and he displayed a distinct dislike for detail work. He was not a creative thinker. He could not set attainable and realistic goals. He was motivational, but could not follow through with planning and direction. He preferred being a resource; he was not a risk-taker.

Some of the other inhibitors for Aycock lay buried in his past. He appeared to have a high need for financial security and

acceptance. He was unable to open himself to new information. He had relayed his commitment to the world, and he would not risk changing, even if he wanted to. He did not seek information he needed to make an intelligent decision on possible ways to resolve the racial problem. There was research available at the time to indicate that the Negroes were not innately inferior to the whites, but were a product of the environment. Their behaviors were learned, not inherited. He had group peer pressure to conform to the societal norms of the group members. He did not have the security to be independent of the Democratic Party.

Aycock Compared with Gandhi, de Gaulle, and Nkrumah

Aycock and Gandhi had in common a few traits and experiences. They both appealed to their fellow man to respond to the messages they were transmitting. Both approached the public directly; and both had charismatic qualities. Aycock used the press as Gandhi had used the railroads as a means of reaching people. They both lost their fathers at the age of sixteen. Both protested the legal system, and both were concerned with discrimination. However, that is where the similarity ended. Aycock protested laws which had legally ended discrimination against the Negroes and their second-class citizenship. Gandhi protested the laws and customs which allowed for the discrimination of his fellow Indians. Aycock resorted to unethical means to reach his goals. Gandhi did not. Aycock suppressed the rights of others; Gandhi was concerned with

the uplifting of suppressed people. They were more different than alike.

Many of the behaviors and characteristics of Aycock and de Gaulle were similar. Both used the threat of resignation from office when confronted with conflicting ideas. Aycock did not actually resign; de Gaulle did. They both had dreams of restoring their respective territory to a previous time vicariously experienced by them through history and the family. They established goals, and what they may have considered ideologies, early in life. Actually, it was in their youth, and they were unbending in this regard. The rigidity to their doctrines was noted throughout their lives. They both believed strongly in the separation of power; the executive branch should not use legislative tactics to influence the legislative body. Neither had a blueprint to carry out his goals; they reacted emotionally as needed to a given situation. They were both opportunists and performed as if on stage without a script, waiting for certain cues from the director, be it the party or the Republic.

Aycock did have a charismatic appeal in his relationship with people. De Gaulle's charismatic appeal came from his ability to predict what would happen to France and how she could be rescued. He then offered himself as the rescuer. De Gaulle was best in a crisis; Aycock never confronted a crisis situation of any magnitude. De Gaulle was extremely moral and would not create situations in which to demonstrate his leadership skills. Aycock created

explosive situations by his comments, and then offered to help
resolve the problems. Aycock was an emotional person, involved
with the people. De Gaulle was aloof, almost unapproachable.
Aycock believed that the ends justified the means. De Gaulle
created the image of himself that he felt the country needed.
Aycock let the party develop the image it wanted of him.

Aycock and Nkrumah were also much alike. They were considered
heroic persons without an ideology. Both were vocal with oratorical
skills which they used to manipulate audiences. They were emotional
and had tremendous appeal to audiences who needed the emotional and
psychological support. They both used questionable tactics to
obtain leadership positions. They had no plans for reaching the
goals promised the people. They were both more effective outside
the elected office. It was the behaviors in the office that
revealed the differences in the two men. Nkrumah became dictator-
ial, autocratic, and planned for governmental reform by virtue of
moving from parliamentary control with a prime minister to a one-
party republic with a president. He moved further and further away
from the people. Aycock was the antithesis of this. He had no
power and wanted no power. He interacted with the people as much
as he had previously and on the same level.

Reflecting

It has been stated previously that the biographical data did
not support that Aycock was a leader. Undoubtedly, he was loved

and admired by many individuals for various reasons. His close, intimate group of disciples and supporters contributed to the legend that is associated with Aycock today. Taken at face value, it is easy to understand how he was given credit for an emphasis on education. The party needed to recognize and support him in some way, and they were willing to accord efforts made in education to him. The real leaders of the movement were not seeking attention or credit. They were satisfied with the actual accomplishments made regardless of who helped them obtain the results.

Although the biography appeared to have been unbiased, careful reading and re-reading with an analysis of the events did seem to indicate an urgency on Orr's part to highlight the educational aspects. When Aycock could not be directly connected with certain events or progress, Orr would explain that Aycock was diverted by some other mission which had greater implications for the society in the long run. Aycock did support education. This cannot be denied. The support he gave as a popular governor was significant. However, he was not a leader; he was a supporter and a motivator of a cause started by others and which he saw as a means for reaching additional goals.

By using a sociological and psychological matrix as an approach to analyzing the biography, a deeper understanding of Aycock's behaviors was permitted. Although the findings are indicative that Aycock helped in the achievement of certain goals, he was not a leader. There were no significant social changes involved in the actions taken during this time period.

Rustow wrote that the perception of leadership changed with time. At the time, Aycock was seen as a leader. From the vantage point of more than seventy years after his death, and with an objective analysis of his actions and interactions, one can conclude that he was not a leader. It was assumed that being in a position to lead or the holding of an elected public office was equated with leadership. Aycock was heroic in nature; people were attracted to him. Leadership is more than position and personality, as time has shown. Leadership is concerned with values, morality; leadership is everlasting.

As shown above, Aycock had some characteristics in common with Gandhi and de Gaulle who were leaders in their time and are still considered leaders today. Aycock had opportunities to be a leader, to effect real change. Yet, he did not. What made the difference? Can it be linked with the type of goals set? From our western democratic bias, we define persons as good and effective leaders if the goals are elevating and humanistic as opposed to suppressive and demeaning in nature. Gandhi, de Gaulle, and Abraham Lincoln are such men. Those individuals who had goals of which we do not approve or used immoral means to reach acceptable goals are not referred to as leaders, but power-wielders. Hitler and Richard Nixon are examples of men who used their power for their own causes.

A question asked by Burns seems appropriate to ask at this point.

> We return to the dilemma: to what degree do leaders, through
> their command of personal influence, substitute their own
> motives and goals for those of the followers? Should they
> whip up chauvinism, feelings of ethnic superiority, regional
> prejudice, economic rivalry? What must they accept among
> followers as being durable and valid rather than false and
> transient?[1]

Burns answered his own questions in the next breath with the

following statement:

> And we return to the surmise here: leaders with relevant
> motives and goals of their own respond to followers' needs
> and wants and goals in such a way as to meet those motiva-
> tions and to bring changes consonant with those of both
> leaders and followers, and with the values of both.[2]

What it appears that we are doing is being judgmental of the

goals and the means by which they are achieved. The question arises

from this observation: Can leadership be value-free, or will it

always be described in different ways depending on the values of

the person describing leadership? It appears that values will

always be fundamental to leadership. Therefore, in studying leaders

or identifying potential leaders, we should concentrate more on the

person, his values outside the public arena, his code of ethics in

the business world, and maybe identify his own needs' level.

Concluding Statement

Using Burns' description, this writer has arrived at the con-

clusion that Aycock cannot be identified as a leader. However, this

finding was only incidental to the real discoveries of the study.

The procedure used to analyze the biography was found to be extremely

useful in obtaining an insight into Aycock's life. It may be

assumed that Orr probably did not write the biography with such an analysis in mind, and only with the approach used could some of the discoveries be made. The procedure supports the assumptions that the biography is a legitimate source for analyzing people who have been deemed leaders to either confirm or deny that assumption, or simply to understand the leadership better.

There are no expectations that these findings will change the perceptions or the myths that are held today regarding Aycock. They may be important, however, to those who seriously believe that leaders and leadership should be more fully understood in order to improve the choice of leaders today and in the future.

The study and the comments therein are not to be interpreted as an attack on Aycock or an effort to take anything from him. This should be considered a source for a fuller explanation of his successes and failures. Aycock did what he felt he had to do at the time. It was an emotional time for the state, a time of crisis for the people. Aycock was persuasive, the people accepting. Had Aycock possessed a strong moralistic, humanistic ideology which was uplifting for all segments of the population, there is no question but what North Carolina could have been a leader in the south in resolving the racial question. Aycock was a product of the time and reacted as such. He was not a visionary or a prophet as Orr described him at one point. He was simply a man thrust into a political situation without an ideology to do what needed to be done.

<u>Recommendations</u>

Rustow's and Burns' recommendations that additional studies of persons assumed to have been leaders are endorsed. Both encouraged interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary studies which give an understanding and an awareness that are often not obtainable otherwise.

It would be interesting to have one selected person's biography analyzed by persons in the various disciplines using their respective methodologies or a common framework. Studies might lead to the detection of some common threads on which a theory of leadership or leadership development could be built. Due to the complexity of the world situation, it is imperative that ways soon be developed for identifying those persons who will be able to lead, not only in the future, but now while there is still a future to look forward to.

In helping develop a general theory of leadership, the psychological and sociological approach of any well-known person should add to the knowledge base whether the person be a leader or not. A multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary approach is essential for a fuller and more complete understanding of the individual. No one discipline--history, psychology, sociology, political science --will be able to independently develop a theory which encompasses so many variables.

Personal Observations

This dissertation may never be read by anyone other than those who are required to do so. The finding may never be of value or interest to anyone else. However, the personal satisfaction I received from knowledge obtained from this independent and self-directed learning experience is invaluable. The learning was an exhilarating experience. Transmitting the information in the form of a dissertation was more difficult and less fun.

There were incidental discoveries which I would like to record and to share with the reader. In my readings and research, I developed a new appreciation for the terms leadership and leader. I have enjoyed being able to apply my new knowledge in my profession as the opportunities arise. I better understand the slow process of change in the political system and bureaucracy. I better understand my own personal and professional frustrations in the bureaucratic organization in which I work. I find myself searching for the hidden agendas (personal motives) of those in leadership positions when a goal is set or a decision made. Reasons for static conditions in the bureaucracy with certain persons in positions became clearer. The awareness of corruption and immorality in our leadership (state, local, and national) was not a new discovery. However, it was the painful reality of the prevalence that is a concern that I simply wish to express here. What is more devastating is the apathy with which we, the subordinates, accept and tolerate the immorality, and brush it off with a casual statement,

"Well, that is politics for you." But it need not be, and should not be. If the leader's values and goals are not above those of the followers, there can be no leading; there is regression instead.

The collection of studies of leaders in <u>Philosophers and Kings</u> was not only of interest, but was invaluable in providing some ideas for methodology to use in analyzing Aycock. Burns' book, <u>Leadership</u>, was a masterpiece which I had to read numerous times to grasp even a small portion of what he had written. I found that after I had read several biographies of leaders, I could identify the actions of the individuals with both the general and specific statements he made about leaders and leadership. It was in that manner that the book became more meaningful.

I had some difficulty with the loose description Burns appeared to have given of leadership and the casual use he then made of the term. He seemed to imply that any interaction between any two or more persons was one in which an act of leadership took place. That is probably true. However, in order to develop a theory of leadership, the behaviors must be somewhat more restrictive than that. A theory which would explain all human interaction would be undoubtedly awkward to utilize, or so simple as to be useless.

At first, I found it very difficult to refute the historical perspective of Aycock as a leader. I felt that the idea was unpatriotic, and that I should not put this in writing. I did feel that the party members owed him some acknowledgment for his devotion. They must have felt the same, and used his association with

education as the more acceptable way to honor him. After all, it would be difficult to recognize one who had assisted in suppressing the constitutional rights of one-third of the population and who had failed to restore the state to a previous time of glory.

I went through several stages of emotional involvement with Aycock. The first was intense dislike. I could not believe that this was the man recognized in the North Carolina history books as the educational governor of the state. His behaviors and actions were not congruent with my perceptions of a governor. How could we have allowed him that honor? Then I rejected him. I refused to grant him even the small amount of credit due him for his contributions to education.

After some time and with additional insight into the various leadership types as described by Burns, I began to feel sympathy for this man who had high goals for himself, the party, and the state, and had not been able to achieve them. How sad to be limited and blocked in one's dreams, hopes, aspirations.

Finally, I could accept Aycock nonjudgmentally and objectively as one of many politicians who gets involved in situations and movements and is seemingly part of a script written by someone else. What he did cannot be changed. Therefore, we must look at his behaviors, analyze what he did, and use the findings to understand political leadership better. In the final analysis, Aycock did make a contribution; he helped me understand and appreciate the art of leadership more fully.

CHAPTER V ENDNOTES

[1]James MacGregor Burns, <u>Leadership</u> (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), p. 41.

[2]Burns, p. 41.

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