

**SOCIAL SHEPHERDING AND MORAL NETS AS FOUND IN
SOME NOVELS BY FYODOR DOSTOEVSKY, JAMES A. MICHENER,
GEORGE ORWELL, B. F. SKINNER, AND C. S. FORESTER**

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Abstract

This article uses selected passages from the Old and New Testaments to illustrate the common presence of good shepherd and moral net themes in some of the novels by Fyodor Dostoevsky, James A. Michener, George Orwell, B.F. Skinner, and C.S. Forester. Traditional sociology texts and classroom lectures rightly address such topics as normal parts of social life, but usually objectively; novelists do the same, yet with much more passion. While no "a-ha" moments, statistical data, or tests of hypotheses are offered here, students of sociology are encouraged to follow Ogburn's advice to go outside traditional boundaries and sources of knowledge to find sociology and have fun doing so, because the stable templates of social organization are there to be found and made available to others.

INTRODUCTION

Sheep are often portrayed as being stupid animals, incapable of awareness, self-direction and self-defense. When in pasture, they need to be shepherded by human or by domesticated guardians, leading them and protecting them against threats. Good shepherds, then, know all members of their flocks and their peculiarities: They know the strong and the weak, the healthy and the unhealthy, the dominant and the submissive. *Social* shepherding is the process of guiding human flocks, and the expression has three foundations. The first is a combination of Judaic and Christian backgrounds that are used only for infrastructures, not as advocacies. The second is sociological, and the third stems from questions in psychology.

A theologically-based reference to the good shepherd is found in New Testament readings, specifically the Gospels of Matthew 18:10, Luke 15:3-7, and John 10:7-16 where Jesus is the shepherd over his followers. While those references pertain to the religion based upon Jesus' ministry, he lived in times of the Law and the Prophets (hereafter, Old Testament). Who, then, was the good shepherd for his neighbors and him? A menu of people in that role would include Moses and descendent leaders, but the list would be topped with God. Judaism's scriptures provide many references to God as a shepherd, and two depict vivid images of his pastoral and pastoral responsibilities: They are in the book of Isaiah 40:11 and in Psalm 23.

The second and sociological foundation is Davis and Stazs'

concept of a *moral net* (1990). A moral net represents the consistent underpinnings to social structure upon which human behavior and human interaction are based. It is comprised of mores, beliefs, and norms that allow collectives and individuals to create partitions separating truth from lies, right from wrong, good from bad, and the appropriate from the inappropriate. A moral net may have religious or secular bases, or a melding of the two. Once established, it can become an internal mechanism of social control when people accept it and treat it as their own; or, it can be imposed upon a population through forces of social power. Elements of the net may be eternal, or they may be changed as events, or as leaders, require.

The third principle of origination comes from psychologist B.F. Skinner (1964/1972a). Humans have certain moral commitments to others [resulting in obligatory acts based on existing moral nets]. Conforming or good behavior is achieved when appropriate moral codes are internalized. Sometimes, though, the morality of righteousness is nudged by those whose other-directed intentions may be questionable. He wonders, when does the moral or cultural designer become a despot (Evans 1968:47) shedding the shepherd's staff and creating tyranny? A second question asks whether or not the individual accedes to the imposed modifications of the new moral nets, or maintains the ones that have been acceptable? Answers to these questions can be

found in a variety of places, but I have chosen locations in popular literature.

This study investigates social shepherding in several novels by noted authors. I first look at Fyodor Dostoevsky's 1880/1996 *The Brothers Karamazov* (hereafter, *Brothers K...*). The next book is James A. Michener's *The Source* (1969), succeeded by George Orwell's *Animal Farm* (1946/1962b) and his 1949/1961 *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (hereafter, 1984). These books are followed by B.F. Skinner's 1948/1969 *Walden Two* (hereafter, *W-2*), and the selection concludes with C.S. Forester's 1955 *The Good Shepherd* (hereafter, *TGS*). Additional works by these authors, and by others, are also cited for background material and comparisons.

This article represents a study of sociology in literature, using the selected authors and novels as a combination of purposive and convenience samples. All of us have favorite data sources, paradigms, theories, research methods, scholars we often cite, and background assumptions about sociology: I have two. First, I believe that sociology is narrative, making it appropriate to speak with the judicious voice of the first-person singular (the "I" and the "my"), allowing the reader to see how the writer's experiences contribute to the research. Second, I believe that we should follow Ogburn's advice from 1930 when he invited us to look for sociology anywhere, especially realms outside tradition, and present our findings to others, making sociology, I add, enjoyable to the

researcher and the audience.

THE AUTHORS

A variety of novelists could have been chosen for this study, but ideas from the ones selected offered a fair degree of fit and diversity of characterization to the themes of social shepherding and moral nets. Before discussions of the novels begin, though, I offer biographical sketches of the writers and back stories.

Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821-1881)

Dostoevsky was born in Moscow, Russia, where his father was a physician for the poor. Sometimes his father is portrayed as being demanding, and at other times a caring and understanding parent. Either way, Dostoevsky's childhood left indelible images affecting his literary leanings, often addressing conflicts in the personal and social lives of his portrayals. The tumultuous family in *Brothers K...* is a case in point.

I first read the novel during my initial enrollment as a freshman at the eastern Illinois university from which I later graduated twice. My literature classmates and I used it as a text, accompanied by a compilation of short stories by Leo Tolstoy that was more enjoyable than Dostoevsky's reflective piece. While I maintain that opinion, *Brothers K...* chapter on "The Grand Inquisitor" still captures my attention.

Brothers K... was Dostoevsky's last book, and many literary analysts feel that it was his best achievement.

After his military service as a commissioned officer, he got into legal trouble. There are several imprecise accounts of involvement with a political organization where his membership resulted in arrest and imprisonment in Katorga, part of the tsarist prison system that later became known as the *gulag archipelago* under Josef Stalin. Dostoevsky's 1861/2008 *Memoirs from the House of the Dead* (hereafter, *Memoirs...*) is a report of his sentence, identifying the same living conditions as Alexander Solzhenitzyn's 1963 *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (hereafter, *One Day...*). Both writers were imprisoned under fluid definitions for sedition, so their books contain several sets of parallel ideas. One of those thoughts is that there are two types of prisoners: common and political. Common prisoners simply violated criminal codes. Political prisoners (*poles*) were guilty of political wrongdoing, violating the integrity of the state or its leaders' dictates. Dostoevsky, and later Solzhenitzyn, were so labeled, as was Orwell's Winston Smith in 1984.

Dostoevsky's *Memoirs...* and Solzhenitzyn's *One Day...* have another point in common. Each book identifies one character who pays particular attention to his religion. Dostoevsky's Isaiah Fomich regularly conducted his Friday night Sabbath, believing deeply that Judaic Law is everywhere at all times. In similar fashion, Solzhenitzyn's Alyosha, a Baptist, read The New Testament regularly. Suffering punishment for common crimes is appropriate and

necessary, he believed, but persecution based on his religious identity required continued faith, prayer, proclamation, and witnessing.

Dostoevsky embraced Christian orthodoxy and he was a monarchist because each provided its own style of predictability. The sweeping social aphorisms of late 1700s France, and emerging economic and political ideologies and disruptive social movements of western Europe's mid-1800s troubled him, fearing that they could migrate into his homeland. Religious and political conflicts were also prominent themes in his major novels.

James A. Michener (1907-1997)

Raised in Doylestown, PA, Michener was born into poverty with a clouded ancestry, and was a childhood friend of Margaret Mead (Michener 1992:436). He was schooled at Swarthmore College and at Colorado State Teacher's College, and received the 1947 Pulitzer Prize in literature for his anthology *Tales of the South Pacific* (1946). He wrote about ninety articles or stories for various magazines, and about fifty-five non-fiction and fiction books, including the posthumously published love story *Matacumbe* (2007). I own and have read forty-two of those titles, including *James A. Michener's USA* from 1981 that he claims was falsely attributed to him (Michener 1992:471). He also wrote several short stories such as "Who Is Virgil T. Fry?" in 1941 that was his first literary publication, and twelve of his books were used for musicals, movies, and television shows. His long novels are

known for their short titles.

Information from his autobiography *The World Is My Home* (1992) and from two biographers (Hayes 1984; May 2005) reveal different yet complementary details about the same man. Michener was raised a Quaker with Presbyterian flavorings, but held little affinity with any religion or denomination. He was interested in religion as a social institution, a "religious sociologist" (Michener 1992:489), but chose to be identified as a liberal humanist. In like fashion, he called himself a writer rather than an author. He became wealthy and was generous with his earnings, but he never forgot the deprivations of childhood. He was a social activist for worthy causes and received the Presidential Medal of Freedom from Gerald Ford in 1977. He wrote long novels to relieve people from the predictable and banal contents of television shows. Many of his renowned books, including *The Source*, are layered stories of historical geography and geology, cultural and generational conflicts, personal hardship and endurance, and ecological stewardship. He was praised for those sweeping and ambitious efforts just as he was scorned for their shallow characters, formulaic and repetitious structures, and abrupt endings.

He was an officer in the U.S. Navy during World War II and was stationed in the South Pacific when he began the writing career that earned literary acclaim and fortune. Several books later Michener turned his interest to the eastern Mediterranean after Israel had had

some success as a nation-state-country. It is there that *The Source* takes place and I isolate the book's tenth chapter entitled "The Law" where Michener paid attention to ancient Judaism's YHWH as the one true God, Mosaic codes, the Talmud, and some consequences of confrontations between religions.

The Source was the second of his long and tiered novels, and biographer May (2005:261) says it was the best of Michener's own genre. The weaving of narrative, history and control of subject matter became Michener's hallmark style that served him well for the succeeding and successful novels with regional titles.

George Orwell (1903-1950)

Eric A. Blair is better known as George Orwell, and is perhaps best known for the two dystopian stories of *Animal Farm* and *1984*. Both are warnings about totalitarianism and are based on the practices of Communism that he saw during the Spanish Civil War, as revealed in his 1952 book *Homage to Catalonia* (henceforth *Homage ...*). Inkings of his discomfort emerged, however, in his *Burmese Days* (1932/1962a), all leading journalist Emma Larkin (2005:3) to affirm a local belief that this book should begin a trilogy followed by *Animal Farm* and by *1984* about Burma, not an imaginary place.

Born in India into a family of foreign service officers, Blair continued the family tradition. After graduating from college he joined the Imperial Police and was posted in Burma, now Myanmar, for five years

in the 1920s. *Burmese Days* partially reflects the events and ideological sentiments of the area, so Larkin's book is a record of her journey following Orwell's ghost from duty station to duty station as she studied the man and his literary career.

While the main characters in *Animal Farm* and *1984* have been called ideas rather than people, just the opposite was said of *Burmese Days* (Muggeridge 1962:XV), allowing me to mention several of the parallel themes between the three books. Orwell's use of the term *biarch*, for example, identifies the social, cultural, political, and economic differences between colonialists and local populations where the visitors were always privileged over the visited. Extending this thought to the other two novels we clearly see dual-class differences between privileged groups and their underlings.

Also, maintenance of private lives is a form of corruption that breeds unrest. British imperialism was, in fact, anti-intellectual, and the expropriating leaders dictated private and public opinions. The new idea with great potential to rock the stability of international economics was Bolshevism as mentioned several times in *Burmese Days*. Bolshevism preached the vision of equality but had a hard time delivering it as Orwell showed in *Homage...*

The British imperialists of *Burmese Days* and others places across the globe believed and endorsed the idea that some people were more equal than others. They created and promoted the inequality between

populations, did not want social or economic parity, and felt that only the right people with the right ideas had the right to lead and control others. These themes permeate all three of Orwell's novels, and his story of experiences in the Spanish Civil War cemented his anti-totalitarian warnings to the world.

The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) was a confused international event based on political ideologies and military actions supporting democracy, Republicanism, Communism, Fascism, anti-/ex-Stalinists, anti-/ex-Fascists, socialists, anarchists, loyalists, Francistas, democratic capitalists, Bolsheviks, Trotskyites, Christian Patriots, and the Popular Front (Orwell 1952). Michener read about the turmoil in news reports, but Orwell lived them and wrote them for the press.

Orwell entered the war as a reporter, empathized with social Communism, joined its ranks as a militiaman and eventually met Georges Kopp. Kopp was a Russian army officer later serving in British intelligence agencies during World War II as a spy. He is rumored to have been the role model for 1984's O'Brien - the party man who "turned" Smith, had him arrested for activities against the state, and re-socialized Smith by using his innate fear of rats against him.

Orwell reports in *Homage...* that a number of factors promoted his rapid and radical change of opinion against political Communism. There were few military victories and politics were confused. There were constant shortages of capable leadership,

food, clothing, military supplies, money, durable goods, rest, and constancy. There was an abundance of despair, political suspicion, intra-group spies, and arrests based on allegations of defiance. There were ideological conflicts and ambiguous group boundaries and questioned loyalties, as well as convenient and immediate rule changes.

There were staged public displays of support, and efficiency was replaced by *manana*, meaning "sometime." Propaganda replaced the truth. News was censored and dissidents were censured or they just disappeared. There were vermin and there were rodents as Orwell recited the alliterative, haunting and foreshadowing lyrics from a song of the times: "*There are rats, rats, rats. Rats as big as cats...*"

B.F. Skinner (1904-1990)

Burrhus Frederick Skinner, raised in economic modesty in Susquehanna, PA, became a renowned and controversial experimental psychologist. His extensive *curriculum vitae* (c.v.) contains a three-part autobiography comprised of the 1976 *Particulars of My Life* (hereafter, *Particulars...*), 1979's *The Shaping of a Behaviorist* (hereafter, *Shaping...*), and from 1983 *A Matter of Consequences* (hereafter, *Consequences...*).

Particulars... is the first-person account of his family of orientation and schooling through his degree from Hamilton College. *Shaping...* is the tale of his studies at Harvard University, his family of procreation, his early university appointments, and

details about his sole novel. *Consequences...* is a look at the apex and seniority of his career.

Two other books from the 1970s, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1972) and *About Behaviorism* (1974), were received well among the laity, but perhaps his most renowned and contested book is the novel, *W-2*. Muggerridge's claim about *Animal Farm* and 1984 are appropriate for Skinner's novel, as well. The plot is weak, conversations are stiff interrogations, and it is more ideational- than story-based. Skinner once called a colleague a "literary psychologist" (1979:23), and the same can be said about him as he crafted fiction with sciences of human behavior and social engineering.

I have read *W-2* five times, with three as a supplemental text in the sociology of community classes that I taught for an Illinois state university. During my doctoral program, my wife worked for the experimental lab school run by the psychology department of that western Michigan university. Many of our friends were behaviorists and had known Skinner, so he and derived teaching methods were frequent topics of conversation.

Susquehanna was not prosperous, nor were his parents during his youth. When toys broke or became too worn, he and friends were forced to improvise or repair the damages, creating a practical orientation to mechanical engineering and self-sufficiency. He was exposed in school to such classics as Henry David Thoreau's *Walden* (1854/1962) that had a profound and long-term effect. He also learned from his

adolescent schooling that competitive education is not as productive as it should be, thereby lending favor to the values of cooperative education, self-enhancement and life-long learning opportunities that were built into the Walden Two, the community.

W-2, the book, was written in about seven months shortly after World War II. I will not review the entire plot, and I will let the reader find the fairly obvious conclusion. The scenario, though, involves several veterans of the war who were looking for a peace-time alternative to the chaos and destruction of war in which they had participated. Enlisting the aid and the company of a former professor, six people visited the experimental village that one of the seekers discovered. The visitors' tour was led by Walden Two's founder, and in the end the guests made personal decisions about its efficacy.

Like other Utopian novels, the story in *W-2* has an ancillary presence: Skinner is expressing a belief rather than creating complex roles, intriguing dialogues, or a plausible plot. Skinner believed that creating positive, rather than aversive, communities and larger social organizations was possible. He believed that then-modern society stifled rather than enhanced human potential. Skinner believed that a more ecologically-friendly living place was possible. Skinner believed that people could govern themselves rather than being governed by others *in extremis* as Orwell prophesied at about the same time that Skinner wrote his novel.

Skinner believed that human living

arrangements, communities or societies are made typifying the wishes or the features of their populations: There are no archetypes against which all are measured. The human personality is also shaped according to the character of the whole unit. People who live in repressive or aversive communities see such arrangements as normal, just as people who live in more reflective and open lifestyles view them as being normal. The task facing all people, then, is to shape living arrangements that maximize human potential by creating societies where human needs and wishes are met without interference from outsiders, while doing minimal harm to the local ecology. *W-2* represents a community that could exist on moral consensus with a consistent, agreeable, and agreed-upon code of conduct likened to the one conceived at Thoreau's aquatic retreat.

C.S. Forester (1899-1966)

Cecil Scott Forester is the pen name of Cecil Lewis Troughton Smith. Complete biographical accounts are hard to find, but I found a biography and several electronic sites that provide basic data about the man, but no profound insights. He is rumored to have had imaginary parents, but was born to real ones in Cairo, Egypt, where his father, like Orwell's, was a minor British foreign service official.

Always agonizing over the conflict between his bookish self and the daring adventurer he wanted to be, the concern about his potential conduct in combat loomed high

(Sternlight 1981:24). Forester was partially compensated for this anxiety when he also was sent to the war in Spain as a correspondent. Direct contact with that conflict led not to shooting or being wounded, but to two short novels about Spanish military history. His best-known standalone novel is *The African Queen* (1935) but greater literary fame came from the series about Horatio Hornblower, a British Navy officer during the Napoleonic Wars. While these books are entertaining, I concentrate on Forester's *TGS*.

I received my copy as a First Edition when it was published and I read it every several years. The book offers reasonable but not lurid portrayals of North Atlantic convoy escort duty during World War II as I was told of it a long time ago by a U.S. Navy veteran who served in such duty. Forester's book is a dedicated story of social shepherding, and it topped the list of novels that I chose for this project.

THE BOOKS AND SOCIAL SHEPHERDING

A novel is a work of fiction, often containing sociological principles, real people, and verifiable events. Such combinations of contents have been called fictional reality (O'Sullivan 2006) where readers are asked to suspend their disbelief in contrived stories, enjoying them as vicarious participants. I follow O'Sullivan's advice here by treating the stories as real, and I ask the reader to do the same. I also ask the reader to suspend time differences between

the novels, treating them all as taking place today, just as we do when we read recreational literature.

"The Grand Inquisitor" from Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*

Much like Tolstoy's epic novel about Russia, *Brothers K...* is to be studied rather than read by a cozy fire or in a warm bed. It is a long and complex story of patricide, sibling rivalry, and philosophy, so emphasis here is centered only on the chapter about the grand inquisitor. As a believer in religious and political orthodoxies, Dostoevsky has Ivan Karamazov weighing competitive beliefs about God, Jesus, shepherding, and moral nets with his brother, Alyosha. Any understanding of the grand inquisitor's quest requires some knowledge of a biblical event, so I offer a summary of it as a preamble to Dostoevsky's version of the occurrence.

New Testament theology tells us that Christ was purified and expiated in the rite of baptism by his cousin, John. Soon thereafter Jesus went into the wilderness to test the strength of his convictions where events are chronicled three times in the Gospels of Matthew 4:1-10, Mark 1:9-13, and Luke 4:1-13. There Satan tried to corrupt Jesus' baptism with several temptations. If Jesus would turn stones into bread, then people will hunger no more. If Christ would throw himself off a cliff and live, then people will no longer question God's miracles. If Christ would accept earthly riches, then people will no longer be poor. Satan was competing

with God, but Jesus recognized Satan's false authority, lies, and tyranny. God was Jesus' good shepherd and his moral nets were written in Holy Scriptures, so Jesus denies Satan by kissing him and by walking away.

Ivan's story takes place in an *auto de fe* of the Spanish Inquisition with Satan replaced by a Roman Catholic Jesuit Cardinal and Jesus is imprisoned. The priest-turned-auto-theocrat disagrees with God over free will, believing that people are weak, unable to choose or think for themselves, needing decisive shepherds to guide them. Only the right people with the right beliefs have the ordained right to lead and grant absolution for sins. Theocrats are favorably positioned to influence others' moral choices, including sacred allegiances, honoring saints, personal sacrifices, and almsgiving: All cannot be left to chance. A broad-based and forgiving religion undermines theocratic power.

Ivan's world view of skepticism, religious doubt, and rational empiricism differs from Alyosha's religious empathy and a natural belief in God. Alyosha sees the transparencies of his brother's twin arguments—the Cardinal's trick and Ivan's. Declaring "You do not believe in God, that's his secret" (p. 271), Alyosha kisses his brother and walks away.

This story has a third literary presence, told about a century after *Brothers K...* in novelist Nikos Kazantzakis' *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1960). The preconditions and setting are the same as the biblical

version. Jesus is depicted in anguish, tormented by visions of unearthly creatures, maws, mirages, and voices as Satan appears in three different forms. A serpent tempts Jesus with worldly pleasures, especially a conjugal marriage with his childhood friend, Mary Magdalene, in her attributed role as a prostitute. Satan's second form is a lion, offering secular riches and kingdoms. Satan's third appearance is fire, offering Jesus omnipotence –to become God– that was claimed to be Jesus' deepest desire. By now Jesus is tired, hungry, and weak, maybe susceptible to wicked influences, when he feels God's invisible hand on his shoulder, directing him away. The good shepherd of Judea was tending to a vulnerable member of the flock.

Skinner's questions about leadership and followership apply to biblical events, as well as the novels by Dostoevsky and by Kazantzakis. Baptism put Jesus into a dyadic relationship of reciprocity with God who was the good shepherd and, Jesus was the faithful and proclaiming scion. Jesus used his moral nets to survive, just as Dostoevsky's Alyosha Karamazov and Isaiah Fomich, and Solzhenitzyn's Alyosha the Baptist, used theirs.

"The Law" from Michener's *The Source*

The story takes place in Israel at Tell Makor, "The Source," as archaeologists uncover sundry artifacts in strata of the excavation and Michener weaves separate stories around the discovered remains. One of the old souvenirs is a piece of

inscribed doorway cornice and its history reflects one man's drive to honor and preserve ancient Judaism.

Christianity's Holy Trinity –God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, overlapping like three circles in a Venn diagram– took its formal image in the late 4th Century, A.D. Judaism, though, offers a different vision of God, depicting him in one form with three gifts for humanity. The Old Testament's Book of Genesis identifies these offerings as creator, redeemer, and sanctifier; and, a reading of Weber indicates God's presence as guardian, partner, and provider (Bendix 1962).

As the chapter unfolds ancient Judaism and fledgling Christianity begin to clash in the common area. The culture conflict frightens Rabbi Asher ha-Garsi, and it emboldens him to remain faithful to YHWH, his one true God, by maintaining his faith in the three religious guy wires of his moral net.

The Old Testament's first division (a Pentateuch) is called the Torah or "Moses' Law," containing the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Exodus 20:1-7 and Deuteronomy 5:4-21 contain the Ten Commandments, representing the first element of Rabbi Asher's moral net. The second is found in Leviticus and in Numbers where another 613 guidelines are found: 365 of them correspond to the number of days in a calendar year and 248 of them represent the number of bones in a human body. The third division is the Talmud, the encyclopedic translation of Judaism's oral traditions on history, morality,

and behavior norms. The Talmud is recognized as compiled in two sections between 299 C.E./A.D. and 500 C.E./A.D. by rabbinic scholars, and Rabbi Asher was a participant circa 350 C.E./A.D. when the chapter takes place. "...[W]hat is the law?" asks Rabbi Asher, and he answers, "It is doing the best we can to ascertain God's intention..." (Michener 1969:554) through piety, study, and action. No matter how hard he tries, Rabbi Asher's moral nets are tested when organized Christianity comes to town.

The Spanish priest Fr. Eusebius arrived, supported by Christian soldiers, to spread the testament of Jesus, to convert, to build, and to change. Michener writes that Roman Catholicism's ability to imbed itself into a region with skillful adaptations to local customs and mores (1969:560), and Fr. Eusebius is adept. Judaism, he says, is a transitional path to salvation: Christianity is the better way. Judaism, he says, is based on a wrathful God, whereas Christianity is based on a benevolent one. Synagogues with simple adornments need to be replaced with ornate basilica speaking to Christianity's God of glory. Those who were shunned under the old laws are welcomed in the new ones.

Rabbi Asher's world was crumbling around him. The synagogue he built was demolished. Members of his flock converted. The Law was being replaced. Soldiers were killing non-Christians. The town was destroyed. Though faced with despair, he continued his religious commitments

and his social obligations to family, work, and neighbors. He believed that preaching the Law and the Prophets was a privilege and a duty, and the rites of the Sabbath transcend time, place, and circumstance.

Orwell's *Animal Farm* and 1984

These two books are allegories and warnings about the rise of political and economic tyrannies as foreseen by Orwell in Burma and in Spain. The twin stories were not the only clarions, though, having been discussed a few years before the novels' arrivals. Nobel Prize economist Frederick A. Hayek wrote a treatise in 1944 that compared free-market economies and democratic politics with political economies derived from states' central planning systems. The comparisons he made were plentiful and dramatic, but we must remember that Hayek's publisher still sponsors political and economic conservatism. Nonetheless, his comments will be incorporated with Orwell's, and with Skinner's, later.

Animal Farm and *1984* can be read either as standalone novels or as a pair. If the first method is selected *Animal Farm* is the story of anthropomorphized farm animals whom revolt against their owner and depose him. They have no agrarian, marketing, or managerial skills so they take the farm to near economic ruin. They felt that they had been treated unfairly by farmer Jones, so they created a code of conduct, a moral net, declaring all animals to be equal where they would share, and share alike. In the end, leadership

emerged with differential and preferential access to power, rights, and privileges —entitlements. The animals had re-created a system much like the one they had overthrown.

1984 is the story of a man who lives in a totalitarian land, Oceania, whose head of state is Big Brother. Smith, a minor government official like Orwell's father, works for a ministry where duties include revisionist history, distributing falsified reports of economic progress for the public, and erasing all reference to those who have become non-people through sedition. Smith commits the error of believing that he can have an *ownlife* and think for himself, so he meets a sympathetic believer who gives him an underground political tract to read; but it was a sting. A governmental official created the lie and Smith fell for it, was arrested, interrogated, tortured, and repatriated. Smith could be viewed as the sheep that went astray, lured by greener pastures, was caught by the shepherd's crook, led back to the fold, and rejoined the flock; except, O'Brien had no gracious intent.

The second method is to read them sequentially. *Animal Farm* represents the beginning of social revolution, and *1984* represents its conclusion. If this method is chosen, then the back story begins in *Burmese Days* during quieter times, yet only a vague vision is offered. *Homage...* then needs to read as succeeding *Burmese Days* but as a prequel to the other two novels because it depicts methods of revolution and what the future may bring when totalitarian Communism is

set in place.

Animal Farm and *1984* capture and disturb the reader's curiosity. *Animal Farm's* code of conduct is a listing of negative liberties telling the animals what to think rather than a notice of positive liberty's free will. The basic items in the code are: Whatever goes upon two legs is an enemy; whatever goes upon four legs, or has wings, is a friend; no animal shall wear clothes; no animal shall sleep in bed; no animal shall drink alcohol; no animal shall kill any other animal; and, all animals are equal (p. 33). Additional items include working according to capacity (p. 37), and the prohibited use of money (p. 67).

A formal leadership was affected because some animals seemed more capable than others to form policy and to guide others in the exercise of their new "liberties." After Napoleon the pig ascended to power, walking upright, the sheep's ditty "Four legs good, two bad" was replaced with "Four legs good, two better!" (p. 41). The anthem *Beasts of England* was replaced with *Comrade Napoleon* (p. 81). The prohibition against money was re-remembered as unratified by all (p. 67). Those who disagreed with Napoleon the pig were driven away, scapegoated like Snowball the pig, or were torn apart by his squad of guard dogs.

The original code of conduct was ultimately and surreptitiously changed amidst vague memory and hopeless curiosity by many on the farm, especially Clover, the naïve horse. Changes included sleeping in beds is approved so long as sheets are not

used (p. 69); no animal shall kill another without good cause (p. 88), and alcohol shall not be drunk to excess (p. 103). *Animal Farm's* most renowned expression concerns social equality that was rephrased (p. 123) to read: ALL ANIMALS ARE EQUAL BUT SOME ANIMALS ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS. 1984 extends the story.

The animals had two identifiable leaders –farmer Jones and Napoleon the pig. Big Brother, though, has a combined allusive, elusive, and illusive presence. He is symbolic of good citizenship; he is never seen in public; and the social, economic, and political achievements under his rule are deceptive. Though shepherds, neither Napoleon the pig nor Big Brother could be called altruistic, and their minions could now be called “sheeple.”

Many of Orwell's observations about the political theory observed in *Burmese Days* and in *Homage...* took place in the futuristic novel. Reciting a few examples from earlier references, there were staged public rallies of support for Big Brother, and non-believers disappeared without warning or public notice after they were politically “outed” by the thought police, such as O'Brien. News was censored, propaganda replaced the truth, and rules were flexible. *Animal Farm's* renegade Snowball was blamed for some of the farm's decline, and 1984's Emmanuel Goldstein, “author” of the tract titled *The Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism*, is portrayed as the prime internal enemy of the state –a Public Enemy Number One.

Another novelist, Steve Berry (2010:66), depicted political conditions similar to the ones in Oceania, so I borrowed and applied them to Orwell's setting and admonitions.

[It was a Legalist system that] believed naked force and raw terror were the only legitimate bases for power. Absolute [control], centralized bureaucracy, state domination over society, law as a penal tool, surveillance, informers, dissident persecution, and political coercion were its fundamental tools (p. 66).

The animals' farm dictum on equality was violated. A biarchy class structure had been created with Napoleon the pig as the privileged leader over the lesser animals. A similar structure existed in Oceania but it did not evolve in the book –it had already been established, in two biarchic forms. There were political party members and the *proles*, and within the party there were the leaders and the functionaries –the O'Briens and the Smiths.

Both books were premised on the belief that only the right people with the right ideas had the right to lead, and in both stories the leaders created the rules of conduct serving as imposed moral nets for the respective populations. The animals' original rules were modified, and any formal codes of conduct in Oceania would have been incidental, taking second place to its primary directive: BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU!

If *Animal Farm*, and 1984 are, indeed, sequels, what is the segue between them? How are Skinner's questions answered? How would Hayek explain the shift from “demo-

cratic capitalism" to socialism where the equality of opportunity is overridden by an illusory equality of outcomes? I accidentally discovered Orwell's own possible answer to these questions.

A local used book dealer knew that I was reading about Orwell, so he sold me a paperback copy of *A Clergyman's Daughter* from 1935 and I randomly found pages 73-78 containing conversations about church parish congregations' reduced influence over liturgy, vestments, rituals, and message. The church's bishops, they felt, had become heavily influenced by modernists whereas the congregants preferred established traditions. Evidence of disaffection was measured by declining attendance at regular and high holy day worship services because the congregants, without voice, disengaged.

The animals at the farm were unable to fend for themselves once Napoleon the pig was seated in power: They acquiesced. Once power is centrally located it becomes institutionalized and corrupted as Lord Acton (cited in Hayek) and Hayek aver, becoming a generational phenomenon. The *proles* of Oceania also disengaged from politics, and the politicians who dared to think for themselves, forgetting who was really in charge, met with swift, sure, and frightful justice, like Smith, entering a type of *serfdom* defined with political intention by Hayek and with economic inflection by O'Sullivan (2002, 2010).

Skinner's *W-2*, though, offers a different method of moral acceptance. The members of the *Walden Two*

community sought its lifestyle.

Skinner's *Walden Two*

Thoreau spent a year of frugal and independent self-sufficiency living at *Walden Pond*, and wrote about his experience, treating it as a two-year venture rather than its single year. Skinner viewed *Walden* as a source of inspiration, but was also prodded by a friend to write an inspired book for post-World War II youth. That war, say Woodhouse (1962) and Mead (1970), so changed military weaponry, information technologies, international politics, and social relationships between generations that an improved vision of the future was necessary, and Skinner offered one.

My reading of *Walden* identified a number of principles that are found in *W-2*. They include personal austerity, unencumbered work, and honesty with self and with others. We should listen to learn, and speak so that others may also learn. Education promotes greater familiarity with oneself and with others, not mere facts. Science is to be applied. We should practice moral and economic chastity. Involvement is preferred over observation. Those who profess philosophy are not philosophers, whereas those who work to solve problems are.

Borrowing from Maslovian psychology, the first two items help to meet a person's primary needs, so the remaining items can be met along the way to something akin to self-actualization. Thoreau would not, obviously, have known about Abraham Maslow, but it is possible that Maslow would have known about

Thoreau, just as it is possible that Skinner would have been familiar with the precepts of self-actualization. Thoreau and Skinner might have responded to Hayek stating the revised society would ensure lifestyles of positive liberties and choosing for oneself, rather than succumbing to lifestyles of dictated negative liberties.

Skinner's understanding of Walden's principles is similar to mine. He wrote that no way of life is inevitable, so change what you do not like. Power does not ensure change but wisdom can. Ask only to be left alone to solve your own problems. Simplify your needs, being content with less (Skinner 1979:346).

The Walden Two community consists of nearly 1,000 residents who chose to join the village so it is justly called a voluntary organization. There are dormitories for men and for women and for boys and girls, with separate facilities for couples and their families. Traditional infant cribs are replaced by the Air Crib as Skinner's real-life invention. Children attend an open school where competition is replaced with cooperation, as is utility over rote. The packaged knowledge, packaged progress, tests and grading, academic honors, and ceremonial rites of passage found in traditional schools are excluded. Closed classrooms are replaced with open ones. Work tasks have been studied and minimized with maximum efficiency. Skilled professionals are encouraged to work within their arts, but it is not mandatory. Involvement in external politics and economics occur solely to

enhance and protect Walden Two's interests. Participation in religious worship and marriage are optional. The Walden Code is the centerpiece of the collective's moral net.

The items in Walden Two's Code are not openly listed as they are in *Animal Farm*, but they are clustered and explained as a combination of prescriptive allowances and proscriptive interdictions where health is better than illness (Skinner 1948/1962:159), and unpleasant tasks earns more labor points than pleasant jobs (p. 159). There are ample opportunities to exercise talents while pursuing new interests (p. 160), and intimate and satisfying contacts with others are encouraged (p. 160). The good life allows for rest and relaxation (p. 163), and do not discuss inside activities with outsiders (p. 163). Discuss work with others (p. 163), and gossip is unhealthy (p. 163). Managers will not discuss the Walden Code outside general assemblies (p. 164-165), and recognition of exceptional achievements may minimize average accomplishments (p. 169). Verbal gratuities and honorifics are not needed (p. 171).

Skinner's own discussion of his novel (1979) includes even more items. Cooperation is more constructive than competition. Positive reinforcers are long-lasting whereas punishment is not. Experiential learning in schools is preferred over the formality of lectures. Reducing compulsive labor and change is meant to improve, not just modify. When new members join the community it is renewed, just as Walden Pond has seasonal re-births.

New residents accept the community's way of life, while visitors are free to reject it. All told, *W-2* is a blueprint for shared experiences with a horizontal *gemeinschaft* made possible by a commitment to the vertical *gesellschaft* of the Walden Code.

Any theme-based novel will be a reflection of the author's opinions as shown in O'Sullivan's 2006 article on the portrayal of justice in the serial novels of nine modern authors. Not only was Skinner familiar with the idyllic Walden virtues, but writers of other utopian novels are discussed in the book's conversations. Included are Samuel Butler who wrote about Erewhon and its locomotives, James Hilton who allowed us to visit Shangri-la, and Thomas More took us to Utopia. Skinner joins them because all these works contain the authors' internal debates with themselves, playing the roles of protagonist and antagonist. Aside from the two couples who visit Walden Two in the novel, there are three other people whose conversations sound more like Platonic challenges than casual dialogues, but that was the purpose behind their presence. Burris is the friendly, inquisitive, and open-minded university professor. Castle, another college professor, is the skeptic, and Frazier is the founder and primary advocate of the community. Conversations between them are most commonly about social control, self-governance, and authority within the community. Little else is learned about them.

Hayek argued that organizations

cannot be completely self-governing otherwise no intentions, goals, or strategies can be made. Some forms of leadership selection and circulation are necessary. At issue then is not so much whether a leadership will emerge, but how are leaders chosen and what will they do with acquired power?

Walden Two is an egalitarian group with five levels of authority. The elected *Planners* make policies, determine goals, have a judicial role, and review the work of supervisors. The *Managers* are the appointed sectional overseers, trained and tested to ensure that the day-to-day operations run smoothly and efficiently. *Scientists*, as the title suggests, conduct pragmatic research rather than pure research, just as the young Skinner was obliged to create makeshift toys and repair damaged ones. Below these divisions are the *Workers*, the average and everyday residents of Walden Two. They are its *proles* who willingly relinquish their desires to actively participate in governance. And then there is Frazier.

Frazier offers opposing versions of his position in the community. He is honored to be its founder and ramrod, but declines the title of "leader." He prostrates himself on a grassy knoll, like Jesus on the cross, but declares that he is not Christ-like. He artfully deflects criticisms offered by several of the visitors, yet he refuses to accept praise for the bases of the detours. He enjoys good academic debates about Walden Two, and he hopes to create improved communities, elsewhere.

Whether or not Walden Two is as pristine as Skinner declares it to be, or is as self-governing as he proclaims, is a matter of conjecture. Skinner (1979:347) acknowledged that his novel received mixed reviews, with one of them reading: THE NEWEST UTOPIA IS A SLANDER ON SOME OLD NOTIONS OF THE GOOD LIFE.

The six visitors make their own decisions about Walden Two's quality of life and its freedoms, yet there is an alluring pastoral and pastoral scene early in the story. A flock of sheep is quietly grazing in a field, surrounded by a symbolic string fence that was formerly an electrified wire. Sitting and patiently watching from a convenient distance is "the Bishop" —the flock's sheep dog—detering strays.

Forester's *The Good Shepherd*

Forester's book represents the purest selection of the good shepherd who relies on his pastoral moral net as he exercises his pastoral responsibilities in a time of crisis. Psalm 23's "...*Yea though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death...*" may refer to herding sheep in an area populated by predatory wolves, but it also applies to herding a convoy through wolf packs of enemy submarines on the hunt to kill.

Krause has to know the navigational and speed traits of each ship under his command, the characteristics of the convoy's civilian commander, as well as the traits and the foibles of the other escort ships and their captains. He has exact locations of all the ships' latitudes and

longitudes, and makes split-second duty assignments based on such ever-changing conditions. Krause, the pastoral shepherd, must estimate the submarines' tactics while putting his ship in harm's way to protect the convoy. Krause, the pastoral shepherd, listens to distress signals, suggestions of the other herders, and talks to the convoy and escort ships offering advice, encouragement, and orders.

The story begins when Krause is aroused from his bed with notice of a possible submarine contact, and the chase is on. The convoy is miles long and wide to avoid bunched targets. Its pace is determined by the weakest ship so headway is slow. The four escort vessels have limited fuel, limited munitions, and unlimited responsibility.

One possible enemy contact expands to several, eliciting coordinated attacks to inflict maximum damage to others while incurring minimal damage in return. A pastoral shepherd may have to leave the flock in order to attend a wounded or lost member, as does Krause's ship and another convoy vessel, attending to a stricken ship and its crew. Pursuit is long and arduous, and bridge watches change almost without notice as Krause weighs a failed marriage, an undistinguished military career, his ancestry, and his right to command. Kazantzakis depicts the physical isolation and loneliness of Jesus' time in the wilderness; Forester depicts Krause's social isolation of command, surrounded by many and plagued with doubt.

I found little biographical data to

suggest Forester's religious affiliation or beliefs, but my estimate that he was an Anglican or a member of the Church of England has several predicates. His father was a public official, and the government has strong ties to the C. of E. —the reigning monarch is called "Defender of the faith." He attended Alleyns School that has an Anglican affiliation like the Episcopal parochial school where my wife taught when we lived in Texas. Worship services were part of her daily curriculum, so I anticipate that Forester was schooled in the same tradition. Also, the scriptural passages that Krause recalls for strength, wisdom, and guidance in the face of adversity come from something greater than a casual familiarity with the Bible, all of which lead to my speculative comparison between Hornblower, Krause, and Forester. Hornblower and Krause lead ships into battles, but the similarity ends there. Hornblower is the staid naval officer with the "stiff-upper lip" persona when faced with danger. No Divine help is requested or needed in these swashbuckling adventures of English domination over the oceans during the age of sail. Having read the Hornblower books, and having read about Forester, I believe that the adventurous Forester might have identified with Hornblower, both adopting Gen. Douglas MacArthur's 1962 phrase, "duty, honor, country" as their moral net. Krause, in comparison, makes frequent supplications to God, seeking strength in a time of peril. Perhaps Krause represents Forester's reflective self, and each

could have modified MacArthur's words to say "duty, honor, country, and God" as their moral net. Maybe the stories' circumstances simply required alternative styles of leadership, or the premise behind *TGS* was completely different from the Hornblower series.

While at battle stations, the escort ships attack many enemy contacts causing uncertain damage. Fuel levels run low and munitions are depleted. All they can do is chase the enemy, without armaments to destroy the submerged foes. The situation becomes desperate. One escort is damaged and requires towing. Krause's own ship is damaged in surface combat. Krause is cold, tired, hungry, and wet. The submarines gain the advantage.

Eventually, a guardian angel disguised as a U.S. reconnaissance plane spots the convoy and relays its position and heading to a new escort force coming to meet it. The original shepherds are relieved of duty, leaving the care of their flock to others. The good shepherd and moral net symbolisms of Forester's story are self-evident, making *TGS* the capstone of my presentations.

DISCUSSIONS

It is now time to return to traditional sociology and typify my selections by using and by adjusting an online script (http://changingminds.org/explanations/power/three_dimensions_of_power.htm) that seems to be derived from Luke's 1974 book on social power. Leadership, or shepherding, according to

this tool, is three-dimensional, consisting of *channels* or means of enactment, *intent* to help or harm others, and the *deliberateness* of pre- or post-triggers to action. Each item is subdivided.

Channeled *physical* leadership or shepherding is based on a strength or prowess advantage that the leader has over the led. A pastoral shepherd, for example, has rods, staffs, and crooks to motivate or catch the flock's members. Channeled *informational* leadership or shepherding happens when the leader knows something that the led do not. A priest or a rabbi, for example, has specialized understanding of scriptures or religious heritage that members of an assembly do not usually have. Channeled *emotional* leadership or shepherding depends on charisma, oration, and compassion towards others.

Leadership or shepherding by *positive* intent is the defining feature of the good shepherd. The altruistic self helps the group or gives oneself to the group without pre-conditions. *Negative* intent, however, characterize the abusive shepherd as someone who uses the group for selfish purposes, caring little for harm that may result.

Proactive deliberateness occurs when, for example, a pastoral minister reminds a congregation of its moral nets against unspecified temptations, sins, or evils. *Reactive* deliberateness, in comparison, identifies the triggered timings or circumstances causing a leader to take action against specified dangers. A pastoral shepherd responds defen-

sively when a flock is threatened. With these parameters set, I look at some of their applications to the stories assessed here.

"The Grand Inquisitor"

This chapter in Dostoevsky's book contains two plots: The symbolic Cardinal's temptation of Jesus and Ivan taunting his brother, Alyosha. Both antagonists use a combination of informational and emotional channels in their arguments. The Cardinal and Ivan each feel he has insider's knowledge that neither Jesus nor Alyosha possess. The Cardinal and Ivan also use emotional channels, thinking that their clever arguments alone may sway the opinions of Jesus or Alyosha, respectively. Neither succeeds.

The intentions of the Cardinal and Ivan are to acquire power. The Cardinal wants the advantage over God through Jesus' denial of his baptism and the manipulative Ivan tries to reign over Alyosha's spiritual moral nets. In so doing, the Cardinal and Ivan each employ *proactive* deliberated attacks against Jesus and Alyosha, who are only surrogate targets. If they would reject their God, then all types of rewards would come to them, but neither the Cardinal nor Ivan is empowered to make such deals, so they both fail.

"The Law"

This chapter from Michener's book also addresses a man's faith midst threats and *could* be viewed as retelling Jesus' temptation in the wilderness. I chose to treat it, though, as one of Michener's profitable

literary themes –culture conflict.

Rabbi Asher's God is sometimes vengeful, using punishment for specific sins and as an aversive stimulus against future ones. Most of the time though his God is a kindly one, the good shepherd of Isaiah and of Psalm 23. All God asks of his people are loyalty and reverence.

Rabbi Asher, the social shepherd, channels with the informational skills of a scholar who has studied Judaic history and traditions, the Torah, and other documents. He knows the Law and is a co-writer of the Talmud. His *emotional* channeling reflects God's pastoral pro-social values and proactive deliberateness. All the rabbi asks of the residents of his town is that they stay true to their faith, their families, their work, and their community –their moral nets.

The beginning of the chapter has Rabbi Asher exercising his roles as a father, a businessman, and a public servant. There are no specific threats to the community, but circumstances change. The chapter shifts into Rabbi Asher's deliberate and reactive responses to the invading theology and its missionary. He engages in non-violent debates with Fr. Eusebius' counter channels, his counter intentions, and deliberate use of military forces; but Rabbi Asher is a meek man, incapable of physical confrontations. When his synagogue is destroyed leaving a few remnants, when his town is razed, when members of his flock defect or are killed, he leads remaining followers away to re-establish themselves and worship elsewhere. The Sabbath, ac-

ording to Judaic tradition, can take place anywhere.

Animal Farm and 1984

Napolean the pig's ascendancy accorded him the leadership of the shepherding status so long as the rest of the animals validated him, but his followers acquiesced rather than approved. Status and power was consolidated, transferred from the many to the one. Equality for all was replaced with inequality for most.

We do not know how Big Brother came into power, if he is even a real person. If he lives, he may have ascended the party's ranks by doing good deeds, or he may have used raw force to rise in status. Many readers and scholars agree though that Big Brother is symbolic of the power that the party has, and that power is used to dictate. Remember this variation of the Golden Rule: "Whoever has the gold, rules," and Big Brother is wealthy.

Napolean the pig and Big Brother channel through combinations of physical, informational, and emotional means. Intra-group dissidents are removed or tortured; information is manipulated for public consumption; and, anthems, rallies, and news extol the two despots, not those whom they lead. The self-serving, narcissistic, and greedy intentions of the tyrants are manifest in their deliberate and proactive public image campaigns with token appeasements, and harsh reactions to those who disagree with them. Napolean the pig and Big Brother have made themselves immune from public sentiment and scrutiny.

Since these tyrants exist, we have to remember that they exist over others, and for some reason those others allow the tyrants to exist, and suggestions explaining this relationship have already been offered. Orwell used grounded allegory to warn future generations about tyranny, just as Hayek cautioned that histories of tyrannies show public accountability is controlled from the top-down, not inspired from the bottom-up. Both contingencies remind us of sociological classics on elitism.

Walden Two

The absence of a specific central authority makes *W-2* a little harder to assess. *W-2*'s Planners are elected to ten year terms, and whether or not a slate of candidates is chosen by the people or is handpicked by Frasier is a matter of theory, debated by the story's visitors and Frazier. If the Planners are just ratified minions, then their appointed Managers are also sycophants, both owing allegiance to one person over the many. The Scientists are apolitical, but their creations or solutions to problems have actual impact, as do their social opinions.

Physical channeling does not exist. There is no overt negative intent because the community was established on pro-social secular principles. Proactive deliberateness exists in the table of organization, the spiel offered in visitors' tours and in the Walden Code. Reactive counseling and banishment are rare.

Unlike Napoleon the pig and Big Brother, Frazer denies any author-

itarian role, status, power or privileges. He too must earn his labor points. He may espouse a community with little dissent or shortcomings, but let us not forget the symbolism of "the Bishop" posted near the sheepfold.

The Good Shepherd

This book is easy to parse. The escorts' Cmdr. Krause was assigned his role by his superior officers. Compared to the other escort ships' captains, he is junior in experience but is senior in rank. His job entails complex manifestations of the three types of channeling, both types of intent, and both types of deliberateness.

Krause exercised a physical channel advantage over the submarines because he used radar for surface detections and sonar for underwater ones. The submarines of the era relied upon line-of-sight observations through periscope lenses or surface sightings when they made themselves susceptible to radar contacts. Krause exercised an information channel advantage over the submarines because he was able to communicate with each escort or convoy ship via two radios; and the submarines of the era could not do so unless they had surfaced, putting themselves into visual jeopardy. Krause exercised emotional channels when he wished all ships such benedictions as "Good luck," "Good hunting," or "God speed."

Positive intent and proactive deliberates are combined in his duty assignment –protect, at all costs, those who are unable to fend for themselves. Negative intent is then

joined with reactive deliberateness to attack the attackers, destroying them, if possible. The convoy is defenseless and Krause is its protector, its good and dedicated shepherd.

CONCLUSION

This article used the novels of five well-known writers to illustrate that social shepherding and moral nets – both legitimate subjects in traditional sociology— can be found outside corporate, governmental, or cultural settings. I am certain that readers of this article can find other writers and books reflecting concepts used here; just as others, using the same resources, may offer alternative or contradictory analyses. I hope that that such comparative and independent pursuits are undertaken to find sociology in non-traditional places.

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