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A study of value change, this unit for college-preparatory students focuses on the ethic of work in America. The student is asked to evaluate the ethic of work from the Puritans to the present and to account for changes in the concept brought about by industrialism and, most importantly, by the depression of the 1930's. He is then confronted with challenges to the ethic raised by affluence and automation, and is, in effect, asked to reevaluate his own value system. Readings include, among others, the Puritans, Benjamin Franklin, McGuffey's "Readers," Horatio Alger, William Graham Sumner, David Riesman, and modern proponents of a guaranteed annual wage. (Author)

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THE GOSPEL OF WORK:
A STUDY IN VALUES AND VALUE CHANGE

Teacher and Student Manuals

(Public Domain Edition)

William A. Kline

Committee on the Study of History
Amherst, Massachusetts

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EXPERIMENTAL MATERIAL
SUBJECT TO REVISION
PUBLIC DOMAIN EDITION

TEACHER'S MANUAL

THE GOSPEL OF WORK:
A STUDY IN VALUES AND VALUE CHANGE

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This material has been produced
by the
Committee on the Study of History, Amherst, Massachusetts
under contract with the U. S. Office of Education
as Cooperative Research Project #H-168.

This unit is designed to encourage students to examine the nature of their own values. It does so by providing materials which invite students to confront and cope with the problems and implications of value and value change. The unit takes for its main focus one value--the ethic of work. It also considers two related values, thrift and charity, thus demonstrating the interrelationship of values and the notion of a "value system."

In examining the simple and commonly held value, "work is a good thing," from the days of Puritan New England to the age of affluence, automation, and cybernation, it is hoped that students will discover how values relate one to another, to other aspects of personality, and to society in general. It is also hoped that students will discover how values modify other concepts and events and are, in turn, similarly modified by events and circumstances. Students should gain an understanding of how and why values change. They may also perceive how some values may, in time, cease to explain or relate to reality; yet, still deeply lodged in men's minds, they may hinder society's adjustment to changing conditions.

This unit is not intended to lead the student to an acceptance or rejection of a given set of values. Rather it is to help him understand the processes of change and discover realistic ethical approaches to contemporary situations. He may find it desirable to stress a return to older virtues; he may feel that a completely new outlook is entirely in order. In any case, the student is free to choose as he sees fit. If the unit succeeds, it should make it less possible for students to live the "unexamined life."

Section I presents a radical challenge to ideas implicit in the ethic of work. Section II first presents the foundations of traditional American belief in the ethic of work, from the Puritans through John D. Rockefeller, and then presents the challenges to this value which gradually built up after the Civil War and culminated in the Great Depression of the 1930's. Section III takes a look at two aspects of modern life, affluence and automation, which bring traditional value-systems into question. Section IV suggests various approaches to formulating a value system which will relate to the vast economic and technological changes of the twentieth century.

In discussing the problem of value change over the span of American history, the unit presents little economic history per se. The teacher might find it useful to make insertions into the readings or to give short lectures if he feels such background is necessary.

The suggestions which follow are not meant to tie the teacher's hands. They merely point out some possible uses for the

material. The time allotment might be ten days, with the following breakdown: Section I, one day; Section II, four to six days; Section III, two days; Section IV, two days. However, this should be varied according to the interests of students and teacher.

SECTION I

A CHALLENGE

This section presents a drastic challenge to traditional American values. Specifically, it suggests that people should be paid for consuming rather than for working. It is hoped that this article by Robert Theobald will be somewhat provocative insofar as it presents a radical challenge to traditional American values.

The overriding question rests with the article in its entirety: Is it reasonable to suggest that everyone be guaranteed an adequate standard of living as a matter of Constitutional right, whether he works or not? Perhaps the students can be asked to write a short paper explaining their views on this question. This paper may be saved and referred to again at the end of the unit.

In addition to the overriding issue, it may be profitable to explore several subsidiary questions: Why do you suppose this suggestion is being made? How would most Americans react to Theobald's suggestion? Can any inferences be made as to how Theobald feels about work? Does he see it as good? Bad? Is he neutral?

The discussion will probably bring out the belief that work is a value and that no person is really entitled to receive very much above the subsistence level from society unless he makes a productive contribution. It might be useful to ask students why a man should work. An analogy may be used in referring to a hive of bees with its drones which appear to live off the work of others. Reference might also be made to the Golden Age of Greece in which leisure was a valued asset for a significant portion of the population. Why should work for all be valuable? Would society suffer if 5, 10, 25, 50 per cent of the population did not work but merely consumed products with a guaranteed wage?

This article should, then, establish a framework for the consideration of the American belief in the value of work. From this point, the unit will analyze in some depth the roots of this

ethic and various changes in it through the years. We will then return to concepts such as those suggested by Theobald and consider in more detail the ethic work as a value for the mid-twentieth century.

SECTION II

THE GOSPEL OF WORK

Section II considers the American ethic of work over a large span of history, from the Puritans to the Great Depression. From this, the students should gain a knowledge of the roots of the ethic and an understanding of some of the processes of change in the belief in work. It is hoped that this material will enable the students to formulate generalizations about the nature of values, value change, and the relationship between values and historical, economic, and technological developments.

Part A deals with the ethic of work as expressed in a more or less "pure" form throughout much of American history. Students should find it possible to isolate and analyze the various essential components of this ethic and to analyze its evolution during the nineteenth century.

In comparing the Puritan writers with later writers, one begins to notice changes in motivation. In the Puritan period, we see the element of fulfilling God's calling. God required work and each person had a duty to respond in the fullest possible manner. In fact, dire consequences might befall those who failed to do so. God gave each man a calling which it was his duty to perform as well as possible. Success might or might not result from performing it well; God alone determined whether a man "succeeded," but in any case earthly success was not very important. What did matter was whether God had willed that a man be saved or damned in the afterlife. A man who pursued his calling to his best ability had some reason to hope God was on his side in this matter. A man who pursued it badly had reason to doubt. The man who was successful in his calling had the responsibility of stewardship of wealth. This is to say that the rich, because of their proficient use of God-given wealth, were stewards of wealth and were obligated to see to the welfare of society as a whole. This concept was to have continuing relevance in American social thought.

With Franklin and McGuffey, we see the pursuit of wealth, not for wealth's sake, but for utility. Wisdom simply demanded that a man be industrious and thrifty. Here, as in the Puritan period, we notice obligations of the rich man toward the poor.

Is the charity of McGuffey simply an extension of the Puritan notion of stewardship?

In both the Puritan and post-Puritan periods, the students might be asked what inferences about the economy and society can be drawn from the values of the people. For example, to what extent was the Puritan ethic of work necessary for the successful establishment of colonies in New England? The students might come to the conclusion of the historian Max Weber that such an ethic was indeed absolutely necessary in an economy of such profound scarcity. A dogmatic inference here can be challenged by reference to other colonies that lacked the strong Protestant base (Maryland, French America, etc.). The student might find it useful to grapple with the relationship between values and economics. Does one interact upon the other? How? Which is most important?

In the ethic of work, we notice a variety of sanctions for those who fail to meet the norm. What can we infer from the nature of these sanctions? Does this mean that the worst circumstances should befall the slothful? Does society have no responsibility toward the idle?

Also inherent in this ethic is the element of rationality. A person can decide for himself more or less rationally whether or not he will be industrious or idle. The students might be asked to comment upon this. From the author's experience, there are always a number of students who believe strongly that human decisions are made in this context.

This leads to the question of whether or not the ethic of hard work is still applicable to American society. The students, before they read on, might be asked about this. To what extent do students revise their views in some degree from this point on?

Some further comments about the readings might be in order and lead to some fruitful discussions. Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin were contemporaries. Does the fact that Edwards clings to the Puritan view while Franklin is secular in approach tell us anything about the mid-eighteenth century in America? Does this also tell us anything about ideas? To what extent do these writings indicate the development of a mature, stable society, no longer deeply troubled by the vagaries of frontier life yet filled with opportunity.

In dealing with McGuffey's Readers, the students might be asked what kind of values such a school book would tend to inculcate in students. Is there any relationship between the education of the 1820's, '30's, '40's and the post-Civil War generation of wealthy industrialists?

The hymn "Work For the Night is Coming," was perhaps the most popular among circuit-riding Methodist preachers in the nineteenth century. This hymn tends to indicate the strong religious aspect still evident in the ethic of work.

With Horatio Alger, we get a sort of "urbanized" McGuffey, written in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. What does Alger tell us about the times in which he lived? To what extent is Alger an example of the dominant ethic of the times? To what extent are the Alger books the gasps of a dying ethic confronted with vast technological and social changes? This last question is an open-ended one which evokes much disagreement among historians.

The Rockefeller selection is one example which shows an obvious connection between the ethic of work and the style of life of a wealthy industrialist. This may help to clarify in the students' minds the relationship between ideals and practices. Here is a personification of the results of practicing the ethic to the 'nth degree.

A number of subsidiary values, such as perseverance, thrift, and charity become concomitants of the ethic of work. The students might be asked if these values have significance for our society. To what extent does the nineteenth century view of charity effect our attitudes in the twentieth century? Were nineteenth century attitudes influenced by Puritanism? What does the emphasis upon thrift tell us about the nineteenth century economy? What purpose was "thrift" supposed to serve? Is "thrift" purposeful today? What if fifty million Americans suddenly became "thrifty"? Would we be better off as a result?

With the selections in part B, we see notable changes in the ethic of work from William Graham Sumner's social darwinism to Edward Bellamy's utopia. It might be a good idea to assign Bellamy separately from the other selections in this section. The following basic questions might be considered: How do these post-Civil War spokesmen for capitalism look upon work? Why? What have they added or subtracted from the basic notions? How do you account for these changes? What are the effects of industrial capitalism upon the ethic of work itself?

With earlier spokesmen for the ethic of work, it seems as though work as a process is as important as the success resulting from such labor. With McGuffey, work was morally valuable. Is it now morally or pragmatically valuable? Is work desirable as a means rather than as an end? If so, then what is the nature of morality for these men (Bellamy excepted)?

William Graham Sumner, considered by many to be the father

of American sociology, was perhaps the foremost exponent of Herbert Spencer's social darwinism in this country. Sumner promotes the idea that only the producer contributes to society, thus becoming entitled to society's rewards. The economy of scarcity is underlined by his emphasis upon limited capital and the fact that men must compete among themselves for this capital, hence, survival of the fittest. Given this circumstance, the only way for an individual to amass capital was through self-denial. In this sense, we see thrift as a means to an end.

Banker Henry Clews gives an accurate summary of the philosophy of social darwinism. With the Clews and Sumner material, the students can be asked to comment on the popularity of social darwinism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. What purposes does this philosophy serve for that age? What can you infer from these selections about the society and the economy of the era? Is this philosophy a reasonable one today? Quite possibly, a full hour's discussion might be devoted to Sumner and Clews.

Sumner believed that a man must take the consequences of his behavior. Initiative, industry, and self-discipline are the foundations of society. There is no place for the slothful. Sumner had no room for the stewardship of wealth; this was an expression of mere sentimentality. Men should only help each other when the chances of life turn out badly. This, however, should be a private and personal stewardship.

Carnegie, like most of his colleagues, strove to create an ethical justification for his activities in the market-place. By 1900, most of these men had come to believe that what was expedient for them was good for the rest of the country. Written after the revolt of the Grangers, the railway strikes of 1878, the Haymarket Riot in Chicago, the timing of the Gospel of Wealth (1889) suggests that it was in the nature of an apologia. On the other hand, here we have Carnegie formulating a folk-philosophy that was current even among the radical farmers and laborers. To what extent does the shadow of Puritanism lie over Andrew Carnegie? Is the acquisition of property fulfilling duties laid down by the Creator? What does Carnegie mean by high laws of Individualism, Private Property, the Law of the Accumulation of Wealth, and the Law of Competition?

Corollary to the divine right of property was the acquisition of wealth by industry and thrift. Reference can be made from Carnegie to Cotton Mather, through Benjamin Franklin and William McGuffey. The basic tenets of this tradition was summed up by the Methodist circuit-riders whose exhortation was: work and save, if you would win the game of life and honor the God who made you, work!

Along with the higher laws of property, industry, and thrift, Carnegie strongly espoused the stewardship of wealth. Unlike Sumner, who felt that the rich owed nothing to the poor, Carnegie believes in the responsible use of wealth in the form of endowments for libraries, hospitals, schools, etc. What are the implications of Carnegie's suggestions? What are the roots of this concept? Will Carnegie's proposals for proper use of wealth perpetuate the type of society he thinks best?

Carnegie believed that stewardship would tie together a society which was dividing into classes. The more able, and hence, the more wealthy, would dedicate their superior talents to the task of doing for the less able what they could not do for themselves.

Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward, 2000-1887, is a classic nineteenth century attack on industrial capitalism. In short he proposes the substituting of total socialism for capitalism. To what extent does Bellamy suggest the declining workability of traditional economics? Is the ethic of work a farce for the average workingman in the late nineteenth century? What does Bellamy suggest about the nature of work? Is his utopia one of leisure, or is work still an integral part of life? How realistic is Bellamy's attack on the system? Does Bellamy reject values that seem important to society, as a whole? If so, why? Are there any similarities between Bellamy and Theobald?

Bellamy saw a utopia in which the State directed all activities of production and distribution, thus guaranteeing security for all. The key to this was the abolition of competition among individuals. Young people were educated by the State until they reached the age of twenty-five, and then for twenty years they entered the labor battalions to produce goods for society. At forty-five, men and women retired to lives of freedom and leisure. Bellamy represents a blend of two worlds. He rejected the kind of society he lived in: the factory system and its depersonalization of the worker; the robber barons; inequities in distribution; political and economic corruption, etc. On the other hand, Bellamy does indicate a belief in dignified work and the associated values of charity and thrift as long as they are used in the spirit of friendly cooperation rather than under a system of greedy competition.

One suggested line of approach might be to relate Carnegie to Bellamy. Is it possible that Carnegie's social concepts could lead, in part, to Bellamy's utopia? Carnegie's concept of the stewardship and self-denial of the rich suggests the elimination of the motives which create the system Bellamy attacks. Furthermore, in Bellamy's arrangement, the government which grew out of the massive corporate arrangements of the

nineteenth century assumes somewhat the same stewardship over the people as Carnegie's rich philanthropist.

Part C deals with an event which recapitulated what was perhaps the most overwhelming attack upon traditional values yet experienced in this country's history. The overriding question might be the effect of economic upheaval upon values and vice versa. What happens to value systems when seriously challenged by the force of events? To what extent are attempts to remedy economic and social ills still shaped by values that have lost a certain degree of relevancy?

The keys to this section are the statements by Henry Ford, interspersed with some statistics, and a penetrating Nation editorial which was written just before the Crash. Ford, who later in his life gave a memorial eulogy for William McGuffey, emphasizes belief in work as a cure-all for society's ills, particularly poverty. In his first document, Ford says that men have the right to starve. The students might be asked, in light of evidence presented in part C, if they believe this to be true. Ford also says that work is the only cure for poverty. The students might be asked to debate this question in light of economic conditions following World War I. Reference can also be made to the current widely distributed bumper strip which says, "I fight poverty, I work."

The statistics which are interspersed here can provide two fundamental features of discovery. First of all, the figures can be used for the purpose of making conclusions about the state of the economy in the 1920's and the 1930's. Secondly, the statistics can be used as a basis for testing various assumptions by Ford, the Nation, Roosevelt, Hoover, and Townsend.

The first table presents statistics which tend to report the economy of the 1920's in a favorable light. This evidence also makes the first Ford article seem quite plausible. The second table, however, raises serious questions about the soundness of the economy. Unemployment figures are somewhat high for a period of prosperity, and earnings per week for workers in manufacturing were lower in 1929 than in 1921.

The Nation editorial somewhat amplifies the evidence by pointing out vast disparities in the distribution of wealth. Despite this evidence, which was readily available to the American people, Henry Ford still espoused the ethic of work in its more or less "pure" form. Why? What can be said about the persistence of values which can be confronted with concrete opposing evidence? To what extent are values based upon rational thought-processes? To what extent are values rooted in social and psychological factors that often are unrelated to objective conditions?

The sixth selection presents a collection of statistics for the 1930's, with those for 1945 and 1957 added for perspective. The students might be asked to infer why the GNP dropped so drastically in the 1930's. Was this partly a consequence of the belief in productivity rather than consumption as the cornerstone of our economic system? It is interesting to note that, although GNP, employment, hours and wages, and personal consumption dropped sharply in the 1930's, productivity per unit of labor increased during the same period. What can be inferred about "work" from these statistics? A further area of exploration in connection with these statistics is the question of why unemployment remained at such high levels from 1930 to 1941. Why didn't we do a more thorough job of solving this problem? Is this related to values? If so, how? Do these statistics suggest any weaknesses in today's economy? How? Why?

Franklin Roosevelt, in 1932, discusses the economic problem which the depression posed for Americans. What does FDR suggest about work? What do you think Henry Ford said in 1932? How does FDR's speech differ from earlier selections? Whose responsibility is unemployment? According to FDR? According to Ford? In Frances Perkins' description of the New Deal, what does she suggest about values? What does the brief quote from the President of the B & O Railroad (which is included in the Perkins' article) suggest about values? Does the chronology of the first One Hundred Days of the New Deal suggest anything about the ethic of work?

Throughout the 1930's Herbert Hoover attacked the Democratic administration with considerable vehemence. Regardless of his personal motives, a number of useful questions come into play. What does Hoover mean by liberty? How can a man who was eminently successful as a mining engineer, businessman, food administrator during World War I, and Secretary of Commerce during the Harding administration be so completely unsuccessful in analyzing economic upheaval to the satisfaction of a large number of Americans? How do you explain the fact that during the 1930's, few people chose to vote for politicians with these views? Were the American people looking for something for nothing? Regardless of the degree of acceptance by the people, do Hoover's ideas make sense?

Dr. Francis Townsend was one of several people who developed a considerable following during the 1930's. Dr. Townsend's program was based on the assumption that despite the depression, Americans lived in a society of abundance and that the best policy therefore, was one of guaranteed consumption. In other words, he thought that the problem of the economy was not one of production (supply), but one of consumption (demand). To what extent are Townsend's proposals realistic? Does he sound a little like Robert Theobald or Edward Bellamy? Do you think that

consumption is now more important than production? What implications do Townsend's proposals have for the ethic of work?

SECTION III

A NEW GOSPEL

This section probes the interrelationships between values and economic life in the mid-twentieth century. Part A, The Affluent Society, suggests that the problem of production has been overcome in advanced societies such as ours and that, in fact, consumption, or the ability to use up all our goods and services, has become the main economic problem. If this be so, what happens to the ethic of work?

Part B, Men, Jobs, Machines reinforces the questions raised in A by suggesting that cybernation and automation are rapidly replacing workers. What happens to the ethic of work if there is no need for workers?

Some documents in Part A clearly point out the incongruity of hard work and thrift within this system. Vance Packard says that if enough people decided to practice thrift, a major depression would soon follow. Consequently, it might be a good idea to ask students to comment on the usefulness of thrift as a workable guideline for the conduct of one's personal economics. If thrift is unworkable, what should we practice? What arrangements would be ethically correct? For those who feel that work and thrift are still important, the discussion might probe the morality of the economic and social system. Is it immoral to manipulate consumer interests through depth-probing or motivational research? Or, are the motivational researchers really serving our national interest by keeping consumption at high levels?

Statistics have been inserted into the text to indicate objectively the growth of the consumer market. In the chart on retail sales leaders, the students might be asked what can be inferred from this list of ten industries. It should be apparent that nine out of ten leaders sell products directly to the consumer. Only United States Steel is a producers'-goods industry as opposed to consumers' goods industries.

The chart on selected service establishments and amusements in conjunction with the Lerner piece indicates something about our pattern of consumption. Are we spending for necessities or luxuries? Where does work fit into this arrangement? This could lead to a discussion of David Riesman's proposal for a

Play Progress Administration. How does this proposal fit in with traditional values of work? How can you account for this reversal? Should it be allowed to continue? Can it be stopped? What generalizations can be made about values and value change?

The Ford advertisement, Packard's survey of an advertising study, and the James Bond material further serve to reinforce the nature of our economic interests. What differences are there between 1900 advertisements and 1966 advertisements? Can the popularity of James Bond be attributed in part to Bond's impeccable taste in choosing products? He is the quintessence of consumership in a society which increasingly stresses consumption. Does Playboy's popularity rest on a similar basis?

Finally, the implications of this structure are presented in the Packard article on Cornucopia City. Are we, in fact, creating such an arrangement? What would Benjamin Franklin and William McGuffey say about this? What would the Puritan think? What do you think about this?

In part B, Jobs, Machines, People, the students are asked to consider the implications of automation and cybernation for a society in which the ethic of work is deeply rooted. Are traditional values in need of revision? How do you think America ought to handle the questions posed by automation? Does the evidence presented in Section III suggest the feasibility of Robert Theobald's proposal in Section I?

The examples of cybernation and automation should serve to focus students' minds on the actual nature of the situation. Frequently we tend to assume that automation is an exaggerated threat because it is remote from our daily lives. Aside from card-punch billing systems, we often fail to come into personal contact with real automation. From these few selections, a student should be hard-pressed to say that the problem is not a great one.

Donald Michael's article summarizes the nature of automation and cybernation and should fortify the students' working knowledge of such systems.

The remainder of the selections discuss the impact of technology on society. We have evidence of such things as technological unemployment and failures in retraining. It seems reasonable, before tackling Section IV, for the students to present some tentative alternatives to current trends. Should we now attempt to create a society without work? Should we make jobs in non-productive areas, such as leaf-raking, and street-sweeping? Should a person receive an income as a reward for consumption?

The students should be aware of the nature of their response in relation to traditional values. It might be well for the students to comment on this relationship. Why do some reject older values completely at this point? Why do some hold on to older values despite the nature of the evidence presented?

SECTION IV

A REEXAMINATION OF THE GOSPEL OF WORK

The documents in Section III raised two important questions. Those in part A suggest that if the economic problem today stems from the failure of demand to keep up with supply rather than vice versa, then perhaps the consumer rather than the producer is the new economic hero. Those in part B ask the question: What is the justification for work if cybernation and automation are making workers obsolete? Taken together, these questions raise a serious challenge to the traditional value of the ethic of work and its associated values of thrift and charity.

The documents in Section IV provide the students with materials which will help them cope with implications of the challenges to the ethic of work. But they do more than this. Combined with the rest of the unit, they may also help the student come to a better understanding of the nature of his own values, for they raise the question of whether or not such values as the ethic of work can or even should be changed or relinquished.

In this section, then, we shall tackle the problem of restructuring values to fit a particular technological arrangement. One may assume that increased leisure will be a boon to mankind, as suggested by Galbraith and Theobald. Yet, looking at the problem from different frames of reference, Huxley suggests and Riesman offers concrete evidence that the availability of leisure time does not suddenly produce utopia. Huxley suggests that increased leisure will result in the proliferation of mass entertainments and decadence. Riesman points out that leisure presents a wide range of problems in our society. The students might be asked if and why this is so. Is Huxley's statement written in the 1920's still pertinent? The students might consider whether the difficulties posed by leisure are rooted in traditional values.

Galbraith and Theobald present the student with further perspective on the problem of a guaranteed income for all. By now the students should be more receptive to the suggestion. On

the other hand, Riesman shows that the proposal is by no means a panacea for the modern age. Does this suggest difficulty in modifying values throughout history? Does this suggest that in a rapidly changing society such as ours, a certain number of people will always be at a disadvantage? Is change progress? Did the rich men of Andrew Carnegie's generation really create progress?

The symposium suggests a variety of questions which can be pursued in class. Is our basic problem due not to technology but to an inadequate definition of work under traditional ethics? To what extent has abundance removed all of the premises upon which our system of economic thought is based? Is the job as a qualification for income now obsolete?

Finally, Judge Gillen suggests in the last selection that values are constant, that our best course of action is to return to the time honored values which made this nation great. Is this possible? The students' response to this would indicate possible discovery of historical processes.

This would be a likely place for a final paper based upon the following questions. Can we turn the clock back, or even hold it steady? What caused value change in previous generations; what is causing it now? What roles do we as individuals have in this process? Are certain values constant in all times and places? What generalizations can be made about value change in a dynamic society? What are the implications of values for policy-makers in a democratic society? It might be useful to have the students reexamine their early paper on Theobald in order to see these questions in light of all the evidence presented.

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STUDENT'S MANUAL

THE GOSPEL OF WORK:

A STUDY IN VALUES AND VALUE CHANGE

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This material has been produced
by the
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NOTE TO THE PUBLIC DOMAIN EDITION

This unit was prepared by the Committee on the Study of History, Amherst College, under contract with the United States Office of Education. It is one of a number of units prepared by the Amherst Project, and was designed to be used either in series with other units from the Project or independently, in conjunction with other materials. While the units were geared initially for college-preparatory students at the high school level, experiments with them by the Amherst Project suggest the adaptability of many of them, either wholly or in part, for a considerable range of age and ability levels, as well as in a number of different kinds of courses.

The units have been used experimentally in selected schools throughout the country, in a wide range of teaching/learning situations. The results of those experiments will be incorporated in the Final Report of the Project on Cooperative Research grant H-168, which will be distributed through ERIC.

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This unit was initially prepared in the summer of 1966.

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INTRODUCTION

This is a study in values. A value is an idea that we believe in strongly. This idea often carries with it certain strong feelings of good and evil. Here we will explore one small aspect of the American value system and its role in shaping American history and conversely, the impact of events upon the value itself.

All cultures have value system. Many values we think important simply do not exist in other cultures and vice versa. Many things we think bad, another society may think good. At various times in history, these conflicts in values have caused men to take up arms against one another. Often there are value conflicts within a society which may lead to much disagreement, disorganization, and even violence.

This unit will continually ask you to evaluate your own set of values in terms of what you read. You may find certain features of this unit disagreeable to your own set of values. If you can understand the nature of your feelings in response to this type of conflict, then perhaps you will have discovered an important ingredient of that thing we call "culture."

SECTION I

A CHALLENGE

Sometimes a society develops social problems that are so vivid, so disconcerting, that a wide variety of solutions are presented by various "experts," some qualified, some not. Many of those proposed solutions are "conservative"; i.e., they call upon older, time-tested solutions to the problem. Other proposals are "radical"; i.e., they call for new untried, often daring solutions to problems. Below is a proposal of this latter type by Robert Theobald:¹

✓The article recommends a "Guaranteed Income" in order to achieve "Basic Economic Security. The income should be a constitutional right. Theobald further advocates meaningful leisure, "socially determined" economic development and decentralization of society and economy.✓

¹ Robert Theobald, "Abundance: Threat or Promise," The Nation, 196 (May 11, 1963), 403.

SECTION II

THE GOSPEL OF WORK

In essence, Theobald suggests that people ought to have a good standard of living even though they don't work. Implied in his position is a value judgment about work. The readings in this section tell how other Americans at various times felt about work. As you read the documents try to keep in mind who the people were, when and where they lived, and the nature of the society in which they lived.

A. The Gospel

1. As is true with so many aspects of American thought and belief, we can trace American concepts of hard work back to the Puritans of New England. The five men from whom these quotations are taken were all Puritans.

John Cotton, 1651:¹

There is another combination of Vertues strangely mixed in every lively holy Christian, And that is, Dilligence in worldly businesses. . . . For a man to rise early, and goe to bed late, and eate the bread of carefulnesse, not a sinfull, but a provident care, and to avoid idlenesse, cannot indure to spend any idle time, takes all opportunities to be doing something, early and late, and looseth no opportunity, go any way and bestir himselve for profit, this will hee doe most diligently in his calling: And yet bee a man dead-hearted to the world, and the diligent hand maketh rich, Prov. 10.4. . . .

William Perkins in 1631:²

How a man may with good conscience possesse and use riches?

The Answer to this Question I propound in foure Rules:

1. Rule. They which have riches are to consider, that God is not only the soveraigne Lord, but the Lord of their riches, and that they themselves are but the stewards of God, to employ and dispense

¹John Cotton, Christ the Fountain of Life (London, 1651), 119.

²William Perkins, The Whole Treatise of the Cases of Conscience (John Legatt, London, 1631), 126-128.

them, according to his will. Yea further, that they are to give an account unto him, both for the having and using of those riches, which they have and use. . . .

II. Rule. We must use speciall moderation of minde, in the possessing and using of riches, and be content with our estate, so as wee set not the affection of our heart upon our riches, Psal. 61.10. If riches increase, set not your heart upon them; that is, place not your love and confidence in them; be not puffed up with pride and ambition, because you are right; Luk. 6.24. Woe be to you that are rich, that is, that put confidence in your riches, Matth. 5.3. Blessed are the poore in spirit. . . .

III. Rule. We must, upon the calling of God, forsake our riches, and al that we have in this world, not only in disposition of minde, but in deed.

IV. Rule. We must so use and possess the goods we have, that the use and possession of them may tend to Gods glory, and the salvation of our soules. Rich men must be rich in good works, and together with their riches, lay up a good foundation in conscience, against the evill day, 1 Tim. 6.18.

Richard Baxter, prominent English Puritan, wrote in 1763:³

Quest. 1) Is everyone bound to labour in a calling?

Answ. . . . Everyone that is able, rich or poor, must live in some profitable course of pains or labour.

Quest. 2) Is it a duty to desire and endeavor to get, and prosper, and grow rich by our labours. . . ?

Answ. It is a sin to desire Riches as worldlings and sensualists do, for the provision and maintenance of fleshy lusts and pride: But it is no sin, but a duty, to labour not only for labour sake, formally resting in the act done, but for the honest increase and provision, which is the end of our labour; and therefore to choose a gainful calling rather than another, that we may be able to do good, and relieve the poor." . . .

Quest. 3) Will not Riches excuse one from Labouring in a Calling?

Answ. No: but rather bind them to it the more; For he that hath most wages from God, should do him most work. Though they have no outward want to urge them, they have as great a necessity of obeying God, and doing good to others, as any other men have that are poor.

³Richard Baxter, A Christian Directory (N. Simmons, London, 1673), 447-448.

Quest. 4) Why is labour thus necessary to all that are able?

Answ. God hath strictly commanded it to all: and his Command is reason enough to us, 2 Thess. 3.10, 11, 12. For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat. . . . Now them that are such, we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread. See vers. 6.14. I Thess. 4.11. We beseech you brethren _____ that ye study to be quiet, and do your own business, and work with your hands as we commanded you, that ye may walk honestly (or decently) towards them that are without, and that ye may have lack of nothing, Gen. 3.19. . . .

The publick welfare, or the good of many, is to be valued above our own. Every man therefore is bound to do all the good he can to others, especially for the Church and Commonwealth; And this is not done by Idleness, but by Labour! As the Bees labour to replenish their hive, so man being a sociable creature, must labour for the good of the society which he belongs to, in which his own is contained as a part. . . .

Labour is needful to our health and life: The Body it self will quickly fall into mortal diseases without it: (except in some very few persons of extraordinary soundness). . . .

Cotton Mather, grandson of John Cotton, wrote the following passage in 1701:⁴

What is that Good Account, that a Christian should be able to give of his OCCUPATION? Or, How should a Christian be Occupied in the Business of his personal Calling, that he may give a Good Account of it?

We will thus proceed in our Discourse upon it.

1. A Christian should be able to give this Account, That he hath an Occupation. Every Christian ordinarily should have a Calling. That is to say, There should be some Special Business, and some Settled Business, wherein a Christian should for the most part spend the most of his Time; and this, that so he may Glorify God, by doing of Good for others, and getting of Good for himself. . . .

It may be, there are some, that neglect their Occupation, and squander away one Hour, and perhaps, one Day, after another, Drinking, and Gaming, & Smoking & Fooling at those Drinking Houses, that are so Sinful as to Entertain them. Unto you, O Miserables, I must address a Language like that of our Saviour; Thou wicked and slothful person, Reform thy ways, or thou art not far from Outer Darkness.

⁴Cotton Mather, A Christian at His Calling (B. Green and J. Allen for S. Sewall, Boston, 1701), 38, 46, 50, 52.

If the Lord Jesus Christ might find thee, in thy store house, in thy Shop, or in thy Ship, or in thy Field, or where thy Business lies, who knows, what Blessings He might bestow upon thee? But thy Death will ere long find thee; And what? Shall it come upon thee, when thou are profusely at Sports among thy vain Companions? . . .

1) A Christian should follow his Occupation, with Industry. It is a notable Hint, Rom. 12.11. Be not slothful in Business,--- Serving the Lord. It seems a man Slothful in Business, is not a man Serving the Lord. By Slothfulness men bring upon themselves, What? but Poverty, but Misery, but all sorts of Confusion. How canst thou Snore on, O Sluggard, when there are so many loud Thunders in the Oracles of God, against Sluggishness, to awaken thee? . . .

 man by Diligence in his Business, What may he not come to? A Diligent man is very rarely an Indigent man. Would a man Rise by his Business? I say, then let him Rise to his Business. It was foretold, Prov. 22.29. Seest thou a man Diligent in his Business? He shall stand before Kings; He shall come to preferment. And it was instanced by him, who foretold it; 1 King 11.28. Solomon seeing that the Young man was industrious, he made him a Ruler. I tell you, With Diligence a man may do marvellous things. Young man, Work hard while you are Young: You'll reap the Effects of it, when you are Old. Yea, How can you ordinarily Enjoy and Rest at Night, if you have not been well at Work, in the Day? Let your Business Engross the most of your Time. Tis not now and then an Hour at your Business, that will do. Be stirring about your Business as Early as tis Convenient. Keep close to your Business, until it be Convenient you should leave it off. . . .

Jonathan Edwards wrote the following resolutions in 1723:⁵

1. Resolved, That I will do whatsoever I think to be most to the glory of God and my own good, profit and pleasure, in the whole of my duration; without any consideration of the time, whether now, or never so many myriads of ages hence. Resolved to do whatever I think to be my duty, and most for the good and advantage of mankind in general. Resolved, so to do, whatever difficulties I meet with, how many soever, and how great soever.

2. Resolved, To be continually endeavouring to find out some new contrivance, and invention, to promote the forementioned things.
. . . .

5. Resolved, Never to lose one moment of time, but to improve it in the most profitable way I possibly can. . . .

30. Resolved, to strive, every week, to be brought higher in Religion, and to a higher exercise of grace, than I was the week before. . . .

⁵Works of President Edwards, With a Memoir of His Life (G. & H. & C.

47. Resolved, To endeavour, to my utmost, to deny whatever is not most agreeable to a good and universally sweet and benevolent, quiet, peaceable, contented and easy, compassionate and generous, humble and meek, submissive and obliging, diligent and industrious, charitable and even, patient, moderate, forgiving and sincere, temper; and to do, at all times, what such a temper would lead me to; and to examine strictly, at the end of every week, whether I have so done.
Sabbath Morning, May 5, 1723.

2. Benjamin Franklin, a contemporary of Edwards, wrote a letter in 1748 entitled "Advice to a Young Tradesman."⁶

To my Friend, A. B.:

As you have desired it of me, I write the following hints, which have been of service to me and may, if observed, be so to you.

Remember, that time is money. . . .

Remember, that credit is money. . . .

Remember, that money is of the prolific, generating nature. Money can beget money, and its offspring can beget more, and so on. Five shillings turned is six, turned again it is seven and three-pence, and so on till it becomes an hundred pounds. The more there is of it, the more it produces every turning, so that the profits rise quicker and quicker. He that kills a breeding sow, destroys all her offspring to the thousandth generation. He that murders a crown, destroys all that it might have produced, even scores of pounds. . . .

In short, the way to wealth, if you desire it, is as plain as the way to the market. It depends chiefly on two words, industry and frugality; that is, waste neither time nor money, but make the best use of both. Without industry and frugality nothing will do, and with them everything. He that gets all he can honestly, and saves all he gets (necessary expenses excepted) will certainly become rich. . . .

3. Perhaps the most popular reading in the mid-eighteenth century was a series of yearly almanacs, published by Benjamin Franklin. These Poor Richard's Almanacks contained weather predictions, advertisements, witty sayings, and words of wisdom. For twenty-five years Franklin compiled and printed his almanac. In 1758, his last edition, he contributed a preface entitled "Way to Wealth." In effect, this preface skimmed the

⁶ The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin: Consisting of Essays, Humorous, Moral, and Literary: With His Life, Written by Himself (S. Andows and Son, Hartford, Conn., 1847), 188-189.

cream from his twenty-four previous issues. Some excerpts follow:⁷

Friends . . . and Neighbours, the Taxes are indeed very heavy, and if those laid on by the Government were the only ones we had to pay, we might more easily discharge them; but we have many others, and more grievous to some of us. We are taxed twice as much by our Idleness, three times as much by our Pride, and four times as much by our Folly, and from these Taxes the Commissioners cannot ease or deliver us by allowing an Abatement. However let us hearken to good Advice, and something may be done for us; God helps them that help themselves, as Poor Richard says in his Almanac of 1733.

It would be thought a hard Government that should tax its People one tenth part of the Time, to be employed in its Service. But Idleness taxes many of us much more, if we reckon all that is spent in absolute Sloth, or doing of nothing, with that which is spent in idle Employments or Amusements. . . .

Sloth, like Rust, consumes faster than Labour wears, while the used Key is always bright, as Poor Richard says. But dost thou love Life, then do not squander Time, for that's the Stuff Life is made of, as Poor Richard says. -- How much more than is necessary do we spend in Sleep! forgetting that The Sleeping Fox catches no Poultry. . . . Lost Time is never found again.

Laziness travels so slowly, that Poverty soon overtakes him, . . . Drive thy Business, let not that drive thee; and Early to Bed, and early to rise, makes a Man healthy, wealthy, and wise. . . .

He that lives upon Hope will die fasting. There are no Gains, without Pains. . . .

If we are industrious we shall never starve; for as Poor Richard says, At the working Man's House Hunger looks in, but dares not enter. . . . God gives all things to Industry. Then plough deep, while Sluggards sleep, and you shall have Corn to sell and to keep, says Poor Dick. . . .

One To-day is worth two to-morrows; and farther, Have you somewhat to do To-morrow, do it to To-day. . . . constant Dropping wears away Stones, and by Diligence and Patience, the Mouse ate in two the Cable; and little Strokes fell great Oaks, as Poor Richard says in his Almanack. . . .

Must a Man afford himself no Leisure? -- I will tell thee My Friend, what Poor Richard says, Employ thy Time well if thou meanest to gain Leisure; and, since thou art not sure of a Minute, throw not away an Hour. . . .

Keep thy Shop, and thy Shop will keep thee. . . . A little Neglect may breed great Mischief, adding, for want of a Nail, the Shoe was lost; for want of a Shoe the Horse was lost; and for want of a Horse the Rider was lost, being over-taken and slain by the Enemy, all for want of Care about a Horse-shoe Nail.

⁷Paul Leicester Ford, The Prefaces, Proverbs, and Poems of Benjamin Franklin, Originally Printed in Poor Richard's Almanacs for 1738-1758 (G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1889), 269-279.

So much for Industry, my Friends, and Attention to one's own Business; but to these we must add Frugality, if we would make our Industry more certainly successful. . . .

Beware of little Expences; a small Leak will sink a great Ship. . . and moreover, Fools make Feasts and wise Men eat them. . . . a Ploughman on his Legs is higher than a Gentleman on his Knees. . . .

Poor Dick says, When the Well's dry, they know the Worth of Water. But this they might have known before, if they had taken his Advice; If you would know the Value of Money, go and try to borrow some; for he that goes a borrowing goes a sorrowing. . . .

4. In 1836, William McGuffey, an Ohio educator, had published the first two volumes of a series entitled McGuffey's Eclectic Readers. For over a century these books were used in the public schools of America. In fact, some are still used today. It is estimated that 122 million copies were sold between 1836 and 1920. Here are two classic examples of McGuffey's short stories:⁸

Industry and Indolence

1. In a country village lived a wealthy farmer, who had two sons, William and Thomas. William was about a year older than his brother. On the day that Thomas was born, the farmer placed in his orchard, two young apple-trees of equal size, on which he bestowed the same care in cultivation, and they grew so much alike, that it was a difficult matter to say, which was the more thriving of the two.

2. As soon as the children were old enough to use garden tools, their father took them on a fine day early in the Spring, to see the trees he had reared for them, and called after their names. After William and Thomas had much admired the beauty of the trees, which were filled with blossoms, their father told them he would make them a present of them, and that they would continue to thrive or decay, in proportion to the labor or neglect they received.

3. Thomas, though the younger son, turned all his attention to the improvement of his tree, by clearing it of insects as soon as he found them there, and by propping up the stems, that it might grow perfectly upright. He dug all around it to loosen the earth, that the root might be nourished by the warmth of the sun, and by the moisture of the dews and the rains.

⁸ William H. McGuffey, McGuffey's Eclectic Second Reader (Clark, Austin, and Smith, New York, 1848), 188-191, 39-40.

4. William, however, acted very differently; he wasted all his time in idleness or fun, as he called it; perhaps like the insolent James, of whom I have before told you, amusing himself with throwing stones and dirt at people as they passed. He kept company with all the idle boys in the village, with whom he was often fighting, and was seldom without a black eye, or a broken head.

5. His poor tree was neglected and never thought of, till one day in autumn, when, by chance, seeing his brother's tree loaded with the finest apples, he ran to his own tree, expecting to find it in the same condition.

6. But he was greatly disappointed, when he saw that his tree, instead of being covered with fruit, had nothing upon it but a few withered leaves, and branches covered with moss. He ran at once to his father, and complained that he had been partial in giving him a worthless and barren tree, while his brother's produced such excellent fruit. He therefore thought that his brother should, at least, divide his apples with him.

7. His father told him, that it was not reasonable that the industrious should give up the proceeds of their labor to feed the idle. "If your tree," said he, "has produced nothing, it is because you were indolent, and you see what a reward your brother has obtained by industry.

8. "Your tree was as full of blossoms as his, and grew in the same soil; but you paid no attention to the culture of it. Your brother did not allow the insects to remain upon his tree; but you paid no attention to this, and they have eaten up the very buds. As I do not wish to see even plants perish through neglect, I must take this tree from you and give it to your brother, whose care may possibly restore its former vigor.

9. "He shall have all the fruit it may produce, and you must hereafter have no right to it. But you may go my nursery, and there choose a tree, and try what you can do with it; but if you neglect to take care of it, I shall take that away also, and give it to your brother, as a reward for his superior industry and attention."

10. William soon saw the justice of his father's reasoning, and determined to change his course of conduct. He therefore selected an apple-tree from the nursery, and made the best use of his time, and the assistance and instructions he received from his brother, in the cultivation of it.

11. He left off his mischievous tricks, forsook the company of idle boys, applied himself cheerfully to work, and in autumn received the reward of his labor, his tree being then loaded with fruit. More

than this, his father was so well satisfied with his reformation, that the following season he gave the two brothers the produce of a small orchard, which they shared equally between them.

QUESTIONS. Who were William and Thomas? What present did their father make them? How did Thomas attend to his tree? What was William's conduct? What was Thomas's reward? What was William's reward? What did William's father say to him? What effect did this have upon him?

The Poor Boy

1. The good boy whose parents are poor, rises very early in the morning; and, all day long, does as much as he can, to help his father and mother.

2. When he goes to school he walks quickly, and does not lose time on the road. "My parents," says he, "are very good, to save some of their money, in order that I may learn to read and write; but they cannot give much, nor can they spare me long; therefore I must learn as fast as I can; if any body has time to lose, I am sure I have not."

3. "I should be very sorry when I am a man, not to know how to read in the Bible, and other good books; and when I leave my parents, not to be able to read their letters, and to write them word where I am, and how I do."

4. "I must also learn accounts; for when I grow up I shall have many things to reckon, about my work, and what I buy: I shall perhaps have bills to make out, as my father has; and perhaps I shall be employed in a store."

5. When he has finished his lessons, he does not stay to play, but runs home; he wants to see his father and mother, and to help them.

6. He often sees naughty boys in the streets, who fight, and steal, and do many bad things; and he hears them swear, and call names, and tell lies; but he does not like to be with them, for fear they should make him as bad as they are; and lest any body who sees him with them, should think that he too is naughty.

7. When he is at home, he is very industrious. He takes care of the little children, weeds his father's garden, and hoes, and rakes it, and sows seed in it.

8. Sometimes he goes with his father to work; then he is very glad; and though he is but a little fellow, he works very hard, almost like a man.

9. When he comes home to dinner, he says, "How hungry I am! and how good this bread is, and this bacon! Indeed, I think every thing we have is very good. I am glad I can work: I hope that I shall soon be able to earn all my clothes, and my food too."

10. When he sees little boys and girls riding on pretty horses, or in coaches, or walking with ladies and gentlemen, and having on very fine clothes, he does not envy them, nor wish to be like them.

11. He says, "I have often been told, and I have read, that it is God who makes some poor, and others rich: that the rich have many troubles which we know nothing of; and that the poor, if they are but good, may be very happy indeed, I think that when I am good, nobody can be happier than I am."

QUESTIONS. What is this lesson about? What feelings does he have toward his parents? What does he do when he has finished his lessons? What does he do when he is at home? To whom should we look as the giver of all our blessings? What is better than riches?

5. A favorite mid-nineteenth century Methodist hymn:⁹

✓The text exhorts continual work til "night is darkening.
When man's work is o'er."/

6. One of the most influential popular writers was Horatio Alger, Jr. Altogether, Alger wrote 135 books, selling close to 200 million copies. From 1864 to 1899, Alger's stories of poor boys who, through courage and character (with a little luck!) rose to fame and fortune influenced millions of American youth. Perhaps the most famous was "Ragged Dick, or Street Life in New York." Below are brief samples from "Ragged Dick":¹⁰

✓The selections describe the progress of the bootblack Dick, a dirty, poor but honest boy, who through diligence and study rose to a position of eminence./

7. John D. Rockefeller, the founder of the Standard Oil Co., wrote the following in 1909:¹¹

✓The author acknowledges the value of his parents' good example in matters of thrift and enterprise./

⁹C. E. B. Young, Hymns of Prayer and Praise (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London, 1921), 1261.

¹⁰Horatio Alger, Jr., Struggling Upward and Other Works (Crown Publishers, New York, 1945), 151-152, 155-156, 190, 218, 246, 280.

¹¹John D. Rockefeller, Random Reminiscences of Men and Events (William Heinemann, London, 1909), 33-34.

B. Post-Civil War Revisionists

The years after the Civil War were notable for the development of the American Industrial system. This was the time of such famous industrialists and financiers as Vanderbilt, Rockefeller, Carnegie, Stanford, Hill, Frick, and Morgan. These were also years in which the workingman and the farmer began to organize for political and economic reform. This was, consequently, a period of great social ferment which brought forth a wide range of views on the American economic and political system. The ethic of work and its associated virtues were given considerable emphasis, especially by those who were interested in developing comprehensive social philosophies which would justify much that was taking place. The selections in this part all stem from this period.

1. A very popular philosophy was derived from Charles Darwin's theories on evolution and promoted by the Englishman, Herbert Spencer. Known as "Social Darwinism," it had great impact on many Americans. Perhaps the most notable American to propound these ideas was a Yale professor, William Graham Sumner, often called "the father of American Sociology." The following excerpts are from his essay "What Social Classes Owe to Each Other":¹²

There is no possible definition of "a poor man." A pauper is a person who cannot earn his living; whose producing powers have fallen positively below his necessary consumption; who cannot, therefore, pay his way. A human society needs the active cooperation and productive energy of every person in it. A man who is present as a consumer, yet who does not contribute either by land, labor, or capital to the work of society, is a burden. On no sound political theory ought such a person to share in the political power of the State. He drops out of the ranks of workers and producers. Society must support him. It accepts the burden, but he must be cancelled from the ranks of the rulers likewise. So much for the pauper. . . .

¹² William Graham Sumner, What Social Classes Owe to Each Other (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1884), 19-20, 45-46, 75-78.

We all agree that he is a good member of society who works his way up from poverty to wealth, but as soon as he has worked his way up we begin to regard him with suspicion, as a dangerous member of society. A newspaper starts the silly fallacy that "the rich are rich because the poor are industrious," and it is copied from one end of the country to the other as if it were a brilliant apothegm. "Capital" is denounced by writers and speakers who have never taken the trouble to find out what capital is, and who use the word in two or three different senses in as many pages. . . .

Only the elite of the race has yet been raised to the point where reason and conscience can even curb the lower motive forces. For the mass of mankind, therefore, the price of better things is too severe, for that price can be summed up in one word -- self-control. The consequence is, that for all but a few of us the limit of attainment in life in the best case is to live out our term, to pay our debts, to place three or four children in a position to support themselves in a position as good as the father's was, and there to make the account balance.

Since we must all live, in the civilized organization of society, on the existing capital; and since those who have only come out even have not accumulated any of the capital, have no claim to own it, and cannot leave it to their children; and since those who own land have parted with their capital for it, which capital has passed back through other hands into industrial employment, how is a man who has inherited neither land nor capital to secure a living? He must give his productive energy to apply capital to land for the farther production of wealth, and he must secure a share in the existing capital by a contract relation to those who own it.

Undoubtedly the man who possesses capital has a great advantage over the man who has no capital, in all the struggle for existence. Think of two men who want to lift a weight, one of whom has a lever, and the other must apply his hands directly; think of two men tilling the soil, one of whom uses his hands or a stick, while the other has a horse and a plough; think of two men in conflict with a wild animal, one of whom has only a stick or a stone, while the other has a repeating rifle; think of two men who are sick, one of whom can travel, command medical skill, get space, light, air, and water, while the other lacks all these things. This does not mean that one man has an advantage against the other, but that, when they are rivals in the effort to get the means of subsistence from Nature, the one who has capital has immeasurable advantages over the other. If it were not so capital would not be formed. Capital is only formed by self-denial, and if the possession of it did not secure advantages and superiorities of a high order men would never submit to what is necessary to get it. The first accumulation costs by far the most, and the rate of increase by profits at first seems pitiful. Among the metaphors which partially illustrate capital -- all of which, however, are imperfect and inadequate -- the snow-ball is useful to show some facts about capital. Its first accumulation is slow, but as it proceeds the accumulation becomes rapid in a high ratio, and the element

of self-denial declines. This fact, also, is favorable to the accumulation of capital, for if the self-denial continued to be as great per unit when the accumulation had become great, there would speedily come a point at which farther accumulation would not pay. The man who has capital has secured his future, won leisure which he can employ in winning secondary objects of necessity and advantage, and emancipated himself from those things in life which are gross and belittling. The possession of capital is, therefore, an indispensable prerequisite of educational, scientific, and moral goods. This is not saying that a man in the narrowest circumstances may not be a good man. It is saying that the extension and elevation of all the moral and metaphysical interests of the race are conditioned on that extension of civilization of which capital is the prerequisite, and that he who has capital can participate in and move along with the highest developments of his time. Hence it appears that the man who has self-denial before him however good may be his intention, cannot be as the man who has his self-denial behind him. . . .

The maxim, or injunction, to which a study of capital leads us is, Get capital. In a community where the standard of living is high, and the conditions of production are favorable, there is a wide margin within which an individual may practise self-denial and win capital without suffering, if he has not the charge of a family. That it requires energy, courage, perseverance, and prudence is not to be denied. Any one who believes that any good thing on this earth can be got without those virtues may believe in the philosopher's stone or the fountain of youth. . . .

2. In 1909, banker Henry Clews gave the following advice to Yale University students:¹³

✓Clews recommends force and will in order to succeed in business, and thrift for the necessary capital to control ones circumstances. He sees America as a freely competitive system in which merit alone insures success.✓

3. Andrew Carnegie, the steel Magnate, from his essay Gospel of Wealth in 1900:¹⁴

✓The selection begins with a recollection of Carnegie's pride in the first rewards of his honest labor. The author regards the poverty he knew as a virtuous condition, natural and necessary in a competitive society. He advocates Individualism, Private Property and Accumulation of Wealth and recommends that the wealthy set an example of modest living and distribute services to the poor, helping particularly those who try to help themselves.✓

¹³Henry Clews, Fifth Years in Wall Street (Irving Publishing Co., New York, 1908) as quoted in William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (Doubleday, Anchor Books, Garden City, N. Y., 1957), 16-17.

¹⁴Edward C. Kirkland, ed., The Gospel of Wealth and Other Timely Essays by Andrew Carnegie (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1962), 4, 6-7, 18-19, 25-28.

4. In 1887, Edward Bellamy wrote his famous novel, Looking Backward, 2000-1887. It concerns the description of America in the year 2000 as told to Mr. Julian West who fell asleep in 1887 and did not wake up until found by Dr. Leste in the year 2000 A.D.¹⁵

✓The selection presents a society with no wars and no poverty in which the government controls all capital. The allocation and rewards of labor are depicted as natural, frictionless processes.✓

C. The Depression

The twenty year period between the two world wars was one of the most tumultuous in the history of the world. Economic upheaval occurred in every industrialized country. The 1920's saw an unprecedented boom in the American economy. This was the age of the automobile, the revolution in fashions, manners, and morals, and the time of the great Bull Market on Wall Street.

1. Following are some statistics for the 1920's:¹⁶

Year	Estimated Population	Gross National Product (billions)	Personal Consumption Expenditures	Productivity Per Unit of Labor Input (1929=100)
1920	106,466,000	\$88.9	-	79.6
1921	108,541,000	74.0	\$66,594,000	86.8
1922	110,055,000	74.0	-	84.9
1923	111,950,000	86.1	-	88.2
1924	114,113,000	87.6	-	92.9
1925	115,832,000	91.3	\$71,750,000	92.5
1926	117,399,000	97.7	-	94.4
1927	119,038,000	96.3	-	95.6
1928	120,501,000	98.2	-	95.9
1929	121,770,000	104.4	\$78,952,000	100.0

¹⁵Edward Bellamy, Looking Backward, 2000-1887 (Modern Library, New York, 1917), 38-40, 44-51, 68-70, 72-73.

¹⁶Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., 1960), 7, 139, 178-179, 599.

2. Henry Ford was one of the key actors in this phenomenal economic development. A pioneer in the automobile industry, his many accomplishments included the first low-priced, all-purpose car (Model T, 1908, \$1,500), the assembly line method of mass-production (1914) and a five dollar-a-day minimum wage (1915). By 1927, over fifteen million model T's were sold by the Ford Motor Company. The price of this vehicle dropped from \$1,500 in 1908 to \$260 in 1925. By 1929, the value of automotive exports to Europe surpassed that of cotton exports for the first time since the Civil War, and Henry Ford was largely responsible.

Ford speaking in 1922:¹⁷

✓The statement describes work as natural and conducive to happiness. Rewards should be in proportion to effort and ability, and the basic inequality of men must be recognized.✓

3. However, there was more to the economic picture. Some more statistics:¹⁸

Year	Unemployment		Production Workers in Manu.	
	Numbers	Percent	Average Hours	Average Weekly Earnings
1920	1,670,000	4.0	47.4	\$26.30
1921	5,010,000	11.9	43.1	22.18
1922	3,220,000	7.6	44.2	21.51
1923	1,380,000	3.2	45.6	23.82
1924	2,440,000	5.5	43.7	23.93
1925	1,800,000	4.0	44.5	24.37
1926	880,000	1.9	45.0	24.65
1927	1,890,000	4.1	45.0	24.74
1928	2,080,000	4.4	44.4	24.97
1929	1,550,000	3.2	44.2	25.03

¹⁷Henry Ford and Samuel Crowther, My Life and My Work (Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1922), 3, 10-11.

¹⁸Historical Statistics of the United States, 73, 92.

4. The following editorial appeared in the April 17, 1929 issue of The Nation:¹⁹

∟The article contends that those Americans who labor hardest are paid least, and their share in the growing wealth of the nation is actually decreasing.∟

5. Henry Ford in 1929:²⁰

∟The statement claims that poverty is removed not by charity but by work; "idleness warps the mind." Theories are worth less than the combined wisdom of the masses.∟

6. In October, 1929 the stock market began its long plunge downward. The crash was only the beginning of a major economic depression for the United States. Some statistics:²¹

Year	Estimated Population	Gross National Product (billions)	Productivity per unit of Labor input (1929 = 100)
1929	121,770,000	\$104.4	100
1930	123,188,000	91.1	98.8
1931	124,149,000	76.3	102.1
1932	124,949,000	58.5	100.8
1933	125,690,000	56.0	99.3
1934	126,485,000	65.0	108.6
1935	127,362,000	72.5	111.9
1936	128,181,000	82.7	114.4
1937	128,961,000	90.8	115.6
1938	129,969,000	85.2	120.3
1939	131,028,000	91.1	123.6
1940	132,122,000	100.6	124.4
1945	139,928,000	213.6	150.9
1957	171,229,000	440.3	192.6

¹⁹"Crazy Economics," The Nation, 128 (April 17, 1929), 443-444.

²⁰Henry Ford, My Philosophy of Industry; An Authorized Interview by Fay Leone Faurote (Howard-McCann, New York, 1929), 105-107.

²¹Historical Statistics of the United States, 7, 73, 92, 125, 139, 178-179, 599.

Year	Hours and Earnings for Production Workers in Manufacturing		Personal Consumption Expenditures	Consumer Price Index (1947-49 = 100)	Unemployment	
	Hours	Earnings			Numbers	Per Cent
1924	44.2	\$25.03	\$18,952,000	73.3	1,550,000	3.2
1930	42.1	23.25	70,968,000	71.4	4,340,000	8.7
1931	40.5	20.87	61,333,000	65.0	8,020,000	15.9
1932	38.3	17.05	49,306,000	58.4	12,060,000	23.6
1933	38.1	16.73	46,392,000	55.3	12,830,000	24.9
1934	34.6	18.40	51,894,000	57.2	11,340,000	21.7
1935	36.6	20.13	56,289,000	58.7	10,610,000	20.1
1936	39.2	21.78	62,616,000	59.3	9,030,000	16.9
1937	38.6	24.05	67,259,000	61.4	7,700,000	14.3
1938	35.6	22.30	64,641,000	60.3	10,390,000	19.0
1939	37.7	23.86	67,578,000	59.4	9,480,000	17.2
1940	38.1	25.20	71,881,000	59.9	8,120,000	14.6
1945	43.4	44.39	121,699,000	76.9	1,040,000	1.9
1957	39.8	82.39	284,442,000	120.1	2,936,000	4.3

7. In the late 1920's, the malfunctioning world wide economy took a massive turn for the worse. The stock market crash in 1929 was the dramatic beginning of America's greatest depression. Following is an excerpt from a Franklin Roosevelt campaign speech at the Commonwealth Club, San Francisco, 1932:²²

/Roosevelt sees a need for new values and the wise administration of resources, goods and services./

8. In 1932 the Republican administration was swept from power by a massive landslide. Following are portions of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Inaugural Address of 1932:²³

I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our nation impels. . . .

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. The concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment. . . . Primarily, this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure and abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money-changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

True, they have tried, but their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit, they have proposed only the lending of more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

²²Richard Hofstadter, The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1949), 326.

²³Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States from George Washington, 1789, to John F. Kennedy, 1961 (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1961), 235-238.

The money-changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit. . . .

Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This nation asks for action, and action now.

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources. . . .

But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis -- broad executive power to wage a war against the emergency as great as the power that would be given me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.

9. Frances Perkins served as Roosevelt's Secretary of Labor from 1933 until his death in 1945. Here she relates a description of an unemployment measure begun by Roosevelt:²⁴

The account describes the mood of the country in the years 1929 to 1933, and the steps leading to the establishment of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

10. A chronology of the first one hundred days of the seventy-third Congress of the United States, 1933:²⁵

The selection documents some social and economic legislation of the period: Civilian Conservation Corps, Federal Emergency Relief Act, Agricultural Adjustment Act, Tennessee Valley Authority Act, National Industrial Recovery Act and others.

11. Ex-President Herbert Hoover:²⁶

The selection praises opportunity and liberty in America. It opposes government interference in social and economic spheres.

²⁴Frances Perkins, The Roosevelt I Knew (Viking Press, New York, 1946), 182-185.

²⁵Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Roosevelt: The Coming of the New Deal (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1958), 20-21.

²⁶Herbert Hoover, American Ideals Versus the New Deal (Scribner Press, New York, 1936), 65-67, 72, 95-96.

12. During the 1930's there was a wide range of opinion on how to solve the nation's economic ills. One of the best-known proposals was developed by Dr. Francis Townsend. At the peak of his influence, Dr. Townsend had a loyal following estimated at 10 million. Portions of the Townsend Plan are excerpted below:²⁷

∟The collection of revenue by taxing larger incomes, and the distribution of the money to the elderly, are advocated to increase the flow of money which will bring about economic recovery.∟

²⁷ Dr. Francis E. Townsend, Townsend Plan (Townsend National Weekly, Inc., Chicago, 1941), 5, 8, 10-11.

SECTION III

THE NEW ORDER

Today, we seem to be living in a world relatively free from serious economic dislocation. Some economists claim that we have conquered the major problems that have traditionally plagued capitalism. What is the nature of this new economic order? What problems does this new arrangement bring forth? In what terms do we judge the new order? What can we expect in the future? How will we prepare for the future? What will be the basic premises of the new society?

A. The Affluent Society

Many social scientists have lately referred to America as an affluent society, i.e., a society of plenty, wherein only a few people fail to have enough goods to live "comfortably." What meaning does this have for our discussions here?

The following documents address themselves to the "new economics" of today.

1. Consumer Durable Goods Output:¹

∟The chart contains information on the number and average retail price of selected durable goods. The numbers generally increase yearly, but the prices fluctuate.∟

2. Consumer credit, 1929-1963:²

∟The table reveals that credit has increased enormously in recent years.∟

3. Ten Top Retail Sales Leaders, 1964:³

∟The chart shows the gross sales of ten businesses beginning with General Motors, Standard Oil of N. J., and Ford Motor.∟

¹Information Please Almanac Atlas and Yearbook, 1965 (Simon and Schuster, New York, 1964), 589.

²Ibid., 585.

³Ibid., 594.

4. Growth of selected service establishments and places of amusement, 1954-1958:⁴

∟The table shows increases ranging from 25% more garages in these years, to 400% more horse race tracks.∟

5. From the first Ford Motor Company advertisement for the "Model A" motor car:⁵

∟The selection urges business and professional men to buy a car in order to save time and money. Advantages of health and pleasure are cited.∟

6. A study on modern automobile advertising as reported by Vance Packard:⁶

∟The selection cites a report on the association of particular cars with various personality traits.∟

7. From the exceedingly popular James Bond spy stories by Ian Fleming, we draw the following:^{7,8,9}

∟The passages present Bond as a connoisseur of clothing, arts, food, and drink. Brand names abound.∟

8. Advertising Expenditures, 1948-1963:¹⁰

∟The chart shows that advertising expenditures have increased in recent years at a greater rate than during the early 50's.∟

9. Vance Packard on the rationale behind advertising:¹¹

∟The section claims that advertising is used to persuade the public that they need and want the surplus goods which our economy can easily produce.∟

⁴Ibid., 595.

⁵Henry Ford, My Life and My Work, 55-56.

⁶Vance Packard, The Hidden Persuaders (David McKay Co., Inc., New York, 1957), 52-53.

⁷Ian Fleming, "Live and Let Die," More Gilt-Edged Bonds (Macmillan Co., New York, 1964), 23-24.

⁸Ian Fleming, "Moonrakes," More Gilt-Edged Bonds (Macmillan Co., New York, 1964), 261-265.

⁹Ibid., 268.

¹⁰Information Please Almanac, 595.

¹¹Vance Packard, Hidden Persuaders, 19-21.

10. William Whyte, Jr., in Organization Man quotes motivation researcher, Dr. Ernest Dichter:¹²

∟The selection raises the problem of making modern man comfortable with his goods and leisure.∟

11. Max Lerner, prominent journalist, author, social critic, and teacher, says:¹³

∟The selection discusses the large expenditure by the American public on recreation.∟

12. Sociologist David Riesman suggests that¹⁴

∟The selection states that a "Play Progress Administration" might be appropriate in any future recession.∟

13. Vance Packard suggests the future in his Cornucopia City:¹⁵

∟An economy is described in which the consumer's ability to absorb products is limitless. Planned obsolescence and easy credit facilitate the distribution of goods.∟

B. Men, Jobs, Machines

A second aspect of our modern economic system is the development of automation and cybernation. This simply refers to the use of machines and computers in the performance of various tasks. This part of the unit will explore the implications of these new technological devices.

¹²William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (Doubleday Anchor Books, Garden City, New York, 1957), 19. (By permission of Simon and Schuster, Inc.)

¹³Max Lerner, America as a Civilization (Simon and Schuster, New York, 1957), II, 814-815.

¹⁴David Riesman, Individualism Reconsidered and Other Essays (The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1954), 240-241.

¹⁵Vance Packard, The Wastemakers (David McKay Co., New York, 1960), 3-6.

1. A few examples of automation-cybernation:¹⁶

∟The article describes the uses of a robot with electronic brain.∟

* * * *

∟Learning machines are described as good checker players which show originality in tactics and strategy; they thus escape the control of the checker players who designed them.∟

* * * *

∟The selection explains the action of an automatic lathe which can replace its own worn parts and operate essentially without supervision.∟

* * * *

∟The process of automated stock control is outlined.∟

2. Donald Michael, of the Peace Research Institute in Washington, D. C., elaborates:¹⁷

∟The selection defines automation and computers and indicates some of their uses.∟

3. The impact of automation on certain types of employment:¹⁸

∟The article cites examples of increased production with a corresponding decrease in jobs in steel, chemical and auto industries, bakeries and agriculture.∟

4. The problem is further elaborated upon in the following symposium. Participants are Ralph Helstein, president of the United Packinghouse

¹⁶"Multi-Purpose Automation Unit is Sold 'Off the Shelf,'" The New York Times, June 23, 1961, 44; Norbert Wiener, "Some Moral and Technical Consequences of Automation," Science, Vol. 131, No. 3410 (May 6, 1960), 1356; From statement by Walter Reuther before the Sub-Committee on Economic Stabilization of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, Automation and Technological Change, 84th Cong., 1st Sess., 1955, 9; "The Automation Jobless . . . Not Fired, Just not Hired," Time (February 24, 1961), 69, all as printed in Donald N. Michael, Cybernation: The Silent Conquest (Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, 1962).

¹⁷Ibid., 5-9.

¹⁸"The Automation Jobless . . . Not Fired, Just Not Hired," Time, 69, as printed in Donald N. Michael, Cybernation, 14.

Workers of America, Gerard Piel, publisher of Scientific American, and Robert Theobald, Author of The Challenge of Abundance and Free Men and Free Markets.¹⁹

Gerard Piel:

∟The statement claims that only half the labor force is "engaged in productive work" and a quarter of the force is "outside the normal processes of . . . our free enterprise economy."∟

Robert Theobald:

∟The selection reveals that most new jobs in the "public sector" are in teaching, and in the period 1957 to 1962 only "175,000 to 200,000 jobs a year were created in the private sector."

Ralph Helstein:

∟Retraining of those whose jobs are taken over by automation is seen as ineffective and frustrating.∟

Piel:

∟The statement points out that little training is necessary for an automated process; "man's role is that of a machine tender."∟

∟Helstein and Theobald discuss the psychological problems resulting from automation of labor.∟

¹⁹ Ralph Helstein, et al., Jobs, Machines, People; A Conversation Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, 1964), 5-8, 11-12.

SECTION IV

REEXAMINATION OF THE GOSPEL OF WORK

Having considered some aspects of mid-twentieth century economics and society, perhaps it is now imperative that we reexamine our values in relation to the evidence at hand. What impact did evidence from the previous section have upon your values? What are the implications of this evidence for you? For society in general? How can we structure our value-system so that it will be relevant to changing social conditions? How can we meaningfully modify economic and social conditions in terms of values we believe important?

1. John Kenneth Galbraith, former adviser to President Kennedy and Ambassador to India, proposes the following:¹

/The selection contends a new attitude toward work is developing. Few still regard labor as virtuous and necessary; some see it primarily as a source of income, others look for intellectual stimulation and personal satisfaction./

2. Robert Theobald adds another dimension:²

/The selection contends that the emphasis on individualism, appropriate in a less affluent society, should give way to a concept of the social group; social legislation should reflect this change./

3. The concept of leisure for the masses is not new. Some implications of such freedom for the individual were discussed in the 1920's by Aldous Huxley:³

/Huxley anticipates that with an increase in leisure will come a greater incidence in "world-weariness", interest in amorous activities, and preoccupation with various futile pastimes./

¹John Kenneth Galbraith, The Affluent Society (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1958), 334-335, 340-352.

²Robert Theobald, The Challenge of Abundance (Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., New York, 1961), 127-129.

³Aldous Huxley, Along the Road: Notes and Essays of a Tourist (George H. Doran Co., New York, 1925), 244-246.

4. David Riesman reports on sociological findings relating to attitudes toward increased leisure:⁴

∟The survey examines the use of leisure time in various classes of society. Lower "prestige groups" are often at loose ends with increased leisure; "upper groups" become involved in social activities, education, and recreation.∟

5. Helstein, Piel, and Theobald continue their discussion:⁵

∟The comments deal with the implications of unemployment, seen as inevitable in our present economic framework. To provide adequate income universally the participants suggest changes in the traditional definitions of work; they anticipate a need for education which will prepare individuals for leisure and encourage their self-development.∟

6. William Whyte speaks of the middle-class "Organization Man" who characteristically holds a "white-collar" job in a large corporation:⁶

∟The selection contends that many elements of the Protestant Ethic are inappropriate to large business organizations; thrift, hard work and self-reliance are mentioned as examples.∟

7. From the Boston Globe, July, 1966:⁷

∟The article cites a Boston Judge who claims that the books of Horatio Alger contain a message which could prove useful to modern youth.∟

⁴David Riesman, Abundance for What and Other Essays (Doubleday and Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1964), 169, 178-179, 184-189.

⁵Ralph Helstein, et al., Jobs, Machines, and People, 12-21.

⁶William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man, 19-21.

⁷Boston Globe, July 18, 1966, 16.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Perhaps the best comprehensive work on American intellectual history is Ralph Henry Gabriel, The Course of American Democratic Thought (Ronald Press, New York, 1956). A classic book on the ethic of work and its effect on economic development is Max Weber, Protestant Ethic and the Rise of Capitalism (Scribners, New York).* Richard Hofstadter's The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1949)* considers the effect of values upon decisions.

For expressions of traditional thought, one might turn to works by Benjamin Franklin, such as his Autobiography (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1964), and Poor Richard's Almanacks, published in a number of collections of Franklin's works. For the nineteenth century, William McGuffey's Fifth Eclectic Reader, 1879 Edition, with a forward by Henry Steele Commager (Signet Classics, New American Library, New York, 1962),* and Horatio Alger's Struggling Upward and Other Works, with an introduction by Russel Crouse (Crown Publishers, New York, 1945). Edward C. Kirkland's edition of Andrew Carnegie's The Gospel of Wealth and Other Timely Essays (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1962) is one of the best statements by a spokesman for the nineteenth century big business ethic. A readable modern expression of traditional American beliefs is Barry Goldwater, Conscience of a Conservative (Hillman Books, New York, 1961).* A readable survey of social darwinism is Richard Hofstadter's Social Darwinism in America (Beacon Press, Boston, 1955).*

On the 1920's boom and the 1930's depression, most vivid and engrossing accounts are given by Frederick Lewis Allen in his two classics, Only Yesterday, An Informal History of the Nineteen Twenties (Blue Ribbon Books,

New York, 1931),* and Since Yesterday; The Nineteen Thirties in America (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1940).* For an excellent biography of Henry Ford, one should read Keith Sward, The Legend of Henry Ford (Rinehard and Co., Toronto, 1948).

For the society of affluence and automation, two very readable surveys are Vance Packard's Hidden Persuaders (David McKay Co., New York, 1957),* and The Wastemakers (David McKay Co., New York, 1960).* Slightly more difficult, but nonetheless quite useful books dealing with the American response to technological change are David Riesman's Lonely Crowd (Doubleday Anchor Books, Garden City, New York, 1953),* Individualism Reconsidered and Other Essays (Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1954),* and Abundance for What? and Other Essays (Doubleday and Co., Garden City, 1964).* For a statistical analysis of the American economy in the 1960's, one should refer to Editors of Fortune, America in the Sixties; the Economy and the Society (Harper and Bros., New York, 1960).* A classic account of the suburban middle-class response to affluence is William Whyte, Organization Man (Doubleday Anchor Books, Garden City, 1957).*

For consideration of the economic issues, the best popular works include John Kenneth Galbraith, The Affluent Society (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1958),* Robert Theobald, The Challenge of Abundance (Clarkson N. Potter, New York, 1961),* and Free Men and Free Markets (Clarkson N. Potter, New York, 1963).*

On questions of automation and cybernation, a short, but complete summary is Donald Michael, Cybernation: The Silent Conquest (Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, Calif., 1962).*