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Free Time: The Forgotten American Dream—Footnotes

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Free Time: The Forgotten American Dream Footnotes

By Benjamin Kline Hunnicutt

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Below are additions to the footnotes that appear in *Free Time: The Forgotten American Dream* (ISBN 978-1439907153). Footnotes that appear in this book that are marked with an asterisk (*) are expanded here. The footnotes are numbered and arranged by chapters.

Preface

3. References supporting this claim may be found in Benjamin Hunnicutt's *Work Without End: Abandoning Shorter hours for the Right to Work* (Philadelphia: Temple Press, 1988), 316–317 footnotes. 3–5; See also Y. Barzel and R. McDonald, “Assets, Subsistence and the Supply Curve of Labor,” *American Economic Review* 63 (September 1973): 621–633; D. H. Dalton, “The Age of the Constant Workweek: Hours of Work in the United States Since World War II” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1975); E. B. Jones, “An Investigation of the Stability of Hours of Work per week in Manufacturing, 1947–1970” (Athens, Ga., 1970), passim; E. Jones, “Hours of Work in the United States: 1900–1957” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1961), 8–9; T. A. Finegan, “Hours of Work in the United States: A Cross sectional Analysis,” *Journal of Political Economy* 70 (October 1962): 452–470; T. J. Kniesner, “The Full-Time Workweek in the United States, 1900–1970,” *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 30 (October 1976): 3–15; S. Linder, *The Harried Leisure Class* (New York, 1970), 135; H. Northrup, “The Reduction of Hours,” in *Hours of Work*, ed. C. Dankert et al. (New York, 1965), passim; J. D. Owen, *Working Hours: An Economic Analysis* (Lexington, Mass., 1979), chap. 3; A. Rees and D. Hamermesh, *The Economics of Work and Pay*, 3d ed. (New York, 1984), chap. 2.

10. Susan E. Fleck, “International Comparisons of Hours Worked: An Assessment of the Statistics,” *Monthly Labor Review* 132, no. 5 (2009): 3. Fleck notes: “In the United States, the normal workweek is 40 hours. In Europe, the normal workweek is usually less than 40 hours and ranges widely by industry or occupation both within and between countries. For example, earlier this decade, the normal workweek was 29 hours for Volkswagen production workers in Germany, but now it is 33 hours; in France, the normal workweek has been 35 hours for almost all employees for the past 10 years.” For other international comparisons see Rebecca Ray and John Schmitt, “The Right to Vacation: An International Perspective,” *International Journal of Health Services*, 38, no.1 (2008): 21–45. See also the World Tourism Organization, on the Internet at a site maintained by the organization: <http://www.unwto.org/index.php>. For United States statistics, see U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, “Paid-Leave Benefits: Vacations, holidays, and personal leave,” Program Perspectives (February, 2009), found online at a site maintained by the bureau: <http://www.bls.gov/opub/perspectives/issue2for11by17.pdf>. The Bureau of Labor

Statistic noted that the number of paid holidays varied by worker and establishment characteristics: union workers averaged 10 paid holidays; nonunion workers, 8; Private-sector workers in management, professional, and related occupations, 9; workers in service and natural resources, construction, and maintenance occupations, 7; Workers in private establishments employing 100 workers or more, 9; workers in smaller establishments, 7.

12. See, for example, Richard Posner, *Aging and Old Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 39, 83, 350; and Henry J. Aaron and Gary T. Burtless, *Retirement and Economic Behavior* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1984), 117. Such observers avoided the obvious implication of the “trend” they thought they had detected, stopping well short of predicting that the average work-life might be substantially reduced over time—no one has resurrected Edward Bellamy’s nineteenth century prediction that Americans would retire in their early 40s.

Introduction:

8. Ibid. Gordon Wood concluded: “Politeness and refinement tamed and domesticated the severe classical conception of virtue. Promoting social affection was in fact the object of the civilizing process. This new social virtue was less Spartan and more Addisonian, less the harsh self-sacrifice of antiquity and more the willingness to get along with others for the sake of peace and prosperity. Virtue in the modern manner became identified with politeness, good taste, and one’s instinctive sense of morality.”

Chapter 1

2. Wood concluded, “Classical virtue had flowed from the citizen’s participation in politics; government had been the source of his civic consciousness and public spiritedness. [By contrast, during the early Republic,] modern virtue flowed from the citizen’s participation in society, not in government, which the liberal-minded increasingly saw as the source of the evils of the world. It was society—the affairs of private social life—that bred sympathy and the new domesticated virtue. Mingling in drawing rooms, clubs, and coffee-houses—partaking of the innumerable interchanges of the daily comings and goings of modern life—created affection and fellow-feeling, which were all the adhesives really necessary to hold an enlightened people together. . . . All human beings had ‘implanted in our breasts’ this ‘love of others,’ this ‘moral instinct’; these ‘social dispositions’ were what made democracy possible.” Gordon Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969–1998), x–xiii. See also Gordon Wood, “Jefferson in His Time,” *Wilson Quarterly* 17 (Spring 1993): 38–53.

9. Jonathan Edwards, “Cares of This Life Hinder the Word of God” (Matthew 13:22), in *Sermons, Series II: 1728–1729 of Works of Jonathan Edwards Online*, ed. Harry S. Stout and Kenneth P. Minkema, available at <http://edwards.yale.edu>. Here Edwards introduced the “work school” that would become a millennial theme repeated through the nineteenth century. Following the New Light theology, Edwards and others begin to “think more in terms of man’s nonprofessional relations to his fellow man than in those of the calling,” as Richard Niebuhr put it. Niebuhr, *The Kingdom of God in America*, 113. With Edwards and other evangelicals, the

emphasis on the virtue of work began to shift to its extrinsic value as a training institution that would prepare individuals and a people for “spiritual concerns” truly worthwhile in and for themselves. Work was necessary and valuable because it instilled discipline necessary for the growing freedom of God’s service and coming kingdom, not because it was the perpetual curse of original sin. With the coming of the kingdom, the old Adamic curse was being lifted.

12. Edwards, *A Narrative of Many Surprising Conversions*, 12, 22. See also George M. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 159–160. Marsden citing “what we now know about human nature” and Edward’s tendency to hyperbole, doubts Edwards’ claims about the extent to which spiritual concerns crowded out practical matters, but agrees that business as usual was interrupted in the early days of the Awakening. Marsden quoted Edwards’ observation that “They seemed to follow their worldly business more as a part of their duty than from any disposition they had to it. The temptation now seemed to lie on that hand, to neglect worldly affairs too much, and to spend too much time in the immediate exercise of religion.”

22. Robinson, “The Legacy of Channing,” 228. Robinson notes that for Channing “Religion thus becomes a process of cultivation, of bringing this infinite potential into ever-increasing reality in the moral and spiritual life. If the notion of ‘traces of infinity’ begins to sound vague, Channing specifies them primarily in terms of the intellectual and artistic life.”

35. *Ibid.* In various places Channing used “intellectual and liberal occupations” to refer both to new kinds of jobs in the marketplace that would more efficiently meet human needs, and to leisure activities that transcended necessity. In his essay on slavery, it is hard to determine which meaning he intended. Arguably, since his main point in the passage here cited was that the work of free people would free them from the goad of necessity, whereas the labor of slaves further enslaved them to the relentless demands of their masters, he had in mind the latter

44. *Ibid.*, 19–20. Channing also observed: “Matter becomes beautiful to us when it seems to lose its material aspect, its inertness, finiteness, and grossness, and by the ethereal lightness of its forms and motions seems to approach spirit; when it images to us pure and gentle affections; when it spreads out into a vastness which is a shadow of the Infinite; or when in more awful shapes and movements it speaks of the Omnipotent. Thus outward beauty is akin to something deeper and unseen, is the reflection of spiritual attributes.”

55. *Ibid.*, 52–54; see also 242, 360. Channing did not explain further how the “the character and spirit of the people” would “effect a much more equal distribution” of wealth. (58) But this move, linking shorter work hours to wealth redistribution, was later more fully explored and theorized by writers such as the economist and theologian Monsignor John Ryan. For Ryan’s arguments, see Benjamin Kline Hunnicutt, *Work Without End* (Philadelphia: Temple Press: 1988), 88 *et. seq.* Ryan proposed that as men and women became more wealthy, they might reasonably choose to turn more of their attention to doing things outside the marketplace. Choosing to work less and devote their lives to non-pecuniary pursuits, prosperous citizens would be slower to buy luxuries and new goods and services. Capital then would have to turn from the creation of luxuries for the wealthy to the production of necessities that would be ever less expensive. Poorer people, able to better afford inexpensive necessities, and no longer tempted by a material “standard of living” that constantly expanded (the “spending examples of

the rich”), would demand more leisure to share genuine progress in the “realm of freedom.” No longer needing to grow, an economy, having reached a stationary state, would no longer require increasingly great reservoirs of capital.

Chapter 2

2. Maurice Godelier, “Aide-Memoire for a Survey of Work and Its Representations,” *Current Anthropology* 21 (December 1980): 831–835. Lucien Febvre, “Travail: Evolution d’un Mot et d’une Idée,” *Journal de Psychologie Normale et Pathologique*, (January-March 1948): 19–28; Werner Conze, “Arbeit” and “Arbeiter” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1972), 1:154–215 and 1:216–242. Marshall Sahlins, *Tribesmen* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968), 79–80.

3. See Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, trans. N. I. Stone (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1911). See page 300 for: “The example of labour strikingly demonstrates how even the most abstract categories, despite their validity in all epochs—precisely because they are abstractions—are equally a product of historical conditions even in the specific form of abstractions, and they retain their full validity only for and within the framework of these conditions.”

5. Thompson, “Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism,” 85. See also E. J. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labor* (New York, 1964), esp. chap. 17; K. Thomas, “Work and Leisure in Pre-Industrial Societies,” *Past and Present* 29 (1962): 50–62; S. Pollard, “Factory Discipline in the Industrial Revolution,” *Economic History Review* 16 (1968): 254–271; G. S. Jones, “Working Class Culture: Working Class Politics in London, 1870–1900,” *Journal of Social History* 9 (1974): 460–508; S. Pollard, *Work and Play: Ideas and Experiences of Work and Leisure* (New York, 1976); H. Gutman, *Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America* (New York, 1976), 3–78; D. R. Roediger, *The Movement for the Shorter Working Day in the United States Before 1866* (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1980), 4–12.

22. Compare Orlando Patterson, *Freedom in the Making of Western Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1992) *passim*. Patterson suggests that the Western idea of freedom originated with the coming of slavery and the establishment of contrasts between master vs. slave, which set in motion various cultural articulations of “freedom” in the Western culture.

25. Rancière, *The Nights of Labor*, vii. See also Chris Turner, “Introduction to Rancière,” *New Formations*, no. 3 (Winter 1987): 56. Turner observed that the *Nights of Labor* is “not a conventional academic account ... While the Saint-Simonians, for example, saw in the workers ideal embodiments of the positive values of toil, the workers ... were far more interested in the alternative opportunities for fashioning a new ‘intellectual’ existence, which this meeting with a ‘new world’ suddenly revealed to them .

31. In the *Voice of Industry* on December 26, 1845, Young reported on one of Burritt’s lectures that he called a “truly worthy effort.” However, Young was critical of Burritt’s glorifying labor as “indispensable to [human] happiness” and hoped that he would “be induced to turn his attention more directly to the evils of the present system of labor and their degrading tendency.”

Burritt fared only a little better in the labor press during the nineteenth century than he has recently in academic journals.

40. Jürgen Habermas described the “lifeworld” as forming “communities of discourse,” finding examples in fledgling worker communities building in the modern era. Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action: Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason*, trans. T. McCarthy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987). See also John L. Hemingway, “Emancipating Leisure: The Recovery of Freedom in Leisure,” *Journal of Leisure Research* 28, no. 1 (1996): 27. Habermas wrote often about the classical world, describing a time when along the Mediterranean, “civility,” “communicative discourse,” “critical-rational discussions,” and direct, critical reflection and interaction through the spoken and written word, public rituals, signs and symbols, took place within publically provided “discursive spaces.” However, he also applied his model of healthy “communities of discourse” to the fledgling culture-building that took place in worker communities early in the Modern Era—in fraternal associations, clubs, unions, and a variety of community groups. At least a few workers in New England in the nineteenth century may be said to have actually experienced, briefly, “communities of discourse” that Habermas describes—many more aspired to such communities, understanding progress as the spread of a democratic culture in which everyone was able to live into and create something of their own “lifeworld” locally.

Habermas’ went on to show that such “communities of discourse” have collapsed, replaced in the modern age by a super-culture that is passively consumed by most of us—produced and performed by an increasingly small elite. Writing about the transformation of “a public that made culture an object of critical debate into one that consumes it,” he concluded: “no longer cultivation [*Bildung*] but rather consumption opens access to culture goods.”

See also: John L. Hemingway, “Emancipated Leisure, Habermas’ Early Essays on Consumption, Free Time, and Leisure,” unpublished article in the author’s possession. Hemingway showed how Habermas emphasized the importance of leisure as the opportunity for the construction of “communities of discourse,” quoting from J. Habermas, “Die Dialektik der Rationalisierung: Vom Pauperismus in Produktion und Konsum,” *Merkur* 8 (1954):701–724; Habermas, “Notizen Zum Missverhältnis von Kultur und Konsum,” *Merkur* 10.3 (1956): 212–228; Habermas, (1958); Habermas, “Soziologische Notizen Zum Verhältnis von Arbeit und Freizeit,” in G. Funke , ed., *Konkrete Vernunft: Festschrift für Erich Rothacker* (Bonn: H. Bouvier. Co. Verlag; 1958), 219–231; Habermas *The Theory of Communicative Action, A Critique of Functionalist Reason*, vol. 2 of *Lifeworld and System*, trans. T. McCarthy, 3d corrected ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987); Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry Into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. T. McCarthy (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press,1989).

42. Thomas Jefferson, “Declaration of Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms,” July 6, 1775. Jefferson concluded: “[W]e most solemnly, before God and the world, declare that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die free men rather than to live slaves.” It is reasonable to conclude that “Juliana” was familiar with Jefferson’s words (or even more significantly, that they had become part of common discourse) since her words in italics are virtually identical to Jefferson’s

and she employed them in the same Jeffersonian context—as a call to fight for liberty against oppressors.

68. Daniel T. Rodgers, *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 90. See also James Gilbert, *Work without Salvation: America's Intellectuals and Industrial Alienation, 1880–1910* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1877), v, 153, 181. Daniel Rodgers argues that the loss of self-reliance, control, creativity, self-expression, and social mobility at work precipitated a nation-wide crisis of the “work ethic,” but dates the crisis later, toward the end of the nineteenth century. However, for workers involved in the ten hour struggles, work’s first crisis occurred with the coming of the “bastard workshop” and industrial work discipline. For the term, “crisis of work,” see Gilbert, *Work Without Salvation*, 181 et seq.

70. Commons et al., *History of Labour in the United States*, 1:69. Committed to an economic and class-based interpretation of the history of American labor, Commons and his associates had trouble fitting the issue of shorter working hours to their model. Helen Sumner began her chapter with: “The cause of the awakening [of American wage-earners to their interests as a class] was the economic and political inequality between citizens of different classes ... “But then wrote: “Around two chief grievances ... the workingmen of this period rallied. First was the demand for leisure, which furnished the keynote of the economic movement ... Second was the demand for public education, which furnished the keynote of the political movement.” Then Sumner turned immediately to detailing the economic hardships of the winter of 1828–9: the soup kitchens, unemployment, starvation wages, the “thousands of shivering, hungry applicants for charity...,” to which she attached the entirely incongruous conclusion: “The most frequent cause of complaint among the working people was the lack of leisure.” She tried briefly to explain away the incongruity with a wandering account of seasonal unemployment, but left her task unfinished. After Sumner’s chapter, Commons and his associates stopped trying to reconcile their economic interpretation with workers’ obvious interest in leisure, and emphasized the economic benefits of hours reductions: higher wages and unemployment relief. In what sense the “demand for leisure” was the “keynote to the economic movement” remains far from clear.

91. *Ibid.*, August 24, 1844. Lazerow, *Religion and the Working Class in Antebellum America*, 136. The exception was Milford, Connecticut. Speaking there August 13, 1844, Hewitt met with a decided coolness, but remarked that “this is the only incident of its kind ... may it also be the last.” Lazerow concluded that “[Hewitt] was what can only be described as an itinerate preacher for the labor movement.”

Chapter 3

5. Ed Folsom outlined and used such a representation strategy in the Fifteenth Annual Presidential Lecture, “What Do We Represent? Walt Whitman, Representative Democracy, and Democratic Representation,” February 15, 1998, at the University of Iowa, Pamphlet held by the University of Iowa Library, Iowa City. He wrote: “[W]e can hear in the word its most miraculous claim; to re-PRESENT, to make present again, to bring something or someone absent into presence.”

6. For Whitman's understanding of progress as the advance of freedom, see, for example, the opening lines of *Democratic Vistas*, 361–362. Citing John Stuart Mill's essay on liberty he wrote: "As the greatest lessons of Nature through the universe are perhaps the lessons of variety and freedom, the same present the greatest lessons also in New World politics and progress ... Liberty in the future ... With this thought—and not for itself alone, but all it necessitates, and draws after it—let me begin my speculations."

8. Perennially, historians and politicians interpret American history as the gradual unfolding of the liberal assumptions implicit in the Declaration of Independence. They often assert that the promises that all "men" are born with "unalienable" rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" were gradually claimed, and are in the process of being claimed, in contexts never imagined by the Founders and by groups initially excluded—those without property, African Americans, women, gays and lesbians, and so on. Martin Luther King, in his "I Have a Dream" speech in 1963, and Barack Obama, in his keynote address to the Democratic National Convention in 2004, followed this interpretation.

Agreeing with J. B. McMaster and other historians of his day, Ralph Barton Perry wrote; "The history of American democracy is a gradual realization, too slow for some and too rapid for others, of the implications of the Declaration of Independence." See Perry, *Puritanism and Democracy* (New York: Random House, 1944), 133. See also for example Garry Willis, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Re-Made America* (New York: Touchstone, 1992), 77, 105, 109.

11. Whitman, *Democratic Vistas*, 410. For additional Whitman references to progress's three stages see Walt Whitman, "Poetry To-day in America – Shakespeare – The Future," See *PW*, 475 for: "For the meanings and maturer purposes of these States are not the constructing of a new world of politics merely, and physical comforts for the million, but even more determinedly, in range with science and the modern, of a new world *democratic sociology* and imaginative literature. If the latter were not establish'd for the States, to form their only permanent tie and hold, the first-named would be of little avail ... "See also *PW*, 483 for: "Science, having extirpated the old stock-fables and superstitions, is clearing a field for verse, for all the arts, and even for romance, a hundred-fold ampler and more wonderful, with the new principles behind. Republicanism advances over the whole world, Liberty, with Law by her side, will one day be paramount—will at any rate be the central idea. Then only—for all the splendor and beauty of what has been, or the polish of what is—then only will the true poets appear, and the true poems." See also *PW*, 364 for: "I say that, far deeper than ["material success" and political freedom], what finally and only is to make of our western world a nationality superior to any hither known, and outtopping the past, must be vigorous, yet unsuspected Literatures, perfect personalities and sociologies, original, transcendental, and expressing (what, in highest sense, are not yet express'd at all,) democracy and the modern." Similarly in "Passage to India" Whitman suggested that scientists and inventors prepared the way for poets. See also Whitman's Preface to the 1855 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, in Untermeyer, *The Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, 501, 502. See also *loc. cit.* 803, 815, 823, 824.

Arguably, *Democratic Vistas* is a metaphor for the view from the vantage point built upon previous political and economic stages. "I too hail those achievements [extensions of political liberty and economic success] with pride and joy: then answer that the soul of man will not with such only—nay, not with such at all—be finally satisfied; but needs what, (standing on these and on all things, as the feet stand on the ground,) is address'd to the loftiest, to itself alone. Out of such considerations, such truths, arises for treatment in these Vistas... questions of

character, of an American stock-personality, with literatures and arts for outlets and return-expressions ...” Untermeyer, *The Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, 812.

21. Ibid. See also George Kateb, “Walt Whitman and the Culture of Democracy,” *Political Theory* 18, no. 4 (1990): 545–571; and Whitman, *Leaves of Grass: The Comprehensive Reader’s Edition*, 157. George Kateb observed that both Emerson and Whitman were “troubled by the timidity and melancholy that they found in the rigors of economic pursuits and in the failure of economic rewards to gratify or even compensate for the rigors.”

22. W. B. Fulghum, “Whitman’s Debt to Joseph Gostwick” *American Literature* 12 (January 1941): 491–496. Fulghum argues that Whitman owed most of his knowledge of Hegel to Gostwick’s six page summary. See Joseph Gostwick, *German Literature* (Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers, 1849), 268–273. However, Whitman had access to two other English translations and descriptions of Hegel’s works: Hedge’s translation of Hegel’s “Lectures on the Philosophy of History” (Whitman’s only access to a translation of Hegel’s actual writings) and the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. See Frederick Hedge, *Prose Writers of Germany* (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1848), 446–458; Thomas Traill, ed., *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. 11 (Boston: Little Brown, 1853), 281–283. Both sources focused on Hegel’s description of Universal History found in his “Lectures on the Philosophy of History.” Both stressed Hegel’s understanding of the progress of the Spirit as a triadic process that included the Spirit’s emergence, self-awareness and struggle with “the other (nature and society), and conscious re-joining with the material and social world and with history. Both include Hegel’s famous dictum: “The history of the world is the progress in the consciousness of Freedom.” Arguably, Whitman was influenced by Hegel’s Universal History as he described, poetically and in personal terms, the coming to awareness of the self, the joy of separation from the material world and in the freedom from traditional social constraints, and the return, in erotic rejoinings, to the world and others—things being made possible in the emerging democratic freedom of Higher Progress.

24. Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*, in Untermeyer, *The Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, 110, 115. See also Whitman, *Democratic Vistas*, 394 for: “There is, in sanest hours, a consciousness, a thought that rises, independent, lifted out from all else, calm, like the stars, shining eternal. This is the thought of identity—yours for you, whoever you are, as mine for me. Miracle of miracles, beyond statement, most spiritual and vaguest of earth’s dreams, yet hardest basic fact, and only entrance to all facts.”

27. See also Whitman, “Drum Taps,” in Untermeyer, *The Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, 288.

From Paumanok starting I fly like a bird,
Around and around to soar to sing the idea of all,
To the north betaking myself to sing there arctic songs,
To Kanada till I absorb Kanada in myself, to Michigan then,
To Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, to sing their songs, (they are inimitable)
Then to Ohio and Indiana to sing theirs, to Missouri and Kansas and Arkansas to sing theirs,
To Tennessee and Kentucky, to the Carolinas and Georgia to sing theirs,
To Texas and so along up toward California, to roam accepted everywhere;
To sing first, (to the tap of the war-drum if need be,)
The idea of all, of the Western world one and inseparable,

And then the song of each member of these States ...

30. Whitman, "Song of Myself," in Untermeyer, *The Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*. Certainly Whitman was able to distinguish his loafing and recreation from his writing, aspects of which he did call work: "Am putting the last touches on the printer's copy of my new volume of 'Leaves of Grass' the completed book at last. Work at it two or three hours, and then go down and loaf along the Harlem river; have just had a good spell of this recreation." See *Specimen Days*, in Untermeyer, *The Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, 788. Nevertheless, he also knew the difference between working at the printing office and other forms of employment for pay, and writing poetry, a distinction hinging not on the difficulty or effort involved but on the way that the activity was done and its purpose. Ordinary work was performed to meet ordinary material needs—usually under the direction of others. Writing, one of the most intense and difficult of efforts, was for higher purposes—to lead and teach, to "play with," to celebrate, enjoy, and find or create meaning.

In his personal life Whitman was notorious for his playfulness and seeming lack of attention to his day jobs. Edgar Lee Masters observed: "Whitman did not have the temperament of a journalist. He was slow and leisurely, and given to repose. At this time Whitman was living with his parents in Myrtle Avenue, Brooklyn, more than a mile from the office of *The Eagle* near the Fulton Ferry. He walked back and forth from his house to the office, and loafed along the way, observing the sights of the town. Worse than that he absented himself from duty for whole days, while he went to swim in the ocean or to play around." Edgar Lee Masters, *Whitman* (1937; reprint, New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1968), 30.

33. Eugen Fink, "The Oasis of Happiness: Toward an Ontology of Play," Ute Saine and Thomas Saine's translation of selections from Fink's *Oase des Glücks: Gedanken zu einer Ontologie des Spiels*, in "Game, Play, Literature," special issue, *Yale French Studies* 41 (1968): 19–30. Whitman's concept of play as the epitome of freedom is similar to Friedrich Schiller's. However, there is no evidence, aside from his familiarity with Hedge's, *Prose Writers of Germany*, that Whitman was familiar with Schiller's *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*. A number of modern writers, such as Eugen Fink, agree with Whitman's understanding of play as the archetypically free activity that is complete in itself, having no higher or better purpose.

35. Whitman also used the metaphor of "free play" or the "play of" to explain some of his central concepts such as "personalism." Whitman, *Democratic Vistas*, 396. "The problem, as it seems to me, presented to the New World, is, under permanent law and order, and after preserving cohesion, (ensemble-Individuality) at all hazards, to vitalize man's free play of special Personalism, recognizing in it something that calls evermore to be consider'd, fed, and adopted as the substratum for the best that belongs to us, (government indeed is for it) including the new esthetics of our future."

38. Ibid. Kateb writes; "The deepest moral and existential meaning of equal rights is this kind of equal recognition granted by every individual to every individual. Democratic connectedness is mutual acceptance." However, one might argue that Whitman's adhesiveness was more than equal rights and simple "acceptance." His was a passionate connection, a warm embrace that would bind each to each, as a family is held together by bonds of affection.

39. See Whitman, *Democratic Vistas*, 414 for: “It is the development, identification, and general prevalence of that fervid comradeship, (the adhesive love, at least rivaling the amative love hitherto possessing imaginative literature, if not going beyond it,) that I look for the counter-balance an offset of our materialistic and vulgar American democracy, and for the spiritualization thereof. Many will say it is a dream, and will not follow my inferences: but I confidently expect a time when there will be seen, running like a half-hid warp through all the myriad audible and visible worldly interests of America, threads of manly friendship, fond and loving, pure and sweet, strong and life-long, carried to degrees hitherto unknown—not only giving tone to individual character, and making it unprecedentedly emotional, muscular, heroic, and refined, but having the deepest relations to general politics. I say democracy infers such loving comradeship, as its most inevitable twin or counterpart, without which it will be incomplete, in vain, and incapable of perpetuating itself.”

43. For “discussional,” see Jürgen Habermas and T. McCarthy, *The Theory of Communicative Action: Reason and the Rationalization of Society* (New York: Beacon Press, 1985). After World War II, French writers began to recognize what Whitman had pointed to in his poetry: the significance of everyday life. The “Quotidian,” or “Everydayness,” originated with Georg Lukàcs, but Henri Lefebvre expanded the idea in Whitman’s direction, proposing “a rehabilitation of everyday life ... and its positive content” based on a “concept of everydayness [which can] reveal the extraordinary in the ordinary.” Henri Lefebvre, “The Everyday and Everydayness,” *Yale French Studies*, No. 73, (1987), pp. 7–11. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2930193>.

44. “Gray detail” is the phrase Foucault used to describe aspects of his “genealogy” project, which he defined as the “union of erudite knowledge and local memories ... a reactivation of local knowledges ... in opposition to scientific hierarchisation of knowledges.” Quoted in Benjamin Hunnicutt, “Habermas’s *Musse* and Foucault’s *Genealogy*: Ways out of the Postmodern Black Hole,” *Leisure Sciences* 28 (December 2006): 437–441. Aspects of Whitman’s “program of culture” are similar to Habermas’ *Musse* and Foucault’s “genealogy.”

52. Hunnicutt, “Habermas’s *Musse* and Foucault’s *Genealogy*: Ways out of the Postmodern Black Hole,” 440.

54. Ed Folsom and Kenneth M. Price, *Re-Scripting Walt Whitman: An Introduction to His Life and Work* (Maiden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 33. Ed Folsom and Kenneth Price describe the complex process Whitman used rearranging his manuscript as it was being set for printing. They conclude: “It is a process that invites us to play the dangerous but instructive game of shuffling Whitman’s lines all though ‘Song of Myself’ ... and discovering how easily new poems emerge that sound perfectly plausible ... “

55. Olsen, “Whitman’s Leaves of Grass.” Olsen concludes: “Leaves remains a piece of living culture because it includes the reading act as part of its writing. All readers are engaged in the act of poetic composition, as their interpretations are given equal standing with the poet’s original formulation. Readers consequently all have the potential to gain entry into the democratic ‘class’ of poets, as their readings contribute to the continuation of the poem ... It is the person addressed as ‘you’ who, as the receiver of the poetic utterance, is charged with the role of the nation-

moving-towards-freedom and who embodies Whitman's image of the developing American culture."

See also Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans., Thomas Berger (Boston: MIT Press, 1991). Creation of public spheres (political, social, and literary) and of rational-critical debate was more of a "transformation" in Germany than in the United States. What Habermas saw as transformation (democratizing discourse in civil society) may be compared with Whitman's playing out of "underlying principles of the States." Whitman would agree with Habermas, however, that the coming of communities of discourse depended on will—on the free choices of free people.

66. Haddox, "Whitman's End of History," 1–22. See also Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), 5:393, 427. Haddox argues that at first Whitman sees economic growth and capitalism "expanding the basis of material life and making possible the preconditions for freedom." But after the war Whitman retreated to an "idealized Jeffersonian republic" rather than confront "the industrial capitalist present and future." Thus his work "becomes little more than an exercise in nostalgia" as he took "refuge from the distortions of the present in a mythic past." His "refusal to engage with the complexities of the present moment," his steadfast ignoring of "the forces associated with industrial capitalism that were already transforming American society: mechanization, urbanization, and bureaucratization" finally make his work irrelevant.

67. Whitman, *Democratic Vistas*, 402 (italics added). Whitman's "pleasant western settlement" continues one of his long expositions that begins just before he introduces "the wife of a mechanic." Trying to imagine a place in society for "feminine excellence" that "knew that there are intervals," he proceeds to outline his western utopia where time was available for "the rest of life, the main thing."

The premise of much of the utopian literature published during Whitman's lifetime, such as Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, was that science and technology would gradually liberate humans from labor, freeing them to live full lives. Utopian authors repeatedly used Henry More's original utopian device of the four-hour work-day, or as in Bellamy's case, retirement at an early age. Whitman "at least" took a "look" at Bellamy's book but was noncommittal in his reaction to it, noting that he was glad to know "what it is—what particular point—the public finds of moment in such a volume." See Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), 5: 393,427.

Chapter 4

18. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1968), introduction, 83, 92 (italics in original). See Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 38–39. Bakhtin observed: "The carnival crowd in the marketplace or in the streets is not merely a crowd. It is the people as a whole, but organized in their own way, the way of the people. It is outside of and contrary to all existing forms of coercive socioeconomic and political organization, which is suspended for the time of festivity ... Man experiences this flow of time in the festive marketplace, in the carnival crowd, as he comes into contact with other bodies of varying age

and social caste. He is aware of being a member of a continually growing and renewed people. This is why festive folk laughter presents an element of victory ... the defeat of power, of earthly kings, of the earthly upper classes, of all that oppresses and restricts... . All medieval parodical literature is recreative; it was composed for festive leisure and was to be read on feast days. It is, therefore, filled with the atmosphere of freedom and license. These gay parodies of the sacred were permitted on feast days, as was the *risus paschalis*, meat, and sexual intercourse. Here, too, is the prevailing logic of the ambivalent lower stratum.”

19. E. P. Thompson, “Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism,” *Past and Present* 38 (December 1967): 56–97. See also Ivan Illich, *Tools for Conviviality* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), the following quote is on page 11. “Convivial” is used here as Illich defined the term. He explained: “I choose the term ‘conviviality’ to designate the opposite of industrial productivity. I intend it to mean the autonomous and creative intercourse among persons, and the intercourse of persons with their environment; and this in contrast with the conditioned response of persons to the demands made upon them by others, and by a man-made environment. I consider conviviality to be individual freedom realized in personal interdependence and, as such, an intrinsic ethical value. I believe that, in any society, as conviviality is reduced below a certain level, no amount of industrial productivity can effectively satisfy the needs it creates among society’s members.”

20. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (1930; repr., Mineola, NY: Dover, 2003), 53, 89. Rather than equating the Protestant Ethic with the Spirit of Capitalism, Max Weber wanted to investigate “the [historical] relationship between the old Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism ...” He cautioned: “But it is not to be understood that we expect to find any of the founders or representatives of these religious movements considering the promotion of what we have called the spirit of capitalism ... We cannot well maintain that the pursuit of worldly goods, conceived as an end in itself, was to any of them of positive ethical value.” Defining the Spirit of Capitalism he quotes Benjamin Franklin extensively, concluding that Franklin is representative of the separation of morality from religion. Modern work is sanctioned by the spirit of capitalism rather than the Divine: by utility rather than a divine call: “ ... all Franklin’s moral attitudes are colored with utilitarianism. Honesty is useful because it assures credit; so are punctuality, industry, frugality, and that is the reason they are virtues ... those virtues, like all others, are only in so far virtues as they are actually useful to the individual ... In fact, the *summum bonum* of his ethic, the earning of more and more money, combined with the strict avoidance of all spontaneous enjoyment of life, is above all completely devoid of any eudaemonistic, not to say hedonistic, admixture. It is thought of so purely as an end in itself, that from the point of view of the happiness of, or utility to, the single individual, it appears entirely transcendental and absolutely irrational.”

26. Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will*, 58. “Exchange-mentality “is Rosenzweig’s term. Because of a lack of specificity, “commodify” and “commodification” have sparked some debate. The Oxford English Dictionary definition leaves room for some confusion: “The action of turning something into, or treating something as, a (mere) commodity; commercialization of an activity, etc., that is not by nature commercial.” The terms are used here more carefully, and defined with reference to Stefan Linder’s analysis of “utility” as a function of the time used to consume a product in relation to amount of product consumed. Seeking a workable definition, I will maintained that “commodification” occurs when consumption becomes more “goods

intensive,” requiring more product and less time. Linder, *The Harried Leisure Class* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 135.

33. Richard Butsch, *For Fun and Profit: The Transformation of Leisure into Consumption* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 13. See also Stephen Hardy, *How Boston Played: Sport, Recreation, and Community, 1865–1915* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003); Dominic Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880–1920* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981); and Cary Goodman, *Choosing Sides: Playground and Street Life on the Lower East Side* (New York: Schocken Books, 1979).

45. Elizabeth Hasanovitz, *One of Them: Chapters from a Passionate Autobiography* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918), 96. Hasanovitz came to the United States just after the Triangle Shirtwaist fire, but she recalled the panic the news caused in her Shtetl in Russia in 1911. See also Susan A. Glenn, *Daughters of the Shtetl: Life and Labor in the Immigrant Generation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), *passim*.

72. Orleck, *Common Sense and a Little Fire*, 182. Orleck interprets this quote to refer to the internecine struggles within the ILGWU. But given its context, the quote could just as easily be broadly understood to refer to her change of mind regarding the role politics played in realizing her dreams of a working class commonwealth.

81. Cohn, “Woman’s Eternal Struggle: What Workers’ Education Will Do for Women” pamphlet reprinted from the January, 1932 issue of *Pioneer Woman*. Cohn continued: “These women are careful not to confuse the conventional standard of bourgeois conception of ‘success’ and ‘failure’ and our conceptions of the same things. Here Workers’ Education is helpful in distinguishing between individual and collective success.”

92. Cohn, *Learning, Playing, Action*, 5A. The historian Charles Beard remarked that “in terms of [Cohn’s] life and labor, an American epic could be written.” Indeed, James Truslow Adams’ description of the American dream in his *American Epic* could easily have been patterned after Cohn’s vision of workers’ education. See Charles Austin Beard and Fannia Cohn, “An American Adventure in Workers’ Education,” *Workers’ Education* (Oct. 1938): 15–20.

95. Josephine Goldmark, *Fatigue and Efficiency: A Study in Industry* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1912), 286–287. The quote, “another race hath been ...” was, of course, taken William Wordsworth’s Ode, “Intimations of Immortality.” Wordsworth’s image is decidedly visionary—of a people, far from original innocence, yet still able to envision and hope for a mature, reasoned return to what Harold Bloom called childhood’s “first affections [and] primal sympathy” with nature and others. See Harold Bloom, *The Visionary Company: A Reading of English Romantic Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), 177.

96. See Stanley Shapiro, “The Passage of Power: Labor and the New Social Order,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 120, no. 6 (1976): 464–474. See also *New Republic* 14 (February 16, 1918): 2. As late as July 1919, Gleason still maintained that labor’s future lay with guild socialism. Gleason had spent years in Britain as correspondent for the *Survey* and *New Republic*, witnessing the rise of Guild Socialism and reporting on the publication of the Labour Party’s manifesto: *Labour and the New Social Order*. Offering a refurbished version of

revisionist socialism, still emphasizing industrial democracy and worker control, the document was influential in the United States among progressives and laborites and in 1918–1919.

131. Gunton, *Wealth and Progress*, 235, 318, see also 95–96, 241, 341, 344, 352. Gunton, known best for his work with Steward and George McNeill during the eight-hour movement, began his career with labor as an organizer among textile workers in the Northeast. Just before he died, Steward asked Gunton to help him finish the book Steward had been working on for years. In the preface to *Work and Progress* Gunton wrote: “the central thought presented in this book belongs to Ira Steward.... the idea the standard of living is the basis of wages, and that social opportunity, or more leisure for the masses, as expressed in *less hours of labor*, is the natural means for increasing wages and promoting progress.” Throughout the book, Gunton consistently distinguishes “material progress” from “social, intellectual, and moral” progress, arguing that the former was prelude to the latter, and that increasing leisure was the key to both. Gunton also pointed out that while “education, free lectures, public libraries, parks, museums, and art galleries” would be necessary to support social, intellectual, and moral progress, they would be “ineffectual” until “*leisure time of the masses is increased.*” Italics in the original.

Chapter 5

8. E. P. Thompson, “Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism,” *Past and Present* 38 (December 1967): 56–97. Thompson concluded that after an initial period of resistance, workers had accepted modern work discipline in exchange for the promise of gradual work reduction. Thompson wrote “The onslaught, from so many directions, upon the people’s old working habits was not, of course, uncontested. In the first stage, we find simple resistance. But, in the next stage, as the new time- discipline is imposed, so the workers begin to fight, not against time, but about it ... in the better-organized artisan trades, especially in London, there is no doubt that hours were progressively shortened in the eighteenth century as combination advanced.” Page 85

12. Wright, “The Art and Craft of the Machine.” British Arts and Crafts leaders were particularly concerned with the deskilling of modern jobs and wanted to remedy the repetitiveness of machine manufacture—the boredom of the work and the uniformity of the products—by reintroducing craftsmanship to the workplace. Businessmen, artisans, and dilantants set up schools and workshops, often in the country or small towns, to preserve traditional handicraft skills and the use of traditional materials. Wright adopted several of the British initiatives such as simplicity of design, emphasis on “bringing out” the natural qualities of materials such wood, and dispersing workers from the cities and factories to rural setting.

23. Wright, *Frank Lloyd Wright Collected Writings*, 5:262. Wright often wrote of “unearned increments,” expanding Henry George’s ideas about the state’s need to control and tax “unearned increments of land values” to include such things as “rent for money.”

29. Ibid. See also Wright, *Frank Lloyd Wright Collected Writings*, 2:74. The full quote begins: “Only when the city becomes purely and simply utilitarian, will it have the order that is beauty, and the simplicity which the machine, in competent hands, may very well render as human benefit. That event may well be left to the machine. This, *the only possible ideal machine* seen as a city, will be invaded at ten o’clock ...”

31. Wright, *Frank Lloyd Wright Collected Writings*, 2:96–97. Wright continued: “Modern architecture is power directly applied to purpose ... The building as architecture is born out of the heart of man, permanent consort to the ground, comrade to the trees, true reflection of man in the realm of his own spirit. His building is therefore consecrated space wherein he seeks refuge, recreation, and repose for body but especially for mind ... for becoming ourselves in our own environment our architecture becoming more human ...”

33. See, for example, Wright, *Frank Lloyd Wright Collected Writings*, 2:68.

See also *CW*, 2:68, of the Kahn Lectures, for: “In all the history of human life upon earth, breadth, the consciousness of freedom, the sense of space appropriate to freedom, is more desirable ... in the use and beauty that it yields mankind.” See also the Wendingen series, *CW*, 65 for: “In the modern Machine we have built up a monster image of ourselves that will eventually destroy us unless we conquer it—and turn it from its work of enslavement to its proper and ordained work of emancipation. Then, in its proper place,—the margin of human leisure immeasurably widened,—and the plastic in Art become a free flowing channel for imaginative creative effort, we will have a background for life that is integral—a setting incomparably more organic and expressively beautiful as a whole than has even been known before in the world ...”

36. Wright, like Whitman, might have been influenced by the German Romantic philosophers. See Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), 128. His belief that it was possible for the Human Spirit to free itself from the chains of necessity and, outgrowing the need to be always in conflict with the material world, establish new, free relationships with nature and within society, leads one to suspect the influence of Hegel and Schiller. Robert Fishman called Frederick Schiller “one of Wright’s favorite thinkers.”

Wright cites Schiller’s “Sixth Letter on Aesthetic Education” in his 1914 work, “In the Cause of Architecture: Second Paper.” See Twombly, *Frank Lloyd Wright: Essential Texts*, 159 *et seq.* Whereas Whitman’s ties to Hegel, Fichte and other German romantics are obvious, in Wright’s case the trace is too indistinct to follow. Wright probably owed more to the Lloyd-Joneses and his Welch heritage than to German philosophers and poets. Wright’s genius was his ability to envision new, free ways to relate to the land and to live in community beyond the confines of utility and self-inflicted necessity. That his vision of a new, free relationship with the world was nurtured more by conversations on his uncle’s front porch in Wisconsin than by Teutonic tomes, is evidenced by the fact that Wright, like Whitman, was impatient with the philosophers’ speculations and more interested in the democratic realization of the dream of freedom, devoting his life to putting the dream on the ground, in the solid forms of concrete and steel, glass, and terra cotta.

39. Wright, *An Autobiography* (1943; repr., Petaluma, CA: Pomegranate, 1977), 326 (italics in original). See also Wright, *Frank Lloyd Wright Collected Writings*, 2:74 for: “The machine, once our formidable adversary, is ready and competent to undertake the drudgeries of living on this earth. The margin of leisure even now widens as the machine succeeds. This margin of leisure should be spent with the fields, in the gardens, and in travel. The margin should be expanded and devoted to making beautiful the environment in which human beings are born to live, into which one brings the children who will be the Usonia of tomorrow.”

45. *Ibid.*, 304–305. See also Wright, *Frank Lloyd Wright Collected Writings*, 2:77. Brownell pressed Wright to disavow the modern division of leisure and work, and to join him in praising Ruskin’s “gospel of work”—something that Wright had always before explicitly rejected. Wright remained consistent, even though seeming to agree with Brownell, by insisting that modern paid work was a form of “wage slavery,” and that the leisure/work dichotomy would disappear only in the “realm of freedom.”

The relationship between Broadacre City and the modern industrial world changed for Wright over time. During the 1930s, Wright saw the city as the place for technology: for machines that were increasingly able to produce the necessities of life, freeing people for creative, artistic endeavors and for free social relations in Broadacre City. He even quantified that relationship: eighteen hours work in the city to earn enough to be free the rest of the time for “a festival of life.” *Kahn Lectures*, CW, 2:77. However the gulf between the city and Broadacre was to widen as he began to envision more of life lived independent of the commercial world. Nevertheless, Broadacre’s dependence on modern efficient machines and techniques (and thus on the city) was always implicit even in his most utopian flights of fancy.

48. Robert C. Twombly, “Undoing the City: Frank Lloyd Wright’s Planned Communities,” *American Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (1972): 546–547. Twombly criticizes Wright because “he was exceedingly unenlightening on the means by which society would actually be reorganized.” However, Wright’s faith in democratic culture was such that he was optimistic that humans would learn to live together in freedom without government interventions. He believed that humans could progress morally, becoming better able to live together, just as they had proven they could progress technologically.

50. Corcoran, “Utopian Masterminds,” 459. See also Donald Leslie Johnson, “Frank Lloyd Wright in Moscow,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 46, no. 1 (1987): 65–79. Toward the end of his life, Wright did imagine something like a technocracy in which technical experts, particularly architects, would have great authority over the normal functioning of the economy and government. Notwithstanding his contradictions, his authoritarian lapses, and flirtations with the Soviet Union, he always returned to his fundamental beliefs in constitutional democracy and the Declaration of Independence.

59. “ART 1938: Usonian Architect: Frank Lloyd Wright’s Taliesin,” *Time*, October 5, 1983, 23. The reporter wrote: “[Wright] thinks of himself as in the ‘centre line’ of Usonian independence that runs through Thoreau and Whitman. Whether or not that line is still central in U. S. culture, there can be little doubt that Frank Lloyd Wright is their worthy peer.”

64. J. L. Hemingway, “Emancipating Leisure: The Recovery of Freedom in Leisure,” *Journal of Leisure Research* 28, no. 1 (1996): 30; see also Michael Martin, *Verstehen: The Uses of Understanding in Social Science* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2000), 221; and Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, 120. Leisure scholar, John Hemingway, observed: “There are multiple forms of rationality which may coexist in any given society. As Habermas pointed out, drawing on M. Weber’s and T. Parson’s sociological theory, societies have historically been characterized by specific forms of rationality. [Habermas] suggested that four broad types of rationality, and consequently rational action, may be identified: instrumental or purposive, or strategic reliance on a utilitarian means/ends calculus; normative, or compliance with group norms; dramaturgical, or expressive presentation of self to an audience or public; and

communicative, or exchanges between two or more subjects testing claims about an intersubjectively defined situation.”

66. Percy MacKaye, *Epoch: The Life of Steele MacKaye, Genius of the Theater, in Relation to His Times and Contemporaries* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927), xvi; Percival Chubb, *Festivals and Plays in Schools and Elsewhere* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1912), introduction and 5, 15–16, 122–124. See also Thomas Dickinson, *The Case of American Drama* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915), 193. MacKaye acknowledged Percival Chubb’s influence on his work. Both Chubb and MacKaye’s books were written as practical guides to the organization of communities built around the local theatre. MacKaye borrowed heavily from Chubb’s book, reiterating Chubb’s main themes: leisure created by technology promised a democratic, participatory culture for workers, and preparations had to be made and infrastructures built, requiring the vision and genius of the artist and support of government. Chubb was an educator and a founder of the Ethical Society of St. Louis.

68. *Ibid.*, 19. As early as 1909 MacKaye had asked his readers “to consider in dramatic art an ideal of independence, of national diversity, of American self-reliance ...” See Percy MacKaye, *Playhouse and the Play* (New York: Macmillan, 1909), 93. He continued to sound such themes in *Caliban by the Yellow Sands* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1916), xviii. Here MacKaye wrote: “... ‘pageantry,’ which is itself a vital sign of social evolution— [represents] the half- desire of the people not merely to remain receptive to a popular art created by specialists, but to take part themselves in creating it; the desire, that is, of democracy consistently to seek expression through a drama of and by the people, not merely for the people. For some ten years that potential drama of democracy has interested me as a fascinating goal for both dramatist and citizen, in seeking solution for the vast problem of leisure.”

72. Letter from MacKaye to Carl Glick, September 4, 1938, Carl Glick Papers, Box 1, MacKaye folder, University of Iowa Library, special collections; letter from Glick to MacKaye, January 23, 1938, Carl Glick Papers, Box 1, MacKaye folder, University of Iowa Library, special collections. MacKaye wrote: “As to the Civic Theatre, I originated that name ... I well recall setting up one night ... thinking intensely for an apt ... name by which to call this new conception of the theatre ... a theatre wholly divorced from commercialism ... In later years I come to wish that I had named it instead ‘the Communal Theatre,’ and I still think that would have been a better term for its intrinsic ideal.”

Glick had written MacKaye earlier: “The choice I made over twenty years ago of devoting my time to the non-professional theatre, rather than the professional, I have never regretted. It was largely due to this decision of mine, after reading your three books. For Community Drama is ... more than ‘putting on a play.’ Let’s let Broadway producers do that. But Community Drama should be the expression artistically of the people engaged in the work, however crude at first those efforts may be. But on that point I often become involved in arguments. Am I right? Rather than prepare for the professional stage, today many of our young people are studying theatre in order to go back home and carry on the work rather than plunge into Broadway.”

81. Walter Lippmann, review of *The Civic Theatre*, by Percy MacKaye, *New York Times*, January 12, 1912. See also W. Lippmann, “Free Time and Extra Money,” *Woman’s Home Companion* 57 (April 1930): 31; and Benjamin Kline Hunnicutt, *Work without End: Abandoning*

Shorter Hours for the Right to Work (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 260–265. Additional relevant writings by Percy MacKaye include: “American Pageants and Their Promise,” *Scribner’s* (July 1909.): 28–34; “Celebrating the Story of St. Louis,” *The Independent* (March 16, 1914); “Community Drama: An Interpretation,” *The Humanitarian* (January 1917): 21–26; *Community Drama: Its Motive and Method of Neighborliness* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917); “Drama of Democracy,” *Columbia University Quarterly* (March 1908): 173–183; “The Dramatist as Citizen,” *The Forum* (March 1909); “The Masque and Democracy” in Joyce Kilmer, ed., *Literature in the Making, by Some of its Makers* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1917), 305–319; *The Playhouse and the Play: and Other Addresses Concerning the Theatre and Democracy in America* (New York: Greenwood, 1968); “The Wisconsin Idea in the Theatre,” *Wisconsin Magazine* 10:8 (May 1913): 38–39.

85. Of special interest are Mabie’s and Glick’s papers, held by the University of Iowa Library, special collections. These archives contain relevant correspondence from Paul Green and Percy MacKaye, as well as Benjamin Shambaugh. See also R. L. Duffus, “The March of the Little Theatres Across America,” *New York Times*, Jan. 19, 1930; Barrett H. Clark, “‘Tread The Green Grass’ Turns Up In Iowa; Paul Green’s Folk Fantasy Succeeds in a University Theatre Production,” *New York Times*, Jul. 24, 1932.

88. “Kahn Sees Suburbs Best Art Centers,” *New York Times*, July 6, 1930. Secondary works about the community theatre in relation to the progress of democratic culture include: Blair, Karen J. *The Torchbearers: Women and Their Amateur Arts Associations in America, 1890–1930* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Dorothy Chansky, *Composing Ourselves: The Little Theatre Movement and the American Audience* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004); David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); David Krasner, *A Beautiful Pageant: African American Theatre, Drama and Performance in the Harlem Renaissance, 1910–1927* (New York: Palgrave/MacMillan, 2002); Bruce A. McConachie and Daniel Friedman, eds. *Theatre for Working-Class Audiences in the United States, 1830–1980* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985); Vilma Raskin Potter, “Percy MacKaye’s Caliban for a Democracy,” *Journal of American Culture* 19.4 (1996): 71–79; Thomas Lee Prater, *The University as Little Theatre: The Origins and Development of Dramatics at the University of Missouri – Columbia*. Diss. University of Missouri – Columbia, 2003; Alan Read, *Theatre and Everyday Life: An Ethics of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

Chapter 6

4. Ibid. See also William Green, “Workers’ Education,” *American Federationist* 34 (March, 1927): 401. For labor’s view in general see Ralph Aiken, “A Laborer’s Leisure,” *North American Review* 232 (September, 1931): 268; S.A. Shaw, “Now That Jerry Has Time to Live,” *Survey* 52 (September 1, 1924): 568–70; “Leisure Time of Workers,” *Playground* 18 (September, 1924): 342–7; G. Eastman, “Letter to the Recreation Congress at Atlantic City,” *Playground* 16 (December, 1922): 409; J. H. Maurer, “Leisure and Labor,” *Playground* 20 (March, 1927): 649–55; “Resolution on Community Service Adopted at the American Federation

of Labor Convention at Portland,” *Playground* 18(September, 1924): 649; “State Education for Adult Workers in Massachusetts,” *Monthly Review of Labor Statistics* 17(November, 1928): 975.

6. William Green, “The Five-Day Week,” *American Federationist* 33 (October 1926): 567–574. See also William Green, “The Five-Day Week,” *North American Review* (December, 1926): 567–574; *New York Times*, 9 December 1926; William Green, “Less Working Hours is Logical,” *American Labor World* (November, 1926): 20; “The Proposed Five-Day Week,” *Industry* 108 (October 23, 1926): 1; “The Five-Day Week, Facts for Workers,” *Labor Bureau Economic News Letter* (November 1926): 12; William Green, *The Five-Day Week: Inevitable* (New York: American Federation of Labor, 1932), *passim*.

29. Stuart Chase, *The Economy of Abundance* (New York: Macmillan, 1934), 16–22; Arthur Pound, “Out of Unemployment into Leisure” *Atlantic Review* 146 (December 1930): 784–792; William Green, “Thirty Hour Week,” *American Federationist* 40 (November 1933): 1174. During the depression many believed that in the transition from scarcity to abundance, the new, never-before-seen or needed, goods and services being promoted by entrepreneurs were less spontaneously in demand than basic necessities that people had always needed—this notion was captured by the enduring economic theory of “declining utility.” People would always be slower to buy new, less (or newly) needed products and would have to be convinced to do so by expensive and elaborate means—advertising and the spending examples of the rich. As the utility of new goods and services continued to decline, people would be less and less likely to buy them because, by comparison, their free time would seem preferable (have greater utility) and they would choose to “buy back” more of their time from the economy, as they had in fact been doing for one hundred years—this was one of William Green’s primary points. The tendency for demand to lag behind product innovation, while productivity increased but hours remained stable, was the recipe for spiraling unemployment.

See also: A. J. Lindsay, “Unemployment: The ‘Meanwhile’ Problem,” *Contemporary Review* 143 (June 1933): 687; Mathew Woll, “Labor and the New Leisure,” *Recreation* 27 (1933): 428; L. P. Jacks, “Today’s Unemployment and Tomorrow’s Leisure,” *Recreation* 25 (December 1931): 478.

35. *New York Times*, May 16, 1932; May 21, 1932; May 26, 1932; June 30, 1932; July 30, 1932; September 22, 1932; October 5, 1932. See also Robert Himmelberg, *The Great Depression and American Capitalism* (Boston: Heath, 1968), 41; L. C. Walker, “Share-the-Work Movement,” *Annals of the American Academy* 165 (January 1933): 13.

39. See Ellis Hawley, *Herbert Hoover and the Crisis of American Capitalism* (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1973), 13, 28, 117. Professor Hawley characterizes Hoover’s dealing with business as “Associationism” or “associational progressivism,” a “neo-corporative idea—that would become part of the American system in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s.”

Chapter 7

1. For Wright’s continuing interest in increased leisure, see Wright, *When Democracy Builds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945). See page 44 for: “Developed machine power more directly and simply applied to better purposes [than luxury spending] is the clear basis of

any organic expression of social life valid in this twentieth century [because the machine is able to produce a] universal margin of leisure ... greater than any known by any previous Civilization.” See also *Ibid.*, 63 for Wright’s claim that Broadacre City would provide a “widening margin of leisure in this [the citizen’s] more appropriate Home.” Also *Ibid.*, 64 for: “And because the margin of leisure ... has been trebled by the appropriate use of the Machine, all may go and come.”

5. See, for example, Peter Blake, *Frank Lloyd Wright, Architecture and Space* (New York: Penguin, 1964), 338. See also Brendan Gill, *Many Masks: A Life of Frank Lloyd Wright* (New York: Putnam, 1987), 415. Blake observed (59): “Other ‘liberals’ found it very difficult to understand why, for example, he opposed Roosevelt’s New Deal with such passion. The reason was simple. [Roosevelt had supported] things that were alien to the American democratic ideal: he had centralized and strengthened governmental powers (instead of decentralizing and weakening it in the direction of the anarchist ideal) ...” See also Gill, *Many Masks*. Page 415 for: “a host of old comrades were distressed ... by Wright’s increasingly conservative political view (although he claimed to be an anarchist, vis-a-vis Roosevelt and the New Deal, he sounded more like a Hoover Republican ...”

13. *Ibid.*, 217. However, Wright did not seem to have been interested in the specific work sharing initiatives during of the Great Depression such as the Black/Connery B\

18. *Ibid.*, vii. In Hutchins’ estimation, a more reasonable approach to national defense would have been to lend assistance to developing countries, spending America’s troublesome super-abundance in third world countries that needed immediate relief from poverty and disease, and providing capital to help start the industrialization processes.

27. *Ibid.*, 68. Hutchins’ concept of “liberal” has aspects that might seem contradictory to some. For Hutchins, to be liberal meant to advocate the rational advance of freedom. His support of self-reliance and republican virtue seems a bit out of tune with his support of governmental control of the economy for the sake of the “public good.” The seeming inconsistency is resolved by Hutchins’ support of a higher freedom—a realm of freedom as leisure to which both the economy and government should be subservient.

32. Robert M. Hutchins, “The University and Character,” *The Commonweal*, April 22, 1938, 710–711. See also Hutchins, *No Friendly Voice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), 4, for a similar list of virtues: “Courage, temperance, liberality, honor, justice, wisdom, reason and understanding—these are still the virtues.” Ordinarily, “social virtues” are taught by the church and family. With the rise of “Salvation by Work” and the increased secularization of modern life, however, Hutchins believed that the schools needed to take more responsibility to teach such things.

39. Benjamin Hunnicutt, *Work without End: Abandoning Shorter Hours for the Right to Work* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 118. For representative articles, see “The Enrichment of Human Life,” *Journal of the National Education Association* 19 (February 1930): 64; “Vitalized Commencements and Leisure,” *Journal of the National Education Association* 19 (December 1930): 311; A. B. Brown, “The Leisure Problem,” *Hibbert Journal* 28 (1930): 455–464; V. K. Brown, “Use of Leisure,” *Playground* 23 (1930): 713–714; H. Suzzallo, “The Use of

Leisure,” *Journal of the National Education Association* 19 (April 1930): 123; E. R. Pyrtle, “Editorial: The Leisure of Tomorrow,” *Journal of the National Education Association* 19 (January 1930): 475; L. P. Jacks, “Leisure Time—A Modern Challenge,” *Playground* 24 (December 1930): 475; F. W. Kirkham, “The Wise Use of Leisure,” *Journal of the National Education Association* 19 (May 1930): 138; L. H. Conrad, “The Worthy Use of Leisure,” *Forum* 86 (November 1931): 312; S. Crowther, “Leisure and the Machine: An Interview with Myron C. Taylor,” *Saturday Evening Post* 203 (March 28, 1931): 3; W. Pangburn, “Leisure and the Seven Objectives,” *Journal of the National Education Association* 20 (April 1931): 20, 121; R. S. Wallace, “Education and Training for Leisure,” *Vocational Guidance Magazine* 11 (1931): 28–31; R. S. Wallace, *Education of the Whole Man: A Plea for a New Spirit in Education* (New York, 1931); R. S. Wallace, “Problem of Industrial Leisure,” *High School Teacher* 9 (1933): 90; H. Woodbury, “Preparing for Leisure,” *Parents Magazine* 8 (January 1933): 22; F. M. Debatin, “Urban University and the New Leisure; with Discussion,” in *Association of Urban Universities, Twentieth Annual Meeting* (1933), 66–79; W. G. Moorhead, “Two Committee Reports on Leisure Time,” *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 4 (1933): 34–36; L. J. Richardson, “Books and Leisure,” *Library Journal* 15 (May 1933): 58, 442.

40. Committee on Economic Security, “Report to the President” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1935), 47, 48. The report may be found on the Internet at a site maintained by the U.S. Social Security Administration, “Social Security Online,” at <http://www.socialsecurity.gov/history/reports/ces/cesbasic.html>, accessed, November 20, 2012.

49. Ibid. See also Rexford Tugwell, “Government in a Changing World,” *Review of Reviews* 88 (August 1933): 33–34. See also Tugwell, “Design for Government,” *Political Science Quarterly* 47 (September 1933): 321–331; Tugwell, “The Progressive Task Today and Tomorrow,” *Vital Speeches* 2 (December 1935): 130–135; Tugwell and L. Keyserling, *Redirecting Education*, 1:50–99; R. Tugwell, *Roosevelt’s Revolution: The First Year—A Personal Perspective* (New York, 1977); Tugwell, *Industry’s Coming of Age* (New York, 1927), 238, 239, 256–262; J. J. Metz, “The Machine and Leisure,” *Industrial Arts and Vocational Education* 26 (December 1937): 416.

59. Hutchins, *The Great Conversation*, 29. Hutchins wrote: “The revolt against the classical dissectors and drillmasters was justified. So was the new interest in experimental science. The revolt against liberal education was not justified. Neither was the belief that the method of experimental science could replace the methods of history, philosophy, and the arts. As is common in educational discussion, the public had confused names and things. The dissectors and drillmasters had no more to do with liberal education than the ordinary college of liberal arts has to do with those arts today.”

80. Ibid., 180. The quote begins: “We know that in a democracy everything ultimately depends on the character and intelligence of the people and that the older forms of protection for this country, geographical isolation, industrial strength, and military power, are now obsolete. The character and intelligence of our people are now their only protection ... [W]e must have a world government, which must be attained through world co-operation and world community.”

84. Robert M. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1936), 5. Hutchins wrote: “If the public becomes interested in the metropolitan newspaper,

schools of journalism instantly arise. If it is awed by the development of big business, business schools full of the same reverence appear. If an administration enlarges the activities of the federal government and hence the staff thereof, training for the public service becomes the first duty of the universities. Today public administration, housing, forestry, and aeronautics are the absorbing subjects of university interest, just as international relations after the war was the topic to which we were to devote ourselves. At any moment crime, divorce, child labor, socialized medicine, or the corruption of lawyers may through some sensational incident become the most pressing problem of the higher learning. During the synthetic excitement of last year about communism, socialism, and other forms of redness, it suddenly became the duty of the colleges and universities to give courses in the eradication of these great evils and in the substitution for them of something called Americanism.”

88. Hutchins, *The Great Conversation*, 1. Adult education had always been central to Hutchins’ vision of the coming age of leisure. See Mary Ann Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 234. During the 30s when the Black-Connery thirty-hour work week bill was making headlines across the country, Hutchins wrote: “We know that the shorter day and the shorter week are going to be with us long after the depression is over ... We may be quite confident that the present trend toward a shorter day and shorter week will be maintained. Whether the six-hour day comes this year or next, whether it comes by legislation or not, we may be sure it will come... . [Therefore] there is one great and pressing [need], adult education.” See Hutchins, *No Friendly Voice*, 104–105.

See also Robert M. Hutchins, *Some Observations on American Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 93, 118; Hutchins, “A Letter to the Reader,” in Robert Hutchins, Mortimer Adler, and Clifton Fadiman, eds., *Gateway to the Great Books*, 10 vols., vol. 1, Introduction, *Syntopical Guide* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1963).

94. *Ibid.* and Hutchins, “The Public Library: Its Place in Education.”

96. “Education: Trouble in Chicago,” *Time*, May 1, 1944. See also Mayer, *Robert Maynard Hutchins*, 340. The faculty’s list of grievances included Hutchins’ proposal to form an Institute of Liberal Studies that some faculty feared would reorganize the school’s graduate program around the “great books,” his streamlining of undergraduate education, and emphasis on adult education. Mayer writes that in February and March of 1944, Hutchins’ faced something of an uprising by senior faculty who wrote to him: “Toward the close of your speech of January 12 you state that ‘the purpose of the University is nothing less than to procure a moral, spiritual, and intellectual revolution throughout the world’ and you refer later to ‘the crusade to which we are called’ and ‘the revolution which must come if men are to live together in peace,’ a revolution which you say must involve ‘a reversal of the whole scale of values by which our society lives.’” The group thought this was a bit much. Most of all they were concerned by his suggestion that the PhD “might well be so redefined as to make it a degree primarily for the teachers ... needed to discover and introduce liberal education for all.” This episode was the beginning of a rebellion at Chicago that would culminate with Hutchins’ resignation eight years later.

98. “Books: Latter Day Beard,” *Time*, October 18, 1943. In 1920, just when a local printer, having lost hope that his bill would be paid, was about to destroy the plates for a new edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Sears Roebuck decided to buy the bankrupt company. Holding the

company for thirteen years, Sears finally decided that the encyclopedia was “foreign” to its mission and donated it outright to the University of Chicago.

103. Alex Beam, *A Great Idea at the Time: The Rise, Fall, and Curious Afterlife of the Great Books* (New York: Public Affairs Books, 2008), 4. Whereas Hutchins and Adler, for all their shortcomings, did intend their works to be civil, going to great lengths to let others have their fair say, listening respectfully to other points of view, and responding reasonably, and on point most of the time, Alex Beam goes to great lengths to be disrespectful and offensive. His book is a prime example of what Hutchins called the cult of cynicism, brim full of cheap-shots, innuendo, snide comments, and name calling. It is remarkable that Mr. Beam could have spent so much time reading and writing about Robert Hutchins, and not come to have some appreciation for civility. Beam’s book is also an example of how culture dies when social virtues are lost or refused in the silencing of discourse that is civility’s graveyard.

106. “Education: Culture C.O.D.” Author’s note: Growing up in the countryside, outside Raleigh, N.C. in the 1950s, my father a postal worker, I was nevertheless surrounded by good books and encouraged to read and talk about them. While we did not have Chicago’s great books, we did have, and read, several of the Charles Eliot’s *Harvard Classics*, including works of Plato and Aristotle. Olivia Raney Public Library’s “Bookmobile” that delivered books to country folks, and WUNC public television, also helped convince me that the life of the mind was within my reach—that I could go study at Chapel Hill, seek out Bernard Boyd, who lectured on Biblical Archeology and the German higher critics on public TV, and challenge him, as he had challenged me. And I did.

115. Berle, “Jobs for the Displaced,” 29, 38. Berle added: “Bluntly, much of the labor capacity of American will simply not be needed to produce the capital goods and the food clothing, shelter, and other consumers’ products that, with services, supply the wants of the American population ... Increase of the gross national product of the United States is currently preceding at almost five percent [the secular average] and it is not adequately reducing the proportion of the unemployed.

120. Robert Hutchins and Mortimer Adler, “Wealth and Happiness,” in *The Great Ideas Today: Work, Wealth, and Leisure*, 90. Through history, wealth had most often been seen as a subordinate value—a means to the more important end of human happiness. Wisdom was the ability to recognize, as soon as possible, when a person or a nation had “enough,” and to move on to better things. Quoting from variety of great books that made this point—among them Karl Marx’s observation that economic progress is valuable because it lays the “real basis of a higher form of society, a society in which the full and free development of every individual forms the ruling principle”—Hutchins and Alder concluded that “wealth holds the lowest place among the necessary means” of life.

126. Hutchins and Adler, *The Great Ideas Today*, 441. See also Leslie D. Foster, “Walden” and Its Audiences: Troubled Sleep, and Religious and Other Awakenings,” *The Modern Language Review* 67. 4 (Oct., 1972):756–762.

Chapter 8

5. See G. J. Santoni, "The Employment Act of 1946: Some History Notes," *Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Review*, November 1986. As introduced in the Senate, the Full Employment Bill of 1945 contained Roosevelt's "full-time employment" language: "all Americans able to work and seeking work have the right to useful, remunerative, regular, and full-time employment." See also Sumner H. Slichter, "Comments on the Murray Bill," *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 27.3 (Aug. 1945): 109–112. Sumner Slichter noted: "The bill, however, goes far beyond recognizing the responsibility of the federal government to 'stimulate and encourage' employment opportunities. It declares that all Americans able to work and seeking work have 'the right to useful, remunerative, regular, and full-time employment and that it is the policy of the United States to assure the existence at all times of sufficient employment opportunities to enable all Americans freely to exercise this right.' To begin with, the statement of the 'right' to work is based upon a narrow and oversimplified conception of the labor market. Millions of Americans prefer part-time employment to full-time employment. Apparently, no one has the 'right' to part-time employment."

6. Dwight Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 319. Eddie Rickenbacker and Senator Robert Byrd (D., West Va.) attributed some of America's early defeats in the war to the forty hour week.

7. Santoni, "The Employment Act of 1946."

17. David Dubinsky, "Union Education for Leisure," 113–117. Dubinsky, "Union Education for Leisure: A Summary of Educational and Recreational Facilities Provided by ILGWU-AFL for its Members," *Education* 71 (Oct. 1950) 113–117; Mark Starr, "Organized Labor and the Dewey Philosophy," in *John Dewey, Philosopher of Science and Freedom: A Symposium*, edited by Sidney Hook (New York: Dial Press, 1950), 184–193; Mark Starr, "Cap and Gown Meets Overalls," *Guidance, Practical Arts and Vocational Education* (Jan. 1945); Kandel and Associates, *And the Pursuit of Happiness* (New York: Educational Department of the ILGWU, 1947).

50. *Ibid.*, 60. Other speakers pointed out that the choice to give up some wage increases for additional leisure remained viable: "people may come to prefer more leisure to more income, even if they do not do so at the present moment ..." *Ibid.*, 24, 31.

80. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 85, see also 4. Work's centrality has been a recurring theme for scholars for much of the twentieth century. Among the more important statements of the thesis is Hannah Arendt's: "The modern age has carried with it a theoretical glorification of labor and has resulted in the factual transformation of the whole of society into a laboring society (4)... [and in the] glorification of labor as the source of all values." Arguably the primary point of *The Human Condition* is Arendt's critique of the Modern Age for its "glorification of labor" (85, 92) and neglect of all other "human conditions." Although Arendt distinguishes "labor" from "work," her distinction is historical, even technical, and as she herself insists, forgotten or ignored by most people.

82. "Memorial Minute: David Riesman, Author of 'The Lonely Crowd,'" *Harvard University Gazette*, November 13, 2003. Available on the Internet on a site maintained by the *Harvard University Gazette* at <http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/2002/05.16/10-riesman.html>

89. William Heighton, “An Address to the Members of Trade Societies and to the Working Classes Generally,” reprinted in Philip Foner, *William Heighton: Pioneer Labor Leader of Jacksonian Philadelphia* (New York: International, 1991), 69. Certainly Charles Fourier and other Utopian Socialist (including Marx in his early writings), as well as American businesses spokespersons, hoped to perfect work to make it, as Riesman hoped, “meaningful in itself.” Such hopes for “meaningful work” divorced from shorter hours, however, were rare within organized labor until the late twentieth century.

90. Hannah Arendt, *The Portable Hannah Arendt*, ed. Peter Baehr (New York: Penguin, 2003), 169. See also Arendt Hannah, *The Human Condition*, 101; Serena Parekh, *Hannah Arendt and the Challenge of Modernity: A Phenomenology of Human Rights* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 53. Parekh notes that for Arendt, “the glorification of labor is really a glorification of work.”

96. Deirdre N. McCloskey, *The Bourgeois Virtues: Ethics for an Age of Commerce* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). One may respond to McCloskey’s moral defense of capitalism and strongly pro-capitalist stance by showing that whenever the cardinal virtues—prudence, temperance, courage, justice, love, faith, and hope—are subsumed by the bourgeois virtue of prudence in a self-contained economic system that has no object, no other virtue, other than its own propagation, all other virtues decay, leading not to *eudaimonia* that is Aristotle’s *summa bonum*, but inexorably to the modern bourgeois end-in-itself, perpetual wealth and work creation.

Chapter 9

1. AFL-CIO, *The Shorter Work Week: Papers Delivered at the Conference on Shorter Hours of Work* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1956), 37. With the onset of the Great Depression, faced with declining orders and local unemployment, the Goodyear plant in Akron, Ohio experimented with the thirty-hour week. However, when Paul Litchfield tried to re-establish the eight-hour day, the United Rubber Workers (URW) local called a strike in 1936 to keep the six-hour schedule that remained in place until the coming of the war when the plant returned to eight-hours. After the war, the union again led a successful strike for the return to the six-hour day. Researchers with the United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America found strong support throughout the industry well into the 1950s. After conducting a questionnaire survey of the Akron plant, they found that among the strongest supporters were women—something they had also found throughout the industry. Also among the strongest supporters were “those who feel that shorter hours should be a primary goal of labor . . . Many of these people were active in fighting to preserve the 6-hour day in the 1930s.” Not surprisingly, the researchers also found that unemployment was a primary concern sustaining interest in the shorter day.

6. See, for example, “Essay: Union Labor: Less Militant, More Affluent,” *Time*, September 17, 1967. See also David Riesman, “The Dream of Abundance Reconsidered,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 45. 3 (Autumn, 1981):285–302.

25. See Eric Larrabee and Rolf Meyersohn, *Mass Leisure* (New York: Free Press, 1958). In this book, Larrabee and Meyersohn provided extensive bibliographies of leisure including topics

such as boredom and recreation, organized by decades. See also Séan Desmond Healy, *Boredom, Self, and Culture* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984), *passim*.

29. Linder, *The Harried Leisure Class*, 95. Linder assumed that the majority of people are simply unable to make good use of their leisure. Most lack the capacity to progress in the direction of Higher Progress. His book is a prime example of what Jacques Rancière called those “grand modernist narratives” that assumes that only a higher class of people, with golden souls, will be able to do and appreciate culture, while the masses, with souls of iron, could aspire to nothing more than work and hectic consumption.

30. Ibid. See also Walter Kerr, *The Decline of Pleasure* (New York: Time, 1966). See also, Benjamin Hunnicutt, “Walter Kerr’s Utopia of Re-Creation,” in Daniel R Boscaljon, ed. *Futures and Illusions*, (Ashgate), forthcoming

48. Ibid., 129. Marcuse offered a similar diagnosis: technology offered to increase leisure and liberate humans for more erotic, authentic, and complete lives. However, he was pessimistic. The capitalist and bourgeois needs for “domination” would continue their trajectories, even though no longer supported by work’s archaic, authentic motives: starvation, exposure, disease, and violent death. The refusal of leisure had resulted in “surplus repression,” based on a new “Performance principle [new consumerism and new kinds of social reasons to work] replacing the ancient “Reality principle.” Such “surplus repression,” the refusal of leisure, and the perpetual creation of new work reinforced institutional forms of domination that made liberation increasingly unlikely—even unthinkable. In such a situation, the human darker side, the “Death wish” would be increasingly liberated, and progress toward a sane future cease. See also Ibid. 141.

53. Robert M. Hutchins and Mortimer Adler, eds., *The Great Ideas Today: Work, Wealth, and Leisure* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1965), 103. Adler’s explained his distinction between “subsistence-work” and “leisure-work” in this manner: “The first of these has its compensations outside of itself, in its product or reward ... [and] is being eliminated by machinery. [L]eisure work is intrinsically rewarding ... it is the activity of our free time.”

77. Aldo Leopold, “Wilderness as a Form of Land Use,” *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics* 1, no. 4 (1925): 398–404; Aldo Leopold, “Wildlife in American Culture,” *Journal of Wildlife Management* 7, no. 1 (1943); Aldo Leopold, “A Man’s Leisure Time,” in *A Sand County Almanac*, 181; Aldo Leopold, “The Last Stand of the Wilderness,” *American Forests and Forest Life*, October 1925; Aldo Leopold, Susan Flader, and J. Baird Callicott, *The River of the Mother of God and Other Essays* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 141, 142, 196.

80. My colleague and friend Sherman Paul observed, “The conservation movement ... had begun as a hobby and—this is Leopold’s strategy—must again become one, farther down the line than vigilant protest, now in the leisure-time practice of the husbandry of wild things.” Sherman Paul, “The Husbandry of the Wild,” *Iowa Review* 17, no. 2 (1987): 16. See also Sherman Paul, *For Love of the World: Essays on Nature Writers* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1992), 51–61. For Leopold on “wild-leisure,” see Charles J. List, “The Virtues of Wild Leisure,” *Environmental Ethics* 27 (Winter 2005): 355–373. List concludes: “An important remaining question is how to cultivate and transmit environmental virtues. The answer to this question can

be found in the pursuit of wild leisure ... Leopold thought wild leisure was important and associated it with his land ethic. Leopold's view of wild leisure focused on the role of perception in ecological education and the habituation of virtue ... Wild leisure educates just those intellectual and scientific virtues necessary for refined perception and prudence. These virtues provide connections between good citizenship and land citizenship.

82. Paul, "The Husbandry of the Wild." Just before his death in 1995, Sherman Paul wrote, "The reduction of hours of work ... involves ... a reconsideration of the kind of education we provide and the use of (personal, communal, civic) leisure. All this, to my mind, falls under the idea of restoration, an idea that preoccupies me ... and everything needs restoring, rethinking, renewing, remaking, as it seems the ancient Hebrews knew, for their word *Tikkun* means to mend or heal, and *tikkun olam* means the healing and repair of the world and, with the idea of justice, is the primary obligation of everyone." Letter to and in the possession of the author, dated August 1993.

89. Percy MacKaye, *The Civic Theatre in Relation to the Redemption of Leisure* (New York: Mitchell, Kennerley, 1912).

Chapter 10

3. See <http://www.timeday.org>. See also John Graaf, ed., *Take Back Your Time: Fighting Overwork and Time Poverty in America* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 2003).

7. Duane Elgin, *Voluntary Simplicity: Toward a Way of Life That Is Outwardly Simple, Inwardly Rich* (New York: William Morrow, 1993). Cecile Andrews, *The Circle of Simplicity: Return to the Good Life* (New York: HarperCollins, 1997); Jerome Segal, *Graceful Simplicity: The Philosophy and Politics of the Alternative American Dream* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

9. Hilton recently took down its website. See also Hilton Family of Hotels, Leisure Time Advocacy Group, "White Paper: The Importance of Reclaiming and Preserving American Leisure Time," August 20, 2003, 5–10. From the website once maintained by Hilton, <http://www.MyLeisureTrip.com>.

10. See <http://www.reclaimdinnertime.com/pace.php>. * See also, at a site maintained by the Family and Work Institute: <http://www.familiesandwork.org/>

12. Council of Economic Advisers, "Families and the Labor Market, 1969–1999: Analyzing the 'Time Crunch'" (Washington, DC: Council of Economic Advisers, Executive Office of the President, 1999), available at <http://clinton4.nara.gov/media/pdf/famfinal.pdf>. See also Michael M. Weinstein, "Economic Scene," *New York Times* May 27, 1999, C2.

13. Alison Mitchell, "Banking on Family Issues, Clinton Seeks Parents' Votes," *New York Times*, June 25, 1996, A19. Katharine Q. Seelye, "President Plans On \$21 Billion for Child Care," *New York Times*, Jan 8, 1998, A1; Andrew J. Cherlin, "By the Numbers; Today's Mothers Work More," *New York Times*, Apr 5, 1998, SM39; *New York Times*, Nov 8, 1999, A2.

14. Sana Siwolop, "Overtime vs. Time Off: A Debate over a Choice," *New York Times*, August 18, 1996, F10. Democrats in congress criticized such a plan as opening the door to the republican's real agenda—the rollback of all hours regulation. Others argued that such a measure would be no harder to enforce than existing hours legislation, and would facilitate workers' choice between additional money or additional leisure time. See also, "Workers Deserve a Choice," *New York Times*, Mar 25, 1997, S24; Mark Wilson, "All Workers Deserve A Flexible-Hours Law," *New York Times*, Mar 9, 1997, F17.

16. See "Positions and Views of Hillary Clinton on Jobs," Vote NY, 2003, available at <http://vote-ny.org/PoliticianIssue.aspx?Id=NYClintonHillaryRodham&Issue=BUSJobs>.

19. Susan E Fleck, "International Comparisons of Hours Worked: An Assessment of the Statistics," *Monthly Labor Review*, May 2009, 3. See also Society for the Reduction of Human Labor, "Newsletter," vol. 3 through vol. 5 (Iowa City: 1993–1995).

21. Susan Wells, "Honey, They've Shrunk the Workweek," *New York Times*, June 15, 1997, 9; *U.S. News and World Report*, November 1997. See also "Plan Offers Fewer Hours at Same Pay," *Indianapolis Business Journal*, June 19, 1997, 3. No additional notes.

24. E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present* 38 (December 1967): 90–9. Karl Marx theorized that the expanding work day reflects capitalism's inherent tendency to maximize profits by maximizing surplus value: the value added by labor after labor has paid for itself. For Marx's theory of the length of the working day see Bruce Philp, *Reduction, Rationality and Game Theory in Marxian Economics* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 88.

27. Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), xxvi. See also Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Knopf, 2003), *passim*; David Steigerwald, "All Hail the Republic of Choice: Consumer History as Contemporary Thought," *The Journal of American History* 93, No. 2 (Sep., 2006): 385–403.