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The way that good folks do: Junior Achievement and corporate culture.

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THE WAY THAT GOOD FOLKS DO:
JUNIOR ACHIEVEMENT AND CORPORATE CULTURE

A Thesis Presented

By

EDWIN GABLER

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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History

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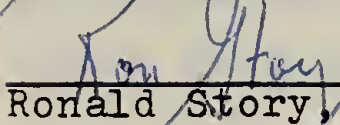
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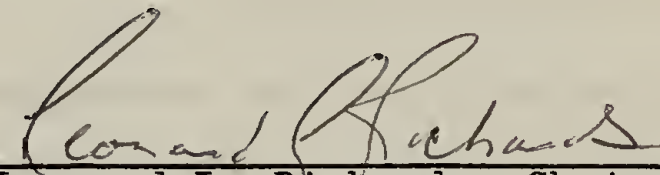
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An undertaking of this sort inevitably depends on libraries that are both well-stocked and well-staffed. I have been fortunate in finding both. The librarians here at the University displayed their usual professionalism and alacrity in assisting me, while the staff of the local history section of the Springfield Public Library bore my frequent visits and requests with admirable grace. And the anonymous librarians at the Pratt Library in Baltimore deserve special mention for their valiant efforts to locate--alas, unsuccessfully--copies of JA journals that I sought there.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter	
I. WELFARE WORK WITH SOME SENSE TO IT	4
II. HARD TIMES, NEW BLOOD, AND A WORLD WAR	50
III. FUTURE UNLIMITED	69
IV. UNDERDOGS AND UPPERDOGS	127
EPILOGUE	145
A WORD ON SOURCES	153

INTRODUCTION

"In America," wrote the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci around 1929, "rationalization has determined the need to elaborate a new type of man suited to the new type of work and productive process."¹ By the 1920s, industrialization was hardly new to the United States; nor were the economic dislocation and cultural trauma of plough tenders becoming machine tenders and once-independent burghers becoming dependent employees. But the imperatives of industrialization--specialization, bureaucratization, national and world markets--had, in the decade following World War I, resulted in a corporate capitalist order as awesome in its social ramifications as in its unprecedented power. And that power, despite the debacle of the 1930s, would continue to expand and become more pervasive yet, through the heady years of Cold War prosperity and into our own less sanguine time.

The new order's growth and dominance were no accident. Gramsci's "new type of man" had to become not only a rationalized worker, but a rationalized citizen of a scheme in which the corporate body, rather than the individual, was the primary social actor. It was rarely through gross compulsion or force that business elites--both the earlier corporate modernizers² of the 'teens and 20s and the

later managerial stewards of the maturing order in mid-century--brought Americans around to accept the legitimacy of the status quo. Subtler and manifold ways, some more important and effective than others, but all effective in the aggregate, helped to mold citizens of the corporate state. As students or as parents, as workers or consumers or voters, Americans were daily--indeed, with the advent of commercial broadcasting, hourly--urged to embrace a corporate ethos that, in return for cultural and economic self-determination, proffered abundance and security. Through agencies public and private, Americans learned (or at least were told) that their interests and corporate interests were the same.

Junior Achievement, Incorporated--a voluntary, business-funded and business-guided organization promoting capitalist values and practices through miniature teenage corporations--was (and is) one of many such agencies. While itself of minor importance (except, of course, to those working for it), JA provides a case study in the dynamics of corporate hegemony in 20th-century America: of how, in effect, the dominant order maintained its dominance by exacting the consent of the dominated. The reader will see how JA, in its operations, was not only an academy of consensus, but acted as a focal point for influential elements of society (especially schools and the popular press) to mutually reproduce and reinforce

capitalist culture.

NOTES

1. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (eds. and trs.), Selections From the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci (New York, 1971) 286

2. By "corporate modernizers" I mean those who, in the period ca. 1900-30, saw the values of rationalization spawned by the rise of the factory and the national market as both economically and socially applicable--values such as "business-like" efficiency, specialization, bureaucracy, and planning. Such values were the sine qua non of the businessmen involved in building the edifice of corporate capitalism, but were by no means limited to them. For a thoughtful monograph on how these values shaped America in the Progressive Era, see Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order (New York, 1967). A recent study that links corporate modernization and management to a scientific-technical elite is David F. Noble, America By Design (New York, 1977). And Arthur Selwyn Miller, The Modern Corporate State (Westport, Conn., 1976), is a useful examination of the nature of corporate society in industrial America, particularly as an evolutionary process at odds with a body of law still cast in terms of 18th-century liberalism.

C H A P T E R I

WELFARE WORK WITH SOME SENSE TO IT

1919 was an unsettling year. Although a horrific world war had just ended, blood still mottled the snow and mud of Eastern Europe as the Bolshevik Revolution fought for its life, while the radical Spartakusbund uprising in Berlin, if brief, was equally violent. In Britain there were massive strikes by miners, railwaymen, dockers, and others. And the United States, largely untouched by the war, now felt the turmoil of the peace: the great steel strike, the Seattle general strike, the Boston Police strike, and some 3600 other walkouts occurred that same year, along with the Red Scare and the repression of the Palmer raids. To the New York Tribune, a threatened coal miners' strike was the stormy petrel of "a general revolution in America," while the Wall Street Journal, viewing the events in Boston, declared that "Lenin and Trotsky [were] on their way."¹ If it was an unsettling year, 1919 was also a sobering one for capital.

The year's social unrest was doubtless very much on the minds of Theodore N. Vail, Horace A. Moses, W. Murray Crane, and some twenty other businessmen who met that fall at the Colony Club in Springfield, Massachusetts. On their minds, too, was the dearth of programs for instilling "good old-fashioned work" habits among urban boys

and girls that would also acquaint them with the "industrial, trade, commercial and home-making projects of the cities and industrial centers of the East." To fill the lacuna (and meet the challenge of radicalism), those gathered at the Colony Club created the Junior Achievement Bureau of the Eastern States League. Limited to a few Northeastern locations for its first year and funded for an initial five-year period, the Junior Achievement Bureau's sponsors nevertheless envisioned an eventual expansion that would reach "all city boys and girls" in the nation. They launched the movement with about \$750,000.²

If the early JA's funding was substantial, so were some of the men behind it. Although he died in the spring of 1920, Theodore Vail was evidently the original driving force of JA; it was he who had called the Colony Club meeting, and it was his \$500,000 donation that bulked so large in the new movement's treasury.³ Indeed, the man himself bulked large, both in physical presence and economic stature in the growing American corporate order, an order which he had helped create. Born in 1845 of "old" middle-class background, he began his career as a railroad telegrapher and mail clerk. Managing the original Bell telephone concern starting in 1879, Vail, by the early 20th century, had fashioned the communications empire of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. A member of the National Civic Federation, Vail's corpor-

ate and national outlook was likely shared by W. Murray Crane, U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, scion of the famous paper-making family, and a co-founder of Junior Achievement. They certainly shared a pecuniary interest, for Crane had been "prominent in telephone affairs" in the Gilded Age, presumably as an investor.⁴

While Vail's link with Crane may have originated in business, his connection with Horace Moses, the third member of the founding trinity, seems to have been based on their mutual concern with farm youth and the modernization and commercialization of New England's moribund agriculture. In 1912, Vail had established an agricultural school at his Vermont estate which he gave to the state three years later; Moses, a Springfield manufacturer, was instrumental in the creation of the Eastern States League (parent organization of the original Junior Achievement Bureau), which, in Moses's own words, sought "better understanding and cooperation between city and country--among the manufacturers, farmers, merchants, and bankers."⁵ Moses, in fact, was JA's leading patron through its first decade, for by the fall of 1920 both Vail and Crane were dead.⁶

In pattern, if not result, Horace Augustus Moses's career typified the route of the old middle class from agriculture to urban entrepreneurship in late 19th-century America. Born on an upstate New York farm in 1862,

Moses forsook yeomanry at 20 to spend two years at a small Vermont academy taking commercial courses, after which he began work in a paper mill near Springfield as a jack-of-all-trades apprentice. He labored long and accumulated, never making more than \$18 for a 72-hour week in the 1880s, denying himself even the indulgence of commuting by horse car to save the 7¢ fare. Thus rose young Horace, by luck and pluck, and doubtless also by being the nephew of the mill's manager and treasurer, Bradley D. Rising. The prosperous owner of his own mill (Strathmore Paper Co.) by 1913, Moses became involved in various "civic improvement" activities such as the Eastern States League, whose Farmers' Exchange supply co-op dated from 1918. The paper maker's philanthropic interests covered youth groups as well. In addition to his own JA, Moses supported 4-H, Boy and Girl Scouts, Boys' and Girls' Clubs, and YM and YWCA.⁷

While some of those groups may have catered to restricted age groups, children as young as 6 and as old as 21 were eligible to join the new Junior Achievement Bureau that opened its Springfield headquarters on December 1, 1919. Despite its avowed concern with industry, trade, and commerce, the Bureau, in its earliest years, evidently also contained an agricultural component--inevitable, perhaps, given its organizational genesis--and its director until 1924, Oscar Herman Benson, had previ-

ously done extension work with boys and girls for the Department of Agriculture.⁸ The anomalous beef-raising and bee-keeping of the first few years aside, however, the club activities were clearly urban and industrial. More typical was the Shoe and Leather Achievement Club of Binghamton, New York, formed in the summer of 1920 through a local Boys' Club, or the papermaking, newsboys' clubs, and various crafts groups of the period.⁹

Not confined to New England, and expanding throughout the 20s, JA was nevertheless strongest there in the decade.¹⁰ The movement's organizational structure was both bureaucratic and flexible. "Junior Achievement Club Work," a 1927 pamphlet noted, "does not duplicate the work of any other existing agency. It supplements and rounds out the programs of other agencies and also deals directly with boys and girls not affiliated with organizations."¹¹ Local communities would form JA Foundations; the central organization would supply plans and the services of specialists in crafts and youth work. Both were independently self-funded.¹² With the dissolution of the Eastern States League in 1926, the Bureau became simply Junior Achievement, Incorporated. By 1928, its structure was further refined with a charter system for individual clubs through which official JA paraphernalia--from membership pins to project blueprints--were made available from headquarters.¹³

The broad organizational skeleton of Junior Achievement was straightforward enough in the 20s; the social, economic, and ideological tissue which formed around it, however, was more complex. The movement was, in fact, a melange of contemporary trends in education, social work, welfare capitalism, and corporate modernization. And despite the certitude of JA literature, it was a melange that, like America in the 20s, was not free of ambivalence.

"One of the greatest necessities of the time," Henry D. Sharpe, a Providence, Rhode Island manufacturer and JA patron said in 1925 at the dedication of a Junior Achievement Hall, "is a better education for the young, not in book learning so much as in some practical industrial or agricultural direction, for the purpose of instilling habits of industry and tastes that will insure their entrance into real pursuits immediately on leaving school."¹⁴ Indeed, well before JA's founding, an industrializing America had been troubled by the problems of reproducing its work force in the face of an eviscerated apprenticeship system. At least as far back as the 1880s and 90s, educators had advocated manual training--some as a practical complement to formal schooling, others as a kind of character-building calisthenic. But by the early 20th century, with the full flowering of Taylorism and the cult of efficiency, the stress had shifted from moralism

to pragmatism. By finding the right job applicants-- those suited to a position either by youth training or "scientific" aptitude test results--corporate reformers and like-minded educators reckoned that work force turnover rates would drop while productivity, employee loyalty, and profits would rise. The vocational education lobby triumphed nationally in 1917 when Congress passed the Smith-Hughes Act granting federal support to industrial training.¹⁵

Junior Achievement rode the crest of the vocational education wave. Its club work would be a system of industrial "try-outs" for urban boys and girls to enable them "to find the vocation which most appealed to them and to which they were most fitted." The result, a 1925 JA pamphlet assured its readers, would be "More Efficient, Happier Workers" with "maximum earning power and independence."¹⁶ Extra-curricular club work such as JA, with its "try-out" potential, was sufficiently recognized by 1930 to merit notice in at least one industrial education treatise. The program, moreover, had a regional significance; some JA supporters hoped that its practical pre-vocational training would bolster New England's declining industry.¹⁷

The ties between the clubs and the world of work were made explicit to Achievers. There were field trips to appropriate local industries where the youngsters could see

their own projects writ large. Members of Holyoke, Massachusetts' Work and Win Textile Club learned not only the mechanics of the industry, but its historical development as well--from Indian hand weaving to modern power looms. And in 1925, four members of the club had

taken up work in the textile industry since the club was organized. Two members are now working in a textile mill, one member is working in the office of a textile mill, and another member has been working in a mill part time while attending school.

Similarly, Liberty Radio Club Achiever Wesley Andrews found "a good position in the radio assembling room of the East Springfield works" of Westinghouse, while 16-year-old Paul Blackmer's photography club activities resulted in a job at a local photo finishing house.¹⁸ The Springfield Union lauded JA for "setting minds to thinking about courses at the vocational and technical schools," and Grosvenor Plowman, of the Industrial Relations Section of Associated Industries, saw club work compensating for the dearth of skilled labor that the nation's exclusionary immigration policy would cause.¹⁹

Yet skilled work, let alone independent artisanship, was not a likely first step into the labor market of the 1920s. On the contrary, the ever-increasing rationalization of production meant a workplace of ever-decreasing

skill, of compartmentalized tasks, of little or no job satisfaction.²⁰ At the same time, corporate modernizers saw traditional American individualism as both anarchic and inefficient in the social as well as industrial realms. The cooperating, corporate group would replace the competing individual and his chaotic laissez-faire world.²¹ But the industrial worker--or potential industrial worker--still faced the sterility of assembly line-like production. To the Progressive social worker Jane Addams, the answer was to educate the worker to understand the broader context of the industrial process in which he played his small part--an education that covered materials and processes, their relation to the finished product and overall scheme, and even the historic and aesthetic implications of the industry. Thus fortified, Addams reasoned, the worker would find interest and purpose in his own task, however disembodied it was. She even set up a "labor museum" with which, Daniel Rodgers writes, "she hoped to lay out in simple terms the historical evolution of the basic industries her Hull House neighbors worked with."²²

Junior Achievement, too, recognized the problems of specialization in the 20s. It was one thing to prepare youngsters for the practical tasks of a particular industrial role; enlisting their acceptance of the increasing-

ly de-skilled nature of that role was another matter. Though JA's ultimate aim most likely was creating an efficient work force rather than fulfilled workers, its tack was nevertheless remarkably similar to Addams's earlier approach. "As specialization increases in industry the interest and vision of the worker narrows and unhappiness often results," a JA leaders' manual of the mid-20s conceded. But through Junior Achievement, it went on, young people would "gain a broad vision of an entire industry involving all the processes, resulting in a sustained vital interest in a specialized job with that industry." (Original emphasis.) The Work and Win Textile Club program noted above, with its study of the industry and its history, would no more have been out of place in Hull House's labor museum than it was in Holyoke. Addressing a JA forum in 1926, Kathleen Crowley, head of the Waterbury, Connecticut Girls' Club, proclaimed a need to "make the worker at bench or lathe feel the dignity of his job, his place in the industrial scheme." And founder Theodore Vail posthumously told Junior Achievement Magazine readers in 1928 of the importance of specialization in modern industry. "Anyone who hopes to achieve success, even the average," the portly communications magnate had written, "must know more, or at least as much, about some one thing as any other one, and not only know, but know how to do--and how to utilize his experience and

knowledge for the benefit of others."²³

To sweeten the pill of vocational training, JA invited its members to equate work with play. "Work is made a game through the exhibits, demonstrations, judging contests, business type of organization and various other means," noted a JA pamphlet of 1925, "and Achievement boys and girls like to play it."²⁴ Like job specialization, this facet of JA's program reflected an attempt by corporate modernizers--in education as well as business--to bring order to the economic and social sprawl of industrial America in the early 20th century. Leaders of the so-called Play Movement saw its adult-structured recreation and playgrounds as a wholesome milieu for potentially troublesome youngsters; more importantly, as one historian observes of Luther H. Gulick, a Play Movement pioneer, they saw it as "a social control instrument for producing in urban youth the 'corporate conscience' demanded by the 'complex interdependence of modern life.'" Play Movement advocates could find much that was heartening in the Junior Achievement of the 20s. Ruth Sherburne, Field Secretary of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, praised JA in 1926 for discouraging individualism in its club work and fostering "real team play."²⁵

Corporate values, to be sure, were very much a part of

the JA creed. If industrial training programs such as General Electric's apprentice school were "designed to habituate apprentices to the requirements of subordinate corporate employment and 'teamwork,'"²⁶ Achievers, too, imbibed the same ethos. Among other things, Junior Achievement Magazine declared in 1930 that club members learned to "understand the power of the corporate group." "Team play" was important for Achievers. Not only would they learn the mechanics of "the various branches of industry and commerce"; they would bring to these "organized activities" a "loyal spirit" wrought by JA's curriculum.²⁷ The idea of cooperation and team play could cut two ways, of course. One could apply the values of the group to political insurgency as well as to shop floor efficiency; corporatism could, given the right circumstances, give way to collectivism. But JA, as we shall see, made clear to its charges that "team play, good fellowship, unity and harmony of working with our associates" would be within a thoroughly capitalist context.

Junior Achievement clubs operating as miniature corporations, a hallmark of the movement that continues today, provided that context. Organized on the model of a "successful business, incorporated, departmentalized and so handled as to offer valuable training peculiar to Junior Achievement," the format was a neat synthesis of the pre-vocational programs and corporate capitalist values

and methods.²⁸ The corporate format, one should note, did not exist at the outset. The first club to incorporate was evidently the Work and Win Textile Club of Holyoke, in 1923; the Live Wire Achievement Club in Keeseville, New York, followed suit the next year. Whether the plan was independently conceived or an experiment on the part of JA professionals at headquarters is not known. But by 1925, JA literature was urging both "organization on a basis typical of business, with buying, production, sales and advertising departments," and, "wherever possible," "going through regular incorporation proceedings, including issuance of stock, manufacture of a certain product for sale, keeping cost of production records, paying members on a basis of actual time put into the work, and declaring dividends at the end of the year."²⁹ Not all JA clubs in the 20s were run as embryonic corporations. Indeed not all of them were involved in producing and selling crafts or light industrial items. In 1926, for example, in addition to the more usual homemaking and trades groups, there were eight musical clubs. And in 1929, adumbrating a post-World War II trend in JA companies, Achievers in Holyoke formed the JA Banking Club which made loans to and received deposits from other JA clubs.³⁰ Out of 778 clubs in four Northeastern states in 1928, only 22 were organized strictly as business clubs,

although a majority of the rest (721) either had "a business aspect" or trained in business principles.³¹ In 1931, New York City's Metropolitan Junior Achievement chose to organize its clubs exclusively on the corporate model. "This plan," JA's house organ commented, "is well worth a careful study by the entire Junior Achievement field." By the mid or late 30s, with the possible exception of scattered vestiges of the purely crafts clubs, the miniature corporation seems to have become standard.³²

If Junior Achievement gave its members a schematic knowledge of corporate industry in the 1920s, it also served as a primer course for them, as potential employees, in the welfare capitalism which the more sophisticated segment of the business elite was advancing in the period. As corporations in the adult world sought to convince labor of its community of interest with capital through industrial relations, company unions, benefits, workplace amenities, profit-sharing and stock plans, and the like, so did Junior Achievement seek future workers' loyalty and docility by making club members "laborers and capitalists at one and the same time."³³ Under Theodore Vail, AT & T had been in the vanguard of the welfare capitalism movement. In his annual report of 1915, Vail called stock purchase plans "investment by which the employee becomes also a proprietor, and he occupies the dual realation of proprietor and employee...." Twelve

years later, a JA pamphlet stated:³⁴

An increasing number of corporations are encouraging and assisting their employees to set up an estate through the ownership of bonds, stocks, insurance protection and participation in other forms of property ownership. All of this helps in the solution of this particular industrial problem. But the evolution of the employee to employee-owner problem is not yet brought under direct control or practical direction. Its solution will be slow unless the workers of the future are prepared for the new era while young.

Through Junior Achievement Club Work boys and girls become workers and employers at one and the same time. They are trained in a practical manner for new and greater responsibilities. This work counteracts the tendency toward an over-supply of theoretic information in labor and education. Industry will benefit through better understanding and cooperation between employer and employee....

The linchpin of the "new era" would be "understanding." "The practical training which they receive," Massachusetts Governor Alvan T. Fuller wrote in 1928, praising JA, "and the better understanding of co-operation between employer and employee cannot but help in after life [sic!] to have a very beneficial effect when these same boys and girls take their places in the industrial world."³⁵ And a sympathetic "understanding" of capitalism could extend to the youngsters' future roles as consumers

as well as workers. Eleanor Sederlund, of Springfield's Yum Yum [/Cooking/] Club, told fellow Achievers in 1929:³⁶

In calculating the selling price of an article the materials, labor, overhead, and profit must be considered. This helps us to appreciate the value others set on things. We are less likely to grumble about the high prices of things if we know just how it is figured, and all the different items that go to make up the cost.

Welfare capitalism, a priori, was anti-radicalism. As noted above, the anti-radical reaction of the late 'teens was probably of signal importance in the creation of JA. Important, too, was the concomitant Americanization drive, particularly in the industrial Northeast, JA's original bailiwick. New England's manufacturing centers had, in fact, long been concerned with "Americanizing" their immigrant working class--imbuing it with a curious mixture of middle-class Anglo-Saxon mores and corporate industrial discipline.³⁶ And JA, with its heavy constituency of working-class youth (many, evidently, of "new" immigrant background), was fertile ground for the twin crusades of anti-radicalism and Americanization.

Indeed, founder Vail was one of several leading executives who, in 1914, had underwritten a \$50,000 National Civic Federation "Survey of Social, Civic, and Economic Progress." Despite its equanimous title, the survey,

James Weinstein writes, actually "sought to discover how more effectively to combat the renewed growth of socialism even in the face of the beginnings of reform." As early as 1921, the JA message on radicalism was clear; that year's annual report spoke of the organization's program substituting "Americanism for Bolshevism." A 1925 editorial in the house organ, The Log, noting the appearance of Communist youth groups, asked:

Can the reader conceive of a Junior Achievement Club member also belonging to a Junior Communist Club? The ideas are as unlike as black and white. The one builds, the other destroys. The one believes in personal initiative, and that every individual can rise on his own merit. The other believes in taking from the successful one and giving it to the failure in order to keep all on the same level. Junior Achievement Club Work stands for the joy of honest labor, the other teaches laziness....Any community that fosters Junior Achievement Club Work need have no fear of Junior Red organizations getting a foothold.

One suspects that the cryptic "over-supply of theoretic information in labor and education" which JA promised to counter in 1927 (see p. 18 above) could well have been a euphemism for socialism.³⁷

Radical and foreign were virtually synonymous in the middle-class lexicon of the day. While the Americanization impulse, as Edward Hartmann points out, peaked dur-

ing the First World War and subsequent Red Scare hysteria, it did not disappear during the 20s, although, after around 1921, "it tended to be confined for the most part to professional educators, sociologists, and social workers."³⁸ Those same specialists, in tandem with the business supporters of JA, pursued the molding of acceptable industrial citizens among the young clay of New England's urban villages.

"Americanization work, so greatly needed among the children of many foreign families, is finding in this Bureau a very active agency," JA's annual report of 1921 announced; club work had "almost performed miracles" in teaching English to immigrant children.³⁹ By the mid-20s, American International College in Springfield had initiated a required course in its social work curriculum in which students had to form and lead JA clubs. During 1925, 24 "young women of eight nationalities" enrolled in the program dispersed throughout the city to the neighborhoods of their respective ethnicities to organize and shepherd their own Achievement groups for a year.⁴⁰ Writing to The Log in 1926, New Haven, Connecticut settlement house worker Russell Thompson, noting the problems of juvenile delinquency, crime, education, and Americanization among the children of immigrants in cities such as his, pronounced JA "valuable" in his work. And that

same year, JA clubs in Thompsonville, Connecticut performed a playlet entitled The Road to Achievement, which The Log later reprinted for wider use. In the piece's denouement, Harry, one of several model Achievers who have applied for work in a mill, declares to the mill's employment manager, Mr. Star:

It doesn't matter about our names or where our fathers came from. We were born here, right in this town, and we're Americans. Good loyal ones, too.

"I believe you!" Mr. Star assures the impassioned Harry. "What's more, if you keep on as you've started, America is going to be proud of your achievements...."⁴¹

While elements such as Americanization, industrial specialization, and "team play" made Junior Achievement a bearer of the new corporate values, one also finds a curious strain of work moralism and anti-modernism in its literature and supporters' statements during the 1920s. The national-market order of corporate capitalism, it is true, had an unprecedented and powerful influence on most Americans' lives in the decade. And yet the reaction to the city and factory in the period was scarcely confined to white-sheeted fundamentalists; indeed, the very men who had wrought the new order seemed anxious and uncertain of their creation. Like a later form of the "ven-

turesome conservative" that Marvin Meyers identifies with the Jacksonian period--a person wedded to the imperatives of capitalist growth yet simultaneously appalled by its destruction of a familiar past--these business chieftains may have clung to pre-industrial work encomia as a kind of psychic life raft.⁴² The talk of individualism and thrift of JA backers was, perhaps, the rhetorical counterpart of Henry Ford's buying shards of the America his cars had smashed and shipping them to Dearborn to fashion into a contrived village.

Sanctimony and self-interest were doubtless behind the moralizing of JA patrons, but it would be foolish to ignore other motives. Some of these men, after all, had been born and raised in an essentially pre-industrial milieu. Horace Moses had been a South Ticonderoga, New York farm boy. His confrere Edward W. Hazen, although a pioneer in advertising, began life in rural Connecticut, and the model farm he kept in his later years, like that of Theodore Vail, may have been more than a rich man's toy. As men whose careers straddled the years of change from commercial and agrarian to corporate and industrial society, the apparent ambivalence of Moses, Hazen, Vail, and their like could well account for the work-ethic cant of JA in the 1920s. Writes Daniel Rodgers:⁴³

Nothing more clearly helped those Americans

who lived through the wrenching unfamiliarities of industrialization preserve their ties to the work faith of an earlier age than this constant, public warning against the wiles of idleness. The habit served as a sheet anchor for a society in which work and work ideas were both in the midst of dramatic transformation.

And warn against the wiles of idleness they did. "Idleness and the craving for luxuries beyond the earning capacity of the individual" contributed to youth crime, asserted one JA pamphlet; the remedy was the "interesting, constructive work out of which comes the self-earned dollar" that the movement offered city youth. "Self-help," "self-support," "pay-as-you-go basis"--such phrases were sprinkled throughout the JA literature of the period.⁴⁴

Perhaps the references to developing "abnormal or extravagant appetites" that went "beyond the earning power of the individual" were not entirely a case of moralizing. For developing such appetites--increasing consumption, in other words--could mean an increased demand for wages. While the newer, credit-based consumer industries of the period may have encouraged such a trend, the older, producer-goods manufacturers may have been of a different mind. As James Prothro points out, elements of business leadership in the 20s, particularly in the conservative National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, decried leisure and consumption

beyond workers' earning powers; indeed, their language is strikingly similar to that found in JA's publications. Yet those same publications admitted the role of industrialization in creating, through increased machine productivity and shortened working hours, the very same problem of newfound leisure for workers.⁴⁵

JA's ascetic anti-modernism pleased some pillars of the community. "This is welfare work with some sense to it," declared the Brockton (Massachusetts) Times. "It proposes to make workers, instead of loafers, to destroy instead of to nourish luxurious tastes, high living and destructive habits. Work, simplicity of habits, thrift, honesty of purpose, are the fundamentals of success. It is high time we began again to discipline our children." Lowell's Courier-Citizen agreed: "We need the antidote that such clubs will give....We need to inculcate some of the more solid ideas in place of the froth of the present-day atmosphere."⁴⁶ Unlike the nascent mass consumerism that Stuart Ewen and others have identified in the period, JA promoted older values. At a JA exhibit in 1925, "Junior Achievement City," a small model town, bore the legend: "Where future citizens are trained to WORK SAVE INVEST." Not the riotous credit proliferation of the Jazz Age, but the capital formation of the Age of Steam was the young Achiever's ideal.⁴⁷

Despite club gimmicks such as pennants, yells, bean-

ies, and awards, Junior Achievement made work not so much a game as a religion. At least as late as 1930, members solemnly pledged:

Work shall be my greatest source of pleasure.
 I shall live with it,
 Cultivate its friendship,
 Study its rebellious traits,
 Shape myself to fit it,
 Love it as my playmate.

There were hymns of a sort, too. Had one peered in on a JA club meeting in the 20s, one might have heard a dozen or so young voices, to the tune of Yankee Doodle, singing:⁴⁸

I'm glad I joined the Junior Club
 Because there's fun in labor;
 We learn to work and demonstrate,
 And try to help our neighbor.

Junior Club, let's keep it up,
 Junior Club, it's dandy;
 Junior Club, we'll keep it up,
 Achievement makes us handy.

We all belong to the Junior Club,
 And this is very true, sir;
 We master trades and learn to live,
 The way that good folks do, sir.

If the work-as-a-game scheme and fatuous songs seem strained, JA's work deification was not the first attempt to rescue an older moral order drowning in social change. As far back as the early 19th century, middle-class re-

formers had sought to offset the chaos of America's growing cities by artificially reimposing the values of the close-knit village through devices such as Sunday schools; in the same vein was the later "friendly visiting" of charity workers to the poor as a kind of ersatz neighborliness. Educators in the Progressive Era looked for character-building substitutes for farm and village that the urban household lacked--although the ends in this case were not necessarily to recreate preindustrial life, but to place its work ethic, like an overlay transparency, onto the new map of a corporate America. David Snedden, that consummate corporate modernizer in education, told a JA Leaders' Institute meeting in 1925:⁴⁹

If, then, the surroundings of the modern home offer fewer opportunities for boys to grow [than the "old-fashioned farm, such as G. Stanley Hall describes in his Autobiography"], then special service and some degree of artifice are needed to compensate for these deficiencies....

But wherever we can get close to real production for service, to real achievement, to actual production, we shall be doing the best thing both for educational economy and educational efficiency.

There was real irony and ambivalence--and perhaps tension as well--in Junior Achievement, with its corporate trappings and outlook, promoting the hard-working, implicitly Protestant Yankee farm child as a model for urban immi-

grant youngsters headed for the factory. Yet Horace Moses had no hesitation in employing the "artifice" of which Snedden spoke. In an address to fellow Massachusetts industrialists in 1925, he proposed his own JA "in lieu of work that was available to you and me in our youth" for the "constructive" use of the new leisure.⁵⁰ And four years later, JA Manager Morris E. Alling also offered the "artifice" of the old work values to contemporary youth. Admitting the demise of individualism in the workplace as well as in mass society generally, he told Achievers that JA would be "a place for the job that can be looked at, measured and appraised.../and/ walked around and understood by the worker." "Soon enough in this modern life," he continued, "we become cogs in the wheel, members, passengers, constituents, stockholders, customers. It is also good for us to be, even in play, individuals."⁵¹

If, as Paul Boyer argues, "the effort to re-create in the city the moral homogeneity of the village...was effectively abandoned" after 1920,⁵² then Junior Achievement, in its way, may have been an anomaly, or at least a straggler. The movement's social conservatism, moreover, was not limited to work qua work; JA stressed traditional sex roles as well.

Here, as in the case of its concern with leisure, the JA ambivalence about the effects of industrialization was present. "Toil in the home has been greatly reduced by

labor-saving devices," read a JA pamphlet of 1925, ".... Commercial concerns are relieving the home of bread making, canning, meat curing, laundering, the making of clothing and other handiwork that once held a prominent place in the home. How far can we safely go?" Pulling the threatened girl back from the precipice, JA, through "clothing, foods and home improvement" clubs, would guide her "into a partnership with mother in making the kitchen a workshop of pride and joy, and the home so attractive that it draws the family." There were Doll to Mother Clubs, as well as activities in cooking, basketry, home improvement, "and the more advanced subjects of interior decoration and textiles." "Real boys--normal, red blooded," on the other hand, would "originate and create" wood, metal, and electrical projects.⁵³ Girls' clubs, to be sure, might also sell what they made, and, as noted above, the vocational aspect of JA could refer to industrial jobs for women. But it was by training "the home-makers-to-be" through "a program of work and ownership that builds for a united family life" that JA would "strengthen the Home as an American Institution...."⁵⁴

Such sentiments likely struck a responsive chord with many of the businessmen of that transitional generation who backed JA such as Herace Moses; a crackling hearth and a demurely knitting wife were evocative and powerful images for them, no doubt.⁵⁵ Yet they may have had more

pragmatic reasons, in addition, for their celebration of traditional domesticity.

To begin with, the extent of the mechanization of housework in the period is unclear. One historian has stated that "even in 1920, the revolution in household conveniences had barely begun" for most married women. If so, the revolution would even less likely have touched most working-class households;⁵⁶ and JA, as I will soon show, dealt largely with working-class children. Perhaps the reaction of JA patrons to home appliances was not due to a spate of washers and toasters flowing into proletarian kitchens, but rather their own. Perhaps their own fears of a jejune household--its former productive role stolen by the corporate order and its function reduced to being a sort of gallery for the icons of consumption--were projected onto their young clients' home lives.

Perhaps. But more important for the supporters of Junior Achievement may have been the effect that "a united family life" would have on industrial production. Even in the early 1900s, some corporate modernizers reasoned that an attractive home life might help keep workers not only happy but sober, and thus reliable and efficient. By sponsoring cooking classes for workers' wives and daughters, they hoped to see the men eschew the release of the saloon for the nurture of the family circle. And teaching the womenfolk to stretch the larder by the wise and ap-

pealing use of cheap cuts of meat could make prevailing wages, as well as daily meals, more palatable. Even the puritanical keyhole spying of the Ford "Sociology Department," Antonio Gramsci argued in the 1920s, was based not on morality but on the need to completely control and rationalize all elements of production.⁵⁸

For most industrialists, those elements of production included the working class itself, and it indeed seems that Junior Achievement was largely aimed at, and largely reached, working-class youth in the period. The organization was certainly not confined to such youngsters; middle and perhaps even upper-class boys and girls were members. Volunteer club leaders such as G.W. Clow (an assistant attendance officer in Springfield) and his wife, for example, might also bring their children into the program.⁵⁹ Speaking at a JA conference in Washington in 1925, movement supporter Fred B. Rice asked whether the program was reaching "the children of the wealthy, saying he believed they needed it"; JA official Ivan L. Hobson promptly assured him that it was. But if JA did touch the children of the comfortable in the 1920s, they were likely to be children such as Marion Ober, the Wellesley alumna, social worker, and JA staff professional, or the 22 members of the Mount Holyoke College sophomore class who volunteered their services to JA in 1928.⁶⁰

The movement's concern with industrial discipline and

vocational training, anti-radicalism, Americanization, and welfare capitalism all indicate a working-class constituency; "welfare work with some sense to it" could hardly have applied to a group serving the affluent. JA showed an interest in gangs and work with delinquents in the 1920s (and on into the 1930s.)⁶¹ Achievers were not likely to leave the city for summer vacations, a Log editorial noted in 1924 in calling for an extension of JA work to cover that season--another indication of the organization's class base.⁶² Boys' and Girls' Clubs, settlement houses, and other institutions likely to cater to working-class children were frequently the site of JA clubs. "We have no slums," Kathleen Crowley, the Girls' Club leader from Waterbury told a JA meeting in 1926, "but the majority of our children come from very poor homes. The majority will never be able to go to college. They must earn a living."⁶³

But JA by no means discouraged mobility, and in fact its dicta on the subject were often tinted with pre-corporate individualism. In the mid-20s, The Log ran success stories of hat manufacturer John B. Stetson (noting his welfare capitalism as well as his entrepreneurship), Peter Cooper, Cyrus McCormick, Henry L. Bowles ("a self-made man in every respect"), and JA's own Theodore Vail.⁶⁴ Sounding the theme of shop-culture mobility,

the JA house organ, told its readers in 1924:⁶⁵

As a matter of fact we find that the percentage of college graduates who are numbered among the executives of the big industrial plants in certain lines where surveys have been made, is very low, that for the most part those now occupying those positions are men who have come up through the industries and that 400,000 more executives who have come up through the ranks will be required by American industries by 1930. A college education is a big asset to any young man or young woman, but for producing these industrial executives it has not yet been found sufficient in itself--the actual experience in the industry must be added.

Founder Moses seemed to agree. "I believe college training helps young people to succeed," he wrote the same year, "but ordinary ability, earnestly applied, gets better results than college training applied half-heartedly." Praising originality and imagination, and noting the "many dangers as well as advantages" of specialization, Junior Achievement Magazine concluded: "The world picks her structural timber wherever it grows straightest and strongest, and never stops to inquire if it is a family tree." Yet, at the same time, patience, even forbearance in mobility was also counseled, with white-collar work vaguely proscribed. Declared a Log editorial of 1924:⁶⁶

Don't misunderstand, by /useful work/ we do not mean that it must be a job which will permit of your dressing in your Sunday

clothes all the week through, sitting at a polished mahogany desk with a telephone at your elbow and a row of buzzers at your fingertips. A hed carrier can take real pride in his job, insignificant though it may be in the erection of the wonderful big building, if he goes about his work in earnest and delivers the goods. And some day will come his chance at a better job.

Another indication of JA's class constituency and its mobility ideals comes from the kind of Achiever who appeared in JA's house organs in the 1920s presented as models for the rest of the organization. These paragons were evidently of working or lower-middle class origins. They were respectable, earnest, self-reliant, and implicitly upwardly mobile. Rebecca Handwerker, formerly of a Springfield JA club, earned money weekends giving basketry lessons to pay her way through Westfield State Normal School. Helen M. Popkiewicz's savings from her days in the Work and Win Textile Club would help finance her nurse's training at a Boston hospital. Paul Blackmer graduated from a commercial high school in Springfield at 16, ready to begin a job armed with typing and shorthand skills and training received in JA club darkroom work. And on a more rarefied plane, ex-Achiever Carolina Acrossi was at Skidmore to become a language teacher. "She had established a 'no slang' and 'good English' campaign," her former club leader recalled, "and the girls looked to

her for advice in much of her [sic] school work." Although Carolina "didn't know that [i.e., whether] her parents could afford to send her to college," her thrift training in JA had helped to pare costs, and even at school she had found "time to spare outside of classes to earn a part of her expenses...."⁶⁷

Such examples are admittedly impressionistic and meager evidence upon which to gauge something as subtle as work and mobility attitudes; but they can serve, at least, to suggest them. Less impressionistic are data on the class origins of Achievers in the period, although here, too, the sample is small. Of 48 present or former Achievers in Springfield and Holyoke in 1929 who were about to become volunteer leaders of their own clubs, and whose class origins, based on the head of household's (or the leader's) occupation could be reasonably fixed, the majority--31--seem to have been of working-class background. The distribution was:⁶⁸

Unskilled.....	20
Skilled.....	11
Non-professional white collar..... (clerical, sales)	5
Professional/managerial/technical..... (includes teachers and nurses)	8
Entrepreneurial.....	4

If clerical is considered a quasi-working-class category,⁶⁹ then the working-class portion of the sample would be close to 75% of the total. Although the sample is crude, it is indicative; and, taken with the other evidence noted above, it makes a more compelling case for a heavy working-class constituency in Junior Achievement in the period.

While Achievers in the 1920s were predominantly working class, most of the organization's patrons were members of the substantial business class. As a "civic" activity, JA, of course, received obligatory approval from public figures. No less a New Era spokesman than Calvin Coolidge endorsed the movement, inviting 36 Northeastern business and industrial supporters of JA to the White House in 1925, and attending a textile club demonstration at which both he and the first lady, with exquisite appropriateness, each received a scarf of "Coolidge Gray." And, as mentioned above, professionals in education and social work lauded JA as well.⁷⁰ But it was businessmen whose interest and support weighed most heavily. Like Herace Moses, many seem to have been involved in essentially local enterprises, but there were also men connected with the national corporate order taking part. Prudent generalizations about the men backing the movement are hard to make. They surely did share, however, those values that JA basically promoted: social and po-

litical conservatism and corporate capitalism.⁷¹

With such support, Junior Achievement grew through the 20s. By mid-decade, there were over 6000 Achievers in the Northeast.⁷² In 1927, the year after incorporation, JA reached New York City; two years later, locations as diverse as Dubuque, Iowa and Baltimore became part of the network. By 1930, the organization had appeared as far west as Denver and Nebraska.⁷³

There were also at least two significant additions to the roster of JA functionaries during this period of expansion. Supplementing the industrial educators and social workers, John St. Clair Mendenhall became JA's director of publicity in 1928. Although he had previously worked with Boy Scouts, his curriculum vitae had included journalism and "the organization of Chambers of Commerce and financial campaigns." And in 1929, "Bruce Barton, A.B., Author, Editor and Advertising Executive" sat on the JA National Publicity Committee.⁷⁴ At decade's end, then, despite its dogmatic religion of work, Junior Achievement also reflected the most contemporary aspects of the capitalist order that was about to stumble, fall, and sprawl dazed and bleeding along Wall Street and Main Street alike.

NOTES

1. Robert K. Murray, Red Scare (New York, 1955) 156, 129

2. Junior Achievement Bureau of the Eastern States League (hereafter JABESL), "Annual Report and Some Results of the Work," Jan. 1921, p. 7; JABESL, Brief No. 1, "Origins of Junior Achievement Club Work," Feb. 1925; The Leg, June 1924, p. 8; Literary Digest, Feb. 20, 1937, p. 38

3. Brief No. 1; Ray Giles, "Big Business in Miniature," Review of Reviews, Sept. 1936, p. 51 et seq.

4. Albert Bigelow Paine, In One Man's Life (New York, 1921) 236, and passim; Noble, America By Design, pp. 11-12; James Weinstein, The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State 1900-1918 (Boston, 1968) 30

5. Paine, In One Man's Life, 267-8, 271, 275-6, 330-33, 361; Harry L. Lane et al., Achievement is My Goal (n.p. [Springfield?], 1956) 15-16, 41-56

6. Who Was Who in America, Vol. I (Chicago, 1960) 273

7. Lane, Achievement is My Goal, 8-10, 15-16, 41-56, 103-5. The League, besides the JA Bureau and the co-op, comprised a Home [Economics] Department Bureau, a Farm Home Settlement Bureau, and a Bankers' Bureau "formed for the purpose of interesting banks in loaning money to farmers so they could purchase seed and grain from the Farmers' Exchange." Charles E. Higgins, "Mr. Moses--His Life and Interests," Strathmorean, Fiftieth Anniversary Number (West Springfield, 1942) 21-2.

Although largely confined to New England, the Exchange (and indeed the League) were indicative of the broader contemporary trend of corporate modernizers to encourage "modern methods and sound business principles" in agriculture, such as the 1922 Capper-Volstead Act did by exempting farmer co-ops from anti-trust laws. It is of interest to note that the Moses-sponsored venture was incorporated at a time when the Non-Partisan League in the Midwest was developing farmer self-help projects of a decidedly radical hue.

8. "Annual Report," Jan. 1921, 8-9; Who Was Who, Vol. 3, p. 68

9. Binghamton was (and still is) a shoe manufacturing center. JABESL, "Demonstration Outline on Manufacture, Sale and Repair of Shoes," Leaders' Service Circular 3-A, Jan. 1921; JABESL, "Manufacture, Sale and Use of Paper," Home Service Circular 7-F-1, Feb. 1921, p. 14; JABESL, "Helping Hands for Newsboys of America," Circular D-1, April 1921, p. 2; "Annual Report," Jan. 1921, pp. 5-6. By 1922, activities included rubber work, woodwork, electrical and radio work, cooking, gardening, marble and granite work, and press work and printing. "Popularizing Work," The Playground, July 1922, pp. 160-61

10. By 1921, there were scattered JA clubs as far west as Binghamton, as far south as Delaware, and as far north as Vermont. But the greatest concentration was in industrial New England, particularly Massachusetts and Connecticut. "Annual Report," Jan. 1921, p. 9

11. "Plans and Policies of Junior Achievement, Incorporated," Bulletin No. 2, Oct. 1927, p. 3; "Annual Report of the Director of Junior Achievement, Incorporated," 1926. The "other agencies" were YM and YWCAs, Boys' and Girls' Clubs, playgrounds, settlement houses, schools, community centers, camps, churches, Boy Scouts, and hospitals. Two years earlier, JA clubs appeared in industrial plants. The Log, Jan. 1925, p. 7

12. The Log, April 1925, p. 8

13. In the 1926 incorporation reorganization, two JA divisions were set up: a junior (up to 13 years of age) and a senior (14 and over). The junior division was to encourage try-outs in several fields; the senior was to stress the corporate and business training aspects of the program. The Log, Dec. 1926, p. 2. After the 1928 charter reorganization, clubs were to consist of 5 to 15 members. Chartered clubs could purchase from JA headquarters pins, product seals, circulars, blueprints, patterns, a "Leaders' Technical Manual," a "Business Manual," and blank stock certificates. Junior Achievement Magazine (hereafter JAM), July 1928, back cover; ibid., Oct. 1928, p. 7

14. School and Society, Oct. 3, 1925, p. 429. Sharpe was also a vice-president of the Eastern States League.

15. Joseph F. Kett, Rites of Passage (New York, 1977) 164, 240; Noble, America By Design, 300-01, 307, 308, 310; Berenice M. Fischer, Industrial Education (Madison, Wisc., 1967) 135-6

16. "Popularizing Work "; JABESL, Brief No. 2, "Ob-

jects of Junior Achievement Club Work," Feb. 1925. In 1913, Charles A. Prosser, a Massachusetts educator, had bemoaned the existence of "misfits in all vocations" (cf. "industrial misfits" in Brief No. 2) because of a lack of vocational education, while rhapsodizing about "the joy that comes from a sense of achievement" to one who has found his vocational niche. His colleague David Snedden had similarly adumbrated JA in 1916 in extolling realistic industrial education programs "turning out commercially salable products through the techniques of quantity production...." Charles A. Prosser, "Practical Arts and Vocational Guidance," excerpt in Marvin Lazerson and W. Norton Grubb (eds.), American Education and Vocationalism, A Documentary History 1870-1970 (New York, 1974) 135-6; Daniel T. Rodgers, The Work Ethic in Industrializing America (Chicago, 1978) 85

17. F. Theodore Struck, Foundations of Industrial Education (New York, 1930) 413-14; School and Society, Oct. 3, 1925, p. 429; JABESL, Brief No. 8, "Comments on Junior Achievement Club Work," Feb. 1925. For an educator on JA try-outs and their relation to the junior high school movement in the period, see The Log, March 1926, p. 4. A New Milford, Connecticut high school developed a course for regular credit in 1930 using JA "for boys and girls who are failing in one or more subjects." Tentatively named "Industrial Arts and Practical Economics," the idea was "to have the students use Junior Achievement as a medium through which to learn practical economics." JAM, Feb. 1930, p. 5

18. "Popularizing Work"; "Demonstration Outline on... Shoes"; The Log, June 1924, p. 4; JABESL, Brief No. 3, "The Club Organization," Feb. 1925; The Log, Sept. 1924, p. 1; ibid., Jan. 1926, p. 3

19. July 13, 1924, quoted in The Log, August 1924, p. 6; The Log, Oct. 1925, p. 7. See also "Plans and Policies," p. 8; and The Log, Sept. 1924, p. 2

20. For a contemporary account of industrial de-skilling in the 1920s, see Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, Middletown (New York, 1929) 73-6

21. Kett, Rites of Passage, 236. The junior high school movement of the early 1920s used club work to foster group cooperation values. Joel Spring, Education and the Rise of the Corporate State (Boston, 1973) 106

22. Rodgers, The Work Ethic in Industrializing Ameri-

ca, 83, 90

23. Ivan L. Hobson, "The Way of Achievement," (Springfield, n.d., ca. 1926); The Log, June 1924, p. 4; ibid., March 1926, p. 2; JAM, May 1928, p. 1. In 1913, Vail spoke of "the pyramid of our great social organization" which had "a place for every man...in which he shall be at his best both for himself and for others." Theodore Newton Vail, Views on Public Questions (n.p., 1917) 138. JA's celebration of specialization, however, was qualified in at least one case. See JAM, Feb. 1929, p. 3

24. Brief No. 3. Work was given a play aura, for example, by having Achievers sing while demonstrating an industrial process. For papermaking, JA supplied demonstrators with this, sung to the tune of K-K-K Katy:

P P P Paper, all kinds of paper,

We will wash and beat and dye and make it too,

And when the P P P Paper

Comes out of the wringer,

We will pass it round the audience to you.

("Manufacture, Sale and Use of Paper," p. 14). Such a contrived effort to make work a "game" should not obscure pre-industrial cultural traditions in which work and play were organically related. See Herbert G. Gutman, Work, Culture and Society (New York, 1977) ch. 1; and Bruce Laurie, The Working People of Philadelphia 1800-1850 (Philadelphia, 1980) ch. 3

25. Spring, Education...Corporate State, 68; Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America (Cambridge, Mass., 1978) 243, 251. For an interesting use of the play concept by JA--urging Achievers to "play" at having various positive feelings (e.g. health, happiness, strength) when their real feelings were the reverse--see JAM, May 1930, inside front cover.

As may be evident by now, there was a strong presence of professional educators and social workers in JA in this period. Staff members included Addie Root (Assistant Director in Homemaking; background in agricultural extension work and home economics teaching); Marion Louise Ober (Assistant Director of the Springfield JA Foundation; Wellesley graduate in sociology; background in probation work with girls); Emily Linhoff ("Direc-

tress" of Essex County, New York JA Foundation; background in rural youth club work); and Albert A. Johnson (National Executive Director of JA; background in agricultural education, including an institute run by J.C. Penney in northern Florida). The Log, June 1924, p. 2; June 1925, p. 4; May 1924, p. 2; April 1927, p. 3

26. Noble, America By Design, 303

27. JAM, Dec. 1930, p. 6; ibid., Nov. 1928, p. 1; "Plans and Policies," p. 8. "We also learn," wrote Achiever Eleanor Sederlund, "the game of working together with others in a businesslike way. Each girl has a special job to do, and if she does not do it she is likely to keep someone else from doing hers." (JAM, April 1929, p. 4.) "There must be mutual concession and subordination of the individual to the comfort of all," JA patriarch Theodore Vail had written in 1915. "There must be leaders and followers, for without organization there can only be chaos." Vail was, of course, a prototypical corporate modernizer. But see the paragraph immediately following the above quote with its curious--indeed, contradictory--tone of individualism and self-help vis-a-vis mobility. Vail, Views on Public Questions, 249

28. The Log, Dec. 1926, p. 2. JA was neither the first, nor the last, scheme for socializing youth into the dominant culture by replicating it in miniature. William R. George's Junior Republic was a sort of summer camp, begun in 1895, in which urban working-class youngsters lived and had to earn a living (or go to jail for indigency, subsist on bread and water, and crush rocks) as well as govern themselves. But, besides its element of viciousness, the Republic was atavistic--George believed, Joel Spring writes, "that the town meeting [in the Republic] coupled with an economic system that provided for rapid mobility would recreate these conditions [of the pre-industrial village] that had supposedly implanted virtue in the native American."

Less anachronistic, if no more realistic, was the student government movement in public schools to teach civics begun about the same time. A more refined version, sponsored by the American Legion in 1935 (and still extant) was Boys State (and Girls State, Boys Nation, and Girls Nation) which aped the mechanics of American government from the town to federal levels. And closer to JA was the Junior Association of Commerce that Upton Sinclair mentioned attempting--unsuccessfully--to proselytize in the Chicago public schools in the early 1920s. See Spring, Education...Corporate State, 70, 118; New York

Times (hereafter NYT), July 10, 1950; "Girls take on the Government in Massachusetts," Ladies Home Journal, Feb. 1956, 37-43; Ernest Kolowrat, "Boys Nation: Leadership for Young Americans," Senior Scholastic, Sept. 27, 1963, p. 29 et seq.; Upton Sinclair, The Goslings (Pasadena, Cal., 1924) 108-9

29. The Log, Dec. 1924, p. 3; ibid., Oct. 1924, p. 6; Brief No. 3. JA clubs had organized on a business basis to make and sell goods before the corporate format took hold, but their funding was through loans from local banks rather than stock issues for the 6-month production cycle. Even without the corporate format, however, the "practical business" training and division of labor (with officers in charge of buying raw materials, production, sales, and advertising) strongly hinted at a corporate industrial model. The Log, July 1924, p. 6; Sept. 1924, p. 4

30. "Annual Report," 1926; JAM, June 1929, p. 7

31. 35 were strictly handicraft clubs. JAM, July 1928, p. 2

32. Ibid., Jan. 1931, p. 3; Springfield Union, April 22, 1947

33. Brief No. 2. Daniel Rodgers observed that stock purchase plans in the 'teens and 20s were in effect "an attempt to elicit allegiance from a corporation's most essential, skilled blue-collar workers by involving them in a long-term purchase arrangement forfeitable by strike." Rodgers, Work Ethic, 50. See also ibid., 49; and Noble, America By Design, 181, 264-5

34. Vail, Views on Public Questions, 194; "Junior Achievement Boys' and Girls' Club Work," 1927, p. 6

35. JAM, March 1928, inside front cover. For labor-capital "understanding" and cooperation, see also Brief No. 2; Brief No. 8

36. Edward George Hartmann, The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant (New York, 1948) passim, and especially 88, 104, 220-21, 241. For the importance of corporate modernizers in Americanization, see Noble, America By Design, 58, 306

37. Weinstein, Corporate Ideal, 126-7; "Annual Report," Jan. 1921, p. 12; The Log, Jan. 1925, p. 2; "Boys' and Girls' Club Work," p. 6

38. Hartmann, Movement to Americanize, 265

39. "Annual Report," Jan. 1921, p. 10

40. School and Society, Nov. 7, 1925, pp. 592-3; The Log, Dec. 1925, p. 4. As far back as 1908, American International College had served as an Americanization center for immigrant leaders to bring American ideals back into the ethnic enclaves and "break the rule of the padrone, the political boss, and the demagogue." Hartmann, Movement to Americanize, 30

41. The Log, March 1926, p. 6; June 1926, pp. 6-7

42. Marvin Meyers, The Jacksonian Persuasion (New York, 1960). See also Moses speech, The Log, Nov. 1925, p. 5. For Vail on individualism and the work ethic, see his Views on Public Questions, 248, and especially 249, where a statement of corporate values is immediately followed by one with an individualist cast.

Even the Heratie Alger stories, which Moses and his cohorts may have read, were not without ambivalence. Daniel Rodgers observes that "Alger himself was only half-comfortable in the industrial economy whose possibilities he celebrated so enthusiastically....If Alger admired the fluidity of his age, he was profoundly distrustful of industrialization itself. He never showed a boy actually at work in a factory....He set most of his tales consciously in the past, in the farm, workshop, and counting-house economy that was rapidly disappearing." Rodgers, Work Ethic, 142. The JA Work and Win Textile Club, incidentally, may have taken its name from a success story of the same title by Oliver Optic (William T. Adams), Alger's predecessor in the genre. Ibid., 137

43. The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, Vol. XLII (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1967) 66-7; Rodgers, Work Ethic, 231.

Discussing the seeming hypocrisy of large capitalists vis-a-vis the concept of the self-made man in the Gilded Age, John William Ward noted that "hypocrisy is not too useful as an analytical generalization for the historian....It makes more sense simply to conclude that many Americans in the late nineteenth century, a moment of massive and rapid social change, were attempting to impose a cultural ideal, inherited from the past and deeply cherished, onto a present to which the ideal had little, if any, relevance." John William Ward, "The Ideal of Individualism and the Reality of Organization," in Earl

F. Cheit (ed.), The Business Establishment (New York, 1964) 56.

Gramsci, in his examination of American capitalist development, found a peculiarity that bears on the question of work moralism. "Until recently," he wrote around 1930, "the American people was a working people. The 'vocation of work' was not a trait inherent only in the working class but it was a specific quality of the ruling classes as well. The fact that a millionaire continued to be practically active until forced to retire by age or illness and that his activity occupied a very considerable part of his day, is a typically American phenomenon. This, for the average European, is the weirdest American extravagance." Hoare and Smith, Prison Notebooks, 305

44. Brief No. 2; "Annual Report," Jan. 1921, p. 11; "Boys' and Girls' Club Work," p. 4

45. "Boys' and Girls' Club Work," p. 4; "Annual Report," Jan. 1921, p. 12; James Prothro, The Dollar Decade (Baton Rouge, 1954) 7, 10, 11, 169-70

46. Quoted in The Log, May 1925, p. 3. For Vail on disciplining youth, see Views on Public Questions, 20

47. Stuart Ewen, Captains of Consciousness (New York, 1976); The Log, Feb. 1925, p. 3. At a JA conference held in Washington in 1925, supporter John Goss called the movement an alternative to the influence of jazz on children, an influence through which, he went on, the "race" was becoming "very nervous." The Log, May 1925, p. 5

48. "Popularizing Work"; JAM, Dec. 1930, p. 8; The Log, May 1925, p. 2

49. Boyer, Urban Masses, 38, 149; Spring, Education... Corporate State, 73; The Log, Aug. 1925, p. 2. For Sneed as a corporate modernizer in education, see also note 16, this chapter.

50. The Log, Nov. 1925, p. 5. Moses also mentioned JA's importance in pre-vocational try-outs.

51. JAM, Dec. 1929, p. 9

52. Boyer, Urban Masses, 292

53. Brief No. 2. In 1929, JAM did reprint a short piece, under the heading "Another Argument Why Girls of Today Should Be Trained in Business Principles,"

that noted the great increase in the female work force, and predicted that "the girls of today" would soon "take their place on an equal economic basis with men...." But the paragraph concluded by asserting that girls would thus need to learn business principles to avoid "unappreciatively and wastefully" spending their newly won economic gains. JAM, July 1929, p. 3

55. As in the case of the work ethic, JA in the 20s seems to have been using artifice to recreate a vanishing order--in this case, the home as a center of production and the woman, ultimately, as its primary producer. Again one finds ambivalence in the use of corporate methods--JA and its club structure--to revive a pre-corporate social reality.

56. Rodgers, Work Ethic, 202-3

57. For a discussion of the consumer culture of the period, see Ewen, Captains of Consciousness

58. Spring, Education...Corporate State, 34-5; Hoare and Smith, Prison Notebooks, 297

59. The Log, Dec. 1927, front cover; Springfield, West Springfield, Longmeadow, Chicopee Directory, 1926 (Springfield, 1926) 310

60. The Log, May 1925, p. 5; June 1925, p. 4; JAM, Dec. 1928

61. See, for example, JAM, April 1930, p. 3; Sept. 1930, p. 2; "Helping Hands for Newsboys"

62. The Log, June 1924, p. 4. 90% of Achievers were unable to escape the city in the summer.

63. See, for example, The Log, May 1924, p. 2; March 1926, p. 2; JAM, Oct. 1930, p. 4.

Blacks, who were certainly predominantly working class, occasionally appear in pictures of JA groups in the 20s. In 1928, Charles M. Cox & Co., "one of the leading houses on the Grain Exchange," together with the Urban League co-sponsored JA work among black youth in Boston. JAM, Sept. 1928, p. 4

64. The Log, July 1924, p. 5; Jan. 1925, p. 2; Feb. 1925, p. 2; Dec. 1925, p. 3; May 1924, p. 3. Bowles, a JA patron, had made his money in a cafeteria chain and later went to Congress to fill an unexpired term. Who Was

Who, I, 123. For Vail on mobility, see Views on Public Questions, 109-10

65. The Log, Dec. 1924, p. 2. See also Brief No. 2; and Brief No. 8 (comments of E.B. Read). For shop culture, see Noble, America By Design, 27

66. The Log, May 1924, p. 1; JAM, Feb. 1929, p. 3; The Log, Sept. 1924, p. 2. The phrase "insignificant though it may be in the erection of the wonderful big building" strongly suggests JA's corporate outlook asserting itself.

67. The Log, Dec. 1926, p. 6; Jan. 1925, p. 8; Jan. 1926, p. 3, 4; Springfield...Directory, 1926, 249.

There was also the case of John Philip Greene, of the Live Wire Electrical Club of Keeseville, New York, who intended "to take a course in electrical communication engineering at Harvard University" "on completion of his preparatory work." Greene's preparatory work must have disappointed the Harvard admissions office, for when his story reappeared three years later, he had decided "to take up further work /beyond his JA club/ along electrical lines," but there was no mention of his heading for Cambridge to do it. The Log, Dec. 1925, p. 4; JAM, April 1928, p. 8.

Of 16 former Achievers in New Britain, Connecticut in 1930, 4 (who were women) were in normal school; 3 were "at work at trades in which they were helped by Junior Achievement"; 4 were "working at various local factories"; two were stenographers; one was employed at a local bank; one had "become a talented sketcher"; and one was studying for the ministry at Colgate. JAM, Feb. 1930, p. 9.

In the playlet The Road to Achievement cited above, Dick, one of the Achievers applying for work in the mill, tells the manager: "No, we're not ragged or starving, and we even have some spending money since the Achievement club helped us earn it. But we both belong to big families--eight kids, my mother has, and his /Harry's/ has eleven--and our fathers think we ought to help out now." The Log, June 1926, p. 7

68. JAM, Dec. 1929, pp. 3, 8; Springfield...Directory, 1929; ibid., 1930; Holyoke, South Hadley Falls, Chicopee Directory, 1928 (Springfield, 1928); ibid., 1933. The relatively high percentage of non-working-class origins in this sample--roughly 25%--may be due to the entire sample's nature: that of an Achiever elite, selected from those Achievers showing "particular promise in their club

work." Many of the 25% may have been part of middle-class Achievement families in which parents or older siblings were club leaders and younger children brought in as club members. Their ascendance to club leadership could have been as much based on noblesse oblige as on their own merit as Achievers. For recruiting of club leaders from the ranks, see JABESL, "Leadership for Junior Achievement Clubs," Brief No. 6, Feb. 1925

69. C. Wright Mills, White Collar (New York, 1951) ch. 8

70. NYT, April 14, 15, 1925. Massachusetts' U.S. Senator Frederic H. Gillette and Representative Allen Treadway were also supporters. The Log, May 1925, p. 5; JAM, Sept. 1928, p. 7

71. On Moses's business background, see also Springfield Union, April 21, 1937; and Springfield Republican, April 20, 1946.

Of those 14 JA supporters identified in 1925 and 1928 whose careers could be traced, 7 seem to have had entrepreneurial (or shop-culture mobility) "self-made" backgrounds; 4 achieved success via the legal or academic-technical corporate route (cf. Noble, America By Design); and 3 were inheritors of their wealth and position. The sample is much too small to do more than vaguely suggest. The Log, May 1925, p. 5; JAM, Sept. 1928, p. 7; Who Was Who, I, 16, 123, 253, 472, 978, 1230; ibid., II, 323; ibid., III, 46, 214, 422, 627, 776, 789, 825.

At a 1928 JA exhibition, Postum Cereal Co. of New York, and the Dennison Manufacturing Co. of Framingham, Mass. sent advisors to assist the Achievers. While his other links with JA, if any, are not known, Henry S. Dennison was a corporate modernizer with strongly technocratic (and elitist) notions. Although liberal in that he opposed the reaction of the Red Scare and union busting, his industrial ideal was "a self-governing owner-manager class." See JAM, Oct. 1928, p. 3; and Kim McQuaid, "Henry S. Dennison and the 'Science' of Industrial Reform, 1900-1950," American Journal of Economics and Sociology, Jan. 1977, p. 79 et seq.

Other JA supporters in the period included J.C. Penney and Henry Cabot Lodge. The Log, Aug. 1924, p. 2; July 1927, p. 6. Upton Sinclair, incidentally, called JA backer Charles L. Allen's Norton Grinding Co. in Worcester, Mass. "a thoroughly feudal concern, which owns its workers' homes, and ruthlessly ferrets out every independent thought in their heads." The Goslings, 198.

One should note that while local (but very substan-

tial) businessmen such as Moses or Allen, compared to JA supporters such as corporate lawyer and banker George W. Davison (United Fruit, Union Carbide and Carbon, Chrysler, later Federal Reserve Bank of New York), were small businessmen, their smallness was relative. In such things as rationalization of production and internal bureaucracy, even a "small;" local-market entrepreneurship could, in many important respects, embrace the same corporate values as its bigger, national-market brethren.

72. NYT, April 14, 1925. But see The Log, Jan. 1925, p. 1, which gives 4,472 Achievers. Exact membership figures for JA throughout its history, based on the discrepancies found in various sources, invite caution and, at best, are general indicators.

73. The Log, March 1927, p. 6; JAM, Oct. 1929; April 1930, p. 4; Dec. 1930, p. 4

74. JAM, Feb. 1928, pp. 2-3; Feb. 1929, p. 1. Barton's literary credits doubtless referred to The Man Nobody Knows, an interpretation of Christ as a proto-go-getter which historian William Leuchtenberg has called the "classic statement of the secularization of religion and the religiosity of business" in the decade. William E. Leuchtenberg, The Perils of Prosperity (Chicago, 1958) 188.

But despite the presence of slick publicists such as Barton and Mendenhall, one should remember that the backers of JA during the period were hardly economic naifs. Edward Hazen, after all, had made his mark in advertising too. The firm in which he worked, Curtis Publishing, was in the vanguard of the corporate modernizers. Noble, America By Design, 179

C H A P T E R I I

HARD TIMES, NEW BLOOD, AND A WORLD WAR

If the 1930s were unkind to business,¹ business's protege, Junior Achievement, fared remarkably well during that trying period. "We are having the best year financially that Junior Achievement, Inc., has thus far experienced," JA's manager Morris Alling cheerfully reported in 1930--the same year in which 1,345 banks failed and unemployment stood at 5 million and growing.² What in 1925 was largely a Northeastern movement of 6000 boys and girls had, by 1937, more than doubled to 13,000 and spread as far west as California.³ Two years later there were 1000 Achievers in New York City alone. JA's growth during the Depression was doubtless full of snags; the president of the New York City group, in 1930, had to solicit funds for training volunteer leaders through a letter to the editor of the Times, while clubs in Springfield, the movement's birthplace, evidently withered and died in the later 30s. But in the aggregate, JA expanded.⁴

The corporate format of the miniature JA companies became standard during the decade. At the same time, the membership age range was narrowed. Set between 12 and 21 in the New York area in 1930, it closed to 16-21 by

1937.⁵ Indeed, Metropolitan Junior Achievement, the New York organization, seems to have set the pace for JA in the period, and its operations, if not its scale, were probably representative.

As in the 20s, the clubs--now called companies--made craft items for sale. Company size could vary from 8 to 15 members who met once a week in the early 30s, twice a week later in the decade. Achievers served as their corporation's officers (president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, production manager, sales manager), while three or four adult advisers coached each enterprise.⁶ Financing their corporations through stock issues ranging from 10¢ to \$1 per share, the JA companies in the early 30s would "generally retain 40 per cent of their stock issue⁷....to create the ownership morale and strengthen both the sense of responsibility, as well as to keep the club from becoming merely a classroom activity on a leisure time basis." There were wages as well: apprentices received 5¢ an hour in 1937, while experienced workers earned 20¢.⁷

The ties between JA and the world of adult work were undiminished. The paradox of the movement's growth in a period of economic torpor may not, in fact, have been so puzzling after all. "In times like the present period of employment readjustments," Morris Alling told Achievers in 1930, "youth finds itself with less work and more

leisure time."⁸ With the job famine of the Depression, young people--especially the working-class young people with whom JA largely dealt--would have all the more reason to seek the organization, both for the vocational training that would be crucial in a tight labor market, and as a source of income, however marginal. By the mid-30s, for at least some Achievers, the "knowledge of business principles" and "manual dexterity" acquired in JA may have led to employment. Such, at least, was the claim of several contemporary journalists. "When a man is through [with JA] at 21," wrote one in 1936,⁹

he can tell his prospective employer that he has been janitor, accountant, salesman, president, treasurer, sales manager, and director of a corporation. Many business houses give preference to job hunters who have had Junior Achievement experience and outlook.

"Calls to [JA] headquarters for applicants to fill all sorts of positions are becoming increasingly frequent," the New York Herald Tribune reported the same year, "and last year 60 per cent. of the company members, twice as many as in 1934, were employed, either whole or part-time." In 1938, a third journalist declared that "several large industrial and business concerns [had] standing regulations that all new young employees be recruited from Junior Achievement companies." Unemployment among

Achievers "in some cities" in 1939 was said to be below average for the 16-to-21-year-old age group--2% jobless for JA alumni as opposed to as much as 48% for non-Achievers. Some JA companies evidently became full-time and full-scale concerns "when members were without regular employment." But despite such impressive (and possibly atypical) cases, JA officials admitted that no more than 5% of the 13,000 Achievers active in 1937 would enter trades for which their JA training had prepared them.¹⁰

Whatever its impact on teenage employment, JA offered more than practical business training in the period; it was also promoted as a corrective for youth gangs. There had been references to the "waste and crime problem" in the 20s,¹¹ but the JA concern with gangs seems to have heightened in the 30s. "Offering a constructive outlet for the energies of the young person in his teens," the New York Times explained in 1932, JA was "designed to divert what might become the destructive gang spirit into channels of cooperation and achievement." The need for such channels, a New York JA functionary noted, was evident in the city's crime figures for 1931: 38,959 arrests of those between 16 and 21.¹² Within the next five years, New York JA's J.S. Mendenhall had developed a system for approaching and proselytizing the gangs. One suburban band of "juvenile hooligans," a sympathetic jour-

nalist wrote, discovered through JA "that it's more fun to buy and sell than it is to steal."¹³ How successful the movement was in fighting youth crime is unclear based on such meager evidence. In any case, JA, with its tinge of settlement-house zeal, may have been overshooting the mark in equating gangs and crime; for, as Joseph Kett points out, "most such reform efforts rested on the assumption that the gang was an embryonic form of delinquency and criminality, an assumption which acquired the status of a scientific postulate in the years between 1920 and 1950."¹⁴

But JA's gang crusade does seem to indicate that the movement was still strongly interested in reaching and molding working-class youth--youth whose dependency on such groups as JA for diversion or even income the Depression surely increased. Five out of ten JA company locations in New York in 1932, for example, were settlement houses and Boys' Clubs, while the rest--a church, synagogue, foundation, and civic association--could well have catered to lower, rather than middle-class youngsters. And in the case of the Race Brook Country Club of Orange, Connecticut, the class nature of the JA program there was so stark as to be a caricature. Robert D. Fryde, the club's secretary-treasurer, reported in 1930 how he had solved the "caddie problem"--the idling and crap games of

boys waiting to caddy--by starting a JA company for them in which they produced hammered copper trays to sell to club members. "I am in hopes to see it extended to all the busy clubs," Pryde wrote, "where the caddie problem can be helped."¹⁵

There was another sort of youthful waywardness that Junior Achievement sought to check in the 1930s. If youngsters--particularly working-class youngsters--needed practical vocational training and a purgative for the temptations of petty crime, even more they needed suasion from ideological heresy. The Depression, of course, was a potentially radicalizing force; indeed, some prominent educators and social critics of the period sought to politicize the school and make it a nursery of revolution.¹⁶ But like a vigilant fire brigade, Junior Achievement was ready to rush out and extinguish the incipient brush fires of collectivism. "Taken from a purely social aspect," the Wall Street Journal noted in 1936, "the [JA] movement has done a great deal to explode adolescent ideas of communism and radicalism." A New York City Boys' Club, at a loss in dealing with 12 members of the local Young Communist League, turned in desperation to JA in 1934. The ubiquitous J.S. Mendenhall somehow organized the nascent subversives into a JA company, making one of the "ringleaders" sales manager. A reporter visiting the

company five years later described the result:¹⁷

When I made some reference to Communism at this shop the business like president waved his hand around the well-equipped room and then patted his order book. "You can see for yourself," he said, "we've outgrown all that."

Youngsters who forsook radicalism gained not only maturity, but a proper understanding of economics as well, supporters argued. A JA member, noted the reporter who had chronicled the metamorphosis of the ex-Young Communists, was "at the same time, both capital and labor. As capital, he votes wages...which, as a working man, he collects." The Wall Street Journal agreed, pointing out that Achievement "teaches the youth very realistically both the employer and employee side of business." Indeed, neither labor-management cooperation and "understanding," nor anti-radicalism, was a new JA theme; both had been basic tenets of the movement in its first decade. But the growing militancy of labor in the 1930s made such "understanding" all the more urgent. "By being employees, stockholders and customers of a business," wrote one journalist in the slump-within-a-slump year of 1937, "they become acquainted with the mutual responsibilities of employers and employees--a relationship that is receiving a new stress in this changed day...." One young

man learned his JA lesson well:¹⁸

The former president of one JA company is foreman at a paper box factory...He joined the union, and at union meetings he called on what he describes as his "management experience" to answer the arguments of the hot heads. He was just as outspoken when the management was unreasonable....Today, at 23, he is vice-president of his union local and a member of his plant's grievance committee. With strikes rampant, his plant has not had one in more than three years.

Junior Achievement was not alone in propagating the values of capitalism and social conservatism in the 1930s; towards the end of the decade, in fact, a vocal and aggressive segment of business leadership would join with and guide the movement as part of a broader effort to disseminate the corporate point of view. It was to be a durable liaison.

After the paroxysm of the 1929 crash and the ensuing paralysis of the Hoover years, many businessmen, even those of the crustily reactionary National Association of Manufacturers, cooperated with the Roosevelt administration in its first-aid measures. It was, of course, a marriage of convenience, and one quickly annulled. "After the initial 'Hundred Days' of the first Roosevelt administration," Alfred S. Cleveland wrote later, "the NAM grudgingly accepted the NRA, but soon abandoned it as the

implications of the labor provision became clear. From that point on the Association vigorously opposed the efforts of the national administration to alleviate the shocking distress of millions of unemployed and underprivileged citizens." Such vigorous opposition by the NAM covered 31 of the 38 major New Deal bills passed between 1933 and 1941.¹⁹

Reaction to the Democratic liberalism of the 30s was by no means confined to the NAM, although its voice was by far the most strident; as early as 1933, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, General Motors, Colby Chester (board chairman of General Foods), and Bruce Barton had engaged in an earnest, if fatuous, attempt to "sell" business as an institution to a hurt and skeptical America. By late 1937 and early 1938, the effort had broad business support.²⁰ Whatever its expectations, however, the movement's success was dubious. The CIO drives and Roosevelt Coalition victory of 1936 were as much a threat as a rebuff to the public relations efforts of business and industry. Indeed, after the failures of 1936, the corporate chiefs behind the advertising campaign, in a significant demarche, decided to supplement the pro-business ads with a sophisticated program that would use the social pressure of local groups or organizations to propagate corporate orthodoxy. The advertising continued, of course. In 1937,

for example, such national-market periodicals as Fortune, Business Week, and The Saturday Evening Post frequently contained explicitly ideological advertising meant to "sell" business. The same year, the NAM sent pre-designed ads "to publishers in areas liable to industrial unrest, where they might be sold to local civic and business organizations and signed thereby." The ads, aimed at workers, reminded them "'never for a moment' to 'let yourself forget that you are a property owner--a home owner--and that every action you take should be to protect that interest.'"²¹

Nor were young people neglected. Again in 1937, Young America, a "news-weekly for boys and girls," solicited pro-business advertising from corporate managers:

Strange--that American industry worries over today's radicals--with never a thought of what today's youth will think about American industry TOMORROW....One million youngsters will come of age this year....A large percentage of these youngsters will have no idea "what America is all about." Many have warped conceptions of the American system. Some are out-and-out communists....YOUNG AMERICA urges industry to tell its message to boys and girls--whether the medium be YOUNG AMERICA or several other juvenile publications....youthful minds in the formative stage are more receptive to your message.

The magazine, which claimed use by thousands of teach-

ers for classwork, had by 1938 enticed "a limited amount" of ideological advertising from such corporate giants as General Electric and General Motors.²²

It was at about this time that those back of the business counterattack on the New Deal and its ramifications--especially the leadership elite of the NAM--discovered Junior Achievement, with its rich potential for reaching impressionable teenagers. Given JA's inveterate anti-radicalism, it is, perhaps, surprising that such an alliance was so long in the making in the 30s. Or perhaps not; for, despite its growth during the Depression, JA, according to one account, remained "comparitively unknown to the general public" as late as 1937.²³ In fact Charles R. Hook, one of three NAM figures prominent in supporting JA, "hadn't heard much about" the organization up to the time he became active in its affairs.²⁴

Hook, president of the American Rolling Mill Co. (Armco Steel), evidently attended a meeting of executives in New York City in 1938 at which a local 16-year-old Achiever, Joe Francomano, addressed and impressed the group. "With that incident," Hook later recalled, "there began for me an interest in this Junior Achievement...."²⁵

Whether the JA-NAM nexus depended on such a fortuitous and inspirational episode is dubious. Perhaps Bruce Barton, with his earlier connection with JA and his part in

the pro-business campaign of the 30s forged the link; perhaps J.S. Mendenhall--the JA executive and missionary for capitalism among New York gangs and Young Communists--who also had a public relations background, was responsible. There is, unfortunately, no direct evidence on the genesis of the alliance.

But such an alliance there surely was. By 1939, S. Bayard Colgate (of Colgate-Palmolive Peet) headed JA's "large directorate," whose membership also included Hook and two other NAM luminaries, Robert L. Lund (Lambert Pharmacal Co.) and John J. Watson (International Agricultural Corporation). Colgate, Hook, and Lund had all been active in the anti-New Deal public relations drive; Lund, in fact, had "renovated" the NAM in the early 30s as its president, creating a public relations department within the organization. Bringing what Newsweek called the "backing and active cooperation of the NAM" with them, the three corporate leaders joined JA's executive directors--Marion L. Ober and Mendenhall, both veterans of the movement from its Springfield beginnings in the 1920s--to "spread the project throughout the country." But by mid-1941, it was the expectation of war that was spreading throughout America. Nevertheless, despite his own involvement in defense contracting, Hook assumed the national presidency of JA in May, explaining that its pro-

gram, too, was "an essential part of national defense."²⁷

Seven hundred NAM members met that same year to hear Winthrop R. Howard (president of the Rowlplug Co.), chairman of JA's Field Extension Committee, decry the spread of "isms" because of a lack of understanding. At the meeting too, Bayard Colgate told his colleagues that JA "had made friends for business and industry," while Hook asked those assembled to preserve "the American Way" by supporting the youth group.²⁸

The war enhanced JA's role as an ideological vehicle. The battle against the Axis was also the battle for "free private enterprise," the latter, of course, being synonymous with freedom in general. "It is for the good of this nation that our young men and women know, first hand, what free private enterprise is," said Charles Hook in 1943. "Without the support of the youth of America, during the adjustment period following the war, we may find that we have won the fight but lost the principles for which we fought." Those principles--capitalism as much as anti-fascism--might well be endangered if the end of war production brought on another depression, with its specter of radicalism. It was neither an idle fear nor one limited to the NAM backers of Junior Achievement. But JA's work, those backers reasoned, would seed fertile ground during the wartime consensus, and, in the postwar

"adjustment period," business would reap a sympathetic and understanding crop of young adults. JA, Colgate declared in 1943, would provide American youth with "the training, experience and understanding of our economy and industrial operations" which would be available when the nation got down "to the business of turning swords into plowshares."²⁹

Despite its heightened ideological cast in the late 30s and 40s (which would heighten yet more in the post-war), the organization retained elements of its traditional vocational training program.³⁰ Miniature JA corporations still turned out crafts and light industrial goods for sale, some of them, not surprisingly, in keeping with the war effort, including actual defense subcontracts for army pants hangers, foundry wedges for aircraft parts, and shipping blocks. There were non-manufacturing JA companies as well, adumbrating a postwar trend: secretarial and other services as early as November 1941, and, by 1943, a day-care nursery for war workers' children.³¹ Less novel was the old JA work moralism that survived into the war years. As late as 1943, Time found JA's house organ, Achievement, a "humorless" journal "which sags from too much uplift about working hard to succeed."³²

The lot of young women Achievers in the period re-

flected both the older JA attitudes and the exigencies of a wartime economy. Although sex-determined roles for girls in JA persisted, as in the case of the day nursery, the movement, like the nation, may also have accepted the notion of women going into war production. "Girls too have mechanical skill and ingenuity," read the caption in a 1943 article on JA, "which Junior Achievement helps them use to good advantage. Such experience leads to responsible defense jobs."³³

Although the purely vocational aspect of JA--and its work-ethic encomia--seem to have been moribund by the war's end, the infusion of new blood that the NAM leadership group represented did not so much change Junior Achievement as reinforce what had always been at its core. The "understanding" that JA ideally imparted to teenagers (and ultimately workers) had been no less important to Horace Moses and Theodore Vail than to Charles Hook and Bayard Colgate, the copybook homilies of the 1920s notwithstanding. Still, despite the ephemeral glow of righteous victory, 1945 allowed business none of the comfortable certainty that had nurtured JA in its first decade. But if renewed depression and more "socialistic" New Deal experiments--or worse--were a postwar possibility for Achievement's new patrons, so was an America reconciled to its corporate order and the men behind it.

NOTES

1. In an important sense, of course, the 30s were very kind indeed to business. "Capitalism was saved in eight days," Raymond Moley remarked of FDR's emergency measures in early 1933. William E. Leuchtenberg, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal (New York, 1963) 45

2. JAM, Oct. 1930, inside front cover; John D. Hicks, Republican Ascendency (New York, 1960) 229, 277

3. Janet Mabie, "In Business for Themselves," Christian Science Monitor Magazine, Aug. 11, 1937; Literary Digest, Feb. 20, 1937, p. 38. The anonymous Literary Digest article also claimed the existence of JA companies in Europe, South America, Hawaii, Canada, and Alaska.

4. NYT, Oct. 8, 1939; May 26, 1930; Springfield Union, April 22, 1947

5. NYT, May 26, 1930; Mabie, "In Business for Themselves." In 1932, the age range for New York Achievers was 14-21. NYT, Nov. 13, 1932

6. Advisors in 1936 included "a business man who has promised to sponsor the group and act as a general business advisor, a crafts leader (often a high school manual training teacher), a sales counsel, and the other adult who acts as chairman of sic committee." Ray Giles, "Big Business in Miniature," Review of Reviews, Sept. 1936, pp. 51-3; see also NYT, May 26, 1930; Literary Digest, Feb. 20, 1937, p. 38; JAM, Jan. 1931, p. 3. National JA headquarters evidently moved from Springfield to New York City at some time between 1937 and 1939. See Literary Digest, loc. cit.; and Newsweek, Jan. 16, 1939

7. NYT, May 26, 1930; Nov. 13, 1932; Literary Digest, loc. cit.

8. JAM, Oct. 1930, inside front cover

9. NYT, Nov. 13, 1932; Giles, "Big Business." A 1938 article mentioned "modern merchandising and business administration" as part of the JA curriculum. Kenneth M. Swezy, "Big Business in Miniature," Popular Science, Aug. 1938, p. 24

10. n.d., quoted in Literary Digest, Feb. 15, 1936,

p. 18; ibid., Feb. 20, 1937, p. 38; Swezy, "Big Business"; Stanley High, "Growing Up in Business," Reader's Digest, Sept. 1939, pp. 73-6. There were no employment figures for JA as a whole.

11. Brief No. 2

12. NYT, Nov. 13, 1932. See also ibid., May 26, 1938

13. Wall Street Journal, n.d., quoted in Literary Digest, Feb. 15, 1936, p. 18; Giles, "Big Business." One JA club director in New Britain, Conn. formed his group from "a list of boys who had fallen into the hands of the law" given him by a probation officer. JAM, April 1930, p. 3

14. Kett, Rites of Passage, 257. Indeed, JA's gang program very much reflected the conventional wisdom of Progressive Era sociologists such as G. Stanley Hall and his student J. Adams Puffer. In language identical to JA's, the latter, in 1912, had urged not the breaking up of gangs, but the channeling of the gang impulse into adult-organized activities such as clubs and scouts. Spring, Education...Corporate State, 104. For JA and the gang spirit, see NYT, May 26, 1930

15. NYT, Nov. 13, 1932; JAM, Sept. 1930, p. 2

16. C.A. Bowers, The Progressive Educator and the Depression: The Radical Years (New York, 1969)

17. n.d., quoted in Literary Digest, Feb. 15, 1936, p. 18; "Boys and Girls, Incorporated," Business Week, Feb. 6, 1937, p. 34; High, "Growing Up"

18. High, "Growing Up"; n.d., quoted in Literary Digest, Feb. 15, 1936, p. 18; Mabie, "In Business." "Employers find that Junior Achievement-trained men and women easily adjust themselves to their jobs." New York Herald Tribune, n.d., quoted in Literary Digest, loc. cit. See also NYT, Nov. 13, 1932; and especially ibid., Oct. 8, 1939, for "understanding."

19. Alfred S. Cleveland, "NAM: Spokesman for Industry?", Harvard Business Review, May 1948, p. 357

20. S.H. Walker and Paul Sklar, Business Finds its Voice (New York, 1938) 55

21. Ibid., 63, 74, 19; Francis X. Sutton et al., The American Business Creed (Cambridge, Mass., 1956) 296. In

1939, the NAM noted the recent trend of large corporations issuing special annual company reports to their employees. "A number of smaller concerns have seen the value of reporting on their activities to employees, as much for the purpose of keeping them informed as for the benefit to be derived by showing them clearly and simply how every dollar received is distributed by the company." N.A.M. Labor Relations Bulletin, Sept. 1939, p. 6

22. Walker and Sklar, Business Finds its Voice, 22

23. Mabie, "In Business"

24. Charles R. Hook, "Junior Means Business," Rotarian, Sept. 1951, p. 21

25. Ibid. Francomano later went on to become a JA staff professional; by 1979, he was national executive vice-president of the organization. "Who's Who in Junior Achievement Leadership 1979-80" (pamphlet)

26. Newsweek, Jan. 16, 1939; Walker and Sklar, Business Finds its Voice, 53-4. One business historian has written of Hook: "Charles R. Hook, it was said, took the presidency of the NAM in 1938 because, among other things, it would 'signalize a more liberal point of view in the NAM.'" But Hook's "liberal" credentials, however relative, are dubious. During a 1934 auto industry campaign against the American Federation of Labor, Hook "made a radio network broadcast on the desirability of company unions." Herman E. Krooss, Executive Opinion (Garden City, N.Y., 1970) 188; Walker and Sklar, op. cit., 82.

By 1947, Hook was among Forbes's list of "Fifty Foremost Business Leaders." Krooss, op. cit., 393

27. NYT, May 8, 1941. Horace Moses, although presumably maintaining an interest in his progeny, had resigned from JA's presidency in 1930. Lane, Achievement is My Goal, 38

28. Donald D. Ross, "Slick Job By Big Business Builds Up New Youth Group," PM, Jan. 2, 1946, p. 7.

Another NAM figure joined JA in the early 40s--as a staff professional. Edward M. Seay, formerly on the NAM executive staff in charge of "Americanism activities," left that post to become JA's executive vice-president in early 1942 as "part of an extensive program to extend the activities" of JA "throughout the country." Seay's background evidently included advertising, public rela-

tions, and work with the American Legion in the late 30s. NYT, Feb. 9, 1942; Feb. 26, 1953

29. John L. Springer, "Youth Organizes for War Work," Parents' Magazine, Dec. 1943, p. 131. Collier's exemplified this wartime consensus mood, endorsing JA in 1944 by citing its value "for the youngsters themselves, for the future of American business, for our present war production." June 3, 1944, p. 82

Those plowshares that Colgate invoked would doubtless be consumer goods whose demand was assured given the forced wartime savings and pent-up wants born of shortages and rationing. Indeed, in the wartime advertising of the period, one finds frequent attempts to build and exploit consumer expectation for the postwar millenium.

30. See, for example, the endorsement of Robert Hop-pock, educator and editor of The Occupational Index, in Metropolitan Junior Achievement News Bulletin, March 1941, p. 4; also, the Rickenbacker speech before a JA dinner in which the Eastern Airlines president called for guiding high school students "not equipped to succeed in the 'analytical professions'" into suitable vocations. NYT, March 31, 1944

31. NYT, June 30, 1943; Time, May 17, 1943, p. 80; Clarence Woodbury, "Youth Goes into Business," American Magazine, Nov. 1941, p. 148

32. Time, loc. cit.

33. Springer, "Youth Organizes," 27. Sex-typed production roles seem to have been the rule through the 30s, although a photograph in a 1937 article showed girls working with drills and saws. In 1939, there were no women on the national JA board, but by 1944 there was a JA National Women's Council. See Giles, "Big Business"; "Boys and Girls, Incorporated," 37; Mabie, "In Business"; NYT, Oct. 8, 1939; Nov. 6, 1944

C H A P T E R III

FUTURE UNLIMITED

Not long after the guns of 1945 had stopped, Junior Achievement embarked on an ambitious and aggressive campaign of its own. Setting itself the task of further expanding nationally, the organization and its supporters sought to bring the methods and outlook of corporate capitalism to unprecedented numbers of young people in post-war America.

That America, too, was unprecedented: in economic strength, in military power, and in the mantle of moral prestige it wore as the liberator of a world only recently in the grip of fascism. Yet that same America was also increasingly beset by unprecedented fears: of enemies without and within, and of an uncertain social fabric which the demands of war, rather than the dynamics of peace, had mended. There would be renewed rents in the fabric--challenges, resistance, struggles, on the right but particularly on the left, as the nation faced old domestic problems and new foreign ones. But the dissidence--again, particularly on the left--would be ostentatiously quashed by the late 1940s, and a deceptively prosperous, ideologically tepid order would prevail for some 20 years. It was a consensual order, underwritten by

might in world markets and potential might on world battlefields. Despite its essential blandness, it was an order of real, if unacknowledged, contrasts: the eternal verities of 19th-century liberalism justifying corporate capitalism; oppression abroad in the name of freedom at home; and meretricious cars pouring out of Detroit as impoverished blacks poured in. But whatever its internal contradictions, this society of "the vital center" would hold together for two decades, admitting no respectable dissent. "A strange hybrid, liberal conservatism," a recent historian writes, "blanketed the scene and muffled debate."¹

If the CIO purge, the Truman loyalty program, and the Full Employment Act were harbingers of the new consensual order, so was the postwar expansion of Junior Achievement. JA's membership drive began in earnest in the latter part of 1945. As early as May, Alvin W. Outcalt, president of the National Association of Junior Achievement Companies (made up of current Achievers), appealed in an open letter to "the corporations and organizations" not sponsoring JA to join a "most select list of American industry" which already did. By the end of the year, the campaign was well under way. Schools were a prime recruiting base for the organization. With the help of regional committees of businessmen and educators, JA's 20

or so field directors (each earning between \$4,500 and \$5,500) brought the JA message to the teenagers. So did films. Three To Be Served ("made in Hollywood," Achievement magazine assured its readers) showed a typical JA company in action, while the Technicolor Future Unlimited was shown in high school assemblies to "thousands of teachers, tens of thousands of teenagers, up and down the country...." There were other media as well. "Scores of radio stations" broadcast "hundreds of spot commercials direct to the teenage crowd," in tandem with advertisements in dozens of periodicals. JA had its own promotional literature, too, "skillfully conceived and handsomely executed," according to one contemporary journalist. But as actively as it sought members, the organization did not accept everyone. Pleading inadequate resources because "only a limited number of Sponsors, Advisers, and Business Centers" were available in 1945, JA instituted a screening process:²

Each person who signs up to become a member of a company Achievement explained is now asked to take "Pre-Business Appraisal," an intelligence test prepared especially for Junior Achievement by the Psychological sic Corporation. In this way, only the cream of America's teen-age crop are getting into Junior Achievement.

If JA's growth was limited in the immediate present,

its hopes for the future were sanguine. As part of what it called, with heavy-handed irony, its "vast 'five-year-plan' of nation-wide expansion," the movement created an Achievement Foundation "for the purpose of building a large financial stabilization fund to secure permanent future operation." Probably numbering between 5000 and 15,000 Achievers in 1945, its officials hoped to see JA reach 31 "key industrial areas" and 3 million persons by 1950. Expectations, as it turned out, exceeded reality. Nevertheless, JA was both healthy and growing, and its expansion would continue throughout the postwar decades.³

At the same time that JA was mobilizing its staff professionals and corporate backers, American troops were demobilizing (under popular pressure⁴), their war won and the world once again at peace. But peace soon degenerated into an ominous truce--the Cold War--with its commitment of American attention, treasure, and lives to maintaining a national security state in the face of a perceived Soviet threat, and a de facto empire in response to a collapsing European colonial order.⁵ As America extended its physical frontiers to the 38th Parallel, to the Elbe, to the Formosa Strait, its ideological borders shrank apace. Heterodoxy on the left became more than suspect crankiness; linked to the menace of Russia, it became tantamount to treason.

To many American business leaders, the dual threat of Soviet aggression and its presumed handmaiden, domestic radicalism, was acute. Indeed, their fears were not limited to the giant police state of the East and its satellites. Even the Labour victory in Britain troubled industrialists such as Bayard Colgate, then in the thick of boosting Junior Achievement's postwar drive. "The world is witnessing a violent swing toward some form of national socialism," he told New Jersey businessmen in 1945, soliciting their support for JA. "England's election was the most recent and significant step in that direction." Homar Gall, JA's executive director in Missouri, likewise invoked "the swing to the left evident in many parts of the world" that same year in appealing to potential sponsors. Charles Hook viewed the postwar situation with equal dismay. "If we are realists," he said, sounding the tocsin before fellow businessmen, "we will admit that despite its irreplaceable value, our private enterprise system is in the greatest danger since the tragic days of Dunkirk."⁶ Junior Achievement and its supporters were hardly alone in equating indigenous left movements with the Soviet challenge to America in particular and capitalism in general; members of the Truman administration such as Under Secretary of State William L. Clayton and Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson sought to curb

even the mild socialism of the Attlee government in Britain through economic pressure. Encomia about private enterprise being "part and parcel of what we call American" came as readily from Harry Truman as from Bayard Colgate.⁷

The new, postwar JA and the Cold War grew up together, spiritual brothers in the house of consensus. Wrapping the flag around capitalism created a striking, if false, dichotomy between freedom in America and the gray regimentation of the East. "America has become the strongest nation in the world because of its freedom of enterprise," Colgate declared in 1945.⁸

Yet, he continued in this country too, ignorant, subversive and misinformed forces are at work right now undermining the business system which makes your business and mine possible. These forces must be counteracted by education. Education should begin with the youth.

And that education, in large part, would be through the miniature corporations that JA offered teenagers as a laboratory in freedom and democracy. In 1952, Clarence Woodbury, a pro-JA journalist, told the poignant story of Mary Ann Scherer, a "shy, dark-eyed" German girl who "in her childhood....was exposed to both Nazi and Communist doctrines, but learned nothing about democracy." Emigrat-

ing to the U.S. in the late 40s, she was Americanized not by school or neighbors or friends, but by joining a Junior Achievement company.⁹ When the JA idea spread abroad in the early 50s and "not two, but four" miniature companies appeared in Helsinki, another sympathetic journalist, Carol Burke, pronounced them "an outpost of freedom at the very threshold of the Iron Curtain!" Even during the thaw of the Khrushchev years, JA held up capitalism as a foil to the political repression of the Soviet camp. Carefully orchestrated, using a "public relations approach," Junior Achievement launched "Operation Free Enterprise" in 1963 to "inspire young people and all Americans to rededicate themselves to...the best system for promoting human progress while preserving individual liberty." A select group of 26 Achievers, with nine adult business leaders as chaperones, flew to West Germany in April where they visited the local facilities of Esso, Ford, and National Cash Register. (The group paid homage to indigenous sources of human progress and individual liberty as well, stopping at the Krupp works.) The tour included broadcasts by the young people over "The Voice of Freedom" and other networks beamed at the far side of the Iron Curtain, and, in the climax of the week-long junket, the delegation left its hosts a token of high corporate art, presenting the mayor of West Berlin with a

copy of the Bell Telephone color film This Is New Jersey.¹⁰

The Cold War was a mighty generator of orthodoxy within the United States during the 20 years that followed the end of World War II; but other concerns, predating the Soviet threat, also motivated Junior Achievement and its corporate patrons. The Cold War years, in fact, coincided with a resumption of big business's program to "sell" itself to a wary public. The campaign which had brought such industrialist-activists as Hook, Colgate, and Lund into the ranks of JA (or perhaps vice-versa) in the late 1930s continued into the postwar, fueling Achievement's subsequent growth and informing its operations.

The free-enterprise campaign of the 40s and 50s had broad corporate support; the NAM elite associated with JA, although especially vocal, was not unique. The broad spectrum of business leadership, haunted by a deservedly bad reputation earned in the Depression and indications of lingering distrust (if not hostility) among Americans toward their institution, sought to spread "understanding" of that institution's function. The campaign was a curious mixture, at once sanguine and defensive.

The Democratic victory of 1948--in fact a centrist triumph--nevertheless alarmed many in the corporate community. Soberly assessing the national mood a year later, Fortune observed:¹¹

The most important problem business faces today...is the fact that business isn't out of the doghouse yet. Sixteen turbulent years have rolled by since the New Deal began to rescue the People from the Capitalists, and no one can say that business has retrieved the authority and respect it ought to have if the drift to socialism is to be arrested. Every U.S. businessman, consciously or unconsciously, is on the defensive.

Business promptly set out to retrieve that lost authority and respect. As never before, William H. Whyte, Jr. noted in 1952, businessmen seemed possessed by a single idea: "We must cure misinformation with information; we must tell the business story; above all, we must sell Free Enterprise." And try to sell it they did, in a massive advertising and lobbying drive which ranged from the shrill efforts of the NAM to the more sophisticated "Miracle of America" series of the (nominally public-service) Advertising Council. Promoting the bounty and opportunity of corporate capitalism under euphemisms such as "the American Individual Enterprise System," the campaign included "employee education programs" conducted within industry itself, "to teach the business creed directly to...employees...through the use of pamphlets, lectures, films, company meetings, and so on."¹² Although well-funded and well-propagated, the campaign's success was dubious. As early as 1952, perceptive liberals such as William Whyte questioned the stridence and vulgarity of

business's efforts to win friends. Nor, as Earl F. Cheit has suggested, was it merely the campaign's style that many found offensive. "Its graceless prose aside," Cheit wrote in 1964, "there were more revealing reasons why the sell-America copy of the great Free Enterprise campaign failed to command attention. Masquerading as a nonpartisan effort, its actual aims--reducing high marginal rates of income taxation and reversing a labor policy favorable to union organization--were frankly political."¹³ The campaign did subsequently lower its tone, but as a demarche rather than a retreat, for even the more sophisticated successors to the Free Enterprise campaign could still contain "violent attacks on certain institutions as they [had] developed since the Great Depression--notably the government, and, to a lesser extent, organized labor." Neither corporate funding of "fringe groups of the ultraright" nor the defensiveness of the business sector ended with the shouting.¹⁴

Junior Achievement's activities in the 40s, 50s, and early 60s reflected that same defensiveness in the corporate search for "understanding." Among teenagers in 1949, "the employees of tomorrow," Bayard Colgate detected "a dangerous trend toward collectivism in their thinking." "Many of them," the toiletries magnate asserted, "believe that if the government owned and operated our manufacturing plants they would get as much or more

for their money." Three years later, Charles Hook proposed JA as an antidote to the "mistaken notions" of youth about business profits and investment per worker that a majority of high school students in a recent survey had displayed.¹⁵ JA supporter Earl O. Shreve, in 1952, mentioned a similar survey of high school students with similarly disappointing results for business: 65% of the respondents "thought the country would be better off if the Government owned all business."¹⁶ Nor did Eisenhower prosperity seem to help. 1,923 teenagers in 42 American cities were polled on their views of the private sector in 1956. "Business is missing the target with its efforts to inform young people about the world of commerce and industry," Industrial Relations News lamented, noting the survey's findings. The tenor of many of the responses, it said, "could be summed up in the statement: 'Big business runs everything in America--they have all the money.'" Mistrust of business continued into the early 60s, as did the concomitant defensiveness of industry spokesmen. Chairman Clarence Francis of Studebaker-Packard Corporation, addressing the 1961 JA Future Unlimited dinner, reminded his audience that "the American business system is constantly under attack. It is constantly compelled to vindicate itself anew."¹⁷

JA could provide an excellent medium for that vindication. For if the backers of the movement, year after

year, pointed with alarm to a persistent skepticism about business, they also pointed hopefully to the organization that might help redress the balance of unfavorable opinion and neutralize youthful radicalism. Achievement, Colgate declared in 1948, would provide its alumni, who were "stepping out in a world of -isms and -ologies, into a confusing welter of new ideas and systems which have to be evaluated," with an "understanding...of democracy and of free enterprise to guide them[.]7 " It would nip heresy in the bud, as it did around 1952, when a 16-year-old New Yorker, once he was forced "to wrestle with an actual financial problem" in his JA company, "was transformed from a hot-headed agitator into an ultra-conservative."¹⁸ And if the attitudes of the high school students in that same year's poll flirted with socialism, Achievers, Earl Shreve noted, were free of such "mistaken beliefs."¹⁹

Fighting radicalism and doubt, JA sought to replace them with orthodoxy and faith in an economic order whose heart was the privately-owned but democratically-run corporation and whose end was an ever-expanding consumer pie. "Teen-agers see," M.J. Rathbone, president of Standard Oil of New Jersey and a JA patron, said in 1957, "how capital obtained through the sale of common stock makes possible more products for the use of Americans and makes possible more jobs--in this case their own." "Every

Achiever in a J.A. company is a member of his firm's Board of directors, and he has seen how this group functions," Achievement explained to its readers in 1952. "Members of the board are also stockholders, and therefore are able to voice the approval or disapproval of the investors who own the company."²⁰ The JA microcosm pleased Joseph P. Spang, Jr., president of Gillette Safety Razor. "Because the operation is miniature and because every member learns by doing," he stated in 1949, "a realistic understanding of what capital, labor and management are and the relationship of all three results."²¹

The consensus trinity of Capital-Labor-Management and the social teamwork and "understanding" that it implied were an important JA theme, especially, as we will later see, vis-a-vis labor relations.²² In the same vein, the movement's supporters and functionaries also saw JA as an effective tool in business-community relations. "In addition to the perfectly natural personal interest in young people," wrote Achievement's executive director, George O. Tamblyn, Jr., in 1949, "Junior Achievement sponsorship has contributed very largely to the development of greatly improved local public relations." Harry A. Bullis, board chairman of General Mills, agreed in 1953, as did Paper Trade Journal five years later. "Junior Achievement provides an effective community relations program,"

the Journal stated, "and opens a new and important channel of communications with the community."²³

Whether directed at youngsters or the community in general, the JA message could be couched in the broadest terms, invoking a consensual America in which Business was as august and hallowed an institution as Democracy, Liberty, or the People. Such vague concepts as "the American Individual Enterprise System" may have had some appeal, at least in theory, to the postwar public.²⁴ Yet, given JA's backing, the organization was subject to suspicion that, despite its avowed educational intent and paeans to the American Way, its ends were in fact quite partisan. Wrote one journalist as Achievement began its postwar expansion drive in 1946:²⁵

At least one member of JA's staff (not an industrialist) is fully alive to the danger that the organization might become an agency for indoctrinating kids with the social ideas of the NAM. JA's big business leadership, the children's desire to please those leaders and the impressionability of youthful minds might result in this, he admits. He denies that the organization is a propaganda outfit for big business.

Clarence Woodbury, a journalist sympathetic to JA, repeated the disclaimer. Responding in 1952 to "Red and Pink" charges that JA was an NAM tool, he declared, "The youngsters who join J.A. companies are not subjected to

propaganda or preaching of any kind. As a matter of fact, J.A. leans over backward in this respect."²⁶ Woodbury had evidently never bothered to read Achievement, JA's monthly, which frequently contained pro-business, anti-radical articles and editorials. The year before his own piece, Achievement told its readers about a "Lesson in Socialism," in which a high school teacher showed his students the "fallacy" of collectivism by proposing that pupils with high grades give part of their scores to their less industrious fellows, "leveling everyone down to a 'common ownership' grade of around 75, so that all the pupils who need to have higher grades to pass may have them." In 1952--seven months before Woodbury's denial of JA propagandizing--Achievement reprinted a General Motors editorial that ascribed recent anti-business sentiment to "the somewhat time-worn ideological crusade to 'spread the wealth.'"²⁷ Two years later, Achievers learned, in answer to the rhetorical question, "Who Owns American Business?", that 18 million "average people who have invested their savings in the ability and obligation of business to put their dollars to work and deliver a profit" owned it.²⁸ In December of the same year, two members of the American Economic Foundation explained to Achievement's young readers that²⁹

When management tells workers that production must be more efficient to meet competition, management is, in reality, passing on to the workers the demands made by the workers themselves, acting as customers.

We see, therefore, that our demands for lower prices and higher pay are made against ourselves. We even strike against ourselves to force prices up--prices that we ourselves as customers would have to pay.

Striking against oneself--or, more realistically, against capital and management--meant disruption of the social equipoise of postwar America, an equipoise crucial to liberal centrism. As in the larger scheme of consensus, the imprimatur and participation of organized labor in JA could confer an impressive legitimacy on the status quo. And there was such a labor presence.

Despite its militancy and hard-won gains of the 1930s, the CIO (and, less surprisingly, the traditionally conservative AFL) had, by the late 40s, become "responsible" (and decidedly junior) partners in the Cold War corporate state. While the alliance of labor and the Democrats formed in the New Deal coalition of 1936 soured over the Truman administration's handling of major strikes in the immediate postwar, the reaction of the 80th Congress, Taft-Hartley, and the threat of Republican victory in 1948 revived the tie. "Labor statesmen" such as Walter Reuther, torn, as Irving Howe and B.J. Widick wrote, "be-

tween a commanding urge to power and a weakened but still restive commitment to a social vision," accepted reformism and cooperation in return for a limited voice within the new triangular power structure of state-capital-labor. Disowning an earlier (and at times radical) outlook, the labor elite, by the end of the 40s, was ensconced in the orthodoxy and respectability of the higher circles of power, eschewing even the mildly left Wallace candidacy of 1948. "The liberal center is labor's home," C. Wright Mills observed that year, "although labor is sometimes not comfortable there. Comfortable or not, the liberals are the public that most reliably supports the policies pursued by the labor leader."³⁰ And most labor leaders reciprocated that support throughout the post-war--until, at least, the schism of the late 60s over Vietnam.

So it was that Junior Achievement sought an organized labor presence in the program as it began its expansion in the mid-40s. The 72-member JA board of directors contained one AFL official, international representative Robert J. Watt, in early 1946. Watt had joined the board at the invitation of Bayard Colgate (with whom he had served on the War Labor Board), but confessed to a journalist that "he had never attended a director's meeting and didn't know what JA was doing." At the same time,

another union figure, Mrs. Betty Hawley Donnelly, vice-president of the New York State Federation of Labor, served on JA's 21-seat National Women's Council. Despite the presence of Watt and Donnelly, JA's public relations director, William A. Freeman, conceded a dearth of labor participation in the movement; but he promised to address the problem, and cited encouraging examples of labor-JA cooperation in Hartford, Connecticut and Kenosha, Wisconsin.³¹ The latter project, indeed, was a paradigm of consensus through Junior Achievement in which representatives of Coca-Cola, the city, the AFL, and the CIO "secured a large center for future Kenosha Achievers." And Local 494, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, exhibited the same sort of cooperation when it donated time and material to help set up lighting fixtures in the Wanwatora, Wisconsin JA center in 1954. Support, however, may not have been confined to the local level; one journalist identified William Green and Matthew Woll of the AFL as among those in labor who in 1948 had "encouraged" JA.³²

But it was a less rarefied stratum of labor that produced a noteworthy example of JA as an instrument of social harmony, at least in the case of Ben Calfo. A United Steel Workers shop steward in a Pittsburgh mill and the volunteer production advisor of a JA company, Calfo, in

1945, described how he had developed "an understanding" of business by helping to coach the miniature corporation. "I learned that a business has to make money before it can pay salaries," he wrote (in collaboration with Danny O'Keefe, a model Achiever).³³

Orders in our Junior Achievement company /Calfo explained/ had to be out on a certain date and this gave me an understanding of why we were sometimes pressed in the mill to hurry our work.

I learned how labor and management can cooperate successfully. You see, the beauty of a J.A. company is the fact that the children perform both functions at once....

Yes, I learned a lot advising that Junior Achievement company--especially from my adviser's manual which I like to call my industrial "bible." My understanding of what is involved in business operations has brought me closer to my bosses than would have happened otherwise.

The "understanding" that JA imparted to its members (and advisors) was reciprocal. "In his small company," declared Achievement in 1952, "the Achiever will experience many of the problems and responsibilities of the working man." Writing in the Saturday Evening Post four years earlier, Warner Olivier concurred: "There is no doubt that, facing the problems of management in their own experience, Junior Achievers gain a sympathetic understanding of those problems and realize that management is not

lying in a feather bed polishing off beer and skittles [sic]. By the same token the kids are learning a few of the problems and headaches of labor. Since most of their time is spent in production, they learn that endless repetition of the same operation can become tedious and irksome. They know well the effects of manual monotony."³⁴ For working-class children, such a lesson in assembly-line boredom was doubtless superfluous. Yet, as Achievers, they could imbibe "understanding" of the corporate ethos and so, ideally, would their parents, through their offspring's JA activities. Explaining his organization's value in industrial relations, Executive Director Tamblyn told Independent Woman's readers in 1949 that sponsoring JA had³⁵

been found to be most effective in local communities where industrial workers and office employees reside.

These young people carry to their home firesides the business principles upon which private enterprise is founded, resulting in a better understanding of the ethics and creeds of management in our industrial life.

If the authors of those creeds who backed JA had mixed or hostile feelings about organized labor, such attitudes did not surface within the organization to mar its consensus tenor. Much of the corporate ideology that JA dis-

pensed was, of course, anti-union in an indirect (if basic) sense; the economics lesson that Achievers read in 1954 (see page 84 above) with its notion of workers striking against themselves, for example, was as much an implicit challenge to the power of labor as an appeal for industrial peace. But, at least judging from JA's literature in the postwar years, the movement was not overtly anti-union. If there were examples of the participation and cooperation of labor in JA, one could also find a corporate chief returning the favor by praising a reasonable union, in Achievement's pages. Responding in the magazine's "Achievement Forum" in 1954 to a question about the Studebaker union's accepting a wage cut, Robert J. Cannon, president of Cannon Electric Co., declared:³⁶

The rather unprecedented action indicated the realization on the part of the union that they are part and parcel of a labor-management partnership aimed at the development, growth, and prosperity of the company which provides the structure for their making a living.

It is a rare company that can absorb costs substantially higher than those of its competitors, and it is certainly a mature group of people who can accept the cutback of those costs when it hits them directly in the pocketbook.

But not everyone in labor was "mature" in those years.

Writing in the International Typographical Union's Labor's Daily in 1956, David Simonson attacked Junior Achievement for fostering consensus based on a distorted picture of socio-economic realities and subverting the class consciousness of workers' children by "teaching the sons and daughters of union members that, before the union, they should put loyalty to the company." JA advisors, Simonson charged,³⁷

teach the youngsters that Junior Achievement companies and Big Business operate the same way. The 400,000 families who own most of American industry are the same people as the 65,000,000 workers in their factories, according to JA, and the workers' interests should be to make the 400,000 richer. JA can tell this to the kids because they are both workers and stockholders.

Simonson's was doubtless not the lone voice of protest against the aims and practices of JA in these years; journalists friendly to the movement mentioned the opposition of unnamed "suspicious left-wingers" and "Red and Pink organizations."³⁸ But if Simonson's attack was articulate and cogent, it was also apparently unique for appearing, albeit at second hand, in the popular press. No other such criticism of JA found its way into the mass media of the period.³⁹

The Simonson article and Tamblin's prescription for

using JA in industrial relations indicate that Achievement, as it had in its first 26 years, was still reaching working-class youth. But what is less certain is whether, as, say, in the 1920s, it was reaching a predominantly working-class constituency. Equally important, if equally uncertain, is whether JA was reaching the constituency it sought, whatever its class base; and the problem may be further obscured by changed perceptions of class resulting from the post-New Deal society of the 1940s, 50s, and 60s.

Perhaps one indication of JA's postwar class basis was the refinement of operations that accompanied its initial growth spurt. The "Pre-Business Appraisal" screening test of 1945 was at best meritocratic and at worst exclusionary. Its content is not known, but the "cream of America's teen-age crop" that it selected was presumably bright, and, for having applied, somewhat ambitious. Additionally, at least as early as 1951 (although possibly even earlier), a JA member would have had to be either a junior or senior in high school.⁴⁰

Most Achievers were probably not from the lowest strata--marginal working class, or lumpenproletarian, especially those with large families--simply because youngsters of that group were not likely to reach the last two years of high school. Such families, A.B. Hollingshead

noted in his study of a smaller Midwestern community in the 1940s, "are so poor the child is practically forced to leave school to make his own way in the world by the time he is 14 or 15 years of age."⁴¹ Although some of them, too, would often have to find jobs, the children of the two or three classes above the lowest would more likely have been Achievers,⁴² in particular those from families Hollingshead called the "insecure 'climbers'" of a class comprising small entrepreneurs, some professionals, foremen, craft workers, sales, clerical, and service workers. "The latter group of parents," Hollingshead wrote in 1949,⁴³

normally are anxious to see their children achieve more in life than they have; consequently, they place great emphasis upon grades and extracurricular activities. They would like their children to go to college, at the very least into nurse's training, business school, or some type of short, direct training beyond high school.

Assuming that many Achievers came from such a background--and it can only be a suggestion at this point--they were not in fact of a single class, but of a loose grouping of middling strata rather than simply "middle class." Indeed, the very nature of the middle class had been changing since the late 19th century, and even those not in shops or on assembly lines, by the postwar years,

were in many cases far from being part of the traditional bourgeoisie, despite their genteel work clothes. "They deal with symbols and with other people," C. Wright Mills observed of the "new" middle class in 1951, "co-ordinating, recording, and distributing; but they fulfil these functions as dependent employees, and the skills they thus employ are sometimes similar in form and required mentality to those of many wage workers."⁴⁴ If one thus expands the definition of working class to include the lower white-collar strata, Tamblyn's description of JA's industrial relations function among "industrial workers and office employees" did not cover as broad a constituency as it might superficially imply. And if journalist Carol Burke's image of "sons and daughters of old families and of yesterday's immigrants" side by side in JA companies drinking from the fountain of free enterprise evoked a cross-class (or even classless) picture of Achievement, the anti-strike exhortations of an article such as "The Customer's the Boss!" in Achievement point to JA's expectation of reaching a narrower constituency.⁴⁵

The role of higher education might be another way of examining class in the postwar JA. "It is a matter of record, too, " wrote Meyer Berger in Nation's Business in 1948, "that the majority of JA members...go on to col-

lege." If true, it would not necessarily indicate a broadened middle-class presence in JA, for college enrollments did become less exclusionary in the period--did not unprecedented numbers of those of humble background attend college in the years of consensus? They undoubtedly did; but "unprecedented numbers" does not mean most. Indeed, as late as 1972, Richard Parker noted that working-class children were largely frozen out of even the nominally egalitarian state university systems because of cost. Berger's assertion, then, is inconclusive; and more importantly, it is uncorroborated.⁴⁶ Locating class through JA's pronouncements on mobility offers another avenue of inquiry. Despite the consensus rhetoric of seeing both sides of the labor-management team through a miniature corporation, the management aspect seems to have been stressed in JA. Achievement told its readers in 1953:⁴⁷

Pre-business training in Junior Achievement is giving you a head start in the drive to success. Your determination to accomplish great things, your ambition, must supply the propelling force if you want to go to the top where the big jobs must be filled by better executives.

Achievers at a Chicago dinner in 1949 heard Air Force Secretary W. Stuart Symington tell of the need in government--in the nascent national security state--for the skills of "management control and administration" for

which the boys present were presumably acquiring an appreciation in JA. Three years later, Clarence Woodbury mentioned (but did not produce) "evidence that a high percentage [of JA alumni] are climbing in the junior executive ranks of big industry or doing nicely in smaller businesses of their own."⁴⁸ Appealing to the lure of mobility within a corporate hierarchy or in a petty entrepreneurship may have been an indication that JA was courting those same youngsters--Hollingshead's middling strata--to whom such careers would have been attractive and possible. But again, this is speculation; there are simply no available data on Achievers' backgrounds and post-JA careers.⁴⁹ At best, one can say that there was still a considerable working-class membership in Junior Achievement--witness the cases of Tamblyn, the appeals for industrial peace and consensus, and, of course, the reaction of a unionist like Simonson to JA. At the same time, youngsters of middle-class background--whether "old," "new," or in fact working-class aspirants to such status--may well have made up a greater proportion of the movement than in prewar years.⁵⁰

Much clearer than JA's class composition in the period was the nature of its operations. The physical aspects of production were still present in the miniature corporations; Rome E. Collin, a former vocational education of-

ficial in Vermont's secondary school system, became executive director of JA in 1950.⁵¹ One still encountered phrases such as "learning by doing" and "practical approach" in the organization's literature. But like work moralism, the vocational training aspect of JA of the 20s and 30s seems to have been gone by the late 40s. Indeed, the NAM--a bastion of support for JA-- had a regular work-study program in the early 50s, carried out in conjunction with schools and local employers, to provide "planned work experience for a trade or occupation through actual employment" in industrial, distributive, clerical, and craft positions.⁵² Achievers, on the other hand, concerned themselves with the more abstract facets of an industrial economy. "JJA gives them a chance to acquire new skills," A.H. Mueller wrote in Better Homes and Gardens in 1953. "They learn the value of teamwork, of specialization. How to sell themselves as well as a product."⁵³ The corporate format was not, of course, new in the postwar, but its ubiquity in JA was. And so was the sophistication with which that format transmitted the techniques--and more importantly, the ethos--of corporate culture. Junior Achievement in the postwar was hardly a kind of Harvard Business School farm team, but it did, in a schematic (if ultimately specious) way, introduce Achievers to the mechanics of corporate capitalism.

Since 1946, the miniature companies had been encouraged to produce impressive annual reports to stockholders by a New York Stock Exchange award for the best such effort.⁵⁴ By the late 50s, JA firms paid simulated corporate taxes (which went to the group's scholarship and award fund). Concurrently, at a JA headquarters in New Jersey (and doubtless elsewhere), a stock quotation board was set up. And, at least for 21 select Achievers at a 1962 JA convention, there was an elaborate, computer-assisted exercise called the Management Decision Laboratory.⁵⁵ The external operations of the JA companies also reflected a more subtle miniaturization of the corporate economy in the postwar years. Although Studebaker-Packard Corporation's Clarence Francis told a 1961 JA Future Unlimited dinner that America "was becoming a 'white collar' society, with more persons engaged in distribution than in production," it was hardly a revelation for Achievers; they had been running service and consumer enterprises for over ten years. In the 1920s, JA members built radio sets; by the late 1940s, they were building radio markets. The girl sales manager of a 1948 JA radio program, with a precocity that doubtless pleased her advisors, told the head of a local firm:

We are planning a variety show which will interest not only teen-agers and younger chil-

dren, the future homemakers of New Bedford, but also the mothers, who are today's buyers. If the young people find out about your Sunbeam bread at an early age, they will continue to use it in their own homes when they have them.

It was a social quantum jump from the package wrapping, errand running, dog walking, and berry picking of 1941. Other postwar JA concerns offered television broadcasting, accounting, banking, advertising, photography, and fashion modeling. While as late as 1968 the traditional manufacturing scheme--turning out items as diverse as plastic diaper containers and policemen's clubs--accounted for almost 90% of all JA companies, the growth of the other 10% of non-manufacturing concerns represented a more sophisticated and contemporary economic model for Achievers.⁵⁶

Junior Achievement, to be sure, had from its beginnings concerned itself with "practical" instruction, of both manual, and increasingly in the postwar era, managerial skills. But its primary purpose, especially in the latter period, was to influence rather than train, to convince rather than instruct. The organization's goals, expressed in the 1960 edition of the Achievers Handbook, were quite explicit:⁵⁷

To promote and supervise a program of

economic education and industrial public relations through which youth may gain a learn-by-doing knowledge of the workings of American business;

To develop and strengthen teenage boys' and girls' attitudes and convictions in favor of the American business system;

To make youth aware of economics and develop them as intelligent economic citizens and aggressive defenders of the American way of life;

To disseminate the business story throughout the community through the experiences and attitudes of the young people;

To provide a coming generation of workers, investors and managers with a positive and practical economics education and philosophy;

To provide a dynamic community relations program for participating industry.

Such a program, not surprisingly, received enthusiastic support from the private sector. It is doubtless true, as JA often claimed, that firms ranging from neighborhood shops to corporate behemoths backed the movement, as did indeed local Rotary and luncheon clubs.⁵⁸ But despite such broad business support--a kind of consensus-within-a-consensus--the weight and prominence of Achievement's corporate patronage, like the format of the miniature companies, indicate that JA served an interest less amorphous than "business." One frequently finds the names of major corporations and their functionaries in connection with JA in the postwar decades. There were, of

course, the men who had brought JA into national prominence in the 40s--Hook, Colgate, and Lund. They were not alone. M.J. Rathbone, Standard Oil of New Jersey's president, headed the 1955 campaign for JA to raise \$3 million. The year before, Benjamin F. Fairless, board chairman of U.S. Steel, also chaired JA's Future Unlimited dinner. And George W. Romney of American Motors, not yet brainwashed in 1959, addressed a New York JA dinner to inaugurate a local \$500,000 fund drive.⁵⁹ Among Junior Achievement's presidents in the period were Laurence C. Hart (Johns-Manville Corp.), 1952; Thomas G. Shireffs (Standard Oil of Ohio), 1956; Edwin H. Mosler (Mosler Safe Co.), 1958; and Donald J. Hardenbrook (American Creosoting Corp. and Union Bag-Camp Corp.), 1965.⁶⁰ Corporate facilities as well as officers were active in JA's behalf. In 1955, for example, over 20 firms advertising in the national market undertook to help spread the gospel of JA. "The story of the group's work," the New York Times reported, was "to be told in films prepared for television, spot announcements for radio and special material to be dropped into publication advertisements...."⁶¹

Beyond the ideological imperative (and tax deductions⁶²), JA sponsors could also benefit by using the Achievement companies as a kind of management Kriegspiel for their younger executives. Harry A. Bullis, board

chairman of General Mills, called the program a "proving ground for adult advisors to develop managerial talent" in 1953. "The program," Paper Trade Journal echoed five years later, "provides an excellent management training school for adults who act as advisors. What junior executive could fail to benefit from the opportunity to work with all management phases of a business while at the same time practising and exercising leadership in his relationship with fifteen inquiring young minds?"⁶³

Yet despite the impressive corporate support and enthusiasm, Junior Achievement's funding was evidently not as lavish as its leadership would have liked. Charles Hook complained in 1956 of inadequate financial and advisor help to meet the number of JA applicants, half of whom were turned away that year. His jeremiad seems to have been based in fact. In 1949 in western Massachusetts, for example, 400 youngsters were accepted from the 1,500 who had applied; by 1960, the ratio in the region was better, but 60% of those seeking entry were still being left out of the program.⁶⁴

Much of JA's recruiting took place in schools. The reader will recall the importance of schools in the initial "five-year-plan" of Achievement's postwar expansion. It was not ephemeral. Institutionally and individually, educators gave Junior Achievement important sup-

port. Indeed, from commercial courses to substantial numbers of businessmen on local school boards, a pro-business outlook was no stranger to the classroom.⁶⁵ By around 1960, Chambers of Commerce and the NAM were organizing local Business-Education Days which were "devoted to the study of business and industrial firms by the teachers of the area who were released from teaching duties for the day." Such programs could also include class tours of plants, classroom materials provided by business, and business speakers "to talk to student assemblies on 'the importance of education, the American way of life, or the story of American business.'" Contemporary educational programs of labor unions paled before those of the business community. "The contacts between labor representatives and teachers are limited," William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller concluded in 1960. "Union-education programs are almost nonexistent as planned efforts to make contacts with the schools."⁶⁶

Junior Achievement, like business in general, then, found a welcome in the schools. In refining its operations after World War II, JA not only pared the age limits for Achievers to junior or senior status in high school, but also restructured the life cycles of the miniature companies--incorporation, production, and liquidation--to run from fall to spring, conforming to the reg-

ular school year, and becoming a de facto adjunct of the standard curriculum for its participants.⁶⁷ If the figures on applicants turned away are correct, recruiting was quite successful, no doubt largely due to the active cooperation of teachers and school administrators. The fall JA recruiting assemblies became an annual ritual in many high schools. New York City, sui generis in so many other things, was probably typical in its JA membership drives. In 1959, for example, attempts to enroll 1,500 Achievers for the coming academic year were the result of liaison between a local banker-cum-JA official and the superintendents of the city's public and Catholic schools.⁶⁸

Educator endorsements of JA betrayed both professional and ideological concerns. In a panegyric to consensus, librarian Margaret R. Fansler wrote of JA in 1947:⁶⁹

It may, it probably does, provide indoctrination, propaganda, or whatever you wish to call it, in favor of big business, capitalism, the profit motive and free enterprise. But, if, as I believe, the majority of librarians, like the majority of their fellow citizens, are committed to the desire to see capitalism work in the future, better than it has in the past, we may well feel that the organization has positive values not only for young people, now, but for all of us.

Dr. Harry N. Rivlin, chairman of the Education Department

of New York City's Queens College, found JA in 1950 a valuable complement to a pre-college academic curriculum that would otherwise "often deprive a youngster of industrial and commercial experience." The "practical approach of the Junior Achievement Program" pleased Paul D. Collier, of Connecticut's Department of Education, four years later. An article in the business and economics teachers' journal Balance Sheet told its readers in 1955 of the "very definite advantages"--practical and "social"--of the movement. And even an educator who mentioned others' objections to JA was favorable to aspects of the program. Granting that "there are arguments against as well as for" JA, Elizabeth Touhy saw the miniature corporations teaching children responsibility and honesty.⁷⁰ College scholarships for outstanding Achievers strengthened the JA-education nexus in the postwar decades. Besides the organization's own Horace A. Moses Foundation and corporations and industrial groups, Bates College, Boston University, Bradley University, Colgate University, Illinois College, Lynchburg College, Milwaukee School of Engineering, Rensselaer Polytech, Syracuse University, the University of Chicago, and the University of Illinois all awarded scholarships to promising Achievers in 1949.⁷¹

If more pro forma than that of professional educators, approbation of JA by public figures was still important.

As Calvin Coolidge's imprimatur on the movement in the 1920s had signified official and cultural sanction sanction of JA, so did the actions of his counterparts in the 40s, 50s, and 60s. Eleanor Roosevelt drew a 20¢ dividend on her \$2 investment in a JA corporation in 1948. Two years before, William Knudson, Jim Farley, Eddie Rickenbacker, Frank Knox, and Shirley Temple all endorsed Junior Achievement. From 1957 through 1960, President Eisenhower dutifully declared Junior Achievement Week every January, while Governors W. Averell Harriman and Nelson Rockefeller of New York likewise honored the organization. Achievers in turn honored men of affairs. A New York group presented Thomas E. Dewey, whom they numbered among their "heroes," with a bronze medallion in 1953. And five years later, "in recognition of the example he is setting for those who will be the leaders of tomorrow," Vice-President Richard M. Nixon became Junior Achievement's first honorary member. The winner of the 1963 contest for the best JA salesman, sponsored by the Sales Executives Club of New York, won his title with the cooperation and participation of "Peter Lind Hayes, the comedian, and Mary Healy, who is Mrs. Hayes," by selling them "several artificial floral displays" on a hotel ballroom stage "furnished to resemble the Hayes' living room" before an audience of 500.⁷²

If the domesticity of the living room in that contest was bogus, there was, nevertheless, a very real dilemma for American women in the consensus decades of the 40s and 50s as the eternal verities of wife and homemaker warred with new economic realities. World War II had wrought unprecedented change in women's participation in the work force. "Millions of females [had] left the home for the first time to take an active part in the nation's economic life," William Chafe writes, "and, while their involvement did not result in a feminist revolution, it did represent a significant new element in male-female relationships, the ramifications of which promised to affect substantially the future distribution of sexual roles." The "debate on women's place" involved a tension between cultural inertia and the growing phenomenon of working women, especially working middle-class wives.⁷³ At least some of this tension, implicitly, was reflected in girls' participation in Junior Achievement in the period.

Superficially, JA operations seemed at times to indicate an egalitarian outlook on women's economic role. "Even sex distinction is no problem," Meyer Berger wrote of the movement in 1948. "A JA corporation in St. Louis voted its only girl member as president on the basis of qualification and efficiency." Berger also pointed out

that the composition of JA--about 45% female--reflected "the distaff side's increasing interest in industry and economics since the war."⁷⁴ In the early 50s, one finds at least two references to JA producing potential executives of both sexes, and in the mid-60s the organization in Baltimore had an annual "Miss Executive" award. Girls also won the nation-wide competition for the best JA company stockholder report in 1950, while New York City JA's "best salesman of the year" for 1958 was a young woman.⁷⁵ Yet, however meritocratic the JA position on girls may have been (the evidence one way or the other is sparse), it no more reflected the realities of corporate America than did the miniature companies themselves; however exhilarating girl Achievers may have found managing their little corporations, the jobs that they would find in full-scale firms would almost certainly underemploy and underpay them.⁷⁶ More traditional attitudes survived in JA as well, to be sure. Mary Holohan, A New York City Achiever, was crowned as a JA queen in 1954. Two years later, Margaret Hickey told Ladies Home Journal readers:⁷⁷

And important career decisions are made /in JA/. A girl may find that home economics is her field; another, that she prefers secretarial work. A Boy may discover that he enjoys selling.

What JA's goals were vis-a-vis its female members is hard to say. Perhaps they were ambivalent simply because those of the larger society were. Perhaps, on the other hand, the girls' JA experience was meant to inculcate "understanding" of the managerial ethos under whose imperatives some of them, as white collar workers, would labor. Beyond a broad sympathy for capitalism, perhaps the JA program, as in the case of potential production workers, was meant to legitimate the internal as well as external values of corporate America.

Legitimate those values Junior Achievement strove to do in the period. As they had since the 1930s (and in some cases the 1920s), the model corporations formed, issued stock, produced goods or services, and, ideally, made profits. Not all did. In 1953, around 20% of the JA companies failed; by 1960 the failure rate had been cut by about half. But if those Achievers whose firms collapsed suffered disappointment, JA officials saw failure as well as success in the miniature corporations as valuable lessons in the dynamics of the market.⁷⁸ Assisted by three adult advisors in sales, production, and accounting or management, the JA companies of the early 50s began official life by buying a \$2 charter from headquarters and \$5 worth of Achievement supplies that included stock certificate blanks, order forms, bookkeeping

materials, and special labels authorized for use only on JA products. Company officer elections were evidently held twice during a season "to spread the executive experience around," as one friendly journalist put it. But there was more than executive experience to spread around; in 1950, one 15-year-old JA president--in addition to \$2.30 in wages and a "regular" bonus of \$6.50--received a "management bonus" of \$3.25.⁷⁹ Whether drawn by pecuniary interest or more subtle motives, youngsters joined the organization in growing numbers throughout the Cold War decades. Between 1949 and 1966, the membership of Junior Achievement increased sevenfold.⁸⁰

It is tempting, in retrospect, to see JA's success in the 20 years following World War II as inevitable. Perhaps it was. But such a judgment flirts with a kind of ahistorical determinism. For during the 1930s and late 1960s--periods of considerable anti-business sentiment--JA also grew. It was the actions (and inactions) of the social actors and their institutions of the period, rather than an amorphous Zeitgeist, that determined Achievement's gains. Yet consensus America did offer Junior Achievement rich soil and a hospitable climate in which to wax. Robert Heilbroner described that soil and climate 1964:⁸¹

In part undermined by the sheer economic

success of America, in part by the terrible disillusionment with the Soviet Union, the antibusiness party of ideas has suffered a crushing defeat. A militant labor movement directly challenging many of the basic institutions of the business world has virtually ceased to exist. Intellectual voices of dissent advocating wholesale social change are no longer heard. Thus, an unusual ideological consensus prevails and claims at least the acquiescence, if not the enthusiasm, of previously hostile groups.

This is not to say that business feels itself to be the beneficiary of an uncontested ideological acceptance. On the contrary, the businessman constantly feels beset by "hostile" groups, be they labor, government, or academic. However, if we compare the degree of ideological encroachment mounted by these groups with that of, say, the European left wing or the American labor movement or intellectual establishment of the 1930's, it seems fair to state that the challenge to the business ideology is severely limited.

Heilbroner wrote at the height of consensus, in the calm before the storm of Pleiku and My Lai, Detroit and Newark, Chicago and Kent State, Catonsville and Resurrection City. America's faith in itself would be severely, indeed violently tried. Junior Achievement would suffer no such self-doubt; it would, once again, refine its operations.

NOTES

1. Godfrey Hodgson, America in Our Time (New York, 1976) 73

2. Achievement, May 1945, p. 1; Donald D. Ross, "Slick Job By Big Business Builds Up New Youth Group," PM, Jan. 1, 1946, p. 7; Achievement, Aug. 1945, p. 13; Dec. 1945, p. 1

3. Achievement, Dec. 1945, p. 1; Feb. 1946, p. 10; NYT, Dec. 2, 1945. Reliable figures on membership and growth, as noted above, are elusive. By comparing sources for the mid-40s, for example, one finds 1,692 Achievers in 1943 and less than 20 miniature companies in 1944. Assuming no great change in that one-year period, each existing company would have had something like 89 members, clearly an absurdity. In later years the figures are at least more reasonable, although hardly free of conflicting sources. The only safe conclusion is that the organization grew considerably. See note 80 below.

4. Lawrence S. Wittner, Cold War America (New York, 1974) 15

5. For the Cold War, see, for example, Daniel Yergin, Shattered Peace (Boston, 1977), and Stephen E. Ambrose, Rise to Globalism (New York, 1976)

6. Letter dated Oct. 9, 1945, quoted in Ross, "Slick Job"; letter dated Sept. 21, 1945, quoted in ibid.; Herman E. Krooss, Executive Opinion (Garden City, 1970) 32

7. Wittner, Cold War America, 7-8

8. Letter dated Oct. 9, 1945, quoted in Ross, "Slick Job"

9. Clarence Woodbury, "Tomorrow's Big Shots Are Busy Today," American Magazine, Nov. 1952, p. 92. See also Alvin Outcault, "Junior Achievement Has Helped Me," Achievement, Jan. 1953, p. 7.

10. Carol Burke, "Tomorrow's Executives Direct from J.A.," Coronet, Aug. 1953, p. 142; J. Kenneth Roden, "Teenagers Accept Challenge of Free Enterprise," Public Relations Journal, July 1964, pp. 10-12.

In 1949, Air Force Secretary W. Stuart Symington told a Chicago JA dinner of the importance of management in the national defense scheme (NYT, May 24, 1949). And the year before, journalist Warner Olivier wrote, "If free enterprise is an N.A.M. shibboleth, it is also the rock upon which collective bargaining stands. In the corroded communism of Stalinist Russia there is neither the rock nor the bargaining." "The Juke-Box Set Goes Into Busi-

ness," Saturday Evening Post, June 5, 1948, p. 49

11. William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, Industry, Labor, and Community (New York, 1960) 200; Fortune, May 1949, p. 67

12. William H. Whyte, Jr., Is Anybody Listening? (New York, 1952) 5-6; Alfred S. Cleveland, "NAM: Spokesman for Industry?", Harvard Business Review, May 1948, p. 355; Francis X. Sutton et al., The American Business Creed (Cambridge, Mass., 1956) 297, 32-3, 299-300. The employee education movement even spawned a sub-industry of firms specializing in setting up such programs for corporations.

13. Whyte, Is Anybody Listening?, passim; see also Cleveland, "NAM," which anticipates this critical assessment; Earl F. Cheit, "The New Place of Business," in Cheit (ed.), The Business Establishment (New York, 1964) 155.

"Nowadays [ca. 1956], then, there are many more advertisements devoted wholly to ideology....In addition, ordinary advertisements devote more space to the merits of the advertiser and the merits of the system...." Sutton, American Business Creed, 297

14. Ibid., 392; Cheit, "The New Place of Business," 156.

A word seems appropriate here on the NAM vis-a-vis JA, since their close ties, through men such as Hook, continued at least into the mid-50s. While it is true that in general the NAM represented the corporate right, it was less than monolithic; the organization, although traditionally the bastion of smaller industrialists, had a broad membership that included corporate giants as well. And not all of its members were happy with the group's overbearing pursuit of "understanding." Of 100 top corporate executives surveyed by Fortune in 1951, less than one-fourth "professed any enthusiasm for the Free Enterprise Campaign," William Whyte reported, "and with few exceptions they were not much more than lukewarm about it." Indeed, 43 of them, "some of them, paradoxically, prominent members of the N.A.M.--were almost violently anti-N.A.M." Whyte, Is Anybody Listening?, 15-16.

The whole question of the corporate-entrepreneurial split in relation to JA is probably deceptive. Even the firms of men such as Hook, Colgate, and Lund (Hook, remember, was one of Forbes's "Fifty Foremost Business Leaders" in 1947) were small only compared to the super-

corporations. There are, of course, real and significant differences between "big" and "small" business (i.e., the CED-NAM dichotomy), but there are also important similarities. To call S. Bayard Colgate's Colgate-Palmolive Peet an entrepreneurial firm is at best sophistry. What is important are the shared corporate values of rationalization of mass production, bureaucratic control of the work force, and, of course, private ownership and control of wealth and income. All of these were propagated through JA. If JA corporations were small, so is a scale model of a battleship; but both represent something bigger and more powerful. Moreover, the importance of JA in the scheme of consensus (and hegemony) is heightened, as will be seen, by its lack of overt anti-unionism. If the NAM elite (and some corporate "liberals" as well) were active in fighting labor's gains of the 30s, they were circumspect enough not to carry the fight into JA--at least not directly.

For discussions of the corporate-entrepreneurial dichotomy and business ideology of the postwar in general (including the Free Enterprise Campaign), see Sutton, American Business Creed; Robert Heilbroner, "The View from the Top," in Cheit, Business Establishment; Krooss, Executive Opinion; Cleveland, "NAM"; and Cheit, "New Place of Business." For examples of the NAM point of view, see Trends in Education-Industry Cooperation, Jan. 1949, p. 2, 4; March 1949, p. 2; June 1949, p.2; and its successor, Trends in Church, Education and Industry Cooperation, Nov. 1949, Dec. 1949, Feb. 1950, all on back covers.

15. Springfield Union, May 20, 1949. The "mistaken notions" were that industrial profits were over 50% and that average business investment per worker was \$81. Hook, "Junior Means Business," 21

16. NYT, April 3, 1952. The same survey include@ identical figures on profits and investment per worker as that mentioned in 1951; they may in fact have been the same survey. Shreve was president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in the early 50s. NYT, July 10, 1950

17. Oct. 20, 1956, quoted in The Management Review, March 1957, p. 35; NYT, June 1, 1961.

JA's concerned monitoring of youth (and general public) attitudes did not end in the early 60s. A 1966 article mentioned "a rising tide of anti-business sentiment among U.S. teenagers" and the contrasting favorable views of Achievers. JA's Dateline spoke in 1967 of "a period when government control of business and industry

is enjoying its greatest popularity," while six years later the same magazine referred to "numerous public polls that show an underlying anti-business mood in the nation." Springfield Union, Dec. 30, 1966; Junior Achievement Dateline (hereafter JAD), II, No. 8, 1967; ibid., Nov.-Dec. 1973, p. 5

18. Meyer Berger, "Industry's Leaders of Tomorrow," Nation's Business, Feb. 1948, p. 49; Woodbury, "Tomorrow's Big Shots," 90.

John Moreno, executive director of Western Massachusetts JA, said in 1961 that his organization was "doing its part to combat communistic ideas which are trying constantly to creep into our American way of life." Springfield Union, Feb. 1, 1961

19. NYT, April 3, 1952.

One of the objectives of the 1963 Operation Free Enterprise had been to "reverse the emphasis teenagers place on benefits and security in employment and to demonstrate that such an attitude contributes to a preference for a welfare-state economy and fails to develop an individual's full potential as employee, manager and community leader." Roden, "Teen-agers Accept Challenge," 10

20. NYT, Jan. 30, 1957; Achievement, Jan. 1952, p. 14. "The stigma of big business," Sutton et al. wrote in 1956, "is also counteracted by emphasis on the fact that its ownership is widely dispersed....If a corporation is big, it is only because thousands of little people have seen fit to entrust their savings to it, just as the local shopkeeper has put his savings into his business." American Business Creed, 61

21. Springfield Union, May 20, 1949. JA companies were also seen as a means to demonstrate the necessity of profit. Wrote Arthur Harris, president of Mead-Atlanta Paper Co. in 1958, "In brief [JA] is the finest way I know to remove the subconscious stigma from profit." "Paper Companies Counsel Youngsters in their First Business Experience," Paper Trade Journal, May 19, 1958, p. 46. See also Blake Clark, "These Youngsters are in Business," Reader's Digest, Sept. 1955; Conlon quote in Roden, "Teen-agers Accept Challenge," 10; and Krooss, Executive Opinion, 53.

"By encouraging young people...to form miniature companies--manufacturing and servicing--the feeling for and understanding of private enterprise is imprinted on the minds and in the hearts of youth." Colgate letter, dated

Oct. 9, 1945, quoted in Ross, "Slick Job"

22. And a theme that, mutatis mutandis, had been present in JA since the 1920s. "...Junior Achievement members gain scrimmage practice with the fundamentals of business," New York Stock Exchange president Keith Funston said in 1954, "from which they learn the relations between those who manage, those who labor and those who supply the funds." NYT, Dec. 15, 1954

23. George O. Tamblyn, Jr., "Teenagers Go Into Business," Independent Woman, April 1949, p. 100; Achievement, Dec. 1953, p. 16; "Paper Companies Counsel Youngsters," 46. "In an age when business needs a press agent to clear up misconceptions about profit, competition and private enterprise, Junior Achievement sparks the success of any community relations program." JAD, April 1966. See also two JA pamphlets, "Junior Achievement: What's it all about," and "Teenage Business Program," both n.d., ca. 1968

24. "The dominant tendency in the business ideology is to use the word 'capitalism' only with the modifier, 'American,' or to substitute other terms. This stems from the intense nationalism of the business creed in part and in part it reflects the avoidance of the unfavorable overtones that critics have attached to the term 'capitalism' in the past century." Sutton, American Business Creed, 32-3.

The whole question of public attitudes toward business in these years is moot. The defensiveness and worried citing of negative polls by JA was surely more than paranoia. But polls are highly problematic and poll-takers, however "scientific" their surveys, can display incredible presumptuousness (and smugness), as did Elmo Roper in his 1949 announcement that he and his associates had "found that by a clear majority the people believe that.. .."

Still, the polls can, within a larger context of evidence, be useful. The 1949 work by Roper, for example, summing up the previous 15 years of public attitudes toward business, betrays ambivalence among his respondents. On the one hand, Roper claimed 80-90% majorities in favor of private ownership and operation, and that two-thirds "of the people" saw big business in a generally positive light. At the same time, "a large body of American opinion" saw business "at best as amoral and at worst as greedy." Additionally, in 1948, "a clear majority" thought that "only a few businessmen have the good of the country in mind when they are making important business

decisions," while "thumping majorities" believed that profits and top-level executive salaries were too high. One comes away from these survey results feeling that Americans of the period favored corporate capitalism in the abstract, but were unhappy with many of its realities. See Elmo Roper, "The Public Looks at Business," Harvard Business Review, March 1949, pp. 169-71

25. Ross, "Slick Job"

26. Woodbury, "Tomorrow's Big Shots," 92-3

27. Achievement, Oct. 1951, p. 2; April 1952, p. 2

28. Ibid., March 1954, p. 2 (cf. Sutton, American Business Creed, 61)

29. Fred J. Clark and Stanton Rimanoczy, "The Customer's the Boss!", Achievement, Dec. 1954, p. 14. The American Economic Foundation was among the "employee education" groups that Sutton et al. mention being involved in the propagation of pro-corporate ideology. American Business Creed, 300.

Other examples of JA editorials in the period include an unfavorable comment on Britain's national health service; an argument for the necessity of "a profit and loss system" "if this nation is to grow and progress and fortify itself. If the 60 million now in jobs are to keep those jobs"; and the reprinting of an 1830 panegyric to laissez-faire by Robert Southey. See Achievement, Dec. 1952, p. 2; Jan. 1954, p. 2; March 1945, p. 2.

For contemporary NAM views on Keynesian economics, statism, and classical economics, see Trends in Education-Industry Cooperation, March 1949, p. 2; June 1949, p. 2; and Trends in Church, Education and Industry Cooperation, Dec. 1949; Feb. 1950 (both inside back cover)

30. Irving Howe and B.J. Widick, The UAW and Walter Reuther (New York, 1949) 203-4; C. Wright Mills, The New Men of Power (New York, 1948) 21. For a discussion of the CIO's 1949 coup de grace to its radical element, see David M. Oshinsky, "Labor's Cold War: The CIO and the Communists," in Robert Griffith and Athan Theoharis, The Specter (New York, 1974)

31. Ross, "Slick Job." Roy W. Moore, active in JA affairs as a corporate supporter (Canada Dry) and officer since at least 1943, had also been on the War Labor Board, in 1942-3. NYT, June 30, 1943; Who Was Who, Vol. V (1973) 510

32. Achievement, Dec. 1945, p. 13; Jan. 1954, p. 6; Olivier, "Juke-Box Set," 49. Matthew Woll, at a "Congress of American Industry" in 1949 (which included NAM and other corporate figures), spoke of "shackles of statism" and averred that "labor, as represented by the AFL, will not want to fasten shackles on industry and corporate management," but rather cooperate with it. Trends in Education-Industry Cooperation, Jan. 1949, p. 4

33. Ben Calfo and Danny O'Keefe, "Learning by Doing," Journal of Educational Sociology, Sept. 1945, pp. 53-4; Achievement, Nov. 1945, p. 4. O'Keefe, who became editor of Achievement in the late 40s, had, as a 16-year-old in 1946, importuned a gathering of the New York Sales Executives Club to inspire youth with stories "about the important part that salesmen have played in the history of the world," including "salesmen like Patrick Henry and Tom Paine who got the colonies to revolt against Great Britain," and "salesmen like Alexander Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison, who literally sold the Constitution to the people." Olivier, "Juke-Box Set," 49 et seq.

For another example of a labor figure proclaiming a partnership with management in the period, see Walter W. Cenerazzo, "Class Struggle Isn't the Answer," Reader's Digest, Dec. 1946, pp. 27-8. Cenerazzo was president of the Watch Workers union.

34. Achievement, Jan. 1952, p. 14; Olivier, "Juke-Box Set," 49. New York University education professor Robert Hoppock declared in 1947 that "J.A. provides the only opportunity some future labor leaders will have to learn something about the problems of management and being a manager." Margaret R. Fansler, "Shall We Support Junior Achievement?", Library Journal, April 1, 1947, p. 517.

Mutual understanding of capital, management, and labor implied, of course, acceptance of the prerogative of the first two in controlling production (and ultimately wealth). "Just as in a proper football team," Sutton and his co-authors wrote in the mid-50s, describing corporate thinking, "each member must respect and not encroach upon the function assigned to a teammate. Management is the quarterback, and for the good of the whole team, labor should not try to call the signals." Sutton, op. cit., 63

35. Tamblyn, "Teenagers Go into Business," 100. "Indeed a large number of business spokesmen conceive the human relations problem as a public relations problem; employees need to be educated in the economics of free enterprise." Sutton; American Business Creed, 136. One

source of such education would have been the dinner-table osmosis prescribed by Tamblyn.

36. Achievement, Dec. 1954, p. 6. "JA has been accused of sinister motives--of fascism, of furthering and fostering reaction, of teaching labor-grinding. Most of this talk is pinkish hanky-panky, part of it sheer misunderstanding." Berger, "Industry's Leaders." For other examples of denials of JA being anti-labor, see Olivier, "Juke-Box Set"; and Ross, "Slick Job!"

The question of business attitudes toward labor in the postwar decades eludes a sweeping judgment; here, the entrepreneurial-managerial dichotomy might be of importance. But given JA's lack of explicit anti-unionism, its operations, and its consensus flavor, it probably reflected the attitudes of corporate liberals. But even corporate liberalism was not monolithic on the subject; in 1964, Robert Heilbroner noted that while corporate liberalism seemed "on the whole to present a more tolerant view of both labor and government," there were "wide divergences...wider, perhaps than those expressed on any other of the main points of the managerial creed." Curiously, he also detected "indifference" among some large corporate ideologists toward the labor question. The contemporary NAM stance Heilbroner called a "rather mixed approach." Heilbroner, "View from the Top," 19, 17

37. n.d., quoted in Springfield Daily News, Dec. 18, 1956. In 1953, Achievement alumnus (and assistant publications editor of Lever Brothers) Alvin Outcault told Achievement readers that one of the elements that increased the chances for success was a loyalty that meant "that you owe every obligation to your employer." Jan. 1953, p. 7

38. Olivier, "Juke-Box Set"; Woodbury, "Tomorrow's Big Shots." See also Berger, "Industry's Leaders"

39. The attack was treated as a news item in the Springfield, Mass. Daily News (see note 37 above). A check of both the Reader's Guide and the New York Times Index from 1920 to the late 70s reveals no similar attacks on JA. An article on JA's postwar expansion did appear in the left-liberal New York daily PM (Jan. 2, 1946), and while its material certainly implied skepticism about the movement, its tone was hardly polemical; even Achievement described the article as outlining "what they PM consider to be the good and the bad sides of Junior Achievement." Achievement, Feb. 1946, p. 3

40. Achievement, Dec. 1945, p. 1; NYT, Sept. 11, 1951

41. A.B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth and Elmtown Revisited (New York, 1975) 200; see also C. Wright Mills, White Collar (New York, 1951) 267

42. Hollingshead found "both a sociological pressure for and an economic need of jobs for the adolescent" in the two classes (IV--respectable working class; and III--lower to middle-middle class, including the "insecure 'climbers'") above the stratum in question; but in the two higher groups the child was more likely to finish (or at least stay longer in) high school. Elmtown's Youth, 200.

At the same time, the jobs of the youngsters in those two higher strata would more likely have been part-time. One could point out, however, that the poverty of many of the working-class Achievers of the 20s and 30s did not keep them from joining JA clubs, and that therefore my supposition about marginal working-class participation in postwar JA is rather glib. I would answer that the prewar JA was more instrumental to such children because of its vocational training value, a factor which, I hope to show, is virtually absent in postwar JA. Additionally, the income from JA companies seems to have been of a much more token nature in the postwar organization, serving as a sort of icing on what was essentially an ideological cake.

43. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth, 129. A "small majority" of Class IV was also ambitious for its children, but saw the high school and its vocational training as the primary vehicle of mobility. Ibid., 130.

One 1947 study found a similar but even more ambitious outlook: "The school is seen by workers to be the place where his child may climb upward and, with hard work, reach positions of power and prestige in the ranks of industry, business, and other social hierarchies. The school is made to take the place of the factory for the mobile and ambitious children of the workers." Form and Miller, op. cit., 262

44. Mills, White Collar, 75

45. Burke, "Tomorrow's Executives," 142; Clark and Rimanoczy, "The Customer's the Boss!"

46. Berger, "Industry's Leaders," 82; Richard Parker, The Myth of the Middle Class (New York, 1972) 147-8. But

Michael Harrington cites figures for 1969 that indicated a much broader--though not ideal--access to higher education for working and lower-middle-class young people. Socialism (New York, 1973) 444. Of course, the enrollments may not have been as widely distributed in the late 40s, 50s, and early 60s.

An award-winning Des Moines, Iowa JA company president announced plans in 1958 to study business administration at Drake University, go on to Yale Law School, and eventually practice corporate law. NYT, June 10, 1958. How typical such aspirations (not to mention their realization) were among Achievers is impossible to say.

47. Achievement, April 1953, p. 2

48. NYT, May 24, 1949; Woodbury, "Tomorrow's Big Shots," 92. There were also two stories of ex-Achievers as small entrepreneurs in the period. See Achievement, Jan. 1954, p. 13; and "Annual Report 1966-1967, Junior Achievement of Metropolitan Baltimore, Inc," n.p. ("Thomas E. Creutzer, proprietor of Tom's Superette...")

On JA as a source of mobility, see Ross, "Slick Job"; and A.H. Mueller, "Head Start in Business for Your Youngsters," Better Homes and Gardens, March 1953, p. 204.

But see also Hollingshead, op. cit., 211, for class-based occupational attitudes.

49. Although such data would presumably be distilled into statistical abstracts in which individual names and addresses would play no part, Junior Achievement, Inc. denied the author access to material on Achievers, claiming that "cards containing this information have objective information and evaluations that would violate these individual's /sic/ privacy." Letter to the author from Valerie K. Sisca, editor of Achiever magazine, July 9, 1980

50. "You know," the advisor of a Harlem (New York City) JA company told a reporter in 1967, "Junior Achievement usually caters to middle-class children who go to local schools." Six years later, a career education textbook mentioned JA's attracting "volunteer, middle class students." NYT, March 1, 1967; Rupert Evans, Kenneth Hoyt, and Garth Mangum, Career Education in the Middle/Junior High School (Salt Lake City, 1973) 246.

There were also less socially ambiguous manifestations in JA, but they seem to have been exceptional. Around 1968, a candle-making JA company existed at a New Hampshire prep school as "an experimental company operating under the guidance of National Junior Achievement rather

than the local JA area," an arrangement which presumably avoided the awkward possibility of mixing blazered, Weejun-shod Achievers with those outfitted by Sears, Roebuck & Co. See JAD, Summer 1975, p. 13.

At the other extreme were companies in the ghetto, with which I will deal in the next chapter. But one should note that otherwise there seems not to have been the active pursuit of socially marginal children manifest in the early years of JA.

As to an expectant middle class that might have found JA attractive, Form and Miller wrote in 1960: "Many, probably most, teachers are using their profession to 'get ahead in the world.' Middle-class standards of refinement and ambition mean a great deal to them. They train or seek to train children in the middle-class manners and skills. And they select those children from the middle and lower classes who appear to be the best candidates for promotion in the social hierarchy." (op. cit., 254.) The passage is of particular interest because of the scholastic ability and attendance that seem to have played a role in selecting Achievers.

51. Collin had also been "state manager of training within the industry program of the War Manpower Commission...." NYT, July 24, 1950

52. Education Department, National Association of Manufacturers, "Working Together," 1950 (pamphlet). Evans et al. pointed out in 1973 that industrial education mass production projects placed "more emphasis than Junior Achievement on acquisition of technical skills." op. cit., 247

53. Mueller, "Head Start in Business," 200. The phrase "sell themselves" is significant; on the "personality market" of the postwar years, see Mills, White Collar, 182

54. NYT, Oct. 14, 1958. The New York Financial Writers Association gave a similar award to local JA companies beginning in 1950. Ibid., June 23, 1960

55. Ibid., Feb. 16, 1958; June 2, 1958; Feb. 15, 1959; "Youth has its fling at business," Business Week, March 3, 1962, pp. 54-6; see also ibid., Dec. 26, 1953, p. 32

56. NYT, June 1, 1961; Olivier, "Juke-Box Set," 36-7; Woodbury, "Youth Goes into Business"; "A Creditable Achievement," Credit and Finance Management, Jan. 1968, p. 31; NYT, Sept. 11, 1951; Advertising Age, Nov. 26,

1962, p. 38; Woodbury, "Tomorrow's Big Shots," 89. There had, of course, been a JA bank in 1929 (see page 16 above), but it seems to have been an anomaly.

57. Achievers Handbook (New York, 1960) 2, quoted in Bobbye Joan Wilson, "Junior Achievement Study Shows Increase in Economic Understanding," Journal of Business Education, Feb. 1969, p. 203

58. Ross, "Slick Job"; Hook, "Junior Means Business," 22. "The organization has 80 paid workers in its national headquarters at 345 Madison Avenue in New York City," wrote Meyer Berger in 1948. "Funds for the work come from 750 industrialists who pay anywhere from \$25 to \$8,000 a year to sustain and expand the program." "Industry's Leaders," 48

59. NYT, Oct. 14, 1955; March 30, 1954; March 25, 1959

60. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1952; Aug. 23, 1956; Aug. 21, 1958; March 22, 1965.

Hart and Shireffs had been involved in industrial relations. The national presidency of JA became a paid position in 1962, the first such president being John Davis Lodge, a former Connecticut governor. But the presidency had evidently been a full-time job (if unpaid) as early as 1952. NYT, June 29, 1956; Dec. 1, 1962

61. NYT, Dec. 20, 1955. The corporations involved in the campaign included Standard Oil of New Jersey, Gillette, Du Pont, Phelps-Dodge, Continental Oil, and Monsanto. For other examples of corporate support in the period, see Woodbury, "Tomorrow's Big Shots," 92; NYT, June 30, 1957; Olivier, "Juke-Box Set," 37; "You Can Turn Kids into Businessmen," Sales Management, May 16, 1958, p. 106. For bankers' support, see NYT, March 5, 1950; May 26, 1960

62. Woodbury, "Tomorrow's Big Shots," 92

63. Achievement, Dec. 1953, p. 16; "Paper Companies Counsel Youngsters," 46. See also Business Week, March 3, 1962, p. 56; and "Teenage Business Program" (JA pamphlet), n.d., ca. 1968

64. NYT, Jan. 30, 1957; Springfield Union, Oct. 1, 1949; Feb. 1, 1961. The 40% acceptance rate was reported typical of "most communities throughout the country" for the 1960-61 season. See also "1966-1967 Annual Report of Junior Achievement of Metropolitan Baltimore, Inc.;"

ibid., 1965-1966

65. Form and Miller, op. cit., 248. "Pro-business" is of course a rather broad characterization, and could conceivably, in some cases, even be anti-corporate. But in this case, the vague pro-capitalism is probably more important than finer subdivisions between corporate and entrepreneurial, especially since, despite JA's clearly corporate trappings and bent, the movement's rhetoric was rich in free-market and individualist cliches.

As late as 1977, Du Pont board chairman Irving S. Shapiro told Dateline readers: "This country was explored, settled and developed largely by the voluntary efforts of individual people and it essentially makes progress today only through the voluntary efforts of individual people--even though they may choose to organize themselves in such institutions as business." JAD, March-April 1977. For a discussion of corporate disingenuousness vis-a-vis 19th-century liberal shibboleths, see C. Wright Mills on the "rhetoric of competition" in White Collar, 36

66. Form and Miller, op. cit., 265, 268-9. There were union programs meant to counter the Free Enterprise Campaign of the late 40s and 50s, but they were evidently aimed at the rank and file within the plants rather than at children in the classroom. See Whyte, Is Anybody Listening?, 8; and H.G. Moulton and C.W. McKee, "How Good is Economic Education?", Fortune, July 1951, p. 129

67. Achievement, Feb. 1946, p. 10; NYT, June 22, 1950; Dorothy Barclay, "Teen-Age Business Lessons," New York Times Magazine, Nov. 26, 1950, p. 44

68. The "local banker" was J. Kenneth Townsend, vice-president of the Chemical Bank New York Trust Co. NYT, Sept. 25, 1959. See also Ross, "Slick Job"; and "Annual Report...Baltimore," 1966-1967. For later continuation of the practice, see Alfred Steinberg, "The Mini-Business of Junior Achievement," Reader's Digest, May 1971, pp. 19-24; and NYT, Feb. 18, 1973

69. Fansler, "Shall We Support," 510, 517. In the same article, however, Martin Mansperger, a high school principal in Freeport, New York, suggested that JA's consensus vignette was a bit one-sided. "Teaching corporate techniques is not enough," he wrote. "Management is only half the picture. Labor is the other half." For a somewhat similar suggestion for improving JA in the early 1970s, see Evans et al., op. cit., 246

70. Barclay, "Business Lessons"; Achievement, Jan. 1954, p. 16; Heinz Ulrich, "So Your Students Want Business Experience?", Balance Sheet, Nov. 1955, p. 116 (Ulrich, evidently not an educator, was with the American Oil Co.); Elizabeth Touhy, "The Junior Achievement of Billie Sol Estes et al.," The Clearing House, Jan. 1963, p. 285. For other examples of educator support in the period, see Ross, "Slick Job"; and NYT, Aug. 25, 1963

71. NYT, June 2, 1949; Springfield Republican, June 16, 1949.

A word on religion vis-a-vis JA might be appropriate. The author has found no examples of religious figures (other than parochial school administrators) endorsing JA as such. But one should note that religion in the postwar years (especially the 1950s) was an important component of civil society reinforcing the dominant capitalist culture. Norman Vincent Peale is perhaps the most well-known (and vulgar) example, but he was only one of many. On him and his ilk, see William Lee Miller, Piety Along the Potomac (Boston, 1964), especially 132; and Douglas T. Miller, "Popular Religion in the 1950s: Norman Vincent Peale and Billy Graham," Journal of Popular Culture, Summer 1975, p. 70, 73.

For the NAM's use of religion, see Sutton, American Business Creed, 268; Dr. Harold R. Husted, "Communism or Christianity?", Trends in Church, Education and Industry Cooperation, Feb. 1950, p. 12; and Dr. Paul Austin Wolfe, "The Businessman and Religion," ibid., March 1950, p. 14.

For a striking exception to the corporate gospel of the 50s, see the material on the Federal Council of Churches study in Moulton and McKee, "How Good is Economic Education?", 86

72. Berger, "Industry's Leaders," 47-8; Achievement, Jan. 1946, p. 15; Feb. 1946, p. 12; NYT, Jan. 26, 1957; Jan. 16, 1958; Jan. 26, 1958; Jan. 24, 1959; Jan. 31, 1960; Jan. 27, 1962; June 4, 1953; Jan. 25, 1958; April 3, 1963

73. William H. Chafe, The American Woman (New York, 1972) 194, ch. 9

74. Berger, "Industry's Leaders," 48, 82

75. NYT, March 5, 1950; Achievement, April 1953, p. 2; "Annual Report...Baltimore," 1966-67; NYT, Nov. 3, 1950; June 17, 1958

76. Chafe, American Woman, chs. 8-9

77. NYT, Feb. 4, 1954; Margaret Hickey, "Teen-Agers in Business," Ladies Home Journal, Oct. 1956, p. 31. Although it seems unlikely that they are the same person, a Margaret Hickey was head of the Women's Advisory Committee to the War Manpower Commission during World War II; an opponent of economic discrimination against women, she fought in 1946 against the exclusion of her sex from upper-level jobs in the public sector. Chafe, op. cit., 185

78. Business Week, Dec. 26, 1953, p. 32; NYT, June 23, 1960. But the JA paradigm evidently left something to be desired. James Kapellas, a 1946-8 Achiever later operating an ice-cream store in 1954, complained that JA had not prepared him for the competition he now faced as a real entrepreneur. Achievement, Jan. 1954, p. 13

79. NYT, Oct. 13, 1952; July 10, 1950; Business Week, Dec. 26, 1953, p. 32

80. At first, one is tempted to ascribe JA's growth to the entry of baby-boom teenagers into high school. This did doubtless help to swell membership figures. But the baby boom, remember, was essentially a postwar phenomenon; its first wave would probably have been reaching JA age (15-16) only around 1960. Prior growth (1945-60) may well have had other causes.

Here, for convenience's sake, is as coherent a picture of JA's membership growth as my sources will allow. Caveat lector.

JUNIOR ACHIEVEMENT MEMBERSHIP, 1925-1973

1925.....	4,472-6,000
1937.....	13,000
1943.....	1,692
1945.....	5,000-15,000
1949.....	16,920
1951.....	29,707

1953.....	20,158
1954.....	31,256
1956.....	40,632
1958.....	60,000
1960.....	70,000
1961.....	70-71,000
1962.....	70,000
1963.....	93,664
1965-66.....	118,350
1967.....	130,000
1969.....	ca. 150,000
1973.....	170,000

Sources: The Log, Jan. 1925, p. 1; NYT, April 14, 1925; Mabie, "In Business"; JAD, Nov.-Dec. 1973, p. 5; Achievement, Feb. 1946, p. 10; NYT, Dec. 3, 1945; ibid., July 10, 1950; Hook, "Junior Means Business"; Junior Achievement of Western Massachusetts, "Junior Achievement Reports," 1954; NYT, June 8, 1956; ibid., Jan. 16, 1958; Aug. 21, 1958; May 26, 1960; Springfield Union, Feb. 1, 1961; NYT, June 1, 1961; Business Week, March 3, 1962, p. 56; "1965-1966 Annual Report...Baltimore," Nov. 21, 1966; NYT, March 1, 1967; Springfield Daily News, Sept. 4, 1969

81. Heilbroner, "View from the Top," 2

C H A P T E R I V
U N D E R D O G S A N D U P P E R D O G S

There was a sense everywhere, in 1968, that things were giving. That man had not merely lost control of his history, but might never regain it.

Garry Wills¹

It was indeed a bad year, one whose lurid and deadly tableaux encapsulated the malaise of an era. Like university administrators, marines at Khe Sanh, and the President of the United States, consensus was under siege. Yet it is hard, and perhaps unwise, to try to find a single year or event that marked the breakdown of 20 years of centrist liberalism. One could, with equal justification, point to the nascent disillusion and anger of blacks in 1964, to the teach-ins of 1965, to the Berkely Free Speech Movement of the same year, to Allard Lowenstein's "Dump Johnson" campaign of 1967, and so forth. Whatever watershed one chooses, the underlying impetus was similar. The dominant order, for the first time in some two decades, faced challenges both vigorous and fundamental. For many, the politics of consensus--domestic and foreign--had be-

come jejune; looking critically for the first time into the Vital Center, they found that it was in fact hollow.

Corporate America (and Junior Achievement), if basically unsympathetic, was nevertheless mindful of the social turmoil around it. "Top executives were aware," David Finn wrote in 1969, "that with the growing militancy of community leaders, particularly in the black community, a new threat to corporate security had to be reckoned with."² A new Republican president, Richard Nixon (during whose administrations, historian Lawrence Wittner notes, "government-business collaboration became the most flagrant since the 1920s"), responded to that threat by pumping federal money into police arsenals, vitiating an already stunted Great Society program, and offering the ghetto masses salvation through "black capitalism."³

Junior Achievement held out its own version of black capitalism to inner-city youth with its Job Education Program, begun in 1968. Reversing an apparent postwar JA trend in that it sought out the socially marginal, the program, "a cooperative effort between JA and the National Alliance of Businessmen," was also atypical in its operations. Likely dropouts, recommended by high school counselors, did form miniature companies, elect their own officers, keep their own records, and receive coaching from corporate advisors; but unlike regular JA companies,

there was no stock issue and no selling of their own products on the market. Rather, the Job Ed firms, whose members usually received the current minimum wage, did subcontracting for their corporate patrons--in 1971 in Baltimore, for example, for such concerns as C&P Telephone, Westinghouse, Baltimore Gas and Electric, and Western Electric. Production cycles lasted through the summer instead of the school year. Offering "economic education sessions" as well as training in production, the program, in effect, subsidized summer jobs for potentially volatile ghetto teenagers--an operation that, despite its free enterprise context, seems to have been curiously tinged with the hue of the welfare state. Tinged or not, however, President Nixon, "at a special White House meeting," endorsed the program in 1970.⁴

But the main JA appeal was still to less disadvantaged children. As they had throughout the postwar, Achievement's recruiters made the rounds of high school assemblies in the fall. Some recruiters in the early 70s evidently sought to capitalize on youth disenchantment by inviting dissenters to channel protest into a constructive outlet by joining JA (and the corporate order) so that they, with their newfound idealism, could reshape it from within. "The pitch," as pro-JA journalist Alfred Steinberg put it in 1971, was that "'Business is where the action and power lie.'" Yet Achievement did not al-

ways welcome the participation of young doubters, even if that welcome was a prelude to co-optation. Harry G. Webster, senior vice-president of a local bank and president of Western Massachusetts JA, treated those gathered at a 1971 Future Unlimited banquet to an Agnewesque indictment of the "underdogs, dope addicts, hippies, hijackers, and under achievers" to whom society had been giving undue recognition of late. "I would like to go on record," Webster continued, "as saying that I am for the doers, the upperdogs, the achievers, the people who set out to do something and do it. And when these young people accomplish things we should give them at least the equal amount of recognition that we give to the disrupters of our society, the minority."⁵

There were, to be sure, plenty of Webster's "upperdogs" in Junior Achievement who gratefully accepted the free-enterprise dogma that advisors and supporters passed down to them. From Scotland in 1967, a teacher reported on one of his pupils, "a prize winning Junior Achiever from Pittsfield, Massachusetts" of 16 who, when asked to define the program in his own words, rattled off:⁶

J.A., as we know it, is a nationwide, non-profit organization, sponsored and advised by a local firm in the community, that gives high school students the opportunity through real business experience, to learn the principles of business and free enterprise.

When the outstanding Achievers of 1973 decided on the single adult speaker for their national conference, they chose Edward J. Sylvia, himself a former Achiever of note. A "31-year-old lawyer [who had] worked his way through Tufts University...by selling second-hand suits to fellow students," Sylvia, at the time he was chosen to address the conference, headed a \$50 million a year real estate development syndicate.⁷

JA, in these years, often pointed with pride to its youngsters' positive attitudes toward, and commitment to, business. "It was encouraging to discover," Junior Achievement Dateline said in 1967 of a poll of 552 JA alumni and alumnae who had been in the movement from 1959-63, "that not only did the graduate Achievers rank high on economic understanding, but that during a period when government control of business and industry is enjoying its greatest popularity J.A. alumni tend to oppose such control and place a higher value on personal freedom." Contrary to anti-business feelings abroad among young people, the editorial continued, 73% of the women and 65% of the men surveyed "were convinced that careers in major corporations [were] even more attractive than they were about ten years ago" (i.e., ca. 1957, when many of those interviewed would presumably have been between 10 and 15 years old). JA polls of those under its ideological wing

in the early 70s, the organization declared, again "contradicted in practically every respect numerous general public polls that show an underlying anti-business mood in the nation." Surveying delegates to the annual Achievers Conference--in effect, the membership elite--Junior Achievement Dateline announced in 1973 that 61% thought business more attractive than it had been ten years before (when those polled were presumably between 6 and 8 years old); 57% thought that business did a pretty good or excellent job in offering young people a chance to get ahead; and 50% would go into some form of business rather than government, education, non-profit work, or a profession.⁸ The following year, when asked, "Which one of these would you say has done the most to improve living standards in this country?", Achievers at the Conference responded:⁹

Leaders in business.....	42.9%
Leaders in government.....	21.1%
Leaders in labor unions.....	35%

The surveys continued. In 1979, asked about career choices, the 3,000 Achievers polled answered this way:¹⁰

35%....Profession
26%....Major corporation
16%....Own business
7%....Small company
7%....Government
4%....School or college
1%....Non-profit organization
1%....Labor union

Taken against the general feelings about business that JA so often cited in contrast, these poll results were doubtless significant; JA obviously did promote (or bolster existing) pro-business attitudes among the young people it touched. And yet, considering the nature of those polled, the figures are curiously unimpressive. For among this group of teenagers theoretically most imbued with the JA spirit, only about half found business appealing enough to want to spend their working lives involved in it. And more than half, in one case, saw either government or labor (rather than corporate America) as having done most to improve living standards--hardly an affirmation of the consensus notion of the Good Life pouring from the cornucopia of private enterprise.¹¹

But if Achievers could display ambivalence about the private sector, JA's corporate supporters were as en-

thusiastic about the organization as ever. "When a businessman is asked to support Junior Achievement," M.J. Rathbone said in 1966, "he is not being asked to contribute to Charity. He is being asked to lend a hand...in his own self-interest." "Junior Achievement is a wise commitment," Michael G. O'Neil, president of General Tire and Rubber Co. declared that same year, "that will return a handsome profit for free enterprise." For Forbes, around 1968, JA taught "impressionable youth" "a lesson that needs continual repetition: that profit is productive, not parasitic." "At no time in our nation's history," Richard A. Jay, Goodyear's executive vice-president and chairman of the JA national board of directors, opined in 1973, "has it been more important for business and industry to stand up and be counted. And what better way than through Junior Achievement, the program that breathes life, excitement and challenge into the private enterprise story."¹² The cover of Junior Achievement Dateline in early 1976, studded with the logos of AT & T, Chase Manhattan, General Electric, Heinz, Bethlehem Steel, Exxon, and their like, invited potential backers to "Make an investment the blue chips recommend. Support Junior Achievement." And support it they did. In 1972-3, for example, exclusive of gifts, grants, and endowments, "corporate giving" made up 90.3% of JA's income. When JA moved its national headquarters to Stamford, Connecticut

in the mid-70s, it was both an economy measure and a way to maintain the organization's proximity to New York City's "media and corporate centers."¹³

Like corporate figures, many educators--despite student unrest--continued to back JA and lend a hand in its fall recruiting campaigns. Citing a 1969 Ohio study (of 150 students) in which those with a JA background "scored significantly higher on a test of economic understanding" than non-Achievers, Bobbye Joan Wilson declared that year in the Journal of Business Education:¹⁴

As business educators concerned with vocational competency of high school students, we have a responsibility to these same students to acquaint them with J.A., and to cooperate and participate as customers in Junior Achievement.

The authors of a 1973 career education text, while admitting that JA was not part of regular school programs because, in part, of a "fear that the free-enterprise system will not be examined critically by a sponsoring group which states clearly its intent to preserve traditional business structures and values," nevertheless suggested that the involvement of the school and the inclusion of simulated collective bargaining "could provide a more balanced program." "The rationale for career education suggests," the same authors wrote, "...that such

learning [in a JA company] is as important as the other functions of a school."¹⁵ But such reservations--limited as they were--seem to have been exceptional among educators. JA, moreover, in fact was part of the curriculum in some schools. Around 1972, public, private, and parochial high schools in 29 JA districts gave academic or activity credit to members of the organization. In addition to scholarships, such as those that Northern Kentucky State College awarded to outstanding local Achievers in 1973, there were other links with higher education. A new JA program appearing around 1976, Applied Management, enabled college business majors to earn credit for advising a miniature corporation. And Achievement's operations extended in the other direction as well in the mid-70s. Project Business, bringing the age range of those touched by JA almost full circle to the movement's early years, was designed to operate in junior high schools "with the assistance and cooperation of the school officials." The program involved JA as a "catalyst," arranging for business spokesmen to make classroom visits, and for appropriate field trips for the youngsters. Junior high school students in Florida, in a 1978 manifestation of the program, learned that a local hospital was more than a medical center. "It's good to be able to expose young people to a variety of businesses,

including hospitals," the hospital's vice-president told Junior Achievement Dateline readers, "through a course such as Project Business."¹⁶ By 1979, Sidney P. Marland, Jr., who had served as U.S. Commissioner of Education under Richard Nixon, sat among the corporate chiefs and consultants on JA's national board of directors.¹⁷

Elements within organized labor, too, still accorded recognition to Junior Achievement. Even the relatively progressive United Auto Workers, despite its break with consensus foreign policy in the late 60s, participated in JA-sponsored events as recently as the late 70s. A National Business Leadership Conference, with an "Open Forum" of corporate, academic, and political panelists, included UAW men Leonard Woodcock and Irving Bluestone. Glenn Watts and Louis B. Knecht, of the Communications Workers of America, took part as well. Radiating vintage consensus reasonableness, Knecht told the conference in 1977:¹⁸

I don't subscribe to the theory that there are...a bunch of tremendous decisions being made in dark rooms somewhere that nobody has any control over....This system we have does work. Perhaps in a way it's an adversary relationship, but it's a friendly adversary relationship.

As it had before the turbulent interlude of the late

60s, JA continued to grow during and after it, although not, apparently, at the same rate. Additionally, inadequate funding and facilities seem to have continued to plague the organization. Toward the end of 1969 in Baltimore, to take one case, about 1,100 youngsters became Achievers out of the 7,240 who had applied. "The 6,100 [applicants] not in the program is also a record--a poor one," the local JA organ ruefully observed.¹⁹ An exact picture of the movement's funding during this or even previous periods is impossible to draw. A look at a metropolitan JA operation--again, in Baltimore--might provide a hint, at least on a local level. Between 1957 and 1966, the city's Achievement program had an annual income that varied between \$38,000 and \$45,000. Contributions for the 1966-67 year amounted to \$55,451.63--\$24,846.15 of which went to pay staff salaries. On the national level during the same period, there were 60,000 contributors to JA, but how much they provided is not known.²⁰

Those contributions, however inadequate, were not in vain. If they enabled 130,255 teenagers to form miniature corporations in 1966-7, they also financed a program that exposed over 1 million students--presumably through the recruiting assemblies and advertisements--to JA's message.²¹ Nor was that message limited to the United States.

By 1971, there were several foreign offshoots as well: Young Enterprise in Britain, Jeune Enterprise in France, Empresas Juveniles in Mexico, and groups in other Free World nations from the Philippines to South Africa.²² And in 1975, JA was sufficiently healthy to inaugurate, in cooperation with Fortune, a corporate Hall of Fame whose first inductees included such "positive examples of business leadership" as Henry Ford, John D. Rockefeller, J.P. Morgan, and JA patriarch Theodore Vail.²³

Enough time has not yet passed to permit one to coolly gauge the import of the challenge to consensus that the late 60s and early 70s represent. That corporate America responded, in its fashion, is true enough, and JA, through its operations, reflected that response. There was, the reader will recall, Job Ed, and the exhortations to join the system to change it. And there was SERCOSET. An experimental "junior-sized conglomerate" diversified to cover publishing and recycling operations, SERCOSET was formed, appropriately enough, in Houston in 1971. Comprising three divisions (one of which, SERJAC, "was funded out of the holding company's capital, rather than a stock issue"), the conglomerate was meant to show "that companies can provide valuable social services as well as earn profit...."²⁴ What it did show, by replicating corporate oligopoly in miniature, was how its life-sized

counterpart was adroitly parrying--but not meeting--the calls for change. Junior Achievement, like its corporate parents, was resilient and adaptive, once again offering old wine in a new bottle. But the bottle was badly cracked, and the wine had long ago turned to vinegar.

NOTES

1. Garry Wills, Nixon Agonistes (New York, 1970) 43
2. David Finn, The Corporate Oligarch (New York, 1969) 236
3. Wittner, Cold War America, 339-41, 342

4. JAD, Vol. V, No. 5 (Nov.-Dec. 1972) 6; Vol. IV, No. 2 (n.d., ca. 1971) 4-5; Steinberg, "Mini-Business of Junior Achievement," 19 et seq. Steinberg mentions four Job Ed companies writing annual reports and declaring dividends, but the 1972 JAD article of a year later states that the ghetto companies did not issue stock.

Blacks, as noted earlier, had participated in JA since the 20s. During the 40s, there were Achievers in Harlem and in 1948, Executive Director Tamblyn asserted that JA ignored protests about its integrated miniature corporations from vexed adults. There is indeed evidence of black children taking part in integrated companies in the 40s and 50s, and the "main speaker" at a 1946 Ohio JA banquet was a black youth. By 1966-7, JA was being re-introduced into Harlem, where one advisor lamented that he had to "cover basics which are known in most white middle-class areas like writing a check and explaining stock." In 1975, Frederico J. Talley, Jr., a black, was elected president of the National Achievers Conference.

See Woodbury, "Youth Goes into Business," 148; Springer, "Youth Organizes," 130; Achievement, Jan. 1946, p. 4; Berger, "Industry's Leaders," 48; Hook, "Junior Means Business," 23; NYT, Aug. 19, 1966; March 1, 1967; JAD, Jan.-Feb. 1975, p. 2; Advertising Age, Nov. 26, 1962, p. 38

5. Steinberg, "Mini-Business of Junior Achievement";

Junior Achievement of Western Massachusetts, "1970-1971 Futures [sic] Unlimited Banquet" (program)

6. Monroe Whitney, "American high schoolers run mini-companies," [London] Times Educational Supplement, Dec. 29, 1967, p. 1443

7. NYT, Feb. 18, 1973. Success stories of ex-Achievers were not always strictly business ones. In addition to Sylvia, readers of JAD found the careers of a black woman employed in administering a Wisconsin utility's Job Ed program; a football player; a member of New York City's Human Resources Administration bureaucracy; and a managing editor at Time. Except for Sylvia (a restaurant manager's son), class origins are difficult to assign to these outstanding alumni; the sample is too small to generalize from, however, and, in any case, the Achievement curriculum and the attitudes it was meant to foster were more important than any career inspiration stories in JAD. There may still have been an element of instrumental instruction in JA--one ex-Achiever, president of a million-dollar electronics firm, cited the "managerial insight" he gained in JA as having helped him; and Management Accounting, in 1968, called JA companies "train-models--for future managers." But it would seem that such considerations were minor--for executives normally do not come straight from high school--and that at best JA provided a kind of schematic introduction to the skills of management. More important was the organization's value as an introduction to the ethos of management and the corporate economy with which it was bound.

For the success stories, see "Tip of the Iceberg" in JAD, Vol. V, No. 4 (n.d., ca. 1972) back cover; March-April 1973, p. 7; Nov.-Dec. 1974, p. 9. For managerial skills, see Steinberg, "Mini-Business"; and "Today: Junior Achievers; Tomorrow: Managers," Management Accounting, Nov. 1968, p. 67

8. JAD, Vol. 2, No. 8 (1967) n.p.; Nov.-Dec. 1973, p. 5; Springfield Union, Dec. 30, 1966

9. JAD, Nov.-Dec. 1974, p. 11

10. Springfield Union, Aug. 11, 1979

11. Of course, most important in evaluating Achievers' attitudes would be data on their previous feelings about business, of which there are none available to the author. At best, one theorizes that many of these teenagers, being (for the most part) industrious and ambi-

tious (and especially upwardly mobile), may have come to the movement already inclined to feel at home with its aims and ambience. In 1979, Assistant Superintendent James P. Kane of the Springfield (Mass.) School Department called Achievers "highly motivated, exceptional, very sharp youngsters....they represent a minority of youngsters with common goals." (Springfield Union, Aug. 11, 1979). But were those goals consonant with, say, the outlook of the middling strata that Hollingshead identified (see page 91 et seq. above)? Without more on Achievers' backgrounds and attitudes, an answer would be no more than elegant guesswork.

As recently as early 1980, one JA company near Boston experienced problems with worker motivation and absenteeism. See Betsy Touhy, "Taking a look at business," Boston Globe, Feb. 20, 1980, p. 43.

But even when the JA spirit was there, the "understanding" which the organization assiduously tried to impart could be rather hazy. At a JA trade fair in western Massachusetts, one judge could not find a single participant at ten booths who could coherently explain what "Free Enterprise" was. The local JA newsletter had to later inform its young readers that that elusive concept was "what you've been doing since last October." Junior Achievement of Western Massachusetts, "JA News Bulletin," Newsletter No. 6, n.d., ca. 1970

12. JAD, April 1966; Nov.-Dec. 1973, p. 4; "Building Tomorrow's Leaders," (pamphlet) n.d., ca. 1968

13. JAD, Jan.-Feb. 1976, cover; Vol. VI, No. 1 (n.d., ca. 1973) 5; Jan.-Feb. 1975, p. 4. For more on corporate support, see JAD, April 1966; May-June 1973, p. 8; "How Junior Achievement Works," Fortune, Jan. 1975, p. 168; "Who's Who in Junior Achievement Leadership 1979-1980"

"Still another weakness of corporate philanthropy," David Finn, a critical corporate liberal wrote in 1969, "is the tendency of some oligarchs to steer contributions toward enterprises which further the economic interests of big business....The utilization of tax-free dollars for enterprises of this sort which are thought to serve the interests of corporate power can be a dangerous trend." The Corporate Oligarch, 241-2

14. Bobbye Joan Wilson, "Study Shows Increase," 203-4. The ideological implications of educator endorsement of JA should not obscure the professional concerns of such endorsement, especially for those involved in career education. But such concepts as "economic understanding" are subject to varying interpretation, and not limited to

antiseptic and mechanical microeconomic formulae. In 1972, for example, William A. Kelley submitted a dissertation to the School of Education at the University of Pittsburgh based on a study of 325 first-year Achievers. Kelley concluded that JA "made a significant contribution to the development of favorable attitudes of students toward business in the American free-enterprise system. Of particular importance," he went on, "were gains in the concepts of profit, productivity and wage and salary structures." Kelley also recommended that 10th through 12th-graders be encouraged to join JA. In such a case as this, ideology and education are difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle. See JAD, May-June 1972, p. 7

15. Evans et al., op. cit., 246. Another reason for the program's exclusion from school curricula that the authors give is "fear that an activity which attracts volunteer, middle class students will not work with non volunteers."

16. JAD, Vol. V, No. 4 (n.d., ca. 1972) 6-7; NYT, Dec. 28, 1973; "Your Place on the JA Board," (pamphlet), May 1976; JAD, Summer 1978, p. 9. The Project Business curriculum included talks by a "qualified" "business consultant" on "Economics," "The American Economy," "Money and Banking," "The Market System," "Financial Statements," "Choosing a Career," and "Consumerism."

As far back as 1945, Pitt College in Pittsburgh offered credit to undergraduates, but apparently for operating, rather than advising, a miniature JA company. Achievement, Nov. 1945, p. 8.

17. "Who's Who in Junior Achievement Leadership 1979-80"; JAD, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 6-7.

"Marland believed career education was the answer to student rebellion, delinquency, and unemployment," Joel Spring writes. "In his first annual report to Congress in 1971, he argued that disenchantment among youth existed because education did not lead to career opportunities. For Marland, the villain was general education programs that lacked specific goals and were not linked to the job market....Marland claimed allegiance to the concept of the comprehensive high school but considered its primary weakness to be its general education programs not directly related to entry into the job market or into higher education." Spring, The Sorting Machine (New York, 1976) 233-4.

For educator support in the period, see also Steinberg, "Mini-Business"; NYT, Feb. 18, 1973; Springfield Daily News, Sept. 4, 1969; Ian V. Grant, "Nothing junior

about these achievements," Canadian Banker and ICB Review, July 1977, p. 35

18. JAD, Jan.-Feb. 1975, p. 5; Jan.-Feb. 1976, p. 2; March-April 1977, p. 7

19. Junior Achievement of Metropolitan Baltimore, Inc., Junior Achievement Chronicle, Vol. I, No. 1, Fall 1969

20. "Annual Report...Baltimore," 1966-7

21. Ibid.

22. Steinberg, "Mini-Business"; see also NYT, Aug. 19, 1966. One journalist had mentioned JA operations in Europe, South America, Hawaii, Canada, and Alaska as far back as 1937. Literary Digest, Feb. 20, 1937, p. 38

23. Max Ways, "A Hall of Fame for Business Leadership," Fortune, Jan. 1975, p. 200 et seq.

24. JAD, Vol. IV, No. 2 (n.d., ca. 1971) 6. SERCOSET'S board also aped contemporary corporate operations by voting "to raise all company salaries 6 percent in 1971, to follow the cost of living index rise."

For corporate attitudes on profit and "social responsibility," see Krooss, op. cit., 53-4. For another instrumental refinement of JA operations to realistically reflect the corporate use of credit, see "A Creditable Achievement," Credit and Finance Management, Jan. 1968, p. 31

EPILOGUE

"There are over a million and a quarter corporations in this country and over four hundred thousand of them are engaged in manufacturing," Junior Achievement President Donald J. Hardenbrook declared in 1966. "Junior Achievement is their baby and can be their preserver...."¹ If Hardenbrook was less than honest about the number of the baby's real parents, he was nevertheless forthright enough about those parents' concerns about preservation. And it is in the nature of hegemony, as Antonio Gramsci defined it, that the concerns of the rulers become the concerns of the ruled; that the latter come to accept the status quo as a "natural and proper social order" through persuasion rather than crude coercion.² Hegemony is, in fact, consensus.

Gramsci's "civil society"--church, schools, social clubs, political parties, trade unions, and so forth--is the prime agent of hegemony; it transmits the tenets of the power elites, makes them pervasive, and attempts to convince the masses of the moral legitimacy of those tenets.³ While America, with its peculiar historical development, long harbored cultural strains in which the double myth of the self-reliant, individual producer and

limitless resources enhanced the appeal of capitalism, the coming of industrialization produced resistance and conflict as a rising tide of corporate, nationally-focused capitalism overshadowed the older, locally-based, small-unit variety. In the van of that new order were bureaucratic and technological values, along with unprecedented means of fostering its hegemony.⁴

The specific historical contexts in which Junior Achievement operated as a component of hegemony varied, of course. Corporate capitalism in the 1920s, although newly dominant, still contained internal tensions and ambivalence as it sought to make its ethos part of the "common sense" of the masses.⁵ The 20s, indeed, may have been more a period of transition than consolidation for the new order in some respects: witness the seemingly vestigial work moralism and anti-modernism that co-existed with the teaching of corporate "teamwork" in JA. For the postwar liberalism of the 1940s, 50s, and 60s, on the other hand, corporate values were a virtual given, reinforced by the state and even unions. If the old gospel of Work and Win was absent, the newer one of consumerism was a potent replacement for JA youngsters. In 1952, Achievement reprinted a General Motors editorial that predicted a grim future if profits were confiscated and equally redistributed: oil production and railroad expan-

sion would suffer, and no longer would Americans be yearly blessed with a "brilliant, better, faster, more luxurious line of automobiles," but rather would be condemned to "go on, year after year, driving the same old cars."⁶ That JA called its annual banquets in the period "Future Unlimited" is hardly surprising. Yet despite real and significant differences that JA displayed in succeeding eras, there was an underlying ideological consistency throughout its history: the celebration of the rational and social production, and the private and privileged distribution, of wealth.

We have seen how various elements of civil society welcomed and abetted Junior Achievement in its dissemination of capitalist culture. The press was friendly; the prestigious New York Times called American capitalism "the real winner" of a 1953 JA salesmanship contest.⁷ Public figures from Calvin Coolidge to Eleanor Roosevelt to Shirley Temple approved of the organization. So did civic and service groups. Molders of young minds in settlement houses, schools, and libraries cheerfully passed on JA's message. Even some representatives of organized labor, forsaking class consciousness in any real sense, embraced the movement.

The presence of hegemony implies the lack of just such consciousness. "For Gramsci," writes John Cammet, "a so-

cial class scarcely deserves the name until it becomes conscious of its existence as a class; it cannot play a role in history until it develops a comprehensive world view and a political program."⁸ Junior Achievement, since its beginnings in the 20s and into the postwar years, stressed the theme of labor-capital "understanding" and shared interests, of "workers and employers at one and the same time" acting out a tableau of a benign and egalitarian capitalism through the miniature corporations. In the process, class lines and power relationships were blurred or even denied; and in such an ideological milieu, the postwar consensus myth that America had become middle class--or even classless--could seem quite plausible.

Widespread propagation of the received culture is one side of the hegemony coin; the absence of serious opposition within civil society is the other. Virtually no examples have surfaced of determined, articulate criticism of JA and the creed it represented getting a truly public hearing. Simply shutting the door to such criticism was doubtless most effective. The reader will recall how, for example, in the 1950s both the public and parochial school system leadership in the nation's largest city actively cooperated in setting up JA recruiting assemblies; it is unlikely, even in cosmopolitan New York, that they would have invited a socialist to address the

students the following (or any other) week.⁹

And equally effective was rejecting the intellectual and moral credentials of such opponents who were heard or anticipated. Those who questioned capitalism, JA and its supporters maintained, lacked a "realistic understanding" of the profit system; they were "ignorant" or "misinformed"; they were farouche adolescents, malcontents who would come around to reason and maturity once exposed to the JA program.¹⁰ But beyond such naivete, their arguments continued, the forces back of cultural insurgency were much more ominous. They represented subversion, "disease,"¹¹ and the specter of crunching jackboots violating tranquil streets with names like Elm, Maple, and Pine; they were pathological, threatening, and above all, alien. To fundamentally question free enterprise was to fundamentally question America, and, by extension, one's own decency.

If Junior Achievement was a success, it was, despite its growth, a qualified one. It doubtless had, as Donald Hardenbrook hopefully envisioned, sent "flowing into our colleges, our business concerns and our voting booths young people who stand for free enterprise"; but not in the numbers--a million or more a year--that Hardenbrook would have liked. Although JA was turning out proselytes for the corporate faith, there remained a persistent,

nagging agnosticism, even atheism, in the postwar years.¹² Both the frequently defensive tone of JA campaigns, and the polls and surveys cited by the organization itself--including those of Achievers and ex-Achievers--betoken something less than monolithic consensus. Indeed, from its earliest days, JA's purpose was as much to oppose dangerous doctrines as to propose safe ones for capitalist America. In a way, its very existence indicated a partial failure of the dominant order; where there is no crime, there is generally no need for policemen. At the same time, to assume that hegemony must be a pristine, hermetic, uniform entity is to be simplistic. Even the most thoroughgoing totalitarian states experience resistance of varying sorts; one would hardly expect less of liberal capitalism.

Yet, to ask whether Junior Achievement succeeded in its task of spreading "understanding" about corporate capitalism is, in a sense, to miss the point. It was, of course, a kind of academy of consensus. But the young people and their communities whom JA sought to win over were already so daily enmeshed in the power and logic of corporate imperatives--from advertising and mass consumerism, to the workplace, to the sterility of American politics--that Junior Achievement was more a booster shot than a vaccination. "Self-evidently," writes Lawrence

Goodwyn, "corporate values define modern American culture."¹³ Had JA never existed, many elements of Gramsci's civil society would likely have filled the gap with alacrity. The problem lies not so much in a Junior Achievement as in the fact that so many Americans, young and old, wittingly and unwittingly, have learned to live, as the JA song of the 20s had it, the way that good folks do; and the tragedy lies in who, in the last century, has defined "good" for the rest of us.

NOTES

1. JAD, April 1966

2. Eugene D. Genovese, In Red and Black: Marxian Explorations in Southern and Afro-American History (New York, 1971) 407

3. Ibid., 406; Carl Boggs, Gramsci's Marxism (London, 1976) 39-40

4. Boggs notes that Gramsci saw "bureaucracy and technology...not so much as irreversible forces of industrialization as resources of cultural-intellectual-ideological domination that obscured class and power relations...." Gramsci also "pointed to Taylorism in the US and the fascist corporate state in Italy," Boggs writes, "as harbingers of the most sophisticated mode of capitalist domination, in which the workers would be totally subordinated to machine specialization and the cult of efficiency." Ibid., 46-7

5. For "common sense" and hegemony, see ibid., 39

6. Achievement, April 1952, p. 2

7. NYT, May 5, 1953

8. Quoted in Genovese, op. cit., 409

9. Similarly, the case of the Boys' Club officials in New York in the 1930s who called in JA to wean youngsters away from the Young Communists.

10. Woodbury, "Tomorrow's Big Shots"

11. Achievement, Jan. 1953, p. 7

12. The religious metaphor here is not simply a literary indulgence on my part. John J. Conlon of Phelps-Dodge spoke of free enterprise needing "better informed and more dedicated believers"; 3M Company's Harry Heltzer thought that JA had "helped to close the gap between believer and disbeliever." Roden, "Teen-Agers Accept Challenge," 10; JAD, May-June 1973, p. 8. See also page 124 above, note 71

13. Lawrence Goodwyn, The Populist Moment (New York, 1978) 322

pecially reliable--were the many pro-JA articles in American Magazine, Reader's Digest, Saturday Evening Post, and their like, providing examples of mass popular culture's consonance with JA and its creed.

On JA's founders, Harry L. Lane et al., Achievement is My Goal (1956), a fatuous panegyric to Horace Moses, nevertheless sketches the goateed paper manufacturer's life; while Albert B. Paine, In One Man's Life (1921), although equally uncritical, is a more substantial biography of Theodore Vail. David F. Noble, America By Design (1977), and James Weinstein, The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State (1968), both offer markedly cooler assessments of Vail's role in the business elite.

Understanding the development of American capitalism in this century is largely understanding Junior Achievement. In addition to Noble and Weinstein, both superb in their respective fields, Vail's own Views on Public Questions (1917), a collection of his public papers, is a window on corporate thinking in the Progressive Era (as well as on Vail himself), while James Prothro, The Dollar Decade (1954), summarizes conservative business attitudes of the 1920s. S.H. Walker and Paul Sklar, Business Finds Its Voice (1938) is a contemporary account of the corporate counterattack on the New Deal that is all the more damning for its equanimous tone. While openly pro-busi-

ness, Herman E. Krooss, Executive Opinion (1970), a general survey of corporate ideology, is of some use. A less partisan study is Francis X. Sutton et al., The American Business Creed (1956), especially valuable for the postwar. The textbook-like Industry, Labor, and Community (1960) of William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller examines business within a broader framework. William H. Whyte, Jr., Is Anybody Listening? (1952) is a bit superficial, but interesting as the reaction of a corporate liberal to the shrill "Free Enterprise Campaign" of the early postwar. Earl F. Cheit (ed.), The Business Establishment (1964) contains several substantial essays, including a particularly thoughtful one by Robert Heilbroner. David Finn, from the perspective of a critical liberal, surveys the business elite of the late 60s in The Corporate Oligarch (1969).

Monographs on education were also important in understanding the historical context of J.A. F. Theodore Struck, Foundations of Industrial Education (1930); Berenice M. Fisher, Industrial Education (1967); Joel Spring, Education and the Rise of the Corporate State (1973), and The Sorting Machine (1976); Rupert Evans et al., Career Education in the Middle/Junior High School (1973); and Upton Sinclair's caustic The Goslings (1924) were all consulted with profit.

For social currents bearing on Junior Achievement, Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America 1820-1920 (1978), and Daniel T. Rodgers, The Work Ethic in Industrial America (1978) are both excellent. Joseph F. Kett, Rites of Passage (1977) skillfully deals with the evolution of youth culture, while A.B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth and Elmtown Revisited (1975), a sociological field study, is helpful in analyzing class as it bears on adolescence. Also valuable on class, C. Wright Mills, White Collar (1951) remains a perceptive and stimulating work. In contrast, Edward George Hartmann, The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant (1948), is a plodding institutional history, but it does cover a neglected topic in some detail.

For Gramsci's thought, see Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (eds. and trs.), Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci (1971); Carl Boggs, Gramsci's Marxism (1971); and Eugene D. Genovese, In Red and Black: Marxian Explorations in Southern and Afro-American History (1971)

