The Psychology of Worth III: Community and the Heart

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We don't accomplish anything in this world alone... and whatever happens is the result of the whole tapestry of one's life and all the weavings of individual threads form one to another that creates something. -- Sandra Day O'Connor

This quotation from Sandra Day O'Connor, the first woman to sit on the US Supreme Court, speaks to the Worth found in human interdependence. Each of us is a thread in the fabric of the community. We can never complete a portrait of Worth without considering both personal Worth and Worth embedded in a community.

With this shift to a community-based perspective, we gain a better understanding of the life and labor of both the Mill Girls and Harvey Girls—two populations I have studies in collaboration with Dr. Rosalind Sun (Sun and Bergquist, 2021). More broadly, we gain an appreciation for the Worth inherent in the life led by each of us inside and beyond the workplace. We also gain appreciation for the settings and culture to be found in community. While a portrait can be rendered concerning the way Worth is found in an individual, the Worth found in community requires a landscape rendering.

In seeking to provide this broader portrayal of community-based Worth, I turn to wisdom provided by several historians (expanding the temporal horizon) and then to wisdom provided by several sociologists (expanding the spatial horizon). A common theme runs throughout this historical and sociological portrayal. This theme concerns something called "habits of the heart." It is in these habits that a bridge is built between Personal and Collective Worth.

These habits are found specifically in communities of the United States. We Americans have often strayed far away from these habits and may be straying away from them right now in the mid-21st Century. However, there has always been a return of American communities to this concern for the welfare and Worth of its residents. American pioneers of justice, such as Sandra Day O'Connor, have repeatedly helped forge judicial decisions that lead American communities back to inclusion, support, and equity. These are the tapestry-based habits of the heart that produce collective and community-based Worth.

I now offer a more detailed consideration of those habits that are deeply embedded in American culture and community.

The American Community: Habits of the Heart

There is a historian and social observer from the 19th century to whom we direct our attention in seeking to understand something about the nature of Worth as it shifts from a personal focus to one of collective Worth, especially as this shift takes place (or is resisted) in American culture. I will introduce Alexis de Tocqueville (1835/2000). During the formative years of American democracy (1830s), Tocqueville journeyed to America from France—hopefully under better sailing conditions than our Colonists and Emigrants. He wrote about the "Habits of the Heart" that exemplified the best of American communities.

This term, “habits of the heart” (which I briefly introduced in the first essay in this series) was used more recently (Bellah and others, 1985) by Robert Bellah and his sociological colleagues in their own examination of American communities. I will be relying on both de Tocqueville and Bellah in seeking to better appreciate America’s unique culture. I will be using several criteria offered by De Tocqueville to judge the quality of American life, and specifically the quality of life and labor among those working in the New England Mills and Harvey restaurants. I will frequently turn to Bellah’s more contemporary observations and conclusions.

We will first offer de Tocqueville’s criteria. What conditions seemed to reside at the heart of American communities (and American democracy) in 1831? When did these communities operate in a manner that enhanced democracy and ensured maintenance of community-oriented “habits of the heart”? According to de Tocqueville, these democracy-enhancing conditions are:

1. Equality of opportunity, knowledge, and status exists in the community.
2. Settings exist in the community for vivid and sustained dialogue.
3. Shared interests and reasons for mutual support are to be found in the community.
4. Civic associations (non-government community-oriented institutions) are prevalent in the community.
5. Emphasis is placed on useful action within the community.
6. Emphasis is placed on experience-based action within the community.
7. Abiding belief is to be found in the community regarding human progress and a sense of greater purpose in life.

The first four conditions might be identified as “habits of the collective heart”, while the last three could be clustered together as “habits of the personal heart.”

While we are about to consider how these conditions played out in the communities of New England and the American West, it seems appropriate and timely to pause and reflect on the communities in which many of us now live (and to which we turn in the final section of this book). Are de Tocqueville’s conditions still to be found in American communities? Given the deep polarization that seems to exist now in American society, can there still be habits of the collective and personal heart such as those de Tocqueville identified and celebrated more than 180 years ago? Are any conditions of collective, community-based Worth tenuous at the present time?

With American citizens living and working in isolation from one another, how do they effectively address the diverse and critical challenges of their 21st-century communities? Ranging from the pollution of local estuaries to a decline in the local economy. Ranging from the absence of affordable housing and affordable theater to the health care demands of a graying population? Can American democracy somehow survive in our contemporary communities (let alone our contemporary state and national government)? Are we able to rebuild a community-based bridge between Personal and Collective Worth?

I take a step backward in time as I seek answers to these challenging questions. I return to the New England and American West of the past two centuries and apply de Tocqueville’s criteria to the conditions existing when the Mill Girls and Harvey Girls resided in these two regions of North America. Along the way, I can move forward to our present mid-21st-century conditions. As I have already

mentioned, history and sociology are required for us to gain some understanding of community-based collective worth. We paint a broad landscape of the culture that existed when the Mill Girls and Harvey Girls were living and working in New England and the American West. These landscape renderings will benefit us as we consider the landscape existing in our current American communities.

Culture of New England

In many ways, the culture of New England is conveyed by the name itself. The founding culture was transported from England to the Northeastern region of the North American continent. Of course, a strong culture existed among the inhabitants of this region of North America long before the English migration. The indigenous tribes had their own traditions, codes of conduct, and oral histories; however, the English brought with them Daniel Boorstin's (1974) "Colonist" perspective (which I introduced in the first essay in this series). They simply imposed their own culture and order on the land and people they encountered when arriving on the North American shores. While disease and execution brought about a massive reduction in the number of Native Americans living in New England, the imposition of English culture on this region of the continent left little of the traditions, codes of conduct, or oral history of these "first nations" of North America.

What then was the English culture imposed on the New England region of North America? We would suggest that five major features of New England culture have endured in America to the present day. Each of these impacts on the life and labor of the Mill girls. These five elements are: (1) religion, (2) social class, (3) industrialization, (4) education and the arts, and (5) community.

Religion

While New England is now the most secular region in the United States, its founding by the Puritans and the subsequent immigration of many other people with strong religious beliefs set the stage for the colonization of this region. It is important to acknowledge that the Puritans and many of the other early immigrants were escaping from repression and even violence in England precisely because of their religious beliefs.

They were not discriminated against because of the color of their skin, their language, or their cultural heritage. It was their religious beliefs and practices that forced them to escape to America. Ironically, of course, they in turn discriminated against nonbelievers and those of differing beliefs once they had come to dominate the world they had invaded. The religious beliefs of the Puritans and other New Englanders who were like-minded translated into a focus on orderliness. This focus came, in turn, from John Calvin, the godfather of most Protestant faiths.

An often-obsessive orderliness was first imposed by Calvin on his hometown, Geneva, Switzerland. Calvin often equated the God-ordered universe and human society to a well-designed clock. Everything has a purpose and a plan that is ultimately in God's hands. Some people are predestined for a life of well-being and wealth (such as those owning the New England mills). They are granted Personal Worth. Others are pre-destined for a life of toil and servitude (such as the women working in the Mills). Personal Worth eludes these suffering servants of God.

Under the guidance of God and his scriptures, the early settlers of New England could fully justify their colonist imposition of a theologically based order on the "wilderness" of the land they now occupied. Worth and Order became intertwined. In many ways, this is still the case. Living in a challenging world of volatility, uncertainty, complexity, ambiguity, turbulence, and contradiction (VUCA-Plus) (Bergquist, 2025), it is easy to understand why Order might still be "worthwhile." We don't need a John Calvin to find reassurance in the belief that "God" (or some powerful authoritarian leader) while soon restore the Order (Weitz and Bergquist, 2024)

Social Class

Part of the order being imposed on the emerging New England society concerns social class. Much as in England, a rigid social class was soon established, with Boston serving as the hub of commerce and as the site of upper-class mansions and high society (what was to be called the gathering of *Boston Brahmins*). A highly successful enterprise was engaged in this setting. Cotton was transformed into cloth.

Other major enterprises complemented this milling enterprise. These included maritime operations (shipbuilding, fishing, and oceanic transportation) and the extraction of natural resources (primarily growing crops and cutting down trees). God's plan was fully in place. Those who thrived in the Brahmin economy had received God's grace. They were "Worthy." Other members of the New England communities were less fortunate. Under God's plan, there was little hope of someone moving to a higher social class. Societal order required class stability. Order trumped upward mobility.

As Max Weber (1958) noted, the emerging capitalism of New England (borrowed from Old England) could be justified by God's orderly pre-destination clock. This clock, however, got rattled around a bit when immigrants arriving in New England came from Catholic countries—particularly Ireland. They were neither aligned with the English culture nor Protestant. These immigrants didn't belong in "New England" (which probably should have been called "New Britain" since all the British Isles were now represented in New England). Those coming from Ireland might not have fit in; however, John Knox's Presbyterian religion was to be established in New Britain by immigrants from Scotland. Many Lutherans also arrived from Germanic countries (though most of these immigrants soon left for regions west of New Britain). Catholics could find a home during these early years of Euro-American life only in regions of the United States toward the South (particularly Maryland).

What was to be done with these newcomers who were not necessarily conversant with or accepting of God's plans as conveyed by John Calvin and his followers? There were several options. These people could be declared unfit for life in a decent society. This would leave them isolated (often contained in ghettos) and subject to discrimination in hiring practices, eligibility for political office, and accessibility to health and other human services.

There was a second option. These people could be offered the false promise of upward social mobility. They would be allowed to find work in factories where "decent" people could toil in exchange for the prospects of moving up in the world of New Britain. This second option was offered initially by those who founded the mills, as we will see when telling the tale of the Mill Girls of Lowell, Massachusetts.

Worth was coupled with the prospects (myth) of upward mobility: “I might not be Worthy right now, but I can become Worthy if I work hard!”

A third option was also available. It was in the hands of those who experienced discrimination and ostracism. The third option was assembling people to take coordinated, collective action that would dismantle God’s plans. Like the Colonists, they could choose to change the world in which they now lived. This meant the formation of labor movements and organizing strikes, which we will see did occur for a short period of time in Lowell, Massachusetts. This also meant entry into the political world of New Britain. Collective Worth was established for some Americans by taking collective action. The Worth of Collective, Reforming Action was to be established in opposition to the Worth of Order. These opposing perspectives on Worth still exist in American society.

This notion that Worth could be found in political action would easily be established in an orderly Calvinist America. Actually, Action-based Worth only came to fruition with the emergence of an Irish Catholic senator (and later American president) – John Kennedy. He was joined by two of the other Kennedy brothers as political leaders in New Britain and the United States. One of the most intriguing political battles in Massachusetts pitted a representative of Boston’s upper Brahmin class (George Lodge) against the youngest of the Kennedy brothers (Ted) in his first venture into the political ring. The Irish Catholic Kennedy won the election. Only then did New England truly become New Britain (Ireland joining England and Scotland).

Industrialization

This third feature of the New England culture is closely aligned with the second feature. The wealth of the Boston Brahmins, building on the God-given justification for raw capitalism, was engaged in building major industries. The original reliance on a diversified economy (including maritime and natural resource enterprises) gave way to a focus on industrial production. Food was now going to be raised primarily in regions of the country other than New England. The forests of New England were being decimated by heavy logging and unregulated fires. Logging slowly declined as a major source of production and profits.

The mills stood at the heart of the growing New England economy. And the Mill Girls played a major role in helping these mills operate and turn a large profit (for at least a few years). Worth was aligned with human industry rather than the “gifts” granted by Mother Nature (or an environmentally oriented God). Mill owners were the most “worth” recipients of God’s grace (not prosperous fishermen or loggers). Successful human industry still trumps successful extraction of natural resources in our social hierarchy.

With industrialization came a reinforcement of the existing social order and increasing attempts to justify unsafe and alienating working conditions by the Boston Brahmins. In response, collective action also became more prevalent, though these worker-led strikes were usually unsuccessful. There was also the entry of newcomers into the political arena. Second-generation Irish politicians, such as James Curley in Boston, were assuming major leadership roles in Northeastern American cities. The promise of upward mobility for the working class was now also extended to those willing to obtain an education. The general public’s access to education was emerging.

Education and culture

The Boston Brahmins brought education and culture to New England. These men (and women) of wealth helped to create some of the finest and most prestigious educational institutions in the United States. Institutions such as Harvard and Yale were even competing for prestige with old, established European universities. The Brahmins also played a key role in establishing the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the fine museums of Boston. The arts of New England flourished during the early years of American life after the arrival of the Europeans. A class of people was established with the time and inclination to read novels, attend concerts, and wander through art galleries and museums. European traditions were being honored. Sadly, one of my ancestors, Thomas Hastings, was among the most influential New Englanders in declaring that European music was worthwhile, while American-originating music was worthless.

The Native American traditions were particularly dismissed as being primitive and unworthy. Only the names of Indigenous tribes remained. These names were assigned to specific rivers, mountains, and regions. While one might hope that Worth resided in the assignment of these names, there was rarely any widespread acknowledgement of the contributions made by specific Native American leaders or entire tribes to the "deep history" of the North American continent (Graeber and Wengrow, 2021)

With all this upper-class emphasis on education and culture, we also see, as just noted, the first increase in public access to these features of New England culture. The transcendental tradition, for instance, was led by men such as Emerson and Thoreau, who envisioned and advocated for a more democratized society. A New Englander, Noah Webster, was making knowledge about the English language accessible to the general public. His dictionary was now found alongside the Bible in most New England homes. Mass production of schoolbooks was in play. We soon found *The New England Primer* and *McGuffey Reader* on public (and private) school desks.

While higher education was being provided in many New England states only by prestigious and highly selective private colleges and universities, some of the first public primary and secondary educational institutions in the United States were established in these states. Notably, the Boston Latin School was founded in 1635. This school is the first public school and the oldest existing educational institution in the United States. As the first free taxpayer-supported public school in North America, the Mather School, was opened in Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1639. Worth was now beginning to be assigned to the level of education attained. Previously, education was taken for granted among those in the upper class. It was not assigned independent worth. It was not possible to obtain a degree without being well-to-do. The "self-made man" (not woman) could be found among those acquiring an education despite coming from humble beginnings.

Of greatest importance, however, in the lives of our Mill Girls was the creation of culture in the small communities of New England. This is where education and the arts began to flourish for residents of these communities. No Boston Brahmins lived in the Berkshire communities of western Massachusetts or other small, remote New England communities (like the fictitious Grover's Corner portrayed in Thornton Wilder's *Our Town)*. Furthermore, the mills may have been owned by the Brahmins, but these men and women of wealth were living elsewhere. They rarely left the rarified atmosphere of Boston—and talked to no one other than fellow Brahmins and (apparently) God.

As we still see in remote North American communities, the local arts are flourishing. Collective Worth is being created in community theaters, main street art festivals, and farmers' markets. Collective Worth is still found in small American communities—and in the isolated ethnic (ghetto) communities that remain inside some American cities. We are touching on a critical point regarding the nature of a bridge between Personal and Collective Worth. This bridge requires intimacy and closely held resources. I wish to dwell a bit more on the communities identified by de Tocqueville as a way to gain some understanding of this bridge.

Community

It is in the small New England communities that De Tocqueville found the heart of American democracy. Habits of the heart resided not in Boston, but in Grover's Corner. Rigid social class distinctions tended to melt away in the give-and-take of local community politics. Town hall meetings were as influential in the formulation of local public policy as the smoke-filled rooms of the industrial leaders who lived many miles removed from these communities. Education for most citizens occurred in the local public schools rather than the boarding schools that were open only to the wealthy. As noted, there weren't many public colleges or universities – in part because this level of education was typically seen as needed by only those young, wealthy men (not women) who were preparing for the ministry, law, or medicine.

What about the local theaters and performing arts centers, often going by the somewhat grandiose title of "opera house"? Many actors, writers, and vaudevillians were touring the small towns of New England (as well as other small American communities). Internationally known performers like Sarah Bernhardt, Charles Dickens, and Mark Twain headlined what was the most active live entertainment era in the history of the United States. Soon after Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published, multiple theatrical versions of this novel were touring the country. They were stoking the abolitionist fervor found in New England and many other Northern regions of the United States. Habits of the heart were truly beating in the small New England communities.

I am about to say more about these habits as we travel to the Western region of America and look at the culture of this "untamed" region. The Harvey Girls were sent to provide some taming in this region. A new form of Worth was driving this culture. A new Worth was founded. It was based on Entrepreneurship and Risk.

Culture of the American West

The culture of the American West stands in direct contrast to that of New England. This was especially before the American West became "gentrified (attracting many people from the East). Much of the Wild West soon became quite tame as it was being littered with major cities and sprawling suburbs in states like Colorado, Arizona, and California.

It is the early culture of the American West in which the Harvey Girls lived and labored, and to which many were attracted. We will therefore concentrate on the early West, which was "discovered" by the American explorers and pioneers (recognizing, as we have already noted, that this large region of North

America had been discovered and inhabited for many centuries by Indigenous people who had migrated long ago from Asia).

I will introduce three themes in exploring this culture. They are: (1) manifest destiny, (2) a go-getting orientation, and (once again) (3) community.

Manifest destiny

In many ways, the theme of manifest destiny could be said to exist when the Puritans were escaping from England to find a new world created by God for the Puritans to colonize. This theme, however, is usually assigned to the culture of Western America. It represents yet another example of Boorstin's colonist perspective. An important parallel can be drawn. The capitalism of New England industrialists was justified by Calvin (and particularly later Calvinists) as part of God's plan and reward for diligent, orderly ("Christian") work. In the same way, manifest destiny was asserted as a God-given justification for "conquering" the West (and its indigenous inhabitants) and creating a new heaven on earth. The American West was considered a newly reawakened Jerusalem.

With the manifest destiny in place, man was pitted against not just "godless" and savage Native American populations, but also nature itself. Worth was vested in the conquest of both the environment and indigenous people. A Biblical theme held sway. Moses came down from Mt. Sinai to find his minions worshiping a symbol of nature (the golden calf), which Moses destroyed. Like Moses, new God-fearing inhabitants of the American West were to cast out any nature-loving perspectives that might be found among the Indigenous population or (God-forbid) those settling in this region.

No one was to fraternize with the native population, "dance with the wolves," or spend too much time out in nature. Today, these people are called "tree-huggers". In the West of a previous era, these people would likely have been run out of town (or worse). It is a God-given right for mankind to conquer nature (along with the native population). Ironically, it is precisely this entity called nature that produced all the beauty to be found in the West. It is the gracious and generous natural beauty of the West that attracted Fred Harvey and his associates to the American West. They could establish tourist-friendly hotels and restaurants that graciously accommodated those Americans who wished to appreciate the Western beauty. Environmental tourists (temporary "tree huggers") were acceptable as long as they paid their bills and soon returned to their hometown "back East".

The Go-Getters

The term "go-getters" was used by Boorstin (1973, p. 3) to describe the attitude and perspective of many men—and we would suggest many women (such as the Harvey Girls)—who were attracted to the West:

> The years after the Civil War when the continent was only partly explored were the halcyon days of the Go-Getters. They went in search of what others had never imagined was there to get. They made something out of nothing, they brought meat out of the desert, found oil in the rocks, and brought light to millions. They discovered new resources, and where there seemed none to be discovered, they invented new ways of profiting from others who were trying to invent and to discover.

In other words: “Go west, young man!” And “Go west, young woman!” Break free from the traditional and reinforced social class structures of Europe and Eastern USA! There were no Lowells or Cabots in the West (at least not during the early years). It was not only the Cabots who could speak to God. In the West, everyone was allowed to speak to whichever God they wished to worship. And the message from God was always (or almost always) the same: “It is your destiny to tame this wild land and to bring my [God’s] way to all who dwell in this land.” Put in more contemporary terms: “This land is your land [though not the land of the Native Americans who first dwelt on this land].” Worth was to be won via enterprise and risk-taking (pioneering) behavior. God provided the opportunity (and the beauty). It is now up to an enterprising individual to “show their worth.”

What did it mean, specifically, to be a “go-getter”? We would suggest that the Fred Harvey Company’s founder emulated the go-getter. Fred Harvey was a man who built his own company, his own wealth, his own unique legacy, and his own Worth. He was a risk-taker, trying out many new ideas. Some of them worked and some didn’t work. Fred Harvey was very demanding of both himself and those people who worked for him (including the Harvey Girls).

Fred was never quite satisfied with the status quo and was always looking to build and grow his business. It is also important to note that Fred Harvey was not a “lone wolf”—as were many American go-getters. He didn’t view everyone else as a foe. Harvey was not afraid to establish alliances when it served his interests. Though he was willing to buy up or destroy his competitors when this was more in his interests. Like Lowell, Harvey was a solid businessman. However, unlike Lowell, Fred Harvey was creating a new service (fast-delivered food). By contrast, Lowell was focused on production rather than service. And his product (cloth) had long been in demand.

While the Fred Harvey Company no longer exists (except as a small auxiliary operation), the legacy of Fred Harvey (as we will see) is big. The fast-food industry would not be what it now is without Fred Harvey. The very existence of the American National Parks might be attributed to Fred and his marketing skills. He was a true go-getter. And in the midst of this go-getting, Fred Harvey played an important role in helping to build community both inside his company and in the Western towns he established or at least enriched. Communities were built by Harvey, as they were by Lowell. Both men were interested in something more than profit. They wanted to base their legacy and Worth on the size and quality of the towns and cities established to accommodate their enterprises.

Community

Boorstin (1973, p. 1) begins his remarkable book with the following statement:

> Americans reached out to one another. A new civilization found new ways of holding men together—less and less by creed or belief, by tradition or by place, more and more by common effort and common experience, by the apparatus of daily life, by their ways of thinking about themselves.

Boorstin (1973, p. 19) soon applies the term “go-getter” to those who emulate this distinctly American characteristic and believes that these Americans have often been found in the American West:

> The west was a good place for the refugee from older laws, but it offered no refuge from community. E.g. cattle drive to meet the railroad at Abilene or Dodge City (cowboys had to behave themselves in these towns) Even when they were on the trail "men had to suppress their personal hatreds, confine their tempers, and submit to the strict law of the trail, otherwise they might find themselves abandoned or strung up or sent off alone hundreds of miles from nowhere."

There was a powerful drive for respectability (lawfulness) that was matched by the drive for continuing freedom (lawlessness). This tension between two incompatible drives was heightened by the introduction of the Colt six-shooter. This lethal weapon became an important element of the Western community (as it continues to be in 21st-century American culture). It was a source of both the Western community's lawlessness and its "taming". Much was also the case with a weapon that could shoot multiple rounds of bullets (which was to become the machine gun). Called a Gatling Gun, this weapon played a critical role in the "taming" (elimination) of the native population in the West (helped along by disease and inter-tribal warfare).

Boorstin considers this ambivalence about lawfulness to be a key element of Western culture in America. The title of this chapter in Boorstin's history of America was "lawless sheriffs and honest desperadoes" (Boorstin, 1973, p. 34). This title reflected the confusing and conflictual nature of roles played by lawfulness and lawlessness in these communities. Boorstin (1974, p. 40) reported that: "The gallery of Good Bad Men and Bad Good Men . . . could be lengthened indefinitely. It would include every shape and mix of good and evil." This list included such legendary "Bills" as Buffalo Bill, Bill Hickok, and Billy the Kid.

On the one hand, to the extent that Worth is created (or at least perpetuated) by legends built around a specific person in history, then we should declare that these Bills are "worthy" even though they were "unworthy" scoundrels. They would never have made it into Calvin's heaven. They certainly would have been unacceptable as one of Lowell's business partners. Yet, we "love" these guys and repeatedly portray them in action-packed movies. On the other hand, we also revere the upright, brave, and righteous sheriff who faces the outlaw on the dusty streets of Laramie or Deadwood. Who can forget Gary Cooper risking his newly consecrated marriage on behalf of law and order in a Western town filled with cowardly residents? His character certainly is as worthy as those who packed a fast-drawing six-gun. We embrace both sides of the Western legend.

The ambivalence also shows up in the flourishing of and simultaneous repression of certain "evils" in many Western communities. The most notable of these evils was gambling. This is an enterprise that later played a central role in the creation and flourishing of Las Vegas, Nevada (aided by the cheap electric power provided by Hoover Dam) and, to a lesser extent, Reno, Nevada. Worth exists in the fortune of a successful dice roll or pair of Aces. Boorstin lumps in another human action that some people consider to be "evil" – this being the quick divorce (which made Reno even more famous than did its offering of gambling).

The allure and prohibition of liquor and many other mind-altering drugs certainly fit this pattern of ambivalence. While gambling, divorce, and booze thrived in the new American West, they were widely condemned not only by the Eastern American culture of Puritan restraint but also by many citizens of

the West who were intent on crushing these "evils". These righteous citizens represented a variety of religious orientations as well as some secular interests. The evils they identified and sought to suppress included the prohibition of virtually all stress-reducing sources of intoxication. Nightly camaraderie at the local tavern or a good night "on the town" were frowned upon, as were many forms of entertainment such as theater, music, and even dance.

As we shall see in turning specifically to the life of the Harvey Girls, secular interests also came to play in the West. There were strong entrepreneurial forces bent on taming this region of North America and making it "family friendly." This was good business. Worth resides in the Family. At the same time, those entrepreneurs acquired fortunes and built major empires in the West, running gambling, divorce, and liquor businesses. Worth resides in "Good Times.' Both the Good guys and the Bad guys struck it rich in the American West. As I will note shortly, the Harvey Girls were buffeted by Western ambivalence, even though they were not among those who struck it rich. The Mill Girls also experienced the strain between Lowell's broader Pull toward community and his Push to generate profit.

Before turning to the Push and Pull swirling around the heads and hearts of both the Mill Girls and Harvey Girls, I wish to focus on how life and work have been perceived in the United States. Specifically, I return to the two American regions where the Mill Girls and Harvey Girls were employed. What are the similarities and differences in the perspectives that have dominated both regions? And have these perspectives changed or remained the same in 21st-century America?

Living and Working in America

De Tocqueville will now guide us in reflecting on life and work in America. His observations regarding the distinctive character of American culture during the first half of the 19th Century focused primarily on the Eastern states, since the West had not yet been settled. We turn to de Tocqueville specifically by asking two questions about the living and working conditions of the two groups of American women we are studying. First, was this culture sustained throughout the 19th Century in the Eastern United States, where most of the Mill Girls worked? Second, what about the culture of the American West, where the Harvey Girls were primarily working? Did de Tocqueville's culture of America travel westward?

First, there is some good news regarding the sustained presence of a distinctive American culture. De Tocqueville's Habits of the Personal and Collective Heart are abundant. As was found by de Tocqueville in the 1830s, it is in the small and often remote communities where much of the distinctive American spirit of democracy has remained intact over the past 150 years. It is less often found in the big cities. In making this claim, we are joined by such contemporary observers and commentators on American life as James Fallows (2018) and David Brooks (2016). They document the collective, collaborative vitality of American life found in villages and towns like Lost Hills, California, that receive little attention.

Habits of the heart have been observed in some communities. Furthermore, Brooks and Fallows suggest that these habits continue to typify American culture when citizens have identified and work toward a common end, which is more likely to occur in small communities. That is good to know and provides some hope for those living in a fragmented and polarized America of the 2020s. However, we are focused on a community of the past in America: what about the presence of these habits among the women working in Eastern mills? And is Heart found in the lives of those women who have been serving

meals in Western communities? We will frame our answer to these two questions by returning to de Tocqueville's original criteria. New England Communities come first.

New England

Our assessment of the culture of New England (and later the culture of the American West) is guided specifically by the criteria offered by de Tocqueville in his identification of the ingredients essential to a democracy and establishing heart-based habits. To what extent has the culture of New England met these criteria, especially regarding Mill Girls? We consider the first of these criteria. It concerns equity.

Equality of opportunity, knowledge, and status exists in the community: In a community with Heart in its Habits, no one person has all the answers or all the authority. There is collective wisdom regarding how best to conduct business. Such a condition clearly did not exist in the life and labor of the Mill Girls. As we will also see in the case of the Harvey Girls, these women were beholden to their bosses. Parietal rules were firmly applied for both Mill Girls and Harvey Girls. The Mill Girls had to be back home in their residences by 10 pm and had to abide by strict rules of conduct and dress not only while they were at work, but also while they were socializing in their local community. Similar rules governed the life of the Harvey Girls.

*Settings exist in the community for vivid and sustained dialogue***:** There doesn't seem to be much sharing of opportunity, knowledge, or status among those laboring in the mills. How would such a dialogue exist with the clatter of machines, the swirling of particles in the air, and the absolute dominance of much better-paid Male supervisors and superintendents? Even these supervisors and superintendents had little to say of any importance. I drive by large homes and mansions in Brunswick and Bath Maine where those "managing" the mills lived in former days. They were well-paid—in exchange for being obedient to dictates of the Mill owners (who typically lived many miles away from their polluting mills). There was not much to talk about, and nowhere for the conversation to occur between manager and owner. Worth was bestowed on these managers, but at the cost of their independent Head and Heart.

There was little meaningful dialogue even among members of the local community, despite the legendary "democracy" that seemed to be occurring in the town hall meetings of New England. Local issues were certainly given voice and debate. However, there was not much to say about the big economic issues. A widely shared observation left little room for dialogue or communication upwards or outwards in the community: "the Lowells spoke only to the Cabots and the Cabots spoke only to God!" The local residents were pretty much alienated from the mill supervisors and owners. There might have been habits of the heart in certain small towns that were not dominated by the mills that provided all of the economic power for the community. However, these communities were often quite vulnerable to shifts in the demands for specific products or to the vicissitudes of weather. They typically relied on the extraction of natural resources (such as food, lumber, or minerals). Even today, we find this vulnerability evident in the unstable (and often not sustainable) variability in the price of lobsters, and the impact of global climate on everything in New England, from fish stocks to tourism.

Shared interests and reasons for mutual support are to be found in the community: De Tocqueville proposed that self-interest is served by assisting others, and there must be a system-based understanding of mutual support to maintain this assistance. Worth was acquired via the generosity of

Head and Heart. In New England communities, charitable organizations assisted the Mill workers and sometimes championed their rights. However, these sources of support tended to be ineffective and sporadic (often related to the injury or tragic death of a Mill Girl or a child working in the mills). There were also the early leading labor reformers, such as Sarah Bagley**.** Sarah began working in Lowell mills as one of the early recruits (1836) from a New England farm (prior to the recruitment of women from Ireland). She was somewhat influential in promoting workday reduction (to "only" 10 hours). She also edited a labor newspaper, *The Voice of Industry*. One can only imagine the struggles that Sarah Bagley endured as the Worthy advocate for her sister Mill workers.

Sarah's story does provide some evidence that this habit of support did exist among the Mill Girls themselves. They were closely bound together in their care for one another, as evidenced in the many poems, ballads, essays, and fictional stories prepared for the *Lowell Offering* (founded in 1840 by the Reverend Abel Charles Thomas of the First Universalist Church). It took many workers to offer a voice in their New England community. With more than 8,000 Mill Girls working in Lowell, there was the potential for influential collective support and action, as witnessed in a series of strikes and labor slowdowns that yielded some improvement in the working conditions of Lowell Mill Workers. Such was not the case in most of the other New England mill towns. With much smaller populations of Mill Girls and with very few labor activists taking much interest in these "backwater" communities, there was little outside support. The women laboring in these mills had to take care of one another, often without a voice to be heard outside their close quarters.

Civic associations (non-government community-oriented institutions) are prevalent in the community: De Tocqueville wrote about the great democratic values to be found outside government. Civic associations certainly existed abundantly in New England communities, often filling the vacuum left by indifferent or corrupt governmental services. Collective Worth was engendered in these associations. However, this Collective Worth wasn't available for all citizens of these communities. Typically, these were fraternal organizations that were restrictive regarding who could join and who was to be served by the organization. The Mill Girls certainly were not among those invited to these associations.

These civic organizations were often intended only for men, held strong negative opinions regarding immigrant populations, and danced to the economic tunes of the Mill owners. It was much more likely that outside "agitators" (labor organizers) came to town and stirred things up (only to leave after a settlement was or was not reached). It seems that the hearts of most New England communities were beating only on behalf of a very restricted population (which did not include the Mill Girls). Worth was a precious commodity that was rarely shared with most members of the New England community.

Unfortunately, even today, Collective Worth is often bound up in discriminatory practices. While many of the lifestyle enclaves identified by Robert Bellah and his colleagues (Bellah and others, 1985) are found in mid-21st-century America, they are often only open to specific people. While enclaves in the past were open only to those who share avocational interests (for example, car clubs, sewing circles, bridge tournaments), the new enclaves also often (at least informally) require shared political beliefs and attitudes about the "good" people and "bad" people living in one's community. Increasing polarization of American society, coupled with the growing preponderance of digital rather than in-person gatherings of the enclaves, has made Worth a specialized, closely held commodity.

Emphasis is placed on useful action within the community: de Tocqueville caught the spirit of American pragmatism – and a predilection for action. He suggested that a habit of heart is evident in someone who says: "Watch and evaluated what I do, not what I say." This is one of the reasons why de Tocqueville believed that democracy in America was most often found in small communities. Everyone in a small, isolated community sees everything (from their front porch). Fallows and Brooks came to similar conclusions in observing mid-21st-century communities.

Was the Mill in full view of those who were sitting on their front porch in most New England towns during the 19th Century? Did the residents of these towns see the young women trudging off to work every day? Did they interact with the Mill Girls at all on Saturday evening at the local dance or on Sunday morning at church? While a preacher at the local Unitarian church might have spoken of the need for worker reforms, was his sermon really heard by anyone? And who read the *Voice of Industry* or *Lowell Offering* (even if they lived in or near Lowell, Massachusetts)? Was the readership made up only of the Mill Girls themselves?

It would appear to be the case that rhetoric in New England communities often didn't translate into action. Most of the demonstrations to bring about true reform were mounted by the Mill Girls themselves. Sadly, in a Mill town located near me, there was only one significant strike among the Mill workers that received any community support – and it was started by several young boys working in the Brunswick, Maine Mill. Sometimes it seems that we only listen to our children (if anyone at all), and it is a child who leads us by doing something rather than just talking. Perhaps, as many religious leaders suggest, children are born with Worth. Or some children may acquire an idealistic Worth through their youthful courageous actions. However, this Worth might be traded away when acquiring the "realistic" perspectives of adulthood.

Emphasis is placed on experience-based action within the community: New England pragmatism also appears prominently in De Tocqueville's sixth criterion. Informed action is based on experience, not theory. The following dictum might be appropriate: "Show me what you have learned by enacting it." In this seventh criterion, we find perhaps the deepest and most irony-laden betrayal of De Tocqueville's habits when we turn to the work of Mill Girls. Clearly, these women were knowledgeable about not only the process of producing cloth but also maximizing productivity and motivation. Long before the Hawthorne Studies were done in which productivity was increased simply by someone listening to the women working in the Hawthorne Plant, there might have been a major breakthrough in the productivity of the Mills in New England if someone had asked the Mill Girls to offer their advice.

At the very least, something could have been learned by reading the commentaries offered by the Mill Girls in the *Voice of Industry* and *Lowell Offering.* Were strikes and protests (often met with violence) the only settings in which the concerns and ideas of Mill Girls were heard? And was anyone listening in these anxiety-filled and contentious settings? Ironically, the first recruits to the Lowell mills were offered the opportunity to receive an education and thereby improve their social status (leaving the farm to find work in "modern" industry). Earned Worth was possible via education. Yet, the education they received never allowed them to share (give voice to) the insights they had acquired from coupling this education with their on-the-job experiences. Earned Worth was not to be found through the acquisition of unused education. This appears to still be the case today in American culture.

Soon, the offering of education was withdrawn, as the recruits came not for an education but for escape from horrible conditions in another country (Ireland and then French-Canada). Survival took precedence over any hope of elevated social status or any prospect of Earned Worth. Today, there seems to be a parallel turning away from education as a stepping stone to upward social mobility. Training in a technical skill may yield a higher income than a liberal arts degree is likely to produce. If Worth is linked directly to wealth, then perhaps the financially secure plumber is "worthier" than the cab driver with a master's degree in literature. There might even be an emergent criterion of Worth that relates to craftsmanship and artistry. Worth might be assigned to the plumber not because of this person's financial status, but because of their skills in repairing leaking pipes.

Abiding belief is to be found in the community regarding human progress and a sense of greater purpose in life: This is the final and perhaps most profound betrayal of de Tocqueville's observations of and hopes for America. He wrote about a spiritual life (not necessarily religious) that serves as a foundation for a strong, supportive community and a thriving democracy. We would suggest that this final habit is captured in a Greek word I introduced in the previous essays in this series. The word is *Agape*. It represents a form of love and commitment based on a mutual dedication to some higher being, principle, or purpose. Agape manifests the essence of intertwined Personal and Collective Worth. The bridge between these two forms of Worth consists of an enacted dedication of all parties to a "greater good."

This habit of Agape is found in the sense of shared purpose that James Fallows has found in contemporary small American communities. A colleague of mine has spoken with considerable passion about the mobilization of his small California community in preparing for the potential rupture of a dam near their community. He noted that all members of his community were filling sandbags and constructing a temporary levee. They were no longer polarized Republicans and Democrats. They were engaged in a shared commitment to preserving their community. My colleague wondered if it takes a major crisis (such as the 9/11 collapse of the twin towers in New York City) to bring people together. Can there be a "true" Agape that is something more than a joint commitment to security? Is Collective Worth only acquired when shared survival is achieved?

How widespread do we find this habit of Agape in mid-21st-century societies? Is it only found in small American communities facing an impending threat? Was there a shared commitment in the New England Mill Towns to some greater good, such as the welfare of women working in the mills? Was there much concern about the principles and purposes inherent in a form of wage-slavery that dominated the labor and life of the women working in the New England mills? Did the high-minded, church-going leaders of industry in New England exhibit some "abiding belief" in the human progress that would come from humane treatment of those working in their factories?

If the Cabots spoke only to God, what did God tell the Cabots about Agape? Did God tell Lowell and the other mill owners about Agape? What was conveyed (if anything) about the welfare of the Mill Girls during Sunday church services? Did God speak to the mill owners about Agape in the privacy of their souls? And did the owners listen to either the sermons or their souls? What about today's industrial and financial leaders, and America's political leaders? Is the spirit of Agape ever lingering around their Head or Heart? Can the Habit of Agape serve as a guide to repairing the broken sense of Collective Worth

prevalent in our mid-21st-century society? What would the sandbags look like that protect us from an impending flood of increasing polarization, collective despair, and societal disruption?

American West

We now shift our attention to the American West of the late 19th and early 20th Century. What was it like for the Harvey Girls, first hired to serve food in the newly founded National Parks of the United States and restaurants located at railroad stations being built in the West? Is the story different from what we find in the labor and life of the Mill Girls? The new railroads that crossed this country exemplified the American "go-getting" spirit. The National Parks, in turn, were exemplars of American democracy and the commitment to public ownership of precious natural resources. The question becomes: Do we find that the entrepreneurial spirit and the spirit of democracy and shared ownership spill over into the life and work of the Harvey Girls?

As we begin to address these questions, it is important to note that most of the Harvey Girls were eager to join the Fred Harvey organization. They were not primarily immigrants from other lands seeking employment that would enable them to meet the basic needs of survival. Does this mean that caring habits of the heart reside more often in the lives of these young women? The answer is a bit mixed. Here is the scorecard, using the same de Tocqueville categories engaged in our review of the life and work of the Mill Girls.

Equality of opportunity, knowledge, and status exists in the community: it is certainly the case that the Harvey Girls epitomized the opening of not only the American West but also employment opportunities for women. There was a real chance for women in early 20th-century America to remain unmarried (for at least a few years). They could follow a new dictate: "Go west [young woman]". Fred Harvey certainly discovered the right formula in mobilizing the energy of these adventurous women. What happened, however, after these women arrived on the scene? Was it any better than becoming a dutiful housewife? Were there career advancement opportunities for these women? Not really.

Settings exist in the community for vivid and sustained dialogue: A vital culture was created among the Harvey Girls. Lively conversations were going on into the evening (there being not much else to do in the small railroad towns of the West or in the splendid but often quite remote locations of the National Parks). There were reports that the Harvey Girls sometimes participated in the many educational activities offered at the parks. However, we suspect that these activities soon became repetitive. What was of interest to these women after the tenth lecture of the month concerning the flora and fauna of their park. How many times can these young ladies find excitement (or good food) at the local eatery?

As in the case of the Mill Girls, we found little evidence that there were any meaningful dialogues between the Harvey Girls and Harvey management. Even potential insights regarding ways to improve the quality of service in the restaurants were not requested by those managing these restaurants. There was the Fred Harvey way of doing things. This way was not subject to much dialogue or deliberation.

Shared interests and reasons of mutual support are to be found in the community: As in the case of Mill Girls, there were many shared interests and reasons for mutual support among Harvey Girls. However, there was little shared interest or support at a broader level. The "heartful" community was established among the Harvey Girls, but not among all members of the Harvey community. The Harvey Girls

experienced none of the more dramatic (and even drastic) conditions of abuse and economic confinement that were common among Mill Girls and that brought these Mill workers together. Nevertheless, there was still the social "glue" that is to be found in the shared aspirations and flight from traditional domestic roles that reinforced and provided direction for the Harvey Girls community.

Civic associations (non-government community-oriented institutions) are prevalent in the community: This de Tocqueville criterion held no relevance for the Harvey Girls. There was no broader community within which these women lived. There was only their restaurant located in the railroad town or the National Park. There were also very few attempts by outside "agitators" to advocate for better working conditions among the Harvey Girls. Their life was glamorized in the outside world. The Harvey restaurants were certainly not portrayed as hell holes. Just as restaurant workers in general have been among the slowest and most reticent to unionize in the United States, there were no notable attempts to form a union among the Harvey Girls or for these women to join existing unions.

The Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union was formed in 1891, yet it has never been very powerful. Though female membership in the union grew from 2,000 in 1908 to 181,000 in 1950, this rise in women's membership primarily reflected a feminization of the hotel and restaurant industry and an increase in the number of women waiting on tables. There seems to be little evidence that there has been growing recognition that women laboring in restaurants are particularly in need of collective representation. It is particularly poignant to note that unionization has been absent in the one sector of the restaurant industry where one might expect it to be most needed—that being in the fast-food industry.

Emphasis is placed on useful action within the community: We find little useful action among the Harvey Girls seeking to improve their conditions. Nor is much done by those working inside the Fred Harvey organization or among those outside the organization (such as government officials, journalists, or politicians) who were monitoring this organization. After all, how can you complain about an organization cheerfully featured in a major Hollywood movie? We didn't hear Judy Garland complain about her working conditions.

Thanks to the Harvey Company, Judy's character in the movie was saved from an arranged marriage that went awry. Instead of complaining, Judy sings about a fabled railroad line. She eventually falls in love with and marries Trent, her handsome hero. A beautiful Desert sunset brings down the curtain on this sentimental Hollywood portrayal of Harvey Girl life. While the conditions of life and work for the Mill Girls were also portrayed in a musical (*Carousel*), there were certainly moments of critique in *Carousel* that would lead one to wonder about abuse or at least inappropriate, paternalistic control by those who owned and operated the mills.

Emphasis is placed on experience-based action within the community: Once again, we must identify the distinguishing characteristics of the specific community we are considering. Within the Harvey Girl community, there is a strong commitment to experience-based action. The new girls were gathered in by those girls who had been around and knew the "ropes" (the Fred Harvey method). With all of Fred Harvey's focus on doing it the right way, there was the benefit of an established approach to serving the customer that could readily be taught and emulated. The Harvey girls learned from one another—they were not isolated.

Like the women working in New England mills, there was never the sense among the Harvey Girls of being left alone to fend for themselves. This is an important point to be made. While the Mill workers lived under the harshest conditions, they had one another for learning and support. The Harvey Girls were in a better situation. They were rarely subjected to much abuse in their workplace. And like most Mill Girls, the Harvey Girls found themselves in a supportive environment during working days.

When we move outward and attend to the entire Fred Harvey enterprise, we find a learning environment where experience-based actions occur. While the Fred Harvey method became solidified once established, substantial experimentation was done during the founding years. Fred and his colleagues were inventing a new mode of customer service and experimenting with a new family-friendly menu. This, after all, was the untamed American West where the old ways of doing things could be discarded in favor of innovation.

New environments called for new visions. However, there was not much additional innovation once the new visions were in place. Recently, I returned to the same restaurant (El Tovar) at the Grand Canyon where I had been served 60 years before as a teenager in a Harvey restaurant. The same kind of service was being delivered, and the Harvey Girls were still offering this service.

In essence, Fred Harvey had placed a protective shield over the Wild West, which he had helped to domesticate. He left this shield in place for many years. After all, this is part of the good and bad of a community of heart: once established, it often doesn't change much over the years. The traditions that serve as a foundation for the engagement of Heart remain in place, with continuity of habit being critical to the maintenance of this community. Once established, Collective Worth is protected at all costs.

Abiding belief is to be found in the community regarding human progress and a sense of greater purpose in life: Fred Harvey was a man of God – or at least a man who believed in his vision (and embraced manifest destiny) with religious zeal. Those working in his organization were expected to be similarly aligned with God and Fred's religion (the Harvey method). Like many of the entrepreneurs aligned with other religions (such as Latter-Day Saints/Mormons), Fred Harvey was being guided by God to find the new Zion in the American West. He was to bring chastity and good manners to a world that he saw as Godless and needing a good bath and religious cleansing. While the Cabots of New England might have been the only ones to speak to their Puritan God, Fred Harvey believed he had direct access to a divinity that resided in the West.

Once again, we discover that Habits of the Heart are often founded on traditions that do not readily change. We find what the noted social theorist, Talcott Parsons (1970), identified as a critical societal function called *Latent Pattern Maintenance* in the close association of gospels with an American community. It is important to unpack the latent pattern maintenance term to fully appreciate the power held by this function in the American West of Fred Harvey and his restaurants. The word "pattern" refers to the actions being frequently repeated during a single day. These are the "habits" first identified by de Tocqueville and more recently reintroduced by Robert Bellah (a student of Talcott Parsons). These patterns (habits) are maintained by the enforcement of strong social norms and introduction of rituals (such as Sunday religious services) that reinforce and remind people of the important role played by these norms ("without these norms, the center will not hold!").

There is a third word in this phrase that is particularly salient regarding Fred Harvey's world. This word is "Latent." While the norms are explicit and reinforced by ritual, there is eventually no need for explicit and reinforced norms. How one behaves is simply the way things are done and the way things have always been done (established through a revisionist history and compelling narrative). The habits become subconscious ("latent") and are learned by the newcomers through the modeling of "proper" behavior by those members of the community who are already fully socialized. As I noted in a previous essay in this series, control is internalized. We monitor our behavior under conditions of internalized control rather than relying on external monitoring and enforcement.

This is where the previously mentioned training and mentoring of new Harvey Girls becomes so important. The new girls don't just put on the standard uniform, they also incorporate (internalize) the standard way of perceiving and behaving in their work world. It is through this internalization process that the world of work becomes all-encompassing for the young women employed by the Harvey restaurants – and for the young women laboring in the mills of New England.

Community as lifestyle

Recently, as we enter a post-industrial and post-modern era, the notion of community has evolved. There are the forementioned lifestyle enclaves described by Robert Bellah and his associates in *Habits of the Heart* (Bellah and others, 1985) and the virtual communities that have become dominant in many technologically advanced societies. People no longer spend all their free time interacting with people living next door, working in the same organization, or ensconced in the same ethnic enclave. In many suburban communities throughout the world, residents might not even know the name of their neighbors, especially if they are living in suburbs where high rates of mobility prevail. During the last few years (often driven by the COVID-19 virus), in-person workplaces are being replaced by virtual settings in which employees interact via digital-mediated venues.

Lifestyle enclaves are now not just virtual. They are also built around avocational interests rather than ethnic heritage. Suburbanites spend a Saturday afternoon attending a sports car rally or going to the gym three miles away to work out with their friends. The local ethnic enclaves are now often repurposed with a more specific focus on cuisine from the homeland or "folk" dancing based on back-home traditions. During the past decade, it has become even more likely that they are spending Saturday afternoon (and most weekday afternoons or evenings) conversing with their Internet buddies from the homeland. Virtual ethnic enclaves now exist. Relatives and friends remaining in the homeland join on Skype with family members and friends who migrated to a new country (such as the USA). Family and friends stay connected via the Internet rather than settling together in the neighborhood of a major city (such as Chicago) or a smaller community that specifically welcomes refugees (such as Auburn Maine). Collective Worth is still created and sustained in these "neighborhoods," but they are now virtual.

A similar story can be told about those working in virtual environments. Instead of going out for a beer (or wine) after work with their fellow workers, they are likely to shift from their work-based email account to their mobile device for chats with their Internet buddies. No beer or wine. Rather, an after-work sharing of thoughts and feelings with those holding similar values and perspectives. Virtual Collective Worth is built and sustained among members of the same lifestyle enclave. While most of us

find little value (Worth) in a well-maintained 1939 Bantom Nine Roadster, produced by the British Singer automobile company, there are those in a British auto enclave who would assign great Worth to this car and even greater Worth to the diligent owner who has maintained this classic automobile.

It is easy to declare that the lifestyle enclaves are new and that the Internet and virtual workplaces have changed everything. Before doing so, perhaps we should consider ways things haven't changed. The lifestyle enclaves of the 21st Century might be variants on the ghettoes that existed at an earlier time (and still exist in some societies). It is all about shared perspectives, interests, histories, and even language (with technical terms, and shorthand terms and abbreviations now being bandied about inside the enclaves). Our Mill Girls and Harvey Girls might have created their own lifestyle enclaves, even without a computer or mobile device to aid in creating these enclaves. Eating and living together in a dormitory might have done the trick.

There is one big difference. The current lifestyle enclaves are freely chosen by their inhabitants, whereas the ethnic ghettoes are usually not a matter of personal choice. The requirement of dormitory living for the Harvey Girls and early Mill Girls was certainly not aligned with any freedom of choice. While the women we have studied created and dwelled in communities forged by economic considerations (earning a living), the ethnic communities have usually been established as a sanctuary that preserves culture and protects the enclaves' residents. This was the case with the French-speaking Canadian immigrants who formed the Little Canada ghettos in Maine. It is a matter of survival (or at least shelter) given that the broader community is enforcing discriminatory practices and sometimes fostering violence against the new immigrants.

It is not just a matter of economics for the Mill and Harvey Girls. Socio-economic lines have also played a major role. On one side of the Line are those in the majority who rule the Gold and have the luxury of joining a lifestyle enclave. They can choose their route to Worth. On the other side of the Line are those in the minority required to follow the Golden Rule. There are very few routes to Worth for them. The Golden Rule includes the requirement that these "other people" stay in their separate ghetto and "behave themselves" (conforming to norms of the dominant community). Gold can be used by those who rule to pay for discriminatory public polices (formal and informal) and for the authority to enforce these policies.

Conclusions

We have returned to the matter of control as a primary determinant of Worth. Having emphasized the connection between repressive Control and Worth in my first essay, I turn in the next (fourth) essay to another more positive side of control. This side concerns ways to gain control of the bridge between Personal and Collective Worth. We gain control and occupy this bridge when we care deeply about that which deserves our care. We become generative in our caring about other people. Generativity is engaged when we work on behalf of our community's heritage and sustainability. We find Personal Worth as servants of the greater good. We participate in the generation of Collective Worth when we work alongside our neighbors in filling sandbags that prevent damage (physical, psychological, and societal). So, stay tuned. Our exploration of Worth is just beginning!

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