

MAX SHULMAN AND THE
CHANGING IMAGE OF
SUBURBIA

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Relations between our popular sociology and popular fiction are brought into new focus when practitioners in the two fields address themselves to a common question. Recently, if not surprisingly, the two have been concerned with our national character. What is the nature of this character, and what hints does it give us of our national destiny?

Constance Rourke has declared that ours is an imagination "perennially engaged by the problem of the national type," and Ralph Ellison says that tackling this problem is a basic function of the American novel. The writer's task is to "define the national type as it evolves in the turbulence of change," and thus confer on "the American experience, as it unfolds in its diverse parts and regions, imaginative integration and moral continuity."¹

In a review of C. Wright Mills' The Sociological Imagination, William L. Kolb, too, expresses an interest in our collective profile. Kolb inquires: "Which image of man, which image of human society, which picture of American society is right? Whose sociological imagination shall we trust."²

The notion of image has been in vogue; its image is acceptable among sociologists and creative writers as well as men in the public relations industry.³ Anselm Strauss defines the image as the ideological expression of socio-economic events. He feels that image-making facilitates the adaptation of men in society by serving as a means of criticism and interpretation of a rapidly changing world.⁴ Can the concept of image help us bring together social science findings and other data, and thereby take our bearings?

Here I should like to view Max Shulman's Rally Round the Flag, Boys in the context of changing images of suburbia. As the 1960's opened, Anselm Strauss published a chronicle of conceptions of the community in 20th century America. He notes that in the early decades it was burgeoning urbanism that fascinated and disturbed observers. Lately, however, urbanites and city planners have become concerned about the flight of residents and revenues away from urban centers to the suburbs. And suburbia itself is becoming differentiated.

Today, as aging settlements close to the city limits grow crowded and tend to become absorbed by the metropolis, members of upper and upward-mobile classes often snub the older suburbs. They make invidious comparisons

among satellite communities, downgrading those that are invaded by Negroes or other minority families. Moreover, as suburbs expanded, some even across state lines, someone was bound to distinguish sharply between suburbs and suburbs-beyond-the-suburbs. A. C. Spectorosky responded to the need for a more refined definition by popularizing the term "exurbia" to refer to the second sort of community.

Spurred on by W. H. Whyte Jr.'s critique of those over-socialized suburbanites, the transient junior executives in The Organization Man, community sociologists have been cataloging a variety of suburban lifestyles. Strauss discerns declining differences between suburbs and cities in commenting on Nathan Glazer's fears that gradually suburban lifeways have counterinvaded cities to a point where cosmopolitan values are threatened. Finally, with the rise of the super city, or the urban region, the city-suburb distinction is becoming as extinct as the older city-country polarity.

In the course of this trend, sociologists and novelists have projected various images of modern man, especially as a city dweller and a suburbanite. What is this image like in Shulman's Rally Round the Flag, Boys, and how does it compare with the picture presented in works of popular sociology, like A. C. Spectorosky's The Exurbanites?⁷ One must keep in mind that Spectorosky's book is a satire on some of our Eastern upper middle brows, while Shulman's novel is a satire on the Spectorosky sort of book.

"Witty but unrevealing," is David Riesman's comment on Shulman's book, in an article that appropriately bears the title, "The Suburban Sadness."⁸ Is this a snap judgement resulting from popular professional stereotypes? Barrett Berger feels that a tendency toward stereotyping separates sociologists from genuinely critical intellectuals.⁹

Harold Rosenberg, in "The Orgamerican Phantasy," claims that the current stereotypes, with their lugubrious tone, serve an expressive function. Popular social science satisfies the need to cope with our nightmares about mechanization, in the manner of Orwell's 1984, as did nineteenth century fiction of the Frankenstein's monster type. This "orgprose" has a flat, if not a hopeless tone. Its users seek to maintain their self-respect and their audiences by adherence to a "scientific" style of writing. Rosenberg characterizes the typical claim of these social scientists, that our social behavior must of necessity be against our best interests, as "a more extreme accusation of America" than the radical indictments of the 1930's.¹⁰

In "A Changing American Character?" a critique of The Lonely Crowd, Seymour Lipset cites many nineteenth century writers who visited this country to show that American equalitarianism, status-seeking and oversensitivity to popular opinion are by no means new developments. He suggests that the exaggerations of the Riesman school are the result of an over-evaluation of technology, urbanization and demographic factors, at the expense of traditional cultural values. In the 1930's a materialistic bias accompanied liberal and radical social criticism. In 1949, Riesman and

others launched a conservative assault, with the same bias. Both groups of critics failed to appreciate the continuity of the national character because they lacked sociological and historical perspective.¹¹

The Lonely Crowd writers stress material factors rather than basic social values such as the "Protestant ethic." They suggest that supposedly inexorable grand processes such as bureaucratization, industrialization and urbanization lead necessarily to specific characterological results: i. e., the "organization man." Lipset suggests that an ideology asserting that modern man's fate is self-alienation pervades the writings of Marx, Max Weber, Veblen, C. Wright Mills and now Riesman.¹²

Weber's theory of bureaucratization is one of the key concepts in this tradition. Carl J. Friedrich analyzes Weber's view of bureaucratization, the increase of formal organizational structure and division of labor, as derived from the general pattern of rationalization which characterizes modern society. The "de-mystification of the world" (Entzauberung der Welt) proceeds steadily and unilinearly, much as it did for Auguste Comte in his grander system, "with its universal progress toward an intellectually conceived goal." This teleological bias, Friedrich feels, severely limits the scientific value of Weber's sociology.

Perhaps because of his privileged background, Weber seemed unconsciously identified with managers and governmental chiefs in developing such "ideal-types" as his conception of bureaucracy. Voters and clients have little if any significance in his theory.¹³

Apparently Weber was able to convince himself and others that he operated in the realm of value-free abstractions in using the "ideal-types" of bureaucracy, rationalizations and so on, although these types are more evaluational and prophetic than they are analytic. Owing to this theoretical weakness in his general theory, Weber was unable to predict the eruption of the Nazi terror and propaganda machine, as well as the discovery of bureaucracy's important "other face," the informal work group of contemporary industrial sociology.¹⁴

A recent disciple of Weber's, C. Wright Mills, argues in White Collar that rationalization has so transformed our once independent middle classes that there is no foundation left for liberal democracy.¹⁵ Still more recently, Wendell Bell, in "Social Class, Life Styles and Suburban Residence," maintains that new suburbanites have apparently chosen family togetherness and community participation as important values. He raises the question of whether their behavior is not merely a symptom of a long term trend in industrial societies: the increasing scale of organization and increasing bureaucratization.¹⁶

The main theme of Weber, David Riesman, C. Wright Mills and Wendell Bell reminds us of "The Wasteland." Is modern man a mere miserable cog in an inhuman machine? Can we escape from what appears our predestined fate: the routine functioning of insignificant middle brows in gray flannel suits?

Not long ago, the Brandeis sociologist Maurice R. Stein published Eclipse of Community, an historical essay in American Studies. Its tone and title are characteristic of today's "Wasteland Sociology." Stein thinks we are condemned to colorless conformity. Art itself offers no release. Whereas in primitive communities, the shaman's revelations are tribal property, in modern mass society, the artist, mystic or philosopher seldom breaks through to community experience. He cannot authenticate common symbols. Cut off from ordinary people by their special vocabularies and sensibilities, today's men of imagination can express only private reactions to the world. They lack any assurance that what they have to express will reach beyond a small circle of like-minded critics and colleagues.¹⁷

Riesman did argue in The Lonely Crowd that autonomous men might emerge through critical involvement with the products of the mass communications industry. If so, we might hope for "men and women who are not only free but can endure freedom, who can conform or not--as they choose--and are aware of the choice."¹⁸ But Riesman is less sanguine later in "The Suburban Sadness," and even Rosenberg agrees with Norman Mailer that for intellectuals to look hopefully to the mass communications media is a self-denying pose.¹⁹

Perhaps the earlier Riesman was making and even illustrating a valid point when he advised taking the mass media seriously. Instead of rejecting them out of hand, or anesthetizing ourselves with them, as members of "the mass,"²⁰ we can possibly utilize them to exchange information and ideas, as well as feelings and tastes.²¹

Are people necessarily made into mere pawns in such transactions? Reassuringly, the public opinion researcher, Herbert Hyman, doubts that they are. Rather, people use the media to suit their preconceptions. They choose what they like and avoid what they dislike.²² Andre Malraux suggests that technical advances in media techniques can open up a vast imaginary art museum for the consumer. Daniel Lerner is hopeful about today's "participant societies," in which high levels of education, employment and income can contribute toward individualized opinions. He considers social science itself a positive asset in this process. In The Human Meaning of the Social Sciences, Lerner suggests that films, radio, newspapers, opinion polls and mail order catalogs contribute toward a livable One World. Through increased communication, empathy can be extended and extremism tempered, wherever traditional society is fading and at least some stage of democratic participation has been reached.²³

Ralph Ellison has expressed a favorable opinion of even the comic strips. Asked on a TV panel how he had come to write Invisible Man in the late 1930's, Ellison said that most novels at that time seemed hidebound and schematic. The comics, however, he found faithful to the chaotic nature of modern experience. Exploiting viable if by no means venerable devices, movie and newspaper cartoons came rapidly to grips with human complexity

and quick social change. So we may well credit the directness of our fairly anonymous cartoonists with inspiring some of the swift transitions and surreal contortions of Invisible Man.²⁵

II

In his undergraduate days, Max Shulman was editor of the campus humor magazine and a popular slapstick columnist on The Minnesota Daily. After graduating, he returned to the campus as a sergeant in the Army Air Force to autograph copies of his first comic novel, Barefoot Boy With Cheek.²⁶ The book is a travesty on life at a large Midwestern state university in 1940. A mock Horatio Alger story, Barefoot Boy is in the Babbitt tradition, with assistance from S. J. Perelman, Nathaniel West and the comics.

College and university students everywhere have thoroughly enjoyed this U. S. version of the absurd. Apparently they recognized such campus characters as House Mother Bloor and the revolutionary siren, Yetta Samovar. The protagonist, Asa Hearthrug, is a grotesque tool of satire on precariously exclusive fraternities during the Depression, leftist literary magazines, autocratic student counselors, pompous sociology professors and jejune Marxists. Asa is as lacking in initiative and secure selfhood as the "typical freshman" who is initiated into the mysteries of college life in the Fall Variety Show. Since he never learns or changes, the humor in Barefoot Boy adds up to something at least partially sick.²⁷

By the autumn of 1957, the country had experienced World War II, the Marshall Plan, Senator McCarthy, the Korean conflict and the Cold War. The rise of Red China and the Soviet crushing of the Hungarian independence movement were already history. The Cold War continued, and from all sides Uncle Sam was assailed for apathetic conformism, hysteria, naive idealism and moral decadence. It was at this historic moment that the Soviets orbited their initial Sputnik and Max Shulman published Rally Round the Flag, Boys.

Since Barefoot Boy With Cheek, Shulman had written two other slapstick novels. His caricature of the G. I. on leave during World War II, The Feather Merchants,²⁸ was followed by a satire on the efforts of a returning service man to adjust to "the world of tomorrow" in The Zebra Derby.²⁹ Thus by the time Rally Round the Flag, Boys appeared, Shulman was a practicing satirist of American life and paterfamilias as well. Incidentally, the list of names to which the book is dedicated all but duplicates the names of the main family characters in the story, the Bannermans.

By now Shulman was no longer a Middle Westerner, having moved on to Broadway. More than likely he was living in a notoriously exurban New England community. Yet he had not abandoned "corny" humor. Thus Rally's hero Harry's tongue "flaps like a pennant" when he is caught in a compromising situation in a New York hotel.

But evident, too, in Rally Round the Flag, Boys, is a new development. Shulman's writing now has much more plot and character change; more

realism, and a moral, if not a religious center. No doubt his postwar experiences in the theater and television have been shaping his craftsmanship. As if to emphasize such artistic and human growth, Shulman now takes it as his theme. In his choice of a title, he is more of a symbolist than he has been in his other books.

III

Novelists have long been recognized as hypothetically experimental observers of society.³⁰ Novelists like John P. Marquand³¹ and Randall Jarrell³² have had great fun at the expense of their supposedly more rigorously sociological colleagues. Shulman too, in Barefoot Boy With Cheek, makes fun of Asa Hearthrug's sociology professor at the University of Minnesota for requiring large introductory classes to buy his heavy, often revised, textbooks.³³

In Rally Round the Flag, Boys, Shulman is still reserved about some sociologists, not to mention the psychoanalytically inclined. In this "exurban study," he seems to interact with sociology to challenge its flat impersonality with more well-rounded and colloquial usage. Thus his protagonist, Harry Bannerman, a journeyman New Yorker writer, is introduced as follows:

Harry was the typical commuter of Putnam's Landing, Connecticut, which is to say that he was between 35 and 40 in age, married, the father of three children, the owner of a house, a first mortgage, a second mortgage, and a vague feeling of discontent.³⁴

This picture of Harry expresses one of the main attitudes of the novel: an ironic respect for supposedly typical facts. It also poses the narrative problem of the work. Will Harry be able to lose his discontent? Specifically, will he ever recapture a sense of leisurely intimacy with his wife? From Grace's standpoint, the question is whether Harry will moderate his drinking and mature into a community activist.

Doubtless because they seldom study suburbs with such stirring historical associations as the old Yankee town of Putnam's Landing, Connecticut--which are well exploited by the old bourgeois of the novel--popular sociologists of suburbia are pessimistic about character changes in the suburban environment. Can it be that, recently bureaucratized suburbanites themselves, they miss the intransigence of their leaner youth and protest the other fellow's fate too much?

In "The Suburban Sadness," Riesman is fearful of the disappearance of cultural and human diversity, of complexity and zest for work and leisure as distinguishable entities in contemporary life. Although suburbanites are not conformists constrained to harsh, dictatorial norms, they do seem aimless, vaguely uncomfortable and overinvolved in petty local politics.³⁵

Shulman's close if comic analysis of Putnam's Landing into several vertical strata reveals and dramatically resolves a variety of problems confronting the residents. Old Yankees like Isaac Goodpasture want to keep school taxes down. Media employees like Harry yearn for quasi-bohemian domestic felicity, while their wives want vigorous political action for better community facilities, e.g., a new fertilizer plant for converting garbage. Girl teen-agers want their fan letters to popular country music "stors" answered. Male teen-agers in their new (suburban) delinquent phase want girl companions on jalopy rides. Young Army draftees attached to the Putnam's Landing Nike Missile emplacement want dates. Second Lieutenant Guido di Maggio wants to marry his college sweetheart, a rebellious Yankee grade school teacher.

Creative public relations are called for on this new small town frontier, and they are attempted by the optimistic native son returned, Guido di Maggio. In this typical instance, Shulman's readers are spared the grim alternatives of either the bureaucratic or the sad suburban type.

The comic savior of Putnam's Landing is Corporal Opie Dalrymple from Altus, Oklahoma. This folksy troubador was a top-billed "country music" star before he was drafted and sent to Connecticut on missile duty. Through true love for Isaac's daughter, Comfort Goodpasture, and his uncomplicated patriotism, Opie removes the curse of dire disunity from the town. Like Opie, Shulman himself was a free-lancer from the provinces. No staff man on a slick big city mag, transplanted (like Harry Bannerman) from Greenwich Village, Shulman apparently found Sectorsky's Exurbanites a provoking challenge. More journalistic than technical, the Sectorsky analysis nevertheless impressed the sociologist Maurice R. Stein, as well as Anselm Strauss. Stein calls it a significant study of "the setting of the dominant disorder of our time," status-seeking.³⁶

Sectorsky portrays New York communications workers as in desperate search of suburban refuge from "the urban rat races at which they are regularly employed." Reacting against the daily production and manipulation of symbols, these bureaucrats retreat by commuting train to high-budget villas with vistas-- or "early American" addresses, at least. Exurban houses are countrified, so that the supposedly fortunate buyers can compensate for symbol-dominated employment by means of domestic power tools and close contact with nature. Their compulsively gregarious neighbors tend to be fellow-workers from the same industry, however, so they fail to escape from the rat race after all.³⁷

Here too is a statement of the "Waste Land" question, which is satirically treated in Rally Round the Flag, Boys. Sectorsky joins with Riesman, Bell, and Mills in being unable to discover stable satisfactions in exurban life. Because of his own involvement and hostility, Stein thinks, Sectorsky insists that its family-mindedness and community activism are unrewarding. Exurban women are hopelessly frustrated and bored. Their most modest dreams of suburban fulfillment are shattered, and their husbands' hopes of

creative achievement fail. Feelings of self-betrayal, therefore, are held at bay only by alcoholism, cynicism, hyperactivity, adultery or expensive psychotherapy.³⁸

Shulman in Rally Round the Flag, Boys also criticizes the purblind hucksterism of Broadway and Madison Avenue types like David Coleman, an embittered cartoonist, and the childless cafe society couple, Oscar and Angela Hoffa. Their vicious, if not treacherous shallowness, their amateur Freudian morals and the self-centeredness of the "new delinquents" are handled as luxurious threats to home and country in perilous times. Yet Freud has his just due, also, in the satirical portrait of the crusading sex educator Maggie Larkin, a State University graduate teaching in Nathan Hale school. Militarism has its come-uppance in the final marrying off of Captain Hoxie to Angelia Hoffa.

Shulman editorializes through dramatic combat in the community arena-- at town hall meetings and the enactment of a Fourth of July "folk drama" on Ram's Head Beach. In such situations, all contestants have both human strengths and weaknesses. Vignettes involve old-timers and newcomers, civilian-military misunderstanding, and some absurd adultery, with justice meted out to the participants. Tendencies toward cynicism or despair are outweighed by Shulman's humane satire and his commitment to romantic love and family integrity.³⁹

Like Spectorisky, Stein in Eclipse of Community fears that suburban life has been "transformed into a disposable commodity." In suburbia and exurbia, "the realities of biological maturation with its accompanying crises are ignored in favor of competitive achievement."⁴⁰ Having lost control over their changing communities, adults and families are neither disposed nor able to initiate the oncoming generations into society. Job security has greater meaning in these settlements than solemnizing the universal stages of life. Unlike such experiences in primitive societies, social roles and transitions cause anxiety instead of fulfillment.⁴¹ In general, Stein is apparently prone to take Spectorisky and the clinically-oriented Crestwood Heights more seriously than works allowing for a persisting tradition in society, like Gordon's Jews in Suburbia.⁴²

When they are not frankly expressing moods and stating their interests as specialists, such critics seem in the name of sociology to take the phenomena that suit their concepts as "the whole of reality." They seem to be responding to the world as "Bureau," or as completely homogenized suburb. The data of organizational and suburban sociology are too modest to entail such inferences. Thus Vidich and Bensman in Small Town in Mass Society insist on "the illusion of democratic control over. . . affairs in sharp contrast to the actual basis of local politics," without giving sufficient evidence of this dichotomy.⁴³

At a time when Lensky has evidence in The Religious Factor that church membership is at least as important as social class membership in a variety of dimensions,⁴⁴ I think we must not over simplify by saying that

the waning primitive world is vitally irrational and that modern life is very "rational," miserable and sterile. How can such dour exaggeration in the name of social science be avoided? We cannot call for a censorship board of super-scientists, but we might allow that even in modern communities popular writers and artists can function in a number of complex symbolic directions.

If popular and scholarly sociologists of suburbia and *The Organization* can editorialize from the expert's seat, producing name tags and stereotypes, the creative writer can make life more bearable and even enjoyable through his artistic constructs. The subtleties of irony and satire are open to him as well as new sources of romance and viable life styles in the contemporary environment.

In Rally Round the Flag, Boys, Shulman has a number of concrete characters, "typical" only in terms of having come from various segments of a complicated, if small, community. Thus he avoids both literary bleakness and the scientific risk of working with compound, cross-sectional types. Unburdened by even vague claims to statistical representativeness, Shulman's creatures can act, instead of merely summing up. In fact they can interact--that is, act socially, as well as develop, gain insight and adjust and readjust within the plot development.

Considered in terms of the climactic Fourth of July scene, most of the characters in Rally Round the Flag, Boys are not so fixed, vacuous or desperate as casual reading of much popular sociology of suburbia would suggest. Many of them, in fact, can laugh, be patriots and enjoy, as well as suffer through courtship and childbirth. They can participate in our integrative youth-and-country subculture and experience true love.

Actually, the comical Fourth of July "folk drama" ties together more elements of the story and of American life than Shulman may care to acknowledge. As a divided, sterile town made whole again by a knight errant's visit from a far country, Putnam's Landing is the setting for a kind of American Grail legend.⁴⁵ Given Shulman's heterogeneous modern audience, the upshot is more a matter of democratic cooperation and community health than competitive denominational success.

It would be too much to claim that the Shulman of Rally Round the Flag, Boys is officially and explicitly the bard who "breaks through to community experience" and "validates community symbols," whose passing is mourned by M. R. Stein. Probably he did not intend to help our social criticism become more comparative, historical and reformist than it was in 1950. No doubt he would deny that he had planned to teach his readers possible techniques, pitfalls and delights of certain social roles and role-transitions in modern suburbia. Whether, as his title suggests, he wanted to dramatize potentials of contemporary life which seem neglected by much current sociologizing, by invoking enduring symbols of the Civil and Revolutionary Wars, is somewhat problematic. So is the matter of any personal matters he may have been thinking about as he wrote this little novel. Rally Round the Flag, Boys, at

any rate, is both contemporary and in sympathy with recent critical reactions to the "conformity sociology" of 1950. Like them it promotes a more refined understanding of suburbia and other varieties of contemporary community.⁴⁶

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Footnotes:

¹ Ralph Ellison, "Society, Morality and the Novel," in Granville Hicks, ed., The Living Novel (New York, 1957), 69.

² William L. Kolb, "Values, Politics and Sociology," American Sociological Review, XXV (December, 1960), 969.

³ See John Maas, "Communication," American Quarterly, XII (Winter, 1961), 554, 555.

⁴ Anselm Strauss, "The Changing Imagery of City and Suburb," Sociological Quarterly, I (January, 1960).

⁵ Max Shulman, Rally Round the Flag, Boys (New York, 1958).

⁶ Strauss, "Changing Imagery," 16-21. Cf. Beverly Duncan, George Sabagh and Maurice Van Arsdol, Jr., "Patterns of City Growth," American Journal of Sociology (January, 1962).

⁷ A. C. Spector, The Exurbanites (New York, 1958).

⁸ David Riesman, "The Suburban Sadness," in William Dobriner, ed., The Suburban Community (New York, 1958), 402.

⁹ Barrett M. Berger, "Sociologists and the Intellectuals: An Analysis," in Seymour M. Lipset and Niel J. Smelser, eds., Sociology: The Progress of a Decade (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1961), 37.

¹⁰ Harold Rosenberg, "The Orgamerican Phantasy," in his The Tradition of the New (New York, 1959), 273.

¹¹ Seymour M. Lipset, "A Changing American Character?" in Culture and Social Character, ed. by S. M. Lipset and Leo Lowenthal (New York, 1961), 147, 161, 162.

¹² Ibid., 136, 137.

¹³ Carl J. Friedrich, "Some Observations on Weber's Analysis of Bureaucracy," in R. K. Merton, A.P. Gray, B. and S. Hockey and C. Hanan eds., Reader in Bureaucracy (Glencoe, Ill., 1959), 27, 32.

¹⁴ See Frederic S. Burin, "Bureaucracy and National Socialism: A Reconsideration of Weberian Theory," in R. K. Merton et al, Reader in Bureaucracy, 33. See also Peter M. Blau, Bureaucracy in Modern Society (New York, 1956).

¹⁵ C. Wright Mills, White Collar (New York, 1953), 58, 59. Cf. William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society (Glencoe, Ill., 1959), 232.

¹⁶ Wendell Bell, "Social Class, Life Styles and Suburban Residence," in Dobriner, 241, 242.

¹⁷ Maurice R. Stein, The Eclipse of Community (Princeton, 1960), 246, 247.

¹⁸ Eric Larrabee, "Riesman and His Readers," Harpers Magazine (June, 1961), 62.

¹⁹ Riesman and N. Glazer in Lipset and Lowenthal, Culture and Social Character, 453: "We emphasized...how the mass media operated in the socialization of young people by providing an agenda to the peer group as well as ephemeral materials for it to 'consume.' And we saw controllers of media...vulnerable to group pressure. . . . Thus we saw the mass media not as distracting Americans from their political tasks, but as an invitation to politics...." Cf. Riesman in Dobriner, Suburban Community, 378: "At the same time, leisure has not picked up the slack (as in earlier writing I was too sanguine that it might.)" See also Rosenberg, "Orgamerican Phantasy," 279.

²⁰ Compare Ernest Van Den Haag, "A Dissent From Consensual Society," Daedalus (Spring, 1960), 320-324 with Kornhauser, Politics of Mass Society, 103: "Critics of mass culture argue that mass standards are uniform. . . and at the same time fluid. . . Cultural differentiation requires social differentiation."

²¹ See Donald Horton, "The Dialogue of Courtship in Popular Songs," American Journal of Sociology, LXII (May, 1957), 577.

²² Herbert Hyman, Talk at the University of Texas, Columbia University Forum, IV (Summer, 1961), 54.

²³ Daniel Lerner, "Social Science--Whence and Whither?" in his Human Meaning of the Social Sciences (New York, 1959), 28-39.

²⁴ Ralph Ellison, Invisible Man (New York, 1953).

²⁵ Ralph Ellison in "The People and Art: How Far Apart?" WMT Television, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, April 30, 1961.

²⁶ Max Shulman, Barefoot Boy With Cheek (New York, 1943).

²⁷ See Benjamin De Mott, "The New Irony: Sickniks and Others," American Scholar (Winter, 1961-62).

²⁸ Max Shulman, The Feather Merchants (New York, 1944).

²⁹ Max Shulman, The Zebra Derby (New York, 1944, 1946).

³⁰ See Lionel Trilling, "Introduction" to Henry James, The Princess Casamassima (New York, 1948), xiv, xv.

³¹ See "The Novelist and Social Class," in W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker and Kenneth Eels, Social Class in America (New York, 1960), 241, 242.

³² Randall Jarrell, Pictures From an Institution (New York, 1960), 48, 49.

³³ Shulman, Barefoot Boy with Cheek, 37.

³⁴ Shulman, Rally Round the Flag, Boys, 23.

³⁵ Riesman, "The Suburban Sadness," in Dobriner, Suburban Community, 375-379, 383, 384. Cf. Robert C. Wood, Suburbia (Boston, 1958).

³⁶ Stein, Eclipse of Community, 199.

³⁷ Ibid., 200, 201.

38 Ibid., 201-204.

39 Shulman, Rally Round the Flag, Boys, 76, 207-211.

40 Stein, 247.

41 Cf. Margaret Mead, New Lives for Old (New York, 1956).

42 Albert I. Gordon, Jews in Suburbia (Boston, 1959). Cf. John R. Seely, Alexander Sim and E. W. Loosley, Crestwood Heights (New York, 1956).

43 Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society (Garden City, 1961), 291, 292.

44 Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (Garden City, 1961), 292, 293.

45 See Lewis Spence, The Outlines of Mythology (Greenwich, Conn., 1961), 23. Spence defines ritual as "an act by which man seeks to imitate a ceremony performed by a god or gods in the past for some reason advantageous to humanity." Myth is the description or story of such rites, "which accompanies the dramatic representation of ritual." For an earlier version than Shulman's of such a myth, see Charles R. Browne, "The Surrender of Cornwallis," Artemus Ward, His Book (New York, 1862), 253. This idea is developed in my article, "Myth in Shulman's Rally Round the Flag, Boys."

See Everett C. Hughes, "Ethnocentric Sociology," Social Forces (October, 1961), 3. Cf. Ralph H. Turner, "Role-taking: Process Versus Conformity," in Arnold M. Rose, ed., Human Behavior and Social Process (Boston, 1962), 37, 38. See also William M. Dobriner, Class in Suburbia (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1963).