

FRONTIERS, AMERICANIZATION, AND ROMANTIC PLURALISM

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Nearly seventy years ago, at the end of his paper on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Frederick Jackson Turner concluded that "the frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history."¹ To Turner's implication that other periods in American history were to follow, it is my intention to add that later times have given new social science perspectives that can be valuable in understanding contemporary American society. In this essay I would like to make several methodological, theoretical and substantive examinations that arise from a sociologist's reflections on the Turner thesis.

A large segment of present-day American sociology has taken its cues for the study and explanation of social phenomena from the German sociologist and economic historian, Max Weber.² While it is both impossible and unnecessary here to go into Weber's contributions to our knowledge of, among other fields, European history, Oriental and Western religions, and law, I do wish to concentrate briefly on his methodology for the study of the origins of social institutions, the explanation of social change, and the generic features that run through seemingly disparate social phenomena. Relative to these, Weber's ideal-type method is important.

An ideal-type is a generalized, abstract concept which is ideal, not in the sense that it is good and to be striven for, but in the sense that it is an idea.³ It is a mental construct which cannot be found in reality but which is based upon reality. Good examples already used and well accepted in history and economics are "feudalism" or "economic man." An ideal-type is an abstraction from reality and can be used as a measuring device for the viewing of reality. But it is not a statistical average. Often, ideal-types are set as polar opposites of one another, --for example, Weber's "bureaucratic" vs. "charismatic"--but this does not inevitably have to be, as I shall show later in my use of the frontier as an ideal-type construct.⁴

The construction of a particular ideal-type is an act of imaginatively bringing together into a logically precise conception all the elements in a series of empirical situations.

Weber felt that social scientists had the choice of using logically controlled and unambiguous conceptions, which are thus more removed from historical

reality, or of using less precise concepts, which are more closely geared to the empirical world.⁵

Through ideal-type concepts it is possible to make more than local comparisons and to see the similarity between what happens on the line of farthest population advance and in the meeting of racial and ethnic groups in urban environments.

Several further but mutually interrelated statements can be made about the nature of ideal-types. An ideal-type is not an hypothesis to be proved or disproved. Many of the questions raised by ideal-types, as James C. Malin has pointed out in his critique of Turner's work, are the kind "about which one person can say 'It's true' and another 'It's false,' neither being able to produce proof."⁶ The ideal-type is an analytical tool which, by virtue of its existence, sensitizes the social scientist to the variables and other features which make up the social phenomenon under examination. Should the ideal-type fail to do this, it has no place in an empirical science. Should it come to be a description of a concrete instance, it then loses its value for comparative purposes. Although ideal-types are not reality, they are the timber which the social scientist uses to build the boxes that he puts reality into.

Taking my lead from this method of Max Weber, let me make an effort to develop an abbreviated ideal-typical statement of some of the elements in the concept "frontier." For this, I shall draw on Frederick Jackson Turner, other historians, and social scientists. My intention is to lay a basis for a discussion of historic development in America, to place within this context some of my own research on the Swedish-immigrant community of Lindsborg, Kansas, to take some tentative steps toward a comparative theory of social change in many American communities, and to make a few observations about contemporary American social life and values. In no case is what I am about to say to be taken as a single-cause statement. It is but an effort to abstract one set of developments from a number of extremely complex causes and effects.

As I have read the essays of Turner and those of his students, defenders, and critics, I, for one, have been impressed by the fact that all are as one in their inability to determine whether they are dealing with a thesis, a generalized theory, an hypothesis, or with statements of historical fact.⁷ You will recall that I have already indicated that an ideal-type involves all of these and more.

A frontier is a social system containing, as do all social systems, persons who hold certain statuses and who, by virtue of these statuses, play certain roles. A system, by dictionary definition, is "an aggregation of objects united by some form of regular interaction, . . . so combined . . . as to form an integral whole . . ." The outstanding characteristics of a frontier, however, is the very fact that interaction is less regular--less well-organized--

than it is in most social systems. As a social system, the frontier's dominant social characteristic is process--that is: role, action, behavior, change--as contrasted to structure, which emphasizes status, position, and social class.⁸

On an elementary level--that of pure social interaction--the situation of great fluidity on a frontier forces constant mutual modification of social behavior. The work or physical labor necessary to provide subsistence--to bring order--from unorganized conditions is a further stimulant toward reduction of interpersonal relations to a common level. These are sociological sources of the equalitarian ethic characteristic of frontiers. Turner is apropos: there exists a continuous "return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line,"⁹ a "line of most rapid and effective Americanization."¹⁰

In Lindsborg, equalitarianism can be seen also as a reaction to inequalities that existed in Sweden at the time of emigration. The Swedish rural population from which the immigrants came had, in the then recent past, experienced considerable loss of social status. The Swedish enclosure movement, completed by 1827, had abolished communal village organization and the open-field system while turning over to private individuals the village commons and wastelands. Between 1750 and 1860, farm tenants and agricultural laborers increased five fold.¹¹ The pietistic movement which fostered the Lindsborg settlement developed as a direct challenge to the onerous distinctions of superiority and inferiority in the state church. Benson and Hedin, certainly not unsympathetic observers of Americans of Swedish background, have also noticed the spirit of equalitarianism that exists among them.¹²

The constant flux found on a frontier is a consequence of relative instability of social organization and, therefore, of the individual's inability to define his social position without ambiguity. Confronted with no ready made social and cultural definitions of the situation, the individual is presented with no established solutions for routine problems. He is forced both to generalize from old solutions for old problems and to innovate out of his own talents and abilities. "Institutions," as Turner said, "...adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people."¹³

In no area are institutional adaptation and equalitarian tendencies of frontier Lindsborg better illustrated than in that of religion. Although the community was conceived by its founders to be a utopia of a pure congregation of Evangelical Lutheran believers, within four years of its founding it was torn by dissention over doctrine, leadership, and faith. In the new environment the social cohesion created by a common opposition to a state church soon melted away. Individual Bible reading and interpretation and personal religious conversion asserted themselves.

The sociologist Robert E. Park has noted that the "peculiar character and significance [of the frontier] is that...people...accommodate themselves

to the [new] conditions of life. . . , and as a result new peoples and new cultures arise." A frontier is "a zone of transition where. . . [people] intermingle."¹⁴ Assimilation does not inevitably happen, but it may happen, provided diverse groups accept each other socially.¹⁵ In America, however, the dominant, long-range social process has been assimilation,--Americanization, as we have come to call it--a value-forming process which has itself become a value.¹⁶

In 1888, in an address entitled "The Swedes in America,"¹⁷ the Reverend Carl A. Swensson, leader of the Lindsborg community, combined praise for both America and Sweden and set about to convince his listeners, both Swedes and Americans, that the interests of each coincide with those of the other. Of America he said:

...As Mont Blanc towers above the surrounding Alps, so does our nation surpass all the nations of the world. There is not a people to-day so powerful, so prosperous, with so grand a future, as the American people; there never was, and there never will be. We stand alone in history, and we enjoy the company!

Swensson, with his eternal optimism, was able to characterize America as a country of immigrants with a magnificence that not only anticipates but, in some respects, excels Zangwill's metaphor of the United States as a melting-pot nation.

I might say that America is the world. It would not be much of a mistake. We are surely the meeting-place of all nations, of all languages, and of the customs and characteristics of every people. The United States is the great refinery of the human race. In making one people out of the many nations represented among us, we, of necessity, bring out all their good points, and throw away the vices, and mistakes, and prejudices of a thousand years in less time than it was ever done before. It is a splendid refinery, and the product of it is a perfect citizenship, the heirloom of every American, native or naturalized.

It is little wonder that the diverse immigrant societies, lacking a common past, looked to a common future.

I believe that I have said enough to indicate that, barring intervention of other factors, the direction of the dominant social process on frontiers wherever they are found is toward an interpenetration and fusion by which persons and groups come to share a common cultural life.¹⁸ That this process, once established in American society, would become a tradition and be further accentuated through the mass media of communication--at first

the radio and the movies and later television--is a fact that Turner could not have predicted in his view of the importance of sections.

In his essay entitled "Kansas," in which we see the beginnings of the type of ironic analysis brought to fruition in The Heavenly City of the 18th Century Philosophers among other works, Carl L. Becker detects "a certain uniformity,"¹⁹ "an individualism of conformity,"²⁰ and notes that Kansans, having conquered nature, . . . cheerfully confront the task of transforming human nature. . . .²¹ The belief in equality is not so much the belief that all men are equal as the conviction that it is the business of society to establish conditions that will make them so.²² . . . Whether in respect to politics or economics, education or morals, the consensus is very nearly perfect: it is an opinion that unites in the deification of the average, that centers in the dogmatism of the general level.²³

Thus, while there is a certain logical contradiction in liberty and equality, American frontiersmen found--and Americans today are apt to find--no empirical contradiction in their daily lives between the two social conditions. Tocqueville speaks of the tyranny and the omnipotence of the majority. In Lindsborg, one informant complains that "around here everybody is an expert."

That an equalitarian ethic can, however, be coupled effectively with liberty and individualism is well-illustrated by the life of Alvin Johnson which, in his autobiography, he chose to view as a Pioneer's Progress.²⁴ Born of Danish immigrant parents on the Nebraska frontier, Johnson was not unaware of aspects of a European heritage which were re-enforced by Americanization. The autobiography, incidentally, is eloquent testimony to the reason why an indigenous American conservatism based on an individualistic-inequalitarian ethic has had so much difficulty a-borning.

It must, of course, be recognized that the frontier leveling processes which in America were influential in creating values and the consensus necessary for nation-building cannot take place instantaneously. The elapsed time may be that required for several generations to succeed one another. Marcus Hansen²⁵ took up the question of Americanization of immigrants from a slightly different but not contradictory perspective to the one we have thus far suggested. His interest was in the differences among first-, second-, and third-generation immigrants. He rightly sees the diminution under the press of New World conditions of European influences as stabilizing factors in the personal lives of new arrivals. "The soil was not fertile"²⁶ for the seeds of European refinement to take root and to develop permanency. Patterns of European thought and behavior did nevertheless have a certain stabilizing influence in the lives of the adult immigrant. What else did he know? How else was he to act in spite of the pressures of the new social, cultural, and physical environments?

It was the second generation that suffered from the strange dualism into which they had been born, . . . whereas in the school-room they were too foreign, at home they were too American. . . . How to inhabit two worlds at the same time was the problem of the second generation.²⁷

The concept of the marginal man has long existed in the sociological literature.²⁸ Anna Olsson, the daughter of the leader of the migration to Lindsborg, expressed something of the conflict in the second-generation when she wrote:

But Papa and Mamma won't let me go to English School. 'Cause I will learn bad things if I go there. And Papa he always says, "If you wait till you are a little older, you can go to Swede School."

I don't want to wait! I want to go to School now--right away! And I want to go to English School! 'Cause English School in Town is much more fun than Swede School in Old Man Skoglund's house.²⁹

The ambivalence of the second-generation toward the Swedish language and the older generation is well-expressed by a young Lindsborgian in a 1910 letter to his sister. One paragraph reads:

I also notice that they will inflict Swedish on you in the high school. Not that it is not cultural study but I can't see any use for it. That is one thing where father and I can't agree. Never will. However, I advise you to take it and to do some work at it as it is a great satisfaction to know the language. I look for the time to come when I can make capital of my knowledge of Swedish.³⁰

The third-generation, however, is American-born. The grandchildren of immigrants have no foreign accents. They and their children are typical citizens: landowners, mechanics, professionals, merchants. They may even become nativists in their views of newer immigrants. In a word, they have achieved equality, an equality born of the liberty to remake themselves. They have everything that their grandparents and great-grandparents came for, but the price they have paid is the lack of a feeling of belonging, a lack of social psychological roots. There develops what Hansen chose to call third-generation interest, a principle which makes it possible for the present to say something about the future.³¹ It is "an impulse . . . which forces . . . many different people . . . to interest themselves in the one factor which they have in common: heritage."³²

In Lindsborg, the hostility that the original immigrants had toward the land that they left has gradually, with the passing of the older generations,

changed to a sympathy which is an important value in the community today. As the memories of the heartaches of the poverty and inequality of peasant life in Sweden became less distinct to those in the New World and as the immigrants and their descendants became more established in the new land, Sweden and things Swedish came to be looked upon in a new light.

The son of an immigrant said to me:

I asked my father if he had any desire to visit the old country--I used to ask him that. "Dad," I'd say, "why don't you go back to Sweden?" and he'd say, "Well, what would I do there? Sweden has never done anything for me." He never cared to go back. But feelings about Sweden skipped me. Now my daughter, she was just crazy to travel and as a matter of fact, she's been to the old homestead where father came from. She's got second cousins that run the place--grandchildren of my father's brother.

Let me remind you for a moment of the contemporary American society in which all of us of the third-generation and beyond find ourselves. The picture drawn by contemporary social scientists of the lonely crowd, composed of alienated individuals, is too well-known to bear detailed repetition here.³³ The leveling forces unleashed by the frontier processes already described have been abetted and furthered by the national and world-wide growth of industry and bureaucracy, themselves often found as integral aspects of the larger process of urbanization.³⁴ "The city has...historically been the melting-pot of races, peoples, and cultures, and a most favorable breeding-ground of new biological and cultural hybrids."³⁵

"...The outstanding characteristic of contemporary thought," says Robert A. Nisbet, "on man and society is the preoccupation with personal alienation and cultural disintegration."³⁶ "It is impossible to overlook, in modern lexicons, the importance of such words as disorganization, disintegration, decline, insecurity, breakdown, instability, and the like."³⁷ With the possible exception of decline, these words could well be applied to the ferment of the frontier.

In a word, America has become a mass society. As such it is subject to the same pressures as other modern mass societies while at the same time it is subject to its own traditions and its own variations in what seem to be nearly universal directions of social change.

Where do Americans look in their quest for security--for personal identification--in the society in which they find themselves? Social class in a nation which is equalitarian in its orientation and which emphasizes change over stability does not create distinctive communities with distinctive styles of life for large numbers of persons. Lewis Hacker has, of course, complained bitterly that Turner took the edge off the class struggle

by emphasizing sections and de-emphasizing class consciousness.³⁸ On the other hand, Malin in effect has shown that if Turner had not existed someone would have had to invent him.³⁹

The paradox in which the Americanized descendants of immigrants can find themselves when they seek to alleviate alienation is illustrated by Will Herberg who dedicated his Protestant-Catholic-Jew⁴⁰ "to the third generation upon whose 'return' so much of the future of religion in America depends." Herberg holds that "the three religious communities... constitute the three faces of American religion," a religion finding its unity in nothing less than its collective reliance on the interactive processes--a sort of methodological theology--found in dialogue tinged with existentialism. The establishment of the social process per se as a religious value can only be viewed as the last step in making it basic to the American sociocultural system.

Contemporary American society provides Americans who have an interest in their heritage with many things other than religion as means for identification with their forbears' cultures. Two of these possibilities are suggested by Hansen's plea that immigrant histories be written by objective scholars rather than by those interested only in self-laudation. He says:

Men of insight who understand that it is the ultimate fate of any national group to be amalgamated into the composite American race will be reconciled to the thought that their historical activities will in time be merged with the activities of other [historical] societies of the same nature and finally with the main line of American historiography itself.⁴¹

I would like to take some tentative steps toward exploring a sociological concept which may enable us to look at the remnants of ethnic communities in contemporary America, to detect their direction of future development, to make comparative statements about them, and to analyze their relation to the greater national scene upon which they are found.⁴² In doing this, I intend to look not at the objective scholarship for which Hansen hoped, but at one of the less tangible, still equally important, tricks that popular history is playing on the past. Let me designate the concept that I have in mind as romantic pluralism.

Genuine cultural pluralism develops from and through toleration, one by the others, of varieties of sociocultural systems which exist peacefully together in the same larger society. Because it fosters diversity of opinion and variety in solutions to problems, it is thought by many to be prerequisite to personal freedom and dynamic civilization.⁴³

Romantic pluralism, on the other hand, is a spurious cultural pluralism, developed after assimilation has run its course. In Lindsborg, something of present and past intolerance for the differences and the hurts of assimilation are illustrated by the case of the local Lutheran pastor who

opposed the introduction of the English language into religious services. Although he was one of the few persons called "doctor" in the community who had actually earned his doctorate, he was looked upon by the intelligentsia as a "busse," a bum.

It is in the area of language that B___ is today most remembered. As English came to be more and more common, he began to use it in his church services and his public appearances. When he spoke in English, his translations from the Swedish were literal and direct so that today the folklore of Lindsborg is filled with "B___ stories," only several of which can be included here:

The church was in the process of soliciting funds for a new floor covering. Announced B___: "If there is anyone here who would like to do something on the carpet, he can come right up front and do it now."

In acknowledgement of flowers at a Sunday service, the pastor announced that they were given by X___ children "in thankfulness for their parent's death."

On another occasion, he announced that he would journey to Salemsborg and Assaria where he would "baptize babies at both ends."

B___ stands as a kind of trickster in the folklore of Lindsborg. Many of the stories have a sexual content and allow, in certain ways, the expression of sexual desires and the ridicule of the elderly, unmarried women of the community. The anecdotes give opportunities to ridicule the clergy and education which, along with sex, are not otherwise so treated in the community. A later generation uses the stories to poke fun at the assimilation process, the accompanying difficulties, and the greenhorn status of the community in general. When contrasted to the romanticism which the third generation and beyond also expresses, these tales suggest something of the ambivalence toward Americanization which later generations feel.

Romantic pluralism has arisen as a reaction to and an outgrowth of modern American society, a society in part developed out of the frontier. It uses as its raw material the stuff of American history and remolds it to many contemporary uses. It is a fiction convenient for establishing one's heritage and identity. Generations removed from the hurts of the real peasant life of Europe of the last century, members of a mass society find in romantic pluralism a Rousseauian peace.

A former resident of Lindsborg wrote to the local newspaper⁴⁴ after his return home from a visit to the community. His use of the German term kaffee klatsch instead of the Swedish kaffe kallas tells a good deal about pluralism and assimilation, as does his insistence that the coffee break is standard in American business.

He wrote, in part:

...[Lindsborg is] a place of nostalgic memories of yesteryears long spent. One notes some physical changes within the corporate limits....However, mentally, if not spiritually, Lindsborg seems about as an old grad remembers it from his youth. It is still the quiet, unhurried, self-contained and self-sufficient Scandinavian community it always was. There's still ample time, or should one say, times, of day, for the proverbial "kaffe klatch" [sic]....

The coffee break...has become "standard procedure" in American business and professional life and possibly with some therapeutic value. Emphasis in today's business world is for "efficient speed". Mamon is extracting heavy toll in lives of even youthful executives what with an alarming increase in circulatory diseases of heart and brain. With due respect for Coca-Cola, the "kaffe klatch" [sic] has surpassed it as the "pause that refreshes"!

In an era of tourism, romantic pluralism is helpful, ironically, in providing large numbers of communities with the marginal differentiations they need to compete in the area of America's greatest leveling: the market for mass entertainment, humor, and diversion. "Peasant communities," says the anthropologist Oscar Lewis,⁴⁵ "came into existence only after the rise of cities." Urban centers and peasant communities maintain a symbiotic relation with one another. Robert Redfield has further pointed out that a peasantry is not a self-contained preliterate community but a territorially-based part-society with strong ties to the market. It is in the market that the local traditional world is balanced against the world of the larger society.⁴⁶

Through a type of symbiotic process American urban, money-oriented, alienating, blasé society is developing a series of peasantries, rustic and bucolic, both like and unlike the past and present genuine peasantries the world over. In recent years in Lindsborg there has been an increased pride in things Swedish and an emphasis on ties with the Motherland. While first- and second-generation immigrants looked upon being Swedish as a mark of inferiority, full-fléged Americans consider Swedish customs and habits no longer those of "greenhorns" but of full-fléged Americans. These culture traits--smörgåsbord, the coffee break, and the log-cabin--are "American" and are no longer foreign. It is now possible for one of the younger generation to say, "I have never lived in a time when we didn't think with gratitude and a certain emotional warmth to our ties in Sweden." Later generations have come to romanticize Swedish peasant customs in arts and crafts, foods and holidays while sprinkling them liberally with the salt of St. Patrick's Day, Flag Day, and other non-Swedish holidays.

Swedish customs and manners such as the smörgåsbord, the Christmas lutfisk, lingon, seasonal decorations, and ostkaka have largely centered in the privacy of the home and were in the past brought to the public only intermittently. They have, however, been revived and flavored with native American and uniquely Lindsborgian interpretations in the public, community-wide pageant of the Hyllningsfest.

The Svensk Hyllningsfest, a fall festival, the explicit purpose of which is to honor the Swedish pioneers, was originated immediately prior to World War II. The three-day event features Swedish folk games and dances, parades, Swedish songs, and smörgåsbord, the local college's homecoming with its co-ed queen, and the Fest's own queen, chosen from among women of Swedish descent who have served the community outstandingly for the longest period of time. In 1957, the queen and her two attendants were each over eighty years of age. The local citizens are encouraged to dress in traditional styles of the Swedish peasant, and a few accomplish this with authentic imported costumes, some of which have been known to be Norwegian! Most, however, are improvisations on what are believed to be Swedish peasant themes. An added touch is usually a troop of Indian dancers from a nearby government school.

That inclinations toward Swedishness might go astray are indicated in several ways. A release from the College's public relations office describing the celebration of St. Lucia's day, December 13, used the word tag instead of the Swedish dag. "The Little Swedish House" for several years served as a highway outlet for local arts and crafts. Its presence was made known by a large sign and a flag of Sweden flying from a pole in the front yard. The house itself was painted red, the color of many small houses in Sweden. The shade of red, however, was far from the copper-derived Falu-red of Sweden. The local bakery makes and sells a braided coffee bread known in the singular as kringla. The plural form in Swedish is kringlor. To this already plural form the bakery adds an English "s," advertising "Kringlors --35¢ each." Sweden re-enacted in America is neither the Sweden of 1870 nor that of 1960. That Lindsborg, in the eyes of its citizens and the world alike, is looked upon as being Swedish undoubtedly gives it, however, a unity that it otherwise would not have.

One needs only to remind himself of the Irishmen of all nationalities that a St. Patrick's Day brings out or the movie companies staging the Holland, Michigan, tulip festival to realize that America's is but a romantic pluralism, lacking genuine diversity. The Czechs of Nebraska perform the gymnastics of the Sokol system while Chicago's "Bohemian California" on 25th Street brings the Novaks, the Znamenaceks, and the Dredlas back once a year from Cicero or Berwyn. Mexican festivals abound throughout the land. Television has created a dozen Dodge Cities and peopled them with a not-very-authentic American peasantry--frontiersmen, no less.⁴⁷

What Turner said happened on the frontier--the line of new settlement --what the historians of the immigrants say happened in the cities, and what happened in Lindsborg should be recognized as the same process. The frontier as I am using the term has relevance for the process wherever it occurs.

Perhaps the recognition of this romantic pluralism for what it is is a first step toward its proper use and toward a genuine pluralism built on other foundations. As it stands, romantic pluralism is but a diversion that is part and parcel of the alienation built out of the frontier processes themselves, processes kept reverberating by the shock waves of bureaucratization, urbanization and industrialization. At a time when, with the frontier firmly established at home, it has become official United States policy to export it to native peoples around the world, it may be well to attempt to understand some of the consequences of an equalitarian ethic.⁴⁸

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Footnotes:

¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York, 1920), p. 38.

² See, for example, H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York, 1946).

³ Ibid., pp. 59-61.

⁴ Similarly, David Riesman has used the ideal-types of "tradition-direction," "inner-direction," and "other-direction" to explain transitions that have taken place in American social character. David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven, 1950).

⁵ Gerth and Mills, From Max Weber, p. 59.

⁶ James C. Malin, Essays on Historiography (Lawrence, Kansas: Privately published, 1946), p. 26.

⁷ George Rogers Taylor, ed., The Turner Thesis Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History (Boston, 1949). Merle Curti et al., The Making of an American Community (Stanford, 1959).

One suspects that some of this theoretical and methodological confusion is created by historians' own uncertainty about their own discipline's being scientific or humanistic. I happen to believe that these two approaches are not irreconcilable. The study of social change as process and continuity seems to be an area in which all except the most radical of empiricists and humanists, historians and sociologists alike, can find agreement.

⁸ Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York, 1936), pp. 129-130.

⁹ Turner, The Frontier, p. 2.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 3-4.

¹¹ Eli F. Heckscher, An Economic History of Sweden, trans. Göran Ohlin (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1954), pp. 130-208.

¹² Adolph B. Benson and Naboth Hedin, Americans from Sweden (New York, 1950), p. 426.

¹³ Turner, The Frontier, p. 2.

¹⁴ Robert Ezra Park, Race and Culture (Glencoe, Illinois, 1950), p. 118.

¹⁵ Arnold W. Green, Sociology, 3rd ed. (New York, 1960), p. 68.

Assimilation may be arrested by political boundaries or military stalemate. One suspects that all of these are aspects of the current situation in the Congo. Furthermore, values from other sources may create a tendency toward pluralism, as in French Algeria.

¹⁶ It is interesting to note that the one institution--the public school--which served as a common meeting ground for the children of diverse ethnic parents and which played a major role in Americanizing them and instilling patriotism in them, came eventually under the influence of an educational philosophy--John Dewey's--that emphasized process as both concept and method.

¹⁷ Delivered in the Amphitheater, Chautauqua, New York, August 2, 1888. (Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1889).

¹⁸ Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology (Chicago, 1924), p. 735.

¹⁹ Carl Becker, "Kansas" in Essays in American History Dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner (New York, 1910), pp. 84-111. Reprinted in Edward N. Saveth, ed., Understanding the American Past (Boston, 1954), pp. 384-405. References are to the latter publication of the article, p. 389.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 391.

²¹ Ibid., p. 401.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., p. 403.

²⁴ Alvin Johnson, Pioneer's Progress (New York, 1952).

²⁵ Marcus L. Hansen, "The Problem of the Third-Generation Immigrant" in Augustana Historical Society Publications, 1938. Reprinted as "The Third-Generation American" in Saveth, Understanding, pp. 472-488. References are to the latter publication of the article.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 477.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 475-476.

²⁸ Park, Introduction, pp. 345-392.

²⁹ Anna Olsson, "I'm Scairt" (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Book Concern, 1927), p. 52. Also appeared as Anna Olsson, En Prårieunges Funderingar (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Book Concern, 1917).

³⁰ From my personal files.

³¹ Hansen, "The Problem," p. 478.

³² Ibid., p. 481.

³³ The reader will have noticed that this attempt is to show how the world of other-direction is congruent with developments arising out of characteristics inherent in the frontier. Riesman's reliance on the ideal-types of inner-direction and other-direction tends to emphasize changes that have occurred. The intention here is to explain modern America on the basis of one of the continuities of development rather than by emphasizing the discontinuities. Paraphrasing Marx, one can say that every society contains the seeds for its own future development. The use of polar ideal-types such as folk--urban, inner-direction--other-direction can obscure important generic features found in seemingly disparate phenomena. Riesman, Lonely Crowd.

³⁴ Maurice R. Stein, The Eclipse of Community (Princeton, 1960). See also Wayne Wheeler, ed., Social Change and Mental Health (Parkville, Missouri: Park College Press, 1960).

³⁵ Louis Wirth, Community Life and Social Policy (Chicago, 1956), p. 118. In retrospect, it can be seen that Wirth emphasized too little the forces creating cultural homogeneity in the city.

³⁶ Robert A. Nisbet, The Quest for Community (New York, 1953), p. 3.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 7.

³⁸ Louis M. Hacker, "Secions--or Classes?" Reprinted from The Nation, CXXXVII (July 26, 1933), 108-110, in Taylor, The Turner Thesis, pp. 61-64.

³⁹ Malin, Essays, pp. 1-44.

⁴⁰ Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew (Garden City, N. Y., 1956).

⁴¹ Hansen, "The Problem," p. 486.

⁴² Saveth, Understanding, p. 473, points out that there are "two rather distinct approaches to the history of immigration. The first stresses the contribution of the immigrant group to the over-all pattern; the second centers in the immigrant community, its internal evolution and its external relationships."

⁴³ See, for example, Louis Wirth, "The Problem of Minority Groups" in Ralph Linton, ed., The Science of Man in the World Crisis (New York, 1945), pp. 347-372.

⁴⁴ Lindsborg News-Record, September 6, 1956.

⁴⁵ Oscar Lewis, "Some of My Best Friends Are Peasants," Human Organization, XIX (Winter, 1960-61), 180.

⁴⁶ Robert Redfield, Peasant Society and Culture (Chicago, 1956), pp. 28-29.

⁴⁷ See, for example, Don D. Walker, "Wister, Roosevelt and James: A Note on the Western," American Quarterly, XII (Fall, 1960), pp. 358-366.

⁴⁸ An American student who helped construct a public building in Guinea remarked on a Columbia Broadcasting System television program, March 16, 1961, that it was really not necessary to speak the same language as the people with whom he worked. He believed that when both were under the same heavy rock they had their humanity in common. It is said that the willingness of American students to do physical labor, unlike those from many

other countries, puts them at an advantage in making friendships and fostering social change. The Peace Corps, says its head, is not to be a picnic. The members will work alongside the peasantry whose standard of living they are attempting to improve. The equalitarian work ethic, it would seem, has found its way into American foreign policy.

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