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REFERENCES ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FRONTIER  
IN AMERICAN HISTORY

By

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Bureau of Agricultural Economics

Washington, D. C.





## P R E F A C E

The frontier interpretation as developed in American historiography has been of considerable influence on discussions of present conditions in the United States, and there is need for a convenient key to the scholarly studies relating to the subject. Furthermore, the recent critical reexamination of the tenets and ramifications of the interpretation deserves summarization.

As indicated by the title, this bibliography is devoted primarily to citations of articles and books that constitute specific considerations of the significance of the frontier in American history. In essence, it is a summarization of the more important interpretative writings which preceded or stemmed from Professor Frederick Jackson Turner's famous essay on the subject (see Introduction, p. 1-4; and Citations 109-110). The main manifestations of the frontier interpretation in popular discussion and writing (see Citations 3, 21, 31, 53, 57, 64, 103, 116) and representative articles containing material on analogous conditions in other countries have also been included (see Citations 7-8, 17, 25, 37, 44, 46, 65, 73). However, not all of the so-called precursors of Professor Turner that have come to the compiler's attention have been cited as individual entities (see Citations 2, 16, 19, 39-40, 68, 105-106), and neither does this bibliography include the history of the American frontier as a process.

With a view to utility, the citations are extensively annotated. Quotations from prefaces and texts indicate the point of view of the authors, and quotations from reviews afford evaluations. The chronology, it is believed, will also be of service in showing the development of the interest in the frontier interpretation on the part of scholars.

In order to facilitate the use of this bibliography by persons who have access to the Library of Congress or to the Library of the United States Department of Agriculture, a library call number is given at the end of each citation. Those starting with a letter are for the Library of Congress, while those beginning with a numeral are for the Department of Agriculture Library. It may be pointed out, however, that all the citations are available at the Library of Congress.

The first edition of this bibliography was issued in October 1935.

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## INTRODUCTION

A strong current running through many of the discussions of the vast changes that have been taking place in the United States during the past decade is the historical interpretation epitomized as "the significance of the frontier." As an active intellectual force this explanation of America's development began with the essay entitled "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," presented by the late Professor Frederick Jackson Turner, then a young man of thirty-two, before the American Historical Association at its meeting with the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in July 1893. No informed person will gainsay that this address has probably been the most influential single contribution to American historiography. During the course of forty years Professor Turner and his students and followers have developed facets of its germinal ideas, and at length American history has been for the most part re-written or reinterpreted in the light of its major tenets, and much of the popular writing and thinking on American historical development has come to reflect them.

Although the present social and economic structure of the United States bears little resemblance to that of the 1890's, historians continue to proclaim the validity of Turner's historical interpretation (see Citations 28, 37, 69, 76, 91), or by failure confess inability to supplement it fundamentally or to weaken it by criticism (see Citations 4-7, 37, 42-44, 47, 70, 123). Professor Frederic L. Paxson, a continuator rather than student or disciple of Professor Turner, has said:

"After a generation of general currency, the Turner hypothesis stands today as easily to be accepted as it was when launched. It was modest and reasonable when it gave new meaning to American history. When it is used as its framer framed it, it is as useful a guide as it ever was. The advance of historical scholarship since 1893 has brought to light an abundance of facts that Turner never saw. But speaking by the large these facts either fit comfortably into the matrix he prepared for them, or they carry on the analysis farther than he pushed it. In so few cases do they appear to contradict him that we are entitled to suppose that those who distrusted his soundness were never able to find the facts to warrant their distrust; and we may perhaps account for the weakness of



the straggling attacks upon his hypothesis by the inherent weakness of the case against it." - Citation 76.

To grasp the comprehensive character and complete significance of this historical interpretation one should read all of the writings of Professor Turner, - or at least the two volumes of collected essays on the significance of the frontier and sectionalism (see Citations 110-111). Any attempt to summarize a lifework and a dominating note in a generation of historiography invites charges of oversimplification or misrepresentation. In this instance, however, it is essential to hazard doing so. Most authorities will probably agree that the essence of Professor Turner's interpretation is found in the following sentences from his famous essay:

"Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development. Behind institutions, behind constitutional forms and their modifications, lie the vital forces that call these organs into life and shape them to meet changing conditions. The peculiarity of American institutions is, the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people - to the changes involved in crossing a continent, in winning a wilderness, and in developing at each area of this progress out of the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life.... American development has exhibited not merely advance along a single line, but a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development for that area. American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character." - Citation 109 and 110.

The repercussions of the passing of the frontier as an economic stimulus have been intensified by the greatly increased efficiency in agriculture due to technological and scientific improvements. Secretary Henry A. Wallace, in discussing these accentuating factors, has said: "When we keep in mind the ancient nature of agriculture and compare increases in efficiency in agriculture with that part of city industry which is similarly ancient, we discover that agriculture has increased

much more in efficiency than industry" (Saturday Review of Literature, 11:563, Mar. 23, 1935). Land once a justifiable frontier for economic outlet may not be so today, and already the resettling of rural America in terms of the rational needs of the Nation is beginning to take place.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt has occasionally spoken in this vein. In his radio address of August 24, 1935, he said:

"Today we can no longer escape into virgin territory: We must master our environment. The youth of this generation finds that the old frontier is occupied, but that science and invention and economic evolution have opened up a new frontier - one not based on geography but on the resourcefulness of men and women applied to the old frontier.

"The cruel suffering of the recent depression has taught us unforgettable lessons. We have been compelled by stark necessity to unlearn the too comfortable superstition that the American soil was mystically blessed with every kind of immunity to grave economic maladjustments, and that the American spirit of individualism - all alone and unhelped by the cooperative efforts of government - could withstand and repel every form of economic disarrangement or crisis."

Professor Turner also saw the necessity of adjustment following the end of the westward movement, and especially the problem of maintaining democracy and opportunity after the favorable conditions of pioneering had passed. In his presidential address before the American Historical Association in 1910 he said:

"Two ideals were fundamental in traditional American thought, ideals that developed in the pioneer era. One was that of individual freedom to compete unrestrictedly for the resources of a continent.... The other was the ideal of democracy.... The operation of these ideals took place contemporaneously with the passing into private possession of the free public domain and the natural resources of the United States. But American democracy was based on an abundance of free lands; these were the very conditions that shaped its growth and its fundamental traits. Thus time has revealed that these two ideals of pioneer democracy had elements of mutual hostility and contained the seeds of its dissolution. The present finds itself engaged in the



task of readjusting its old ideals to new conditions and is turning increasingly to government to preserve its traditional democracy." - Citation 110.

With its epoch of colonization completed, the United States is confronted with the task of adjusting itself to a condition of social maturity. Its people are groping for ways of salvaging those elements of the legacy from the pioneer past that it wishes to preserve in a future peculiarly suited to the particular national traits and desires of American democracy.

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## BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABERNETHY, THOMAS PERKINS. Democracy and the Southern frontier.  
Journal of Southern History 4:3-13. February 1938.

Comments:

F206.J68

(1)

This paper was read as the presidential address before the Southern Historical Association at Durham, North Carolina, on Nov. 19, 1937.

The conclusion reads as follows: "In the development of our ideas and habits of popular government, at least three forces have combined to produce the present-day result. The philosophical doctrines of seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe, as expounded by Locke, Rousseau, and others, played a leading rôle during the period of the War for Independence. The frontier was a mighty force during a succession of generations, and, lastly, the Industrial Revolution which so powerfully affected the development of democracy in nineteenth century England has not been without its weight on this side of the water. The Jeffersonian regime developed under the influence of the first of these; the Jacksonian under the second; and the New Deal under the third. It is true that Europe had the leading part in shaping the first and last of these forces, but is there any reason why we should make such disproportionate ado about the second, or frontier, influence just because it was peculiarly American?" - p. 13.

ADAMS, HENRY. History of the United States of America during the first administration of Thomas Jefferson. 9 v., maps.

New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 1889-91. E302.1.A236

(2)

Contents to be noted:

Ch. 6, American ideals, 1:156-184.

Comments:

The chapter specifically referred to includes the following statement: "In the early days of colonization, every new settlement represented an idea and proclaimed a mission. Virginia was founded by a great, liberal movement aiming at the spread of English liberty and empire. The Pilgrims of Plymouth, the Puritans of Boston, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, all avowed a moral purpose, and began by making institutions that consciously reflected a moral idea. No such character belonged to the colonization of 1800. From Lake Erie to Florida, in long, unbroken line, pioneers were at work, cut-

ADAMS, HENRY. Continued.

ting into the forests with the energy of so many beavers, and with no more express moral purpose than the beavers they drove away. The civilization they carried with them was rarely illumined by an idea; they sought room for no new truth, and aimed neither at creating, like the Puritans, a government of saints, nor, like the Quakers, one of love and peace; they left such experiments behind them, and wrestled only with the hardest problems of frontier life. No wonder that foreign observers, and even the educated, well-to-do Americans of the sea-coast, could seldom see anything to admire in the ignorance and brutality of frontiersmen, and should declare that virtue and wisdom no longer guided the United States! What they saw was not encouraging. To a new society, ignorant and semi-barbarous, a mass of demagogues insisted on applying every stimulant that could inflame its worst appetites, while at the same instant taking away every influence that had hitherto helped to restrain its passions. Greed for wealth, lust for power, yearning for the blank void of savage freedom such as Indians and wolves delighted in, - these were the fires that flamed under the caldron of American society, in which, as conservatives believed, the old, well-proven, conservative crust of religion, government, family, and even common respect for age, education, and experience was rapidly melting away, and was indeed already broken into fragments, swept about by the seething mass of scum ever rising in greater quantities to the surface." - p. 177-178.

ADAMS, JAMES TRUSLOW. The epic of America. 433 p. Boston, Little, Brown & Co. 1931. E178.A258 (3)

Contents to be noted:

Ch. 10, The end of the frontier, p. 270-306, and especially p. 303-306.

The pages cited in the index under "Frontier."

Comments:

In reviewing this book, Professor Carl Becker wrote: "Mr. Adams is an intelligent disciple of Frederick Jackson Turner; and the chief merit of his book is in its discriminating emphasis on the influence of the 'frontier' (the existence of free land) in shaping the democratic civilization of the United States.... But Mr. Adams differs from Turner in his estimate of the quality of frontier civilization: whereas Turner for the most part finds in the buoyancy and self-reliance and optimism of the frontier spirit an intimation of a new and better freedom, Adams for the most part finds in the decline of knowledge, the increase of lawlessness, and the concentration on material advantages which were inseparable from frontier life something less glamorous and engaging, something even a little ominous.... And the less amiable traits nourished by the frontier, having outlived the conditions that developed them, have become, as it were, acquired characteristics, have



ADAMS, JAMES TRUSLOW. Continued.

even been intensified by the strain and stress of the industrial and technological transformation of the last fifty years.... For Mr. Adams the frontier is, in great part at least, the explanation for the 'rawness' of American civilization as well as for its strength and promise." - American Historical Review 37: 558-561 (April 1932).

Other writings by Mr. Adams that supplement the above in emphasizing the significance of the frontier in American history include "Our Deep-Rooted Lawlessness," in the New York Times Magazine, Mar. 9, 1930, p. 1-2. Written at the time of the work of the U. S. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (the Wickersham Commission), the general theme of the article is that "Throughout our entire history, from the first settlements in Virginia and New England to the official closing of the frontier in 1890, our attitude toward law has been highly colored by the influence of the wilderness."

See also his article, "'Rugged Individualism' Analyzed," in the New York Times Magazine, Mar. 8, 1934, p. 1-2, 11. It contains the following statement: "The frontiersman and the old-type farmer have largely passed from the American scene, but they remain America's legendary heroes, and they were both, of necessity, self-reliant and resourceful men. On the whole, they were the men above others in the community who asked to be let alone, though they did not want to be let alone altogether, as we shall see. To a far greater extent than city dwellers or business and professional classes they managed their own local political affairs and demanded less from the national government, which in turn could do less for them. Here, in the self-reliance, versatility and independence of - if not actual hostility to - government on the part of the two types which essentially embody the American tradition, we find one of the genuine roots of the 'rugged individualism' theory."

Reviews:

M. R. Cohen, in New Republic 69:274-275 (Jan. 20, 1932).  
H. S. Commager, in New York Herald Tribune Books, Oct. 4, 1931.  
William MacDonald, in Saturday Review of Literature 8:163 (Oct. 3, 1931). U. B. Phillips, in Yale Review 21:402-403 (Winter 1932). Carl Van Doren, in Nation 133:400-401 (Oct. 14, 1931).

ALMACK, JOHN C. The shibboleth of the frontier. Historical Outlook 16:197-202. May 1925. DL6.3.S65 (4)

Comments:

This criticism of the view that the controlling factor in American life and character has been the frontier closes with the following statement: "The conclusion...seems inevitable, that while the frontier has been an important factor in American life, it has not been an important agency of progress. Side by side with elements of strength have been elements of weakness. The advances which have been made in particular instances have

ALMACK, JOHN C. Continued.

been made in spite of not because of environment. The elements of strength have been inherent in the people, not a product of frontier experiences, and most certainly not a product of frontier hardships. Moreover, the basic premise that economic efficiency, physical health, mental ability, moral character, and social democracy eventuate from frontier conditions and what they signify, does not square with the facts nor with sound reasoning. From the practical point of view such a theory is as dangerous as laissez faire." - p. 202.

BEARD, CHARLES A. Culture and agriculture. Saturday Review of Literature 5:272-273. Oct. 20, 1928. Z1219.S25 (5)

Comments:

In this article, Dr. Beard "outlines the 'agrarian thesis' - the belief that 'the existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession and the advance of the American settlement westward, explain American development'; that, in effect, it is to the frontier, to the land and to their people, that the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. He then makes as his chief point that this simple thesis 'is inadequate when applied to American politics and utterly untenable as the clue to American civilization in the large.'

"As a reason for this belief Mr. Beard points out that 'three other powerful economic forces have operated in the course of our affairs' - capitalism, the slave-planting system and industrial labor - 'all with their respective political theories and moral ideologies.' Then he traces carefully though briefly the influences of each of these forces and their contributions to America's development. On the whole, he seems to find that the 'agrarian thesis' has been overemphasized in accounting for past and present, and that the contributions, 'immense and significant,' of the other forces have been overlooked. Mr. Beard very critically calls the roll of the farms' gifts to American culture." - Baltimore Sun, Oct. 24, 1928.

Other articles by Dr. Beard that supplement the above in emphasizing the urban factor in American development are: "The City's Place in Civilization," in the American City 39(5):101-103 (November 1928), and in the Survey 61:213-215 (Nov. 15, 1928); and "The Contest between Rural and Urban Economy," in the Institute of Public Affairs and International Relations, University of Georgia, Addresses Delivered at the Third Annual Session, July 8-19, 1929, Bulletin of the University of Georgia 30(2):70-78 (November 1929).

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The frontier in American history. New Republic 25:349-350. Feb. 16, 1921. AP2.N624 (6)

Comments:

This review of Frederick Jackson Turner's volume of essays, The Frontier in American History (New York, 1920), sets forth



BEARD, CHARLES A. Continued.

the grounds for Dr. Beard's view that Turner "overemphasized... the influence of frontier economy on the growth of the democratic idea, on the formation of national policies and on constitutional interpretation." - New Republic 97:360 (Feb. 1, 1939).

----- "The Frontier in American History." New Republic 97:  
359-362. Feb. 1, 1939.

AP2.N624

(7)

Comments:

This evaluation of the frontier thesis begins with the statement that Turner's essay of 1893 "was destined to have a more profound influence on thought about American history than any other essay or volume ever written on the subject." A concise summary of Turner's life and work is then given, and the conception of American history as presented in the 1893 essay is epitomized in terms of twelve major elements: (1) 'The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward explain American development'; (2) 'American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier'; (3) 'The frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization'; (4) 'The frontier promoted the formation of a composite nationality for the American people'; (5) 'The advance of the frontier decreased our dependence on England'; (6) 'The legislation which most developed the powers of the national government, and played the largest part in its activity, was conditioned on the frontier'; (7) 'Loose construction [of the Constitution] increased as the nation marched westward'; (8) 'It is safe to say that legislation with regard to land, tariff and internal improvements - the American system of the nationalizing Whig Party - was conditioned on frontier ideas and needs'; (9) 'This nationalizing tendency of the West...transformed the democracy of Jefferson into the national republicanism of Monroe and the democracy of Andrew Jackson'; 'the most important effect of the frontier has been in the promotion of democracy here and in Europe.... The frontier is productive of individualism'; (10) 'So long as free land exists, the opportunity for a competency exists, and economic power secures political power'; (11) 'The frontier developed the essentially American traits - coarseness and strength, acuteness, inventiveness, restless energy, the masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends'; (12) The closing of the frontier marked the close of 'the first period of American history.'" - p. 359-360.

In referring to the criticisms of the general Turner thesis, the statement is made that "To summarize the results would require a volume. To appraise them would be a herculean task." With reference to the discussions of "the 'safety valve' theory ascribed to Turner," Dr. Beard's conclusion is:

BEARD, CHARLES A. Continued.

"That the freehold farming system of the West did develop a peculiar type of democracy, did profoundly influence the course of American history...is now settled, beyond question, largely through the labors of Turner and his students."

The remainder of the article is devoted to a discussion of "why Turner's paper of 1893 made such a furor", the problem of "how Turner happened to come upon his conception", the problem, in relation to the development of Turner's thesis, of "the long neglect of the democratic impulses in Eastern idealism, of the labor movement now so fully treated in the works of John R. Commons and his associates, of the great capitalistic forces so powerful from Alexander Hamilton's day onward, and of the planting system in the South - all conditioning and determining influences in American history, along with agrarian freehold economy", and a discussion of the rôle of the individualism of the frontier in American development.

In conclusion, the question is raised: "did the closing of the agricultural frontier really make so much difference as Turner or his disciples imagined?" Dr. Beard is convinced that the freehold frontier "does not 'explain' American development."

BECKER, CARL LOTUS. Frederick Jackson Turner. American Masters of Social Science, edited by Howard W. Odum, p. 273-318.  
New York, Henry Holt & Co. 1927. HM22.U6.04 (8)

Comments:

This brilliant essay depicts Professor Turner as a man, his research methods, his interpretation of American history, and the import of his work. A bibliography of his articles and books is given in a footnote.

The essay is also in Carl Lotus Becker, Everyman His Own Historian; Essays on History and Politics, p. 191-232 (New York, F. S. Crofts & Co., 1935. 325 p.). D7.B39

----- The United States: an experiment in democracy. 333 p.  
New York and London, Harper & Bros. 1920. JK271.B53 (9)

Contents to be noted:

Ch. 6, Democracy and free land, p. 142-185.

Comments:

The viewpoint in this chapter is expressed in the following quotations: "the United States has always had, until very recently, more land than it could use and fewer people than it needed; and this is not only the fundamental economic difference between the United States and European countries, but it is a condition which has more influence than any other in determining the course of American history and in molding that complex force which we call American national character." - p. 143.

"It was the expansion of population into the Mississippi Valley that emancipated the United States from Europe. As the



BECKER, CARL LOTUS. Continued.

center of population moved westward the center of political power moved westward. New England and the Atlantic states lost their predominant influence, and the course of American history and the character of American society were more and more determined by the interests and the ideas of a frontier society. For a hundred years American history has witnessed the repetition, in each generation, of the same process; in each generation a return to frontier conditions in a new area, involving, within this area, the oft-repeated social evolution from the most primitive to the most advanced types of industrial society." - p. 161-162.

Dr. Max Farrand in reviewing the book wrote: "The author would be, and by frequent quotations he practically is, the first to acknowledge his indebtedness to Professor Turner. That fact, with the added statement that the interpretation presented is in accord with the trend of American historical study of the last twenty-five years, should be sufficient to convey to most readers its dominating characteristic. It is the truth regarding American democracy as the author sees it; it is for the most part neither startling nor strikingly original, but it is told with the charm of style and felicity of phrase for which the author has achieved a reputation. Because it is so well done, the book is worth while for the sole purpose of helping to spread and to get accepted these ideas of American development. But it contains something more than that, and for the present reviewer its greatest value lies in the stimulating conclusion for which the rest has served as an explanation or introduction." - Mississippi Valley Historical Review 7:407-409 (March 1921).

The book was published in 1927 in slightly revised form with the title, Our Great Experiment in Democracy; A History of the United States (New York and London, Harper & Bros., 1927).

Reviews:

C. A. Beard, in Nation 111:416-417 (Oct. 13, 1920).  
C. G. Haines, in American Political Science Review 15:616-617 (November 1921). A. C. McLaughlin, in American Historical Review 26:337-338 (January 1921).

BELAUNDE, VICTOR ANDRÉS. The frontier in Hispanic America. Rice Institute of Liberal and Technical Learning, Houston, Texas, Pamphlet 10:202-213. October 1923. LD4711.R35 (10)

Comments:

Using the approach of Professor Turner's famous paper on the significance of the frontier in North American history, this article by a professor of the University of San Marcos at Lima explains why Latin American history did not exhibit similar results - progressive advance of settlement, marked by individualism, solid economic development, and democratic equality. Throughout most parts of Mexico and South America the physical geography encouraged a pioneering



BELAUNDE, VICTOR ANDRÉS. Continued.

advance and sudden individual acquisition of large holdings rather than the gradual, agricultural occupation of large contiguous areas by masses of settlers. Even in the pampas of Argentina and the other lands of the La Plata where physical conditions are more comparable to those of the United States, historic conditions have led to the system of large estates and not to institutions of democracy. The lack of progressively advancing frontiers has joined with factors of race, religion, and governmental system to prevent such a process of assimilation of adjoining areas as has marked the history of Teutonic America.

The author's ideas are summarized in an abstract, "The Frontier in Hispanic-American History," in the American Historical Association, Annual Report (1922) 1:300. 134.9 Am3

BIZZILLI, P. Geopolitical conditions of the evolution of Russian nationality. Journal of Modern History 2:27-36. March 1930. D1.J6 (11)

Comments:

This article is a study of the growth of Russian nationality through geographic expansion with attention to American analogies. In this connection the following quotations are of interest:

"The British empire, the United States, and Russia are creations which, not only from the point of view of their size, but also from that of their structure, have but little in common with the political forms which the world has known hitherto. Now so far as concerns Russia this fact has not, up to the present, sufficiently attracted the attention of historians. The master of Russian historiography, Klyuchevsky, had indeed stated at the beginning of his famous History of Russia that 'the principal fact in the history of Russia is that of colonization' but he was far from developing all the conclusions which the statement of that truth involves. It was not so much the expansion of the Russian people per se which interested the great historian as the influence which it has exercised on the social and political development of the center of Russia." - p. 27.

"The relations which exist between European Russia and Siberia, or rather all of Russia which is called Asiatic, offer fewer analogies with those between England and her colonies overseas than with those between the American states which formed the original union and the West.... The appropriation of the continent, the spontaneous effort to reach a natural limit, that is to say, the shores of the ocean, is the permanent fact which is common to the history of the two peoples, Russian and American: it is a fact scientifically established that the seizure and colonization of the Eurasian continent by the Russian people was due principally to private initiative and that the government only followed the track of the pioneers -

BIZZILLI, P. Continued.

trappers, laborers who fled to Siberia to free themselves from serfdom or, indeed, later on after its abolition, in search of free land." - p. 29-30.

"We are struck afresh by the analogy between Russia and America, especially by the analogous rôle played in the history of the two countries by the zone of the 'moving frontier,' which moves forward toward the ocean. Just as in America the zone of internal colonization has become the foyer of 'Americanism,' so the corresponding zone of the Russian empire serves as a melting-pot which effects the fusion of divers racial elements and their absorption by the Russian element." - p. 34.

BOGART, ERNEST LUDLOW. Pushing back the frontiers. American Economic Review 22:1-9. March 1932. 280.8 Am32 (12)

Comments:

This article is the presidential address delivered at the forty-fourth annual meeting of the American Economic Association at Washington, D. C., on Dec. 29, 1931. The argument has been summarized as follows: "The early colonists settled along the Atlantic seaboard, but after the Revolution they began to push westward across the Appalachian mountains. The physical frontier had disappeared by 1890, but there were soon disclosed new frontiers of industry, finance, and commerce, as well as cultural frontiers. Great progress has been made in the physical sciences and in technology, yet even in these fields there are many unsettled questions which remain as a challenge to man's power. Economic science has achieved great progress, and has made constructive contributions to human welfare, but the unsolved problems of today constitute another frontier. The movement is now upward rather than outward and is raising cultural as well as economic levels." - p. 1.

The following sentences appear in the text: "Whatever may have been true of the physical advance of the population and the appropriation and exploitation of the public domain, it is clear to us today as we look back to the decade of the 1890's that in many respects and in many branches of human achievement the frontier had only been visioned, but not conquered." - p.2.

"Denied further lateral expansion, the pioneering spirit is moving vertically and is raising our material and cultural standards to higher levels." - p. 8.

BOWMAN, ISAIAH. The pioneer fringe. (American Geographical Society, Special publication 13, edited by G. M. Wrigley). 361 p., illus. New York, American Geographical Society. 1931. 500 Am35S no. 13 (13)

Contents to be noted:

Part 1, The Generalities, p. 1-89, consisting of the following chapters:

BOWMAN, ISAIAH. Continued.

- 1, The road to the border, p. 1-10.
- 2, Pioneering: modern style, p. 11-20.
- 3, Does it pay? p. 21-33.
- 4, The invitation of the land, p. 34-47.
- 5, Metes and bounds, p. 48-63.
- 6, Railways as pioneers, p. 64-75.
- 7, Science plays a part, p. 76-89.

Comments:

Part 2 is a description of regional examples of different environments where pioneering peoples are electing "to meet destiny." For a preliminary statement of the methods and objectives of this study of pioneer belts, see Isaiah Bowman's notes first presented before a committee of the National Research Council in April 1925 which appear under the title, "The Scientific Study of Settlement," *Geographical Review* 16:647-653 (October 1926).

See also Dr. Bowman's article, "The Pioneer Fringe," in *Foreign Affairs* 6:49-66, maps (October 1927). This article includes the following statements: "In the greatest pioneering experiment of history, the spread of English-speaking people from the American seaboard westward across the Central Plains, there was for generations a new world of experiment which men faced without fear. In that period men in the course of a few years lived through almost the whole experience of the race in rising century by century to a state of civilization. The key to success was experiment. This would hardly have been a conquerable earth if man had not engaged to conquer it by endless experiment, region by region, thus expanding, enriching, and adapting his life. The pioneer wanted to experiment for two reasons: he was not well versed in precedent and he was always looking for a new way. Nor was experimentation confined to the conquest of the land. A changing environment breeds liberalism if the resources are abundant enough to support close settlement and the development of independent social and political institutions. These things are just as true of the great pioneering areas of the world today as they were in the days of the American pioneer. And in developing a science of settlement no one thing seems more important to the student of politics and society who wishes to understand the place of the pioneer belts in world politics and commerce than the study of the great regions of experiment." - p. 63-64.

See also Dr. Bowman's article, "The Pioneering Process," in *Science* 75:521-528 (May 20, 1932). This article includes the following statements: "The history of pioneering is a history of mankind advancing into new territory by adapting instruments and attitudes and systems. If the pioneer of today expects success he must be responsive to world economic demands, and this requires him to have a definite production technique applied in a specific geographical environment whose possibilities have to be discovered one by one through experimentation." - p. 522.



BOWMAN, ISAIAH. Continued.

"The removal of a line from the map merely because that line has ceased to advance into unsettled country does not mark the end of pioneering. For pioneering is a process of experimentation, not merely an advance, and so long as the experimentation continues so long do pioneering conditions persist." - p. 524.

Reviews:

B., in Historical Outlook 24:228-229 (April 1933). E. E. Edwards, in Agricultural Economics Literature 6:271-272 (May 1932). W. E. Ekblaw, in Economic Geography 9:427 (October 1933). G. M. McBride, in Pacific Historical Review 2:336-338 (September 1933). D. C. T. M., in Scottish Geographical Magazine 48:245-247 (July 15, 1932). L. D. S., in Geographical Journal 80:84-86 (July 1932). G. S. Wehrwein, in Journal of Farm Economics 16:153-155 (January 1934). G. L. Wood, in Economic Record 8:308-311 (December 1932). International Review of Agriculture 23(6):177E-178E (June 1932).

BOYNTON, PERCY HOLMES. The rediscovery of the frontier. 185 p. Chicago, University of Chicago Press. 1931. PS169.F7B6 (14)

Contents to be noted:

- 1, The frontier comes of age, p. 1-26.
- 2, The frontier in literary criticism, p. 27-67.
- 3, The American pioneer in fiction, p. 68-106.
- 4, The immigrant pioneer in fiction, p. 107-140.
- 5, The back-trailers in fact and fiction, p. 141-175.
- 6, Implications, p. 176-185.

Comments:

Believing that the most momentous record of the whole frontier episode is in the pages of the novelists, Professor Boynton has written what is essentially a guide to that extraordinary group of books that testify to the recrudescence of American self-consciousness.

"This...book is a critical survey of recent literature relating to the American frontier. Little attention is paid to the productions of frontiersmen themselves; the emphasis is on books about the frontier, fiction especially." - M. L. Bonham, Jr., in Mississippi Valley Historical Review 19:301 (September 1932).

"Mr. Boynton is misled...in treating such works as the product of the frontier. They are instead the reactions to a settled (and constricted) rural society which has supplanted the frontier; they point clearly to a social situation more limited on the side of material opportunities, but for that very reason far more conducive to intellectual creation." - Matthew Josephson, in New Republic 68:77-78 (Sept. 2, 1931). See also Citation 26.

Reviews:

Constance Rourke, in New York Herald Tribune Books, Nov. 1, 1931, p. 16. R. E. Spiller, in Saturday Review of Literature 8:343 (Dec. 5, 1931). Leon Whipple, in Survey 67:151 (Nov. 1, 1931). Nation 133:340 (Sept. 30, 1931).

BROGAN, D. W. The rise and decline of the American agricultural interest. Economic History Review 5(2):1-23. April 1935.

Comments: 277.8 Ec7 (15)

The starting point of the argument in this article is to some extent expressed in the following quotation: "Turner's reflections on the end of the frontier have served a whole generation of American historians and, to an increasing degree, public men, as a clue to American life as well as to American past history. Forty years later, it has become apparent that the cessation of westward advance in the late eighties of the last century was an even more momentous turn in the tide of American history than could have been suspected then. In the decade between 1920 and 1930, 'for the first time in our history, the area of forest and brush land increased materially in the United States.' Economically, the regression of the cultivated area is not of great importance, but emotionally it is, or should be, very well worth noting; for the war on the forest has been the endless campaign of the settler since the earliest days in Virginia and in New England. Before the early settlers lay thirteen hundred thousand square miles of forest, an obstacle more formidable than the Indians or than the ocean that cut the settlers off from Europe. The woods were the American Alps and the cleared land their Italy.... In the occasional clearings, made by nature or by man in the forest primeval, was the American golden bough - and after three hundred years the assault has fallen back, beaten at last! The news is dramatic enough to be made the text for a discussion of the swift rise and slow decline of the American farmer. The laurel, the pine, and the hemlock have been avenged at last!" - p. 1-2.

BRYCE, JAMES BRYCE, viscount. The American commonwealth. 2 v. New York, Macmillan Co. 1888. JK246.B9 (16)

Contents to be noted:

Ch. 114, The temper of the West, 2:680-690.

Comments:

The chapter cited has been frequently referred to as a close approach, especially in its tone, to Professor Turner's interpretation. The following statements are of interest: "For the West is the most American part of America; that is to say, the part where those features which distinguish America from Europe come out in the strongest relief. What Europe is to Asia, what England is to the rest of Europe, what America is to England, that the Western States and Territories are to the Atlantic States, the heat and pressure and hurry of life always growing as we follow the path of the sun." - p. 681.

A note in the edition of 1910 states that this chapter was "composed in 1887 after two visits to the Far West" and that it "has been left almost as it was then written, because it describes a phase of life which is now swiftly disappearing and may never be again seen elsewhere."

See also the concluding chapter of the study on the "Social and Economic Future" in which the following statement appears:



BRYCE, JAMES BRYCE, viscount. Continued.

"The Far West has hitherto been to Americans of the Atlantic States the land of freedom and adventure and mystery, the land whose forests and prairies, with trappers pursuing the wild creatures, and Indians threading in their canoes the maze of lakes, have touched their imagination and supplied a background of romance to the prosaic conditions which surround their own lives. All this is fast vanishing; and as the world has by slow steps lost all its mystery since the voyage of Columbus, so America will from end to end be to the Americans even as England is to the English. What new background of romance will be discovered? Where will the American imagination of the future seek its materials when it desires to escape from dramas of domestic life? Where will bold spirits find a field in which to relieve their energies when the Western world of adventure is no more? As in our globe so in the North American continent, there will be something to regret when all is known and the waters of civilization have covered the tops of the highest mountains." - p. 715-716. See also Citation 68.

For a delineation of Bryce as a commentator on America, see William E. Lingelbach, "American Democracy and European Interpreters," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 61: 1-25 (January 1937), especially p. 14-19.

BURT, A. L. Our dynamic society. Minnesota History 13:3-23.  
March 1932. F601.M72 (17)

Comments:

This article constitutes the annual address of the eighty-third annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul on Jan. 11, 1932.

In referring to the significance of the frontier, Professor Burt wrote: "Though North America drew its population from Europe, it soon began to develop a society quite unlike that of the Old World. Ours became distinctly dynamic, while that from which it sprang remained static.... The real cause of the divergence was uncovered nearly forty years ago by Frederick Jackson Turner, who thereby revolutionized our interpretation of American history. The change began when the first European population, inhabiting only a narrow strip along the Atlantic seaboard and the lower St. Lawrence, commenced to push inland, and the divergence grew as the human flood rolled westward to fill up this continent. In other words, the transformation was wrought by crossing the land and not the sea." - p. 3.

The article has been summarized as follows: "That America has developed a dynamic society while that of the old world has been relatively static is due to the westward movement. The author analyzes the leavening of the national lump by the frontier; surveys the forces that have brought about a shift in the tide of American life; and reaches the conclusion that American society, as it has lost its old mainspring and become more urban, has turned in its tracks. He doubts that the old

BURT, A. L. Continued.

buoyancy will continue to mark new world society as it hardens down to a more static condition. American democracy is becoming more like that of Europe. Some virtues are being lost in the transition, but there are compensations. America is standing on its own feet; its culture is 'a native growth, and not just a new kind of graft.'" - T. C. Blegen, in Social Science Abstracts 4:20603 (December 1932).

BUTTS, PORTER. Art in Wisconsin: The art experience of the Middle West frontier. Preface by Oskar F. L. Hagen. 213 p., illus. Madison, Madison Art Association. 1936.

Contents to be noted: N6530, W6B8 (18)

Ch. 8, The significance of the frontier, p. 139-156.

Comments:

"The people of the State of Wisconsin and all those interested in the growth of cultural values in the Middle West should welcome this book. It is the first scholarly study of the origin and development of art in our State...." - Preface.

"Wisconsin, and to greater or lesser degree other Middle Western states, received their art works and their artists until the Civil War by import from both the East and Europe; the East furnished the first art works and Europe the first artists and artistic ideals. The West gave back a few native artists - seldom did it keep the best of its own - but more particularly, it gave back frontier qualities of mind and a way of looking at life which deeply affected art performance and art appreciation everywhere in America." - p. 139.

Reviews:

J. D. Dondore, in Mississippi Valley Historical Review 24:565-566 (March 1938). B. L. Heilbron, in Minnesota History 17:455-456 (December 1936).

GATE, WIRT ARMISTEAD. Lamar and the frontier hypothesis. Journal of Southern History 1:497-501. November 1935. F206.J68 (19)

Comments:

"My recently published statement [in Lucius Q. C. Lamar, Secession and Reunion (Chapel Hill, 1935), 465] that '...Lamar advanced (and developed fully) the theory of the influence of the American frontier,' has attracted such wide attention that a more extended treatment of the subject seems desirable. Five years after the delivery...of L. Q. C. Lamar's Calhoun speech [at the dedication of the Calhoun Monument at Charleston on April 25, 1837]...Professor Frederick J. Turner was to publish his brilliant thirty-eight page essay on the subject and, as I shall presently show, was to quote and elaborate Lamar's thesis.... Always, and justly so, the frontier hypothesis will be indissolubly associated with the name of Frederick J. Turner who perpetuated himself in his able disciples and whose brilliant series of essays, beginning in 1893, laid the



CATE, WIRT ARMISTEAD. Continued.

groundwork for perhaps the most important body of historical writings that this country has produced in the last quarter of a century. Nothing can dull the luster of that achievement. It is not amiss, however, to recognize his indebtedness to Lucius Q. C. Lamar." - p. 497, 501.

CHARNWOOD, LORD (GODFREY RATHBONE BENSON). Theodore Roosevelt. 232 p. Boston, Atlantic Monthly Press. 1923. E757.C46 (20)

Contents to be noted:

Ch. 4, Nineteenth-century America, p. 62-79.

Comments:

This chapter is an exposition on the rôle played by the West, by frontier influences and problems, in making America what it was at the end of that century.

Reviews:

L. F. Abbott, in Outlook 135:348-349 (Oct. 31, 1923).  
A. B. Hart, in American Political Science Review 18:178-180 (February 1924). P. L., in New Republic 36:285 (Nov. 7, 1923). L. B. Shippee, in American Historical Review 29:786-787 (July 1924). Times [London] Literary Supplement, Nov. 1, 1923, p. 717.

CHASE, STUART. A new deal. 257 p. New York, Macmillan Co. 1932. 280.12 C38N (21)

Contents to be noted:

Ch. 4, Pioneers and progress, p. 66-83.

Comments:

The arguments in the book for a planned economy are based on the assumption that the frontier has ceased to afford relief from the harsh features of capitalism, old style.

CLARK, DAN ELBERT. The West in American history. 682 p., maps. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 1937. 135 C54 (22)

Contents to be noted:

The frontier defined, p. 80-81.

Significance of the frontier, p. 623-625.

See also "Frontier" in the index.

Reviews:

E. D. Branch, in Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine 20:221-222 (September 1937). Avery Craven, in American Historical Review 43:400-401 (January 1938), and in Social Education 1:448-449 (September 1937). J. C. Malin, in Mississippi Valley Historical Review 24:257-258 (September 1937). E. S. Osgood, in Minnesota History 18:303-305 (September 1937). Bayrd Still, in Pacific Northwest Quarterly 28:413-414 (October 1937). J. L. Waller, in Southwestern Historical Quarterly 41:354-355 (April 1938). Georgia Historical Quarterly 21:307 (September 1937). Iowa Journal of History and Politics 35:232 (July 1937).



CLARKE, F. The mature significance of "new" countries. Hibbert  
Journal 31:189-202. January 1933. BRL.H6 (23)

Comments:

The article includes the following statements: "Especially potent in the larger of the new countries is the influence of the 'Frontier.' The phenomenon is best studied in the United States, where the development has gone farthest and has proceeded on the largest scale. But it can be observed also in South Africa,... Much the same is true of Australia.

"The process and results of expansion have a close resemblance everywhere. Successive waves of pioneers, moving at an accelerating pace, push the frontier back and back and win fresh ground, first from the savage and then from the wilderness.... And, since nearly all of the territory of the Dominion has passed through the borderland stage at some time, the traits tend to become dominant and universal. Tenacious individualism, such as underlies even Australian Socialism; pre-occupation with material pursuits, so mistakenly called 'materialism' in older countries where wealth and ease come by inheritance rather than by effort; and a curiously contradictory attitude toward tradition; these are some of the well-marked features." - p. 194-195.

COMMAGER, HENRY STEELE. Farewell to laissez-faire. Current  
History 38:513-520. August 1933. D501.N5 (24)

Comments:

The following quotation is of special interest: "In the light of America's past, few phases of the Roosevelt administration are more arresting than the deliberate, determined and cheerful abandonment of laissez-faire. That abandonment is written into the imposing series of measures that have emerged from the Congressional welter of the last three months....

"Though the formulation of these measures was the peculiar achievement of the new administration, it is primarily significant that they were embodied into law...at the demand of and with the overwhelming approval of the American people.... What has happened,...with seeming dramatic suddenness, is neither the scuttling of democracy nor the surrender to socialism nor the application of fascism, but merely the repudiation of obsolete shibboleths of individualism and laissez-faire and a full-throated assertion of the right and purpose of democratic society to readjust its legal machinery to the demands of a new order....

"From the beginnings of the Republic, indeed from the time when Americans became politically conscious, men here have thought in terms of individualism, have feared government, have celebrated the virtues of an unregulated and uncontrolled exploitative system. Nature and history combined in America to...make of this country the greatest experimental laboratory for individual enterprise that has existed in the modern world, and to create a state of mind profoundly antipathetic to

COMMAGER, HENRY STEELE. Continued.

governmental interference in or regulation of private pursuits. Laissez-faire, despite its foreign accent, was no importation. It was born of the American wilderness and of the boundless resources of the American Continent and nurtured on American political theory and practice." - p. 513-514.

The article is reprinted in Columbia University, Contemporary Problems of the United States, by Horace Taylor, with the collaboration of Columbia College associates in economics, government and public law, history, and philosophy, 1934-35 ed., 1:51-55 (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1934). 280.8 C72

----- The literature of the pioneer west. Minnesota History  
8:319-328. December 1927. F601.M72 (25)

Comments:

A discussion of the westward movement as "a great physical and spiritual adventure" and the extent to which this is expressed in American literature.

CONFERENCE ON THE HISTORY OF THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST, University of Colorado, 1929. The trans-Mississippi West; papers read at a conference held at the University of Colorado, June 18-June 21, 1929. Edited by James F. Willard and Colin B. Godykoontz. 366 p. Boulder, University of Colorado. 1930. 135 W66 (26)

Contents to be noted:

The conquest of the pioneer, by Percy H. Boynton, p. 163-174.

A discussion of the conquest of the pioneer as recorded in American literature, with particular reference to the immigrant in the Northwest, especially in the novels of O. E. Rølvaag. See also Citation 14.

The American picaresque: a by-product of the frontier, by Lucy L. Hazard, p. 195-217. A discussion of how the frontier brought out the qualities of the braggard, swash-buckler, rogue, gambler, and rake and thus produced the American picaresque. "To find the American picaro we must follow the American pioneer; the frontier is the natural habitat of the adventurer. The qualities fostered by the frontier were the qualities indispensable to the picaro: nomadism, insensibility to danger, shrewdness, nonchalance, gaiety. Among trappers and traders, cowboys and miners, pathfinders of the open spaces, refugees from civilization, we find characters with the picaro element strongly developed." - p. 198. See also Citation 43.

Finance and the frontier, by Frederic L. Paxson, p. 257-266. Professor Lester Burrell Shippee, in a review of this book, commended Professor Paxson's emphasis on the need of "spade work in the field of 'Finance and the Frontier,' the cost of moving the settler to the new frontier and the methods by which he built up 'the local fluid wealth' to the point where 'this indigenuous capital' balanced the 'absentee-owned debt' and made him independent; in other words, the

CONFERENCE ON THE HISTORY OF THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST. Continued.  
point where that frontier ceased to be a frontier." -  
Minnesota History 11:428-430 (December 1930). See also  
Citations 75-80.

Historical geography and the western frontier, by Carl Sauer,  
p. 267-289, especially p. 282-289 on frontier forms and  
economies. "The kind of frontier that develops is deter-  
mined by the kind of group that is found on it. The eternal  
pluralism of history asserts itself on the American frontier;  
there was no single type of frontier, nor was there a  
uniform series of stages. The nature of the cultural  
succession that was initiated in any frontier area was deter-  
mined by the physical character of the country, by the  
civilization that was brought in, and by the moment of his-  
tory that was involved. The frontier has been in fact a  
series of secondary cultural hearths, of differing origin and  
composition, which there began their individual evolution.  
In some cases this evolution has been convergent, but it has  
not been such so much in terms of the compulsion of a physical  
environment, or of an inherent tendency toward similar  
development inherent in cultures, but rather because of the  
will to unity that has come from a growing common political  
consciousness radiating from the older sections of the  
country." - p. 283.

Reviews:

F. M. Green, in North Carolina Historical Review 8:482-485  
(October 1931). J. B. Hodges, in American Historical Review  
36:656-657 (April 1931). J. C. Parish, in Mississippi Valley  
Historical Review 17:649-651 (March 1931).

CRANE, VERNER W., W. P. WEBB, and V. T. HARLOW. The frontier in  
British and American history. London University, Institute of  
Historical Research, Bulletin of the Institute of Historical  
Research 16:112-116. November 1938. DL.L65 (27)

Comments:

The discussion of "The Frontier in British and American  
History" at the fourteenth annual interim meeting of the  
Anglo-American Historical Conference in London on July 2,  
1938 was opened by Verner W. Crane, W. P. Webb, and V. T.  
Harlow. Their remarks are summarized as well as the comments  
of Holden Furber, Moritz Bonn, W. P. Morrell, H. Hale Bellot,  
T. S. Anderson, W. J. Rose, and F. W. Fetter.

CRAVEN, AVERY. To what extent do the theories and studies of  
Frederick Jackson Turner constitute a true interpretation  
of the development of the South? (28)

Comments:

In the course of this address at a luncheon conference of  
the fourth annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association  
at New Orleans on Nov. 3, 1938, Professor Craven "asserted



CRAVIN, AVERY. Continued.

that some historians, in having viewed the South as a strange offshoot from the 'normal' course of historic development in the nation, overlooked the tremendous force of expansion in the Southwest from 1820 to 1860 which 'both in detail and in flavor made it a new West.'

"The stage of frontier development had its best manifestation in the South and passed from there to the Western plains,' he said. 'She even had a mining rush. The plantation system was nothing more than the application of Southern capital and enterprise in agriculture, and no more upset the frontier aspect than did mining in the West.'

"The phase passed with the War Between the States and Reconstruction, he said, when the 'power to change things as the earlier West had done had passed forever.'

"Benjamin B. Kendrick, of the woman's college of the University of North Carolina, discussing the paper, suggested that another strong influence on Southern history has been economic rivalry with the 'imperializing Northeast' and the 'fact that Southern representation in Congress has largely been that of the agencies of Northern interests rather than of Southern people.' " - Times-Picayune (New Orleans), Nov. 4, 1938, p. 1.

CROLY, HERBERT DAVID. The promise of American life. 468 p.  
New York, Macmillan Co. 1909. HN64.089 (29)

Contents to be noted:

Ch. 1, What is the promise of American life?, p. 1-26.

Comments:

The chapter cited includes the following statement: "Undoubtedly the vast areas of cheap and fertile land which have been continuously available for settlement have contributed, not only to the abundance of American prosperity, but also to the formation of American character and institutions; and undoubtedly many of the economic and political evils which are now becoming offensively obtrusive are directly or indirectly derived from the gradual monopolization of certain important economic opportunities." - p. 13.

"This is an eminently notable book. The first, or historical part is conceived and executed with penetration and ability; the second, or constructive, part is more vulnerable." - Nation 90: 209 (Mar. 5, 1910).

Reviews:

H. J. Ford, in American Political Science Review 4:614-616 (November 1910). F. A. Ogg, in Dial 48:277 (Apr. 16, 1910). G. E. Vincent, in American Journal of Sociology 15:836-838 (May 1910). American Academy of Political and Social Science, Annals 35:91 (January 1910). Catholic World 92:100-102 (October 1910). Educational Review 109:433-434 (Apr. 2, 1910). Spectator 104:261-262 (Feb. 12, 1910).

GURTI, MERLE E. The section and the frontier in American history: the methodological concepts of Frederick Jackson Turner. Methods in Social Science, A Case Book, compiled under the direction of the committee on scientific method in the social sciences of the Social Science Research Council, edited by Stuart A. Rice, p. 353-367. Chicago, University of Chicago Press. 1931.

Comments:

280 Sol2 (30)

Although most of the essay is devoted to an explanation of Professor Turner's research methods and his interpretation of sectionalism, the following is included among the comments on the significance of the frontier: "If the frontier made us expansionists in diplomacy and democratic and nationalistic in politics, it no less strikingly, he believed, conditioned national ideals. Out of the frontier process came our peculiar ideal of self-determination, which expressed itself in the philosophy of our Revolution and of the trans-Alleghany state-builders, in the Northwest Ordinance, in squatter's sovereignty, and finally in the ideals of many of those who supported our participation in the World War. 'For what was theory in Europe was history in America.' Here men went out into new regions and made social compacts. They insisted on and won the right to control their own destiny. Out of the frontier experience came habits of neighborly co-operation, the spontaneously formed associations to meet common problems - the husking bee, the raisings, the squatter associations, the vigilance committees. It was frontier experience which gave America the ideal of religious equality and the demand for the freedom and equality of the individual.

"Out of the frontier process came also, it has been maintained, the typical American characteristics of buoyancy, optimism, 'a forceful recklessness in the presence of vast opportunities,' indifference to the lessons of the Old World, a capacity to see things in the large, in terms of future development, and an ability to dream dreams and to work them out in a practical way. A respect for the self-made man, a readiness to live and to let live, to give and to take, to compromise, to make adjustments - these also came from the frontier experience and from interprovincial relations. Thus the origin of American ideals is found in our historical processes." - p. 364-365.

DE VOTO, BERNARD. The west: a plundered province. Harper's Magazine 169:355-364. August 1934. AP2.H32

(31)

Comments:

Of the many essays by Bernard De Voto on the West, this one has been selected for inclusion because it is an analysis of the strangeness, the symbolism, and the significance of the Westerner and his land.

"Implicit in the westward surge, both a product and a condition of it, was the sentiment that has been called, none too accurately, the American dream.... The plain evidence of the frontier movement, from the falls line on, indicated that there



DE VOTO, BERNARD. Continued.

could be no limit but the sky to what the Americans might do.... Every decade of expansion, every new district that was opened, backed up the evidence till such an expectation was absolutely integral with the national progress. There was no limit but the sky: American ingenuity, American will power, American energy could be stopped by nothing whatever... It was a dream that, in the nature of things, had to be wrecked on reality sometime, but in actual fact the West was the first point of impact.... Of the Americans, it was the Westerners who first understood that there are other limits than the sky. To that extent they led the nation. It may be that to the same extent they will have a better adjustment to the days ahead. There at least, and not in the symbolism that has attached to them, is to be looked for the national significance of the West." - p. 363-364.

DONDORÉ, DOROTHY ANNE. The prairie and the making of middle America: four centuries of description. 472 p., illus. Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Torch Press. 1926. F351.D67 (32)

Comments:

This volume is a survey of the Mississippi Valley region in literature from the period of discovery and exploration to the present, - a descriptive bibliography of much of the literature produced in the United States outside of New England. The definite relationship of the frontier and pioneer life to this literature is not made clear.

The following statement of purpose is of interest: "Professor Turner and his followers have demonstrated convincingly to us the significance of the Frontier in American History; its influence on literature has never been determined.

"This task I set myself a number of years ago, soon coming to the conclusion, however, that sound generalization was impossible without a series of detailed studies dealing with different phases of the frontier - the Forest, the Prairies, the Plains, the Mountains, and the Sea. After completing these I hope to be able to carry out my original idea.

"This first book, a unit in itself, outlines the treatment of the Middle West, that rich agricultural region of which the distinctive feature is the Prairie, from the time of its discovery to the present day. The first thing that the study should prove is that, in spite of Emerson's and others' denials, this section has been the subject of numerous and varied interpretations which have reflected all stages of its life. It should further demonstrate the futility of facile generalization concerning the frontier since types from one section were carried over to another and since European romantic traditions shaped many border concepts. The inclusion of historical source materials, ordinarily neglected by the literary historian, will show, I believe, a constant interplay between them and the imaginative treatments, the latter using familiar situations and figures, the former being adorned by some of the most famous creations of the roman-

DONDORE, DOROTHY ANNE. Continued.

cers. The survey has been carried beyond the frontier stage to reveal the continuity of tendencies and the significance for social history of the literary treatments of the prairie, regardless of their aesthetic value, which is in many cases relatively slight.

"Naturally in such a study the problem is not so much one of finding material as of eliminating it; attempt to treat all the work bearing on the Midland would require not one but many volumes. I trust, however, that this first furrow in the Prairie will indicate the chief interpretations and furnish a guide for further investigations. If the book serves to direct attention to much neglected material and to suggest the flavor of the narratives depicting the Mississippi Valley it will have accomplished its purpose." - Foreword.

Reviews:

P. H. Boynton, in *New Republic* 51:232 (July 20, 1937).  
W. B. Cairns, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 14:92-94 (June 1927). Sydney Greenbie, in *Springfield Republican*, July 10, 1927, p. 7f. William MacDonald, in *New York Herald Tribune Books*, July 10, 1927, p. 12. Morris Markey, in *New York Evening Post Literary Review*, Jan. 15, 1927, p. 5. F. L. Paxson, in *American Historical Review* 32:892-894 (July 1927). Mark Van Doren, in *Nation* 124:148 (Feb. 9, 1927). *American Review of Reviews* 75:556 (May 1927). *New York Times*, Feb. 27, 1927, p. 18. *Outlook* 146:91 (May 18, 1927).

EMERSON, GUY. The new frontier; a study of the American liberal spirit, its frontier origin, and its application to modern problems. 314 p. New York, Henry Holt & Co. 1920.

Comments:

E179.E53 (33)

The author's viewpoint is expressed in the following quotation: "In this book...it is claimed that our national spirit has taken its essential liberal flavor from the frontier, from the generations of tireless, self-reliant effort which won this continent for the men and women of our own day and which stamped them with its indelible character. This is the greatest source of self-confidence and power in the American tradition. It is the...spirit of the strong, clean, resourceful average man, with hope in his heart." - Introduction, p. x.

The book is a discussion of a spiritual and not a physical frontier, the main purpose being to show how the spirit of the frontiersman "may invigorate our work and keep fresh our inherent idealism."

Reviews:

Lincoln MacVeagh, in *Dial* 69:303-307 (September 1920).  
L. B. Shippee, in *American Historical Review* 26:370-371 (January 1921). George Soule, in *Nation* 111:478-479 (Oct. 27, 1920).



FISH, CARL RUSSELL. The frontier a world problem. Wisconsin Magazine of History 1:121-141. December 1917. F576.W7 (34)

Comments:

The author's view is presented in the following quotation:  
"This conquest of the frontier has been but a portion of that vast movement which in a period historically short has created the United States, and more particularly it has been an important and typical battle in the campaign for the Mississippi Valley, which has resulted in our sister states of the Middle West.

"Different as has been the history of each, the history of the frontier movement is a whole; the study of any state contributes to an understanding of all. As the occupation of Wisconsin has been but a part of the American frontier movement, so that has not been unique, even in the nineteenth century. We have liked to think of ourselves as carrying on a special and distinct task; to its difficulties and inspiration we have attributed many of our virtues, and on them we have laid the burden of our defects. The task, however, has not been unique. The results have, indeed, had their distinctive differences, but these have come rather from the way the task has been performed than because we have had a different thing to do. We know our own frontier with scientific thoroughness, but we cannot understand it unless we contrast it with such other frontiers as Australia, Siberia, South America, and Africa.

"One of the essential features of a frontier is that both labor and capital come from without, and much of the capital is contributed by people who do not come to the frontier....

"This common condition has in all cases had an important bearing not only on economic development, but on the whole texture of the social fabric which was created; it affected not only the frontier itself, but its reflex influence on the sections from which the labor and capital were drawn set at work influences which at times became leading factors in their existence. So important have their influences been, that where the study is confined to any one frontier, they seem to dominate development, and make history their creature. When we extend our study, however, we find that in spite of the fundamental resemblance, each has followed its separate course; that the different balance of other factors, and even such secondary considerations as laws and constitutions, have radically altered the actual operation of these powerful natural resemblances. The control of the frontier's natural resources, the distribution of the proceeds, the very content of politics have varied with every frontier. The problem has been one, the methods and results have been as varied as the fields in which it occurred." - p. 123-124.

FOERSTER, NORMAN, editor. The reinterpretation of American literature; some contributions toward the understanding of its historical development. 271 p. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co. 1928. PS88.F6 (35)

Contents to be noted:

2, Factors in American literary history, by Norman Foerster, p. 23-38. Originally presented before the American



FOERSTER, NORMAN, editor. Continued.

Literature Group of the Modern Language Association in Chicago on Dec. 27, 1935. and printed with the title, "American Literature," in the Saturday Review of Literature 2:677-679 (Apr. 3, 1926), and as a brochure, New Viewpoints in American Literature (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926).

- 3, The frontier, by Jay B. Hubbell, p. 39-61. The essay has kinship with the same author's article, "The Frontier in American Literature," in Southwest Review 10(2):84-92 (January 1925), and with his article, "The Decay of the Provinces: A Study of Nationalism and Sectionalism in American Literature," in the Sewanee Review 35:473-487 (October-December 1927).

Comments:

In considering American literature, it is asserted by Professor Foerster that "All the factors may be comprised under two heads: European culture and the American environment. American history, including literary history, is to be viewed as the interplay of these two tremendous factors, neither of which has been studied profoundly by our literary scholars. Because they are tremendous, however, they must be divided into a serviceable number of lesser factors, and from such a list...I will select the four that seem to be most important. They are (1) the Puritan tradition, (2) the frontier spirit, (3) romanticism, and (4) realism." - p. 26-27. The frontier spirit is considered on p. 27-32.

In his Preface to American Poetry and Prose (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925), p. v, Professor Foerster wrote: "While the frontier has doubtless affected other currents of American history far more, we shall not look in vain for its effect on our literature. It has given us one literary figure of first importance, Mark Twain. The life, the manners, the moods of the frontier have not only provided many themes for our writers, but have subtly stirred their imagination even when they wrote on quite other themes, as in the case of Emerson and Whitman."

"The frontier," according to Professor Hubbell, "has made two distinct and important contributions to our literature: it has given our writers a vast field of new materials, and it has given them a new point of view, which we may call American." - p. 44.

Reviews:

Ernest Boyd, in Outlook 150:1376-1377 (Dec. 19, 1928).  
H. S. Canby, in Saturday Review of Literature 5:721-722 (Mar. 2, 1929). F. O. Matthiessen, in Yale Review 18:603-605 (Spring 1929). Stewart Mitchell, in New England Quarterly 2:335-338 (April 1929). William Troy, in New Republic 59:131-132 (June 19, 1929). G. F. Whicher, in New York Herald Tribune Books, Apr. 28, 1929, p. 25. American Literature 1:79-85 (March 1929). Times [London] Literary Supplement 28:24 (Jan. 10, 1929).

FOX, DIXON RYAN. Ideas in motion. (The Appleton-Century historical essays, edited by William E. Lingelbach). 126 p. New York and London, D. Appleton-Century Co. 1935.

Contents to be noted:

EL69.1.F76 (36)

Civilization in transit, p. 3-36.

Culture in knapsacks, p. 37-76.

A synthetic principle in American social history, p. 77-97.

Refuse ideas and their disposal, p. 99-126.

Comments:

The essay on "Civilization in Transit" was originally read at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Rochester on Dec. 29, 1926, and printed in the American Historical Review 32:753-768 (July 1927).

EL71.A57

The conclusion of this discussion of the transit of civilization from England to America and its westward progress across the continent is as follows: "We speak as if this march of civilization were the stuff of history alone, yet a journey from one ocean to the other would reveal how it proceeds to-day. Where is the public library frontier in 1927? The picture gallery frontier? The chamber-music frontier? What is passing into New Mexico? Montana? Arkansas? Quite obviously it is not wholly a matter of East and West. In each region throughout the country there is a centre which as a provincial town, relatively speaking, receives its culture, and as a metropolis transmits it in every direction to its countryside. Each province profoundly modifies the culture it receives; each metropolis is affected by its provinces, which throw back challenges as well as contributions in the shape of their ambitious youth, who in their energy and more equalitarian standards tend to break up old stratifications - but all this is another story. It is enough here to remember that civilization is still in transit; as we move about we are all carriers in greater or less degree, and each can say with Tennyson's Ulysses, 'I am a part of all that I have met'." - p. 35-36.

Referring to his essay in another connection, the author said: "No presumptuous comparison with Professor Turner's argument was intended. He was largely concerned with primary settlement and the psychosis that resulted from it and affected the national temper. The essay referred to, not an answer but a supplement, was designed to suggest how pioneer society was itself changed, not only by its own autochthonous evolution but by the constant flow of social devices, particularly specialized competence, from the more mature communities to the eastward." - Sources of Culture in the Middle West, p. 8. See Citation 37.

Reviews:

J. T. Adams, in Political Science Quarterly 51:273-275 (June 1936). H. H. Bellot, in Minnesota History 17:199-200 (June 1936). J. D. Hicks, in American Historical Review 41:820-821 (July 1936). Carl Wittke, in Mississippi Valley Historical Review 22:615-616 (March 1936).



FOX, DIXON RYAN, editor. Sources of culture in the Middle West; backgrounds versus frontier. (The Appleton-Century historical essays, edited by William E. Lingelbach). 110 p. New York and London, D. Appleton-Century Co. 1934. E175.9.F69 (37)

Contents to be noted:

Editor's explanation, by Dixon Ryan Fox, p. 3-14. The Turner thesis is summarized and the editor's own interpretation of the process of the transit of civilization is discussed.

Political institutions and the frontier, by Benjamin F. Wright, Jr., p. 15-38. See also Citation 123.

The advance of civilization into the Middle West in the period of settlement, by Avery Craven, p. 39-71.

The development of civilization in the Middle West, 1860-1900, by John D. Hicks, p. 73-101.

Remarks, by Marcus L. Hansen, p. 103-110.

Comments:

This collection of essays constitutes the symposium of papers appraising Professor Turner's views relative to the influence of the frontier, presented at a special session of the 1933 annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

In summarizing his criticism of Professor Turner's interpretation, Professor Wright said: "His thesis has, like previous interpretations, served its purpose. Continued reliance upon his unclarified and unmodified doctrine is more an indication of imaginative poverty than of loyalty to a dead leader. It has been many times said that each generation must reinterpret history to suit its own preconceptions. If we to-day find Turner's thesis of forty years ago to have been narrow and provincial, to have emphasized unduly the characteristics peculiar to some sections and some frontiers, to have elevated to the stature of universal principles values which are beginning to be found something less than perfect, we are simply doing for our time what he did for his." - p. 37.

In commenting on Dr. Wright's paper, Professor Marcus L. Hansen said: "Summary can never do justice to an argument, but as I understand it Professor Wright's attack proceeds along two fronts. First: the frontiersmen were uncreative in the establishment of their political institutions; the governments they set up were patterned upon the governments they had left behind. Second: chronology reveals that in many of the policies that are considered reform the eastern states anticipated the western; the dates tell the story. Let us consider each of them a little more in detail. First, the Westerners were not creative in their original institutional building. Well, why should they be? They didn't come west to construct governments; the object was a home.... To the second of Professor Wright's charges I have a more serious objection. I question one of the premises on which he has worked: his interpretation of the Turner doctrine. Neither from my reading, nor from Professor Turner's classes and seminars, did I ever get the idea that the influence of the West was exerted through imitation." - p. 105, 107.



FOX, DIXON RYAN, editor. Continued.

Near the beginning of his essay, Professor Craven said: "With equal emphasis on crude frontier beginnings and the final achievement of a mature society American history reaches its proper balance. When viewed as a social process it becomes a chapter in human experience. By such an interpretation Frederick Jackson Turner lifted the story of simple, scattered localities, engaged in the homely tasks of living and living better, into the dignity of world history. By it he not only gave complete unity to the American story, but he wove it into the story of mankind, both past and present." - p. 40.

The following quotation indicates the position of Professor Hicks: "the western school of historians, so long the proud proclaimers of a new and radical interpretation of American history, have not shown pronounced ability as defenders of what has now become sheer orthodoxy. For the most part they have only rephrased and reinterpreted the Turner arguments when, unless they had something different to offer, they might better have been content to repeat them. For what Turner had to say probably no one else will ever be able to say as well...."

"As a reasonably orthodox Turnerian I still see merit in the Turner contentions, especially when applied to the period which preceded the advance of the Industrial Revolution upon America. On the other hand, I feel that the striking changes which accompanied the opening of the industrial era have not yet received adequate attention from the western school of historians." - p. 75-76.

Professor Hansen's "Remarks" include the following pertinent suggestions: "the West was not merely the frontier of the American population, but of the European population as well. Professor Hicks has pointed out that social theories and educational practices that became distinctly middle western were imported from Europe. Such ideas, brought from across the Atlantic, were probably much more tenacious than those that came from the American East. I cannot enlarge upon the religious, linguistic, and other reasons for this tenacity; but it was a vital fact in the shaping of popular sentiment. When the Turner hypothesis is modified, I believe that it is in the recognition of this fact that the change will come." - p. 108.

Reviews:

H. S. Commager, in *Social Studies* 27:59-61 (January 1936).  
H. H. Bellot, in *Minnesota History* 16:196-197 (June 1935).  
R. F. Nichols, in *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 18:150-151 (June 1935). T. C. Pease, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 22:117-118 (June 1935). *New York Times Book Review*, Jan. 27, 1935. *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 19:172-173 (June 1935).

GABRIEL, RALPH HENRY. The lure of the frontier; a story of race conflict. (The pageant of America; a pictorial history of the United States, edited by R. H. Gabriel, v. 2). 327 p., illus., New Haven, Yale University Press; [etc.]. 1929.

Contents to be noted: 135 P14 v.2 (38)

Ch. 1, The American frontier, p. 1-6.

The maps showing the frontier at the end of the decades, 1790, to 1900, p. 33, 73, 129, 140, 157, 275; 289.

Comments:

"The history of the frontier has been written in a whole library of works. Mr. Gabriel's service has been to bring an excellent selection from this wealth of illustrative material within one book. The author has quite frankly touched only the high spots, and he has been quite frank also in borrowing largely from other writers - not always the latest or best. There are a number of inaccuracies and at numerous points he writes like an amateur; while his proportion is very faulty. But he has chosen his pictures with excellent judgment, and they constitute an array of exceptional interest." - Allan Nevins, in Saturday Review of Literature 6:1011 (May 3, 1930).

Reviews:

S. J. Buck, in Minnesota History 11:189-191 (June 1930).  
M. W. Jernegan, in American Historical Review 35:879-881 (July 1930).  
H. M. Larson, in North Dakota Historical Quarterly 5:60 (October 1930).  
W. B. Munro, in Yale Review 19:639-640 (Spring 1930).  
F. L. Paxson, in Mississippi Valley Historical Review 17:172-174 (June 1930).

GEORGE, HENRY. Progress and poverty. 25th anniversary ed. 568 p. Garden City, N. Y., Garden City Publishing Co. 1920.

Contents to be noted: 280 G292 (39)

Of property in land in the United States, p. 383-392.

Comments:

The book, first published in 1879, is described in its subtitle as "An inquiry into the cause of industrial depressions and of increase of want with increase of wealth; the remedy."

The following quotation is of special interest: "This public domain - the vast extent of land yet to be reduced to private possession, the enormous common to which the faces of the energetic were always turned, has been the great fact that, since the days when the first settlements began to fringe the Atlantic Coast, has formed our national character and colored our national thought.... The general intelligence, the general comfort, the active invention, the power of adaptation and assimilation, the free, independent spirit, the energy and hopefulness that have marked our people, are not causes, but results - they have sprung from unfenced land. This public domain has been the transmuting force which has turned the thriftless, unambitious European peasant into the self-reliant Western farmer; it has given a consciousness of freedom even to the dweller in crowded cities, and has been a well-spring of hope even to those who have never



GEORGE, HENRY: Continued.

thought of taking refuge upon it. The child of the people, as he grows to manhood in Europe, finds all the best seats at the banquet of life marked 'taken,' and must struggle with his fellows for the crumbs that fall, without one chance in a thousand of forcing or sneaking his way to a seat. In America, whatever his condition, there has always been the consciousness that the public domain lay behind him; and the knowledge of this fact, acting and reacting, has penetrated our whole national life, giving to it generosity and independence, elasticity and ambition. All that we are proud of in the American character; all that makes our conditions and institutions better than those of older countries, we may trace to the fact that land has been cheap in the United States, because new soil has been open to the emigrant." - p. 387-388.

GODKIN, EDWIN LAWRENCE. Problems of modern democracy; political and economic essays. 332 p. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 1896.

H35.G6 (40)

Contents to be noted:

Ch. 1, Aristocratic opinions of democracy, p. 1-67. Originally printed in the North American Review 100:194-232 (January 1865) as a review of Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, edited with notes by Francis Bowen (ed. 3, Cambridge, Sever & Francis, 1863. 2v.), and John Stuart Mill, "Democracy in America," in his Dissertations and Discussions, Political, Philosophical, and Historical (Boston, William V. Spencer, 1864).

AP2.N7

Comments:

The essay specifically referred to includes the following statement: "If we inquire what are those phenomena of American society which it is generally agreed distinguish it from that of older countries, we shall find, we are satisfied, that by far the larger number of them may be attributed in a great measure to what, for want of a better name, we shall call 'the frontier of life' led by a large proportion of the inhabitants, and to the influence of this portion on manners and legislation, rather than to political institutions, or even to the equality of conditions. In fact, we think that these phenomena, and particularly those of them which excite most odium in Europe, instead of being the effect of democracy, are partly its cause, and that it has been to their agency more than to aught else, that the democratic tide in America has owed most of its force and violence." - p. 25-26.

In the essay on Popular Government (originally printed with the title, "An American View of Popular Government," in the Nineteenth Century, 19:177-190, February 1886) Godkin noted that the American looked at the tariff in a different manner from the British "fair-trader" because "His vast reserve of waste lands has always been in his mind, something for a tariff to work on which no other nation possessed." - p. 97.

See also the editorial, "An Agricultural Outlook," in Nation 31:127 (Aug. 19, 1880).



GOODRICH, CARTER. What would Horace Greeley say now? Survey  
Graphic 25:359-363, 400, maps. June 1936. 280.8 C37G (41)

Comments:

"Why and how migration can lead to opportunity, not up blind alleys, is the subject of the new Study of Population Redistribution, proposed by the Social Science Research Council, made by a group of scientists under the auspices of the Industrial Research Department of the Wharton School of Finance, and soon to be reported in Migration and Economic Opportunity (University of Chicago Press). Its findings here are summarized by Carter Goodrich, director of the Study and a member of the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University." - p. 355.

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and SOL DAVISON. The frontier as a safety valve; a rejoinder. Political Science Quarterly 53:268-271.  
June 1938. 280.8 P75 (42)

Comments:

This article is a reply to Citation 87. "Dr. Schaefer criticizes as inadequate our 'roll of adherents' to the safety-valve theory; he rejects our conclusions as to the magnitude of the movement of eastern wage-earners to western farms; and he appears also to question the significance of this issue for supporters of the Turner theory as a whole." - p. 268.

"...the first may be quickly conceded,... The second question is the crux of the controversy. With entire accuracy, Dr. Schaefer defines our position as questioning only 'that single feature' of the safety-valve theory 'which assumes that free or cheap lands in the West constituted a city-of-refuge for laborers of the eastern cities.' On this his own position is stated with equal clarity: 'Let no one deceive himself into thinking that factory workers did not become farmers in the manner here indicated.'" - p. 268.

After analysis of Dr. Schaefer's evidence, the article continues: "But until the silence is broken by evidence more definite and more quantitative than that thus far presented, we must continue to question the presence of any very substantial number of eastern industrial wage-earners in the great stream of migrants that occupied the lands of the West." - p. 270.

"The third difference is less clearly defined.... We had limited our claims by pointing out that certain conclusions commonly drawn from the safety-valve theory were not necessarily dependent upon the actual movement of wage-earners, and we should not have denied the 'largely psychological' effect upon which Dr. Schaefer's argument finally rests. It would require longer reflection to venture to say how much of the now traditional frontier interpretation of American history would have to be given up, if it became fully established that no large-scale movement of industrial wage-earners ever took place. It is perhaps enough to say that those who have attempted to apply the frontier doctrine to the understanding of the American

GOODRICH, CARTER, and SOL DAVISON. Continued.

labor movement have rested, and continue to rest, a particularly heavy weight upon this element of the Turner theory. Did the safety valve permit the escape of substantial numbers when distress or conflict threatened?... An answer is important if the object is to explain the history of 'labor explosions'. " - p. 270-271.

The wage-earner in the westward movement. Political Science Quarterly 50:161-185; 51:61-116. June 1935; March 1936. 280.8 P75

(43)

Contents to be noted:

The statement of the problem, 50:161-167.  
The history of the safety-valve doctrine, 50:167-184.  
The unresolved doubt, 50:184-185.  
The question and the sources, 51:61-66.  
The case of Fall River, 51:67-79.  
Other evidence from the East, 51:79-85.  
The difficulties of migration, 51:85-93.  
Organized migration, 51:93-108.  
Other evidence from the West, 51:108-114.  
Conclusion, 51:114-116.

Comments:

"The present study was suggested by what seems to be either a gap or a discrepancy in the account of American development given by the historians of the frontier school. Frederick Jackson Turner and his followers based part of their thesis on the participation of the eastern wage-earner in the westward movement. The discontented mill worker, it was said, could if he wished go west and become an independent farmer; frequently he did so, and the result was to raise the wages of his fellows who remained and to delay the development of a coherent labor movement. In the theory, then, wage-earners took a significant part in the movement to the western lands. Yet in the descriptions of the actual process of settlement, even in those written by the same authors, the migrants are almost never identified as wage-earners, though there are frequent references to the presence of farmers from farther east and of immigrants from across the seas. If there was a substantial movement of wage-earners, its story remains to be told; and if there was not, the theory stands in need of correction." - 50:161.

The author's conclusions are summarized thus: "There is at least doubt enough to justify a re-examination of the thesis on the basis of contemporary sources, and it is to that that the present study is devoted. Such an examination yields two kinds of materials. It discloses an abundance of contemporary generalizations on the significance of the alleged movement of wage-earners, and it discovers also - though with greater difficulty - scattered indications of the presence or absence of wage-earners among particular groups of migrants and settlers.



GOODRICH, CARTER, and SOL DAVISON. Continued.

The attempt to piece together these shreds of evidence into an estimate of the amount and a description of the nature of working-class migration will be deferred to later issues of *The Political Science Quarterly*; the present article is devoted to the place of the 'safety-valve doctrine' in the thought of the pioneering periods." - 50:167.

The second paper "represents an attempt to discover how much of a migration of wage-earners took place during the half-century or so in which there was at one end of the country a substantial factory population and at the other an actively advancing frontier." - 51:62.

In conclusion the authors point out that their "cumulation of evidence thus points to the conclusion that the movement of eastern wage-earners to the western lands was surprisingly small." - 51:114.

Reviews:

A. J. Larsen, in *Minnesota History* 17:322-324 (September 1936).

HACKER, LOUIS M. Sections - or classes? *Nation* 137:108-110.  
July 26, 1933.

AP2.N2 (44)

Comments:

A review of Professor Frederick Jackson Turner's *The Significance of Sections in American History* (New York, 1932), is included in this bibliography because of its sweeping criticism of the frontier interpretation of American history.

For a criticism of Mr. Hacker's views, see Benjamin Stolberg, "Turner, Marx, and the A. F. of L.," in *Nation* 137:302-303 (Sept. 13, 1933). "The real value of Mr. Hacker's contribution, unique among those of our professional historians, lies in his mere effort to relate Turner's theory of the frontier, with all its implications, to the Marxian dialectic of society."

HARRIS, J. ARTHUR. Frontiers. *Scientific Monthly* 30:19-32.  
January 1930.

470 Sci23 (45)

Comments:

A plea for a moral equivalent of the old frontier in the new social, intellectual, and spiritual life of America. The exploration of unknown areas of truth is suggested. Summarized by W. Peffer, in *Social Science Abstracts* 2:13672 (October 1930).

HAYNES, FREDERICK EMORY. Social politics in the United States.  
414 p. Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Co. 1924.

Contents to be noted:

JK2261.H34 (46)

Significance of the frontier in American history, p. 3-8.  
Democratic influence of the west, p. 13-17.

Reviews:

C. S. Boucher, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*



HAYNES, FREDERICK EMORY. Continued.

11:300 (September 1924). F. T. Carlton, in American Historical Review 29:781-782 (July 1924). H. F. Gosnell, in American Political Science Review 18:626-627 (August 1924). Arthur Pound, in Independent 113:77 (Aug. 2, 1924). L. B. Shippee, in Minnesota History 6:53 (March 1925). Nation 119:550 (Nov. 19, 1924).

HAYTER, EARL W. Sources of early Illinois culture. Illinois State Historical Society, Transactions, 1936, p. 81-96.

Comments:

F536.I34 no. 43 (47)

The theme of this article as explained in the initial paragraph is as follows:

"In this essay on the sources of early Illinois culture I have but one objective. I desire to point out that the sources of culture of this pioneer community lay mainly in eastern and European states; that the influences which stimulated its growth, and the institutions which resulted from this growth, were eastern in character. This of course will necessitate a study of comparisons in order to determine the origins. I recognize at the outset that this is a contentious subject and one that only youth would dare to delineate upon. For the frontier interpretation of American life is deeply woven into our mental fabric and to question it might be considered unorthodox, but even so it is becoming increasingly evident, as one reads the recent writings, that the historical scholarship of the frontier of the past half-century is no longer adequate. It has been too singular in its treatment and it has failed to take cognizance of the essential unity of American and European history. Some of the most recent historians have accused the late Frederick Jackson Turner and his disciples of writing history in a vacuum, and of ignoring the fact that influences outside of the United States have, with few exceptions, directed the course of the American people." - p. 1.

HAZARD, LUCY LOCKWOOD. The frontier in American literature.

308 p. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 1927.

Contents to be noted:

PS169.F7H3 (48)

- 1, The Puritan frontier, p. 1-45.
  - 2, The southern frontier: a study in romanticism, p. 46-93.
  - 3, Hunter and trapper: heroes of the fur trade, p. 94-146.
  - 4, The golden age of transcendentalism, p. 147-180.
  - 5, The frontier of '49, p. 181-203.
  - 6, The gilded age of industrial pioneering, p. 209-242.
  - 7, The frontier and the nester, p. 243-276.
  - 8, The coming age of spiritual pioneering, p. 277-300.
- General bibliography, p. 301-304, and bibliography at the end of each chapter.

Comments:

The author's viewpoint is as follows: "...we used to lay the emphasis on 'literature' - the polish, the form; now we lay

HAZARD, LUCY LOCKWOOD. Continued.

it on 'American' and estimate the value of a piece of writing very largely by its fidelity to the American scene, its significance as an interpretation of these states. It is in this more recent sense that the phrase 'American literature' is used in this study. No attempt is made to assert that every writer conventionally included in the histories of American literature was consciously or subconsciously influenced by the presence of a frontier. An attempt has been made to study the use of the frontier by those writers who, like Cooper and Bret Harte, have deliberately chosen it as a setting; an attempt has also been made toward the analysis of a much more difficult and much more important problem: the indirect but powerful influence of the frontier in shaping the conditions of American life and the resultant American philosophies....

"It is the purpose of this study to trace in American literature reflections of the pioneering spirit; first, on the frontier of regional pioneering, which is primarily concerned with man's attempt to control nature; second, on the frontier of industrial pioneering, which is primarily concerned with man's attempt to control the labor of his fellowmen; finally, on the frontier of spiritual pioneering, which is primarily concerned with man's attempt to control himself.

"The most obvious influence of the frontier on American literature is found in the exploitation of the picturesque and melodramatic aspects of life on regional frontiers. Cooper and Bret Harte are the best examples of this direct functioning of the frontier. Much more significant, however, are the portrayals of pioneering life given by writers who not only exploit but explain the frontier, recognizing it as a focal point in American character. In suggestive contrast stand two such first-hand representations of pioneer life: Crèvecoeur's Letters from an American Farmer is a record of success explicitly attributed to abundance of free land; Garland's A Son of the Middle Border is a record of failure explicitly attributed to the disappearance of free land. The indirect influence of the frontier may be seen by tracing the characteristic moods of American literature from Crèvecoeur to Garland." - Introduction.

Professor Fred Lewis Pattee, in reviewing this work, wrote: "The book is a stimulating one and in parts really brilliant. Its weakness comes from the fact that the author has adhered too strictly to her thesis. The frontier undoubtedly has had an important influence upon American life and development, but to treat it as if it were the only influence, to weigh every writer in this one balance, is to create a false perspective. To look solely at things uniquely American in our literary product is to belittle our literature and our intellectual development. Longfellow is still as worthy of our study as is David Crockett." - American Historical Review 32:930-931 (July 1927). See also Citation 26.



HAZARD, LUCY LOCKWOOD. Continued.

Reviews:

P. H. Boynton, in *New Republic* 51:232 (July 20, 1927).  
Sydney Greenbie, in *Springfield Republican*, July 10, 1927, p. 7f.  
J. B. Hybbell, in *Saturday Review of Literature* 4:105 (Sept. 10, 1927).  
J. F. Rippey, in *South Atlantic Quarterly* 26:315 (July 1927).  
Halle Schaffner, in *Survey* 58:472-473 (Aug. 1, 1927).  
Mark Van Doren, in *Nation* 124:148 (Feb. 9, 1927).  
*Boston Transcript*, July 20, 1927, p. 6.  
*New York Times*, Feb. 6, 1927, p. 6.  
*Outlook* 146:91 (May 18, 1927).

HEATON, HERBERT. The development of new countries - some comparisons.  
*Minnesota History* 10:3-25. March 1929. F601.M72 (49)

Comments:

An examination of the development of the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa for the purpose of bringing out resemblances and contrasts.

The article was summarized by the author in *Social Science Abstracts* 1:10053 (December 1929).

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Migration and cheap land - the end of two chapters.

*Sociological Review* 26:231-248. July 1934. 280.8 \$014 (50)

Comments:

By way of introduction, the article reads: "In these days of disillusion the end of many characteristic features of the nineteenth century is being announced. We have been told of the end of *laissez-faire*, of rugged individualism, of democracy, and Sombart reports that capitalism has passed into the phase of falling hair, decayed teeth, and senility. To add to the list is presumptuous and risky, yet two great chapters in the modern history of the white races seem to have drawn to a close within the last two decades, and the story of Greater Europe in the years ahead must therefore be different from that of last century. Those chapters are (1) the large-scale migration of Europeans to America, the Antipodes, and Asiatic Russia; and (2) the alienation by governments and occupation by settlers of great areas of cheap or free land in those continents." - p. 231.

"If this pessimistic analysis of the situation is correct, one of the greatest movements in European history seems to be drawing to a close. Chapter I saw the Germanic peoples go south and west; in Chapter II Rhinelanders and Dutchmen moved east over the Slav lands to the Vistula and beyond. The third chapter saw the pioneers establish a foothold in the Americas, the fourth witnessed the mass movements across the Atlantic and across the Equator. Will there be a fifth chapter, or will the edge of the Arctic and of the desert prove an effective



HEATON, HERBERT. Continued.

barrier? The barrier has been broken at times by the dry farmer, the engineer, and the producer of new grain varieties; but advance has become increasingly hazardous, and the opportunities for still further movement seem few and small. The task now is to cultivate more intensively what is already occupied. "Man must stay where he is." - p. 248.

HENDERSON, ARCHIBALD. The conquest of the old Southwest. 395 p., illus. New York, Century Co. 1920. F396.H49 (51)

Contents to be noted:

Note particularly p. ix-xix.

Reviews:

St. G. L. Sioussat, in Mississippi Valley Historical Review 7:378-383 (March 1921).

HOCKETT, HOMER C. The influence of the west on the rise and fall of political parties. Mississippi Valley Historical Review 4:459-469. March 1918. 134.8 M69 (52)

Comments:

This paper, read at a session of the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Chicago on Apr. 27, 1917, states that: "The chief basis of modern political groupings are differences of economic interest or social status. In the United States the cause of such differences is to be found in the variation of types incident to the westward movement of population. It was the development of a group of inland settlements differing in important ways from the coast communities which gave rise to the first party groupings; and each epoch of our party history is associated with changes resulting from the settlement and growth of a new western area." - p. 459.

HOWLAND, CHARLES P. America's coming of age. Survey 58:437-440. Aug. 1, 1927. 280.8 C37 (53)

Comments:

"The American pioneering process has drawn to its appointed end. As it ends, the question in the mind of the Time Spirit is, What will be the characteristics of such a people when their period of immunity is over, and they perforce resume the world's normal contacts, its pressures and rivalries, the competition of too many for a limited supply?... This question in its various forms is set for us to answer." - p. 440.

HULBERT, ARCHER BUTLER. Frontiers; the genius of American nationality. 266 p. Boston, Little, Brown & Co. 1929. E179.5.H92 (54)

Contents to be noted:

1, The Harlequin platoon of the longitudes, p. 3-12.

9, Frontiers breed frontiers, p. 127-149.

HULBERT, ARCHER BUTLER. Continued.

14, The frontiers of business efficiency, p. 220-231.

15, The integrity of the old frontiers, p. 232-243.

16, The responsibility of frontiering, p. 244-255.

Comments:

The viewpoint from which these lectures were prepared is expressed in the following quotation: "When, at times, I hear men speak disconsolately of the future of our American Republic, or of democracy, and prophesy all the fearsome things which anxious or distraught minds can fancy, I sometimes wonder if a day will come when men will ask what was the method of weaving that this nation of ours could have been built out of discordant, quarrelsome, petulant colonies? Ask how - when people were continuously planting fresh colonies on far distant frontiers; when leagues upon leagues of desert and mountain separated the frontiers which men said could only 'pretend' to form a single nation; when sectionalism once violently burst even the nearest and most contiguous distinct province of the nation away from the central government; when, in fact, every centrifugal influence of geography, racial complexity and political antipathy conceivable had spent its force - the United States proved to consist of the most perfectly united people, occupying an equal region of territory so quickly, that the world had ever known.

"One explanation of this enigma of the centuries is contained, I believe, in the word Frontiers - the frontiers of yesterday, frontiers of to-day, and the spirit of frontiering in a nation's blood. The meaning of this word must be qualified, or rather interpreted, by the ideas of five great thinkers, Bagehot, Royce, Bryce, Sumner and Turner. Bagehot bequeathed to us those perennially stimulating concepts of developing civilization involving 'the principle of originality,' 'the hidden impulse of extrication,' 'the delicate principle of progress' and 'the partial permission of selected change which improves nations.' To Royce we owe the thought that in diversity of geography and personnel are found the seeds of stability and freedom; to Bryce, the theory that the growing strength of our government may be attributed to sentimental forces - the 'fixed traditional sentiments which are the stays of human nature', as Bagehot puts it. To Sumner we owe the exegesis of those soul-made laws of men, folk ways; and to Turner an understanding of the influence upon our nation of the backlash of the leaven of restlessness accruing from the process of far-off frontiering; he also showed us how true it was to all life that the interior of an organism (or wilderness) when, exposed by a cut, as the physiologist would say, 'acquires the characteristics of the surface layer.'" - p. viii-ix.

In spite of the purpose as expressed in its title and in the above quotation, this book is somewhat disappointing in affording tangible analyses of the significance of the frontier in American development.

Reviews:

J. D. Hicks, in Minnesota History 11:194-195 (June 1930).



HUNTINGTON, ELLSWORTH. Why the American woman is unique.  
Nation 125:105-107. Aug. 3, 1927.

110 N (55)

Comments:

"It seems to me that our social organization owes a great deal of its character to the fact that our people still possess a large share of the pioneer spirit arising through natural selection, and are kept keyed up through the stimulus of our variable climate." - p. 107.

KANE, MURRAY. Some considerations on the safety valve doctrine.  
Mississippi Valley Historical Review 23:169-188. September  
1936.

134.8 M69 (56)

Comments:

The opening paragraph introduced the subject in the following manner:

"If the question were asked: what idea has featured most prominently to influence students of American history in formulating conclusions relating to the frontier and the labor movement? - the answer probably would be the safety valve theory. This is the viewpoint which principally maintains that free land greatly simplified economic and social problems and 'acted as a safety-valve in times of depression and panic.' It is significant that none other than the late Frederick J. Turner accepted this generalization and referred to the passing of this 'safety valve' as a 'new national development.' From this idea, as a major premise, two outstanding general conclusions have usually followed: first, that the intensity of the westward migrations were greatest during periods of panic and depression, and consequently depressions were solved by shipping the unemployed West; second, that the existence of the frontier, as a territory, prevented the formation of class philosophy in America. These conclusions have been assumed to be valid, with minor exceptions." - p. 169.

"...this paper is primarily concerned with the question of migration as it affects the 'free' farming population, and essentially with the problem of ascertaining to what extent wage earners, as a class, benefited from the frontier in taking up farmholds." - p. 170-171.

After an analysis of extensive data, the author's conclusion is:

"The emigrants to the West were mainly farmers, not merely for the reason that the agricultural population predominated in numbers, but for the more important reason that working conditions in the cities during the boom period did not permit the accumulation of the necessary minimum for wage earners to exercise the 'privilege' of taking up farmholds on the frontier. As a direct result of this relationship, the minor number of mechanics who did migrate during the prosperity period remained in their traditional occupations, or else took up pursuits which stemmed directly from their original vocations." - p. 186-187.



KANE, MURRAY. Continued.

The final paragraph is as follows:

"As an ideological factor the frontier influenced every political faith of note, penetrated deeply into the roots of all labor philosophies, and acted as a psychological vent for the dissatisfaction of the immobile population of the cities. The intensity of westward migrations cannot merely be explained by the sheer existence of 'free land.' It has been well said, 'The open spaces are not enough.' The omnipotency of the very idea of the presence of free land was at least equally effective in moulding the thought and arousing the desires of the participants who took part in the migratory process. This factor must be included in any interpretation which attempts to explain the forces which propelled and intensified the social mobility of migrations during boom periods. Even to this day the ideological concept of the frontier continues to assert itself as a significant phase of American political thought." - p. 188.

LA FOLLETTE, PHILIP F. Message of Philip F. La Follette, Governor of Wisconsin to the Wisconsin Legislature...January 15, 1931. 28 p. [n.p., n.d.].

(57)

Comments:

In introducing his proposals for a controlled economy Governor La Follette said: "Thirty-seven years ago Frederick Jackson Turner of the University of Wisconsin gave a new interpretation to American history. He recorded the fact that both the character and conduct of our democracy and of our institutions had been determined by the Frontier. He noted that the Census of 1890 revealed the practical disappearance of that Frontier. He predicted that the absence of a frontier would affect the American future as profoundly as the existence of a frontier had affected the American past.

"All this has a very direct and practical bearing upon the problems we are about to face in this legislative session. In our day, as in the days of our pioneer fathers, the goal of socially sound politics is the guaranty of freedom and opportunity. In the days of our pioneer fathers, the free lands of the frontier gave this guaranty of freedom and opportunity. If the door of opportunity were closed to men in the East, it was open to them in the West. The frontier was thus a kind of social safety valve. Men do not take naturally to destructive revolt. They would rather move to a new opportunity than make war on an old oppression. And as long as the frontier existed, men were free to bundle their families into covered wagons and move West to a new freedom and a new opportunity. But, in one respect, the frontier was a liability as well as an asset. For as long as this freedom of movement to new opportunity existed, neither the leaders nor the people were under the pressure of necessity to keep the political, social, and economic processes of American life progressively adapted to changing needs and

LA FOLLETTE, PHILIP F. Continued.

changing conditions. But in 1890, as Turner suggested, the free lands of the frontier were reaching exhaustion. And the end of free lands meant, to an important degree, the end of free movement to new opportunity.

"Today, if we find our freedom restricted and our opportunity denied, we cannot seek a new freedom and a new opportunity by running away from these restrictions and denials into some new territory. We must find our freedom and make our opportunity through wise and courageous readjustments of the political and economic order of State and Nation to the changed needs and changed conditions of our time.

"Wisconsin - more promptly than any other state - saw what the passing of the frontier meant for her people. About the time Turner was writing his pamphlet, Wisconsin was the scene of an organized political effort to reinterpret and to make again effective the ideals of the older America in terms of the changing conditions....

"The old guaranty of freedom and opportunity that the frontier gave was gone. The new society that was arising was the product of an unguided economic change. It was not a carefully planned change, with the planners deliberately devising a social and economic order in which the rights of the individual would be protected and the interests of the individual promoted. The individual citizen of Wisconsin was finding his freedom and opportunity increasingly hampered by impersonal processes which he found hard to understand and seemingly impossible to control."

This address is also printed in the Capital Times (Madison, Wis.), Jan. 15, 1931.

LATTIMORE, OWEN. Origins of the Great Wall of China: a frontier concept in theory and practice. Geographical Review 27: 529-549, map. October 1937. 500 Am35G (58)  
Contents to be noted:

The subject is considered under the following headings: Chinese Bias toward rigid frontiers. China of the feudal states. Agricultural foundations and social forms. The walled city in the political structure. Range of state action. Unification of China into an empire state. Conquest overreaches limits of stability. North and south. Men and tactics in a frontier state. Frontier pull and frontier pressure. Repeated failure to hold the Ordos. Difficulties inherent in the frontier zone. The Great Wall concept: absolute and relative. The frontier reservoir. Resemblance to other frontier problems. Old problems still exist in essence.

Comments:

The general theme of this article is explained in the following paragraphs:

"The Great Wall of China developed out of an earlier system of walled frontiers to which relatively little attention has been paid, though notable advances have been made



LATTIMORE, OWEN. Continued.

in recent years, especially by Chinese research workers, in textual criticism, in the geographical identification of early place names, and in clarifying the historical sequence of relations between the Chinese and various 'tribal' peoples. It is now possible to use their rich critical and documentary material to carry speculation and discovery a stage further.

"What factors in the society of China promoted the development of the Great Wall form of frontier delimitation? Once the main line of the Great Wall had been established, implying the concept that the Frontier should be absolute and immovable, does the working of any of the factors that can be detected in agriculturally based China and in the nomadic pastoral society of the steppe help to explain the way in which, through century after century of the ebb and flow of conquest, this inherently permanent kind of frontier was obliterated, reestablished, and modified?

"When the question is put in this light, it brings two major problems into view. In the first place, the history of 'the' Great Wall concerns the relationship between 'civilized,' agricultural China and the 'barbarian' peoples of Central Asia, Mongolia, and Manchuria, chiefly pastoral in economy but partly of forest origin. In the second place, the earlier systems of frontier walls that preceded 'the' Great Wall cannot be attributed entirely to the wars between Chinese and 'barbarians.' Among the earliest of them were walls that ran north and south, between one Chinese state and another. There was even a wall blocking the approach from the Yellow River to the Yangtze Valley, between the headwaters of the Han River and those of the Huai, which divided the dominant southern state of Ch'u from the states of North China." - p. 529-530.

LEYBURN, JAMES GRAHAM. Frontier folkways. 291 p. New Haven, Yale University Press. 1935. GF51.L4 (59)

Contents to be noted:

Ch. 10, Characteristic phases of frontier life in America (1770-1870), p. 187-228.

Ch. 11, The study of frontiers in relation to the science of society, p. 229-245.

Comments:

"This book is not a history of frontiers. No new facts have been uncovered, no novel interpretations of the civilization of a century in terms of the frontier made, no moral judgments passed upon one group or another. Neither has it to do with romance or biography. True, the winning of the west in any country has required courage, endurance, indomitable will. True also that the Daniel Boones and Davy Crocketts have wrought nobly in their time. History and the story books have taken care of the epic, the personal, the political aspects of the frontier.

"What happens to men's customs and social institutions when they go to a frontier? That is the question which the book tries to answer. It is a study of process, therefore - not one which occurred once and unigely, but one which was endlessly repeated



LEYBURN, JAMES GRAHAM. Continued.

so long as there was land on ahead for earth-hungry men to occupy. Let a group of men and women leave their fatherland for a new country and, like a transplanted tree, they will have to begin to send out new roots. Much that was old and cherishable will of necessity be pruned away. But eventually the roots take hold and the tree grows again. It is the process of growth, the examination of the roots, the comparison of the fruit which is our concern." - p. 1.

"Our political organization, our economic policies, social institutions, literature, temper of mind, artistic expressions, have, by one critic or another, been attributed to the frontier background. Because of the readable histories and critiques, to a certain extent because of the educational services of motion pictures, familiarity with various aspects of frontier life has become a part of the common knowledge of Americans.

"For this reason there has been no insistence in this book upon the obvious pioneer adjustments which leap to the mind, strengthening the idea of man's mode of survival in a hostile environment by means of the development of folkways and mores different from the familiar ones 'back home.'" - p. 187.

"Though in this book the material, primary need of adjustment to satisfy the pangs of hunger has been emphasized, it has been insisted that all mores and institutions are interdependent, working back and forth upon each other. In puritan New England, surely the economic conditions affected government and social classes; but just as surely the religion of the pioneers influenced marriage and economics by its declaration of the sphere of women in society and its doctrine of the virtue of hard work. It is altogether likely, furthermore, that had the puritans, with their backgrounds, both immaterial and economic, gone to the more favorable environment of Virginia, they would have made much more satisfactory adjustments than did the gentlemen adventurers of Jamestown, whose traditional training was of a different order. Material environment, social organization, and the body of tradition all work to condition mores and institutions. Social processes cannot be explained in terms of any one of them alone." - p. 243-244.

Professor Leyburn "has written a very 'sociological' account of several frontiers including the North American (1770-1870), Massachusetts Bay (1629-1650), the French on the St. Lawrence (1660-1698), New Zealand (1839-1857), Bahia, Brazil (1549-1580), Transvaal (1835-1899), Australia (1787-1840), and Java. He has classified these into four types: the small farm frontier, the settlement plantation, the exploitative plantation, and the camp. After analyzing these frontiers the author has prepared a table (p. 231-233) in which eighteen folkways or mores are given their proper status on each of the four types. With much success the author has demonstrated the emergence on frontiers of folkways and mores different from those of the parent group. Some of these are 'Indianization', certain democratic trends, emotional religious revivalism, sectarianism,

LEYBURN, JAMES GRAHAM. Continued.

certain marriage novelties, and lynch law. The author is conscious of the shortcomings of his work at this early stage in the 'science of society' and optimistically states that 'it will require many generations to produce the careful investigations and syntheses necessary to make this science... a discipline dispassionate and accurate'." - R. C. D., in American Historical Review 41:425-426 (January 1936).

Reviews:

Wilson O. Clough, in American Literature 8:240-241 (May 1936). Merril J[ensen], in Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 28:200-201 (April 1937). R. M. Robbins, in Mississippi Valley Historical Review 22:568-569 (March 1936). H. M. Thomas, in Canadian Historical Review 17:201-203 (June 1936). New York Times Book Review, June 16, 1935, p. 9.

LOWER, A. R. M. The origins of democracy in Canada. Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report, 1930, p. 65-70 (Ottawa, 1930). F1001.C26 (60)

Comments:

"Turner's thesis has not yet been thoroughly applied to Canadian history and, indeed, there are factors present in the development of each country which are inconspicuous or absent in that of the other. It must therefore be a modified or adapted version of the thesis which can be fitted to Canada.... it may be doubted whether social equality could work out into political democracy unless the society possessing it had not possessed certain theoretical positions as to its nature before it was projected into its frontier surroundings. The French Canadian and the American before 1763 both were faced with the same frontier conditions and within limits both made the same response to them.... There was infinitely more independence and assertiveness in French Canada, infinitely less readiness to do the will of a superior, than in Old France; but it may be safely assumed that once the conditions which made for this independence had passed, the age-old controls of French life, the clergy and the nobility, and the pressure of authority which was in the very air of the ancien régime would have made themselves felt and the independent Canadian would have had to bow the knee in the same manner as his ancestors." - p. 66.

See also the same writer's paper, "Some Neglected Aspects of Canadian History," in Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report, 1929, p. 65-71 (Ottawa, 1930). F1001.C26

MACDONALD, WILLIAM. Some observations on the spirit and influence of the American frontier. Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications 26 (Transactions 1924-26):165-180. F61.C71 (61)

Comments:

This essay, presented before the Society on Feb. 26, 1925, is "an inquiry regarding the extent to which, if at all, the



MACDONALD, WILLIAM. Continued.

underlying characteristics of the older communities from which migration started, and of the radiating circle of communities which in turn became relatively old as they themselves became the starting points of new migrations, have been reproduced in the new communities of the ever-changing frontier, or have been modified through the transplanted of social institutions in new regions under relatively new and primitive conditions." - p. 166.

MCDUGALL, JOHN L. The frontier school and Canadian history.

Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report, 1929,  
p. 121-125 (Ottawa, 1930). F1001.C26 (62)

Comments:

"This paper falls naturally into three divisions. In the first I attempt to give a fair statement of Professor Turner's position. In the second I put certain historical facts which, in my opinion, are not consistent with the frontier theory. In the third I attempt to question the basis of the frontier theory itself." - p. 121.

The author's conclusion is that "whatever justification there may be for Professor Turner's thesis as an explanation of American history it could be little short of a calamity if Canadian historians were to attempt to deform the story of our own development to fit the Procrustes bed of the frontier theory." - p. 125.

MATHEWS, LOIS KIMBALL. The American frontier. Nantucket Historical Association, Proceedings 16:34-42. July 20, 1910.

Comments:

F72.N2N16 (63)

"Within the past twenty years two new ideas have practically revolutionized the study of American history.... Both of them originated with Professor Frederick J. Turner....

"The first of these ideas is that the history of our country has been unique, in that it has been the history of a frontier....

"The other idea is that our history has been the story of a gradually developing area of free land - land which was really or nominally free.... Our problem today, when all our free land is gone, is to adjust and adapt ourselves to new conditions in whatever place we find ourselves, since there is no longer a region to which malcontents may retreat." - p. 34-35.



MICHENER, DWIGHT W. "Economic repercussions" from the "passing of the American frontier." *Annalist* 44:853-854. Dec. 21, 1934.

Comments: 284.8 N48 (64)

A discussion and criticism of what is held to be "Four of the concepts which became in whole or in part the philosophy of the 'New Deal'" and which are expressed as follows:

"1. The geographic-agricultural frontier has passed and broad economic repercussions have resulted.

"2. The country has experienced such physical and mechanical developments that a technological frontier has been abated and complete reorganization of society is now necessary.

"3. The frontier period of our industrial and financial development has come to an end, with the result that motives and controls previously relied upon are no longer adequate.

"4. We have experienced the departure of the frontier of the economy of scarcity and are now in an 'economy of abundance' where recovery demands drastic and thorough economic reorganization."

In conclusion, the author says: "it appears that neither the end of the 'westward movement' and the declining opportunities for moving to land previously unoccupied, nor the continuous movement from less effective methods of machine production to more effective methods, nor the gradual trend away from individual unit operation of industry to centralized control, nor the alleged disappearance of the 'scarcity of production' have rendered the American economic order obsolete or have caused the irretrievable loss of vital parts of it."

MODE, PETER GEORGE. The frontier spirit in American Christianity. 196 p. New York, Macmillan Co. 1923. BR516.M6 (65)

Contents to be noted:

1, The Americanizing of Christianity, p. 1-14.

3, Revivalism, p. 41-58. Originally printed as an article, "Revivalism as a Phase of Frontier Life," in *Journal of Religion* 1:337-353 (July 1921).

5, The sanctuary of the small sects, p. 79-99.

The pages cited in the index under "Frontier."

Comments:

Professor Mode's viewpoint is expressed in the following words: "It has come to be generally recognized that the frontier not only provides an element of romance which may be used to greatly stimulate enthusiasm for the study of American history, but that at important stages in the career of our nation, frontier reactions and influences supply the only true understanding to the course of events.

"In respect of the American frontier, church history has scarcely kept pace with its social and political history. Few studies of the church have presented the romance of missionary enterprise in the new settlements of the West. Nor has any interpretation of American Christianity taken serious cognizance of the influence of the frontier in giving to it its distinctive characteristics." -- Preface.

MUMFORD, LEWIS. The golden day; a study in American experience and culture. 283 p. New York, Boni & Liveright. 1926.

Contents to be noted:

EL69.1.M94

(66)

Ch. 2, The romanticism of the pioneer, p. 47-81, in which pioneering is described as the Romantic Movement in action.

Comments:

This book is a study of American life in which imaginative literature and philosophy is used as the key to American culture. Its substance was delivered as a series of lectures on the development of American culture before European and American students at Geneva during August 1925. The volume was subsequently published with the title, *The Golden Day: A Study in American Literature and Culture* (New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1934. 283 p.).

EL69.1.M943

In conclusion, the chapter cited reads: "In short, the pioneer experience did not produce a rounded pioneer culture; and if the new settler began as an unconscious follower of Rousseau, he was only too ready, after the first flush of effort, to barter all his glorious heritage for gas light and paved streets and starched collars and skyscrapers and the other insignia of a truly high and progressive civilization. The return to Nature led, ironically, to a denatured environment, and when, after the long journey was over, the pioneer became conscious once more of the social obligation, these interests manifested themselves in covert pathological ways, like campaigns to prohibit the cigarette or to prescribe the length of sheets for hotel beds, or to promote institutions of compulsory good fellowship. So much for an experience that failed either to absorb an old culture or create a new one!" - p. 80-81.

See also the same author's article, "The Fourth Migration," in *Survey* 54:130-133 (May 1, 1925). "In a period of flow, men have the opportunity to remold themselves and their institutions. The great migrations that swept over Europe in the past; the migrations that surged past the water-boundaries of Europe and crawled through the formidable American wilderness - these great tides of population, which unloosed all the old bonds, have presented such an opportunity. To some of us it seems that in America we are in the midst of another such tidal movement of population - and for convenience, we have called it the Fourth Migration." - p. 130.

Professor Dixon Ryan Fox, in reviewing this book, wrote: "The Golden Day is not only about literature; it is literature. It is a brilliant and fascinating study of the American mind, not always the kind of thing a historian would approve, but everywhere pricking the historian into the painful task of thinking about history." - *American Historical Review* 33:142-143 (October 1927).

Mr. Lloyd Morris wrote: "'The Golden Day' is a notable contribution to that body of criticism which aims to interpret American civilization and culture as expressions of experience.... It is an admirable piece of exposition, skilfully organized and lucidly presented." - *Saturday Review of Literature* 3:544 (Jan. 29, 1927).



MUMFORD, LEWIS. Continued.

Reviews:

J. B. Atkinson, in *New York Times Book Review*, Dec. 19, 1926, p. 2. Bruce Bliven, in *Atlantic Monthly* 139 (Bookshelf sect.): 14 (March 1927). Ernest Boyd, in *Independent* 117:680 (Dec. 11, 1926). Van Wyck Brooks, in *New England Quarterly* 1:84-88 (January 1928). Raphael Demos, in *Journal of Philosophy* 24:440 (Aug. 4, 1927). Babette Deutsch, in *New York Herald Tribune Books*, Dec. 5, 1926, p. 7. J. K. Hart, in *Survey* 57:593 (Feb. 1, 1927). Morris Markey, in *New York Evening Post Literary Review*, Dec. 4, 1926, p. 1. J. M. P., in *Catholic World* 125: 417-418 (June 1927). F. L. Pattee, in *Yale Review* 17:180-182 (October 1927). Gilbert Seldes, in *Dial* 82:518-521 (June 1927). Mark Van Doren, in *Nation* 123:601 (Dec. 8, 1926). Leonard Woolf, in *Nation and Athenaeum* 41:722 (Sept. 3, 1927). *Boston Transcript*, Jan. 5, 1927, p. 6. *Times [London] Literary Supplement*, Sept. 8, 1927, p. 603.

NETTELS, CURTIS. Frederick Jackson Turner and the new deal.

*Wisconsin Magazine of History* 17:257-265. March 1934.

Comments:

F576.W7 (67)

This article is a summary of Professor Turner's interpretation of American history and his influence on American historiography and popular thought together with an indication of the relationship of the frontier hypothesis to the philosophy of the New Deal. In conclusion suggestions are made concerning the place of the historian in a democratic society. "Historians like Turner place the present in its appropriate setting. They make clear to laymen how the elements of modern society took form. But they generally leave to others the decision whether present conditions require the alteration, preservation, or abandonment of practices to which former conditions have given birth. Man is so reluctant to relinquish policies that have worked well in the past that he ought to understand the secret of their former success. He ought to know whether they are as appropriate to the present as they were to the past. Only history can provide the necessary clues." See also Citations 24, 57, 64.

NIXON, HERMAN CLARENCE. Precursors of Turner in the interpretation of the American frontier. *South Atlantic Quarterly* 28:83-89. January 1929.

AP2.S75 (68)

Comments:

This article has been summarized as follows: "At a meeting of the American Historical Association in 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner stated that 'the existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession and the advance of American settlement westward explain American development.' These words not only marked a turning point in American historical research and historiography, but also furnished a synthesis and climax



NIXON, HERMAN CLARENCE. Continued.

for ideas envisaged by different observers of American social forces in the preceding half century. In 1844 Emerson pointed out the Americanizing influence of the West in his lecture, 'The Young American.' Macaulay in 1857 recognized the vital connection between democracy and the abundance of land in the United States. DeBow's Review contained editorials and contributed articles that interpreted the westward movement and the shifting frontier. E. L. Godkin set forth important aspects of Turner's interpretation in an article entitled 'Aristocratic Opinions of Democracy' in the North American Review for January, 1865. The Turner view was hinted at pertinently in reviews of Roosevelt's Winning of the West, Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. VII, and Bryce's American Commonwealth in the Atlantic Monthly during 1889. Bryce's chapter on the 'Temper of the West' was a close approach to Turner's thesis. Agricultural conditions in the eighties and nineties brought about an extensive discussion of the westward movement, particularly by those who rejected the diagnosis of the Greenbackers and the Populists. Various writers foresaw that free lands for homesteads would soon cease to exist, and that the lot of the farmer would soon thereafter be improved through the increase of population throughout the country which would purchase the surplus agricultural products. Other observers were catching glimpses of the institutional influences of the frontier and the westward movement, and both groups heralded the significant interpretation which Turner was to amplify." - E. M. Violette, in Social Science Abstracts 1:7176 (October 1929).

OLIVER, JOHN W. [A generation of the frontier hypothesis.]

Mississippi Valley Historical Review 18:218-220. September 1931.

134.8 M69 (69)

Comments:

A brief summary of the discussion at the session of the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Lexington, Ky., April 30-May 2, 1931, devoted to the frontier thesis, Professors Frederic L. Paxson, John D. Hicks, Solon J. Buck, Homer C. Hockett, and Fred A. Shannon being the main speakers.

A shorter note on the same subject by the same author is given in the American Historical Review 36:906-907 (July 1931).

OWSLEY, FRANK L. The historical philosophy of Frederick Jackson Turner. American Review 5:368-375. June 1935.

Comments:

AP2.A426 (70)

A critical summary of the historical philosophy of Professor Turner, centering in a review of his posthumous volume, The United States, 1830-1850 (New York, 1935).

PAINE, GREGORY. The frontier in American literature. Sewanee  
Review 36:225-236. April-June 1928. AP2.S5 (71)

Comments:

A review of "practically all the treatments of the frontier as a factor in American literature." - p. 234.

PARISH, JOHN CARL. The persistence of the westward movement. Yale  
Review 15:461-477. April 1926. AP2.Y2 (72)

Comments:

The author's viewpoint is expressed in the following quotation: Not until a generation ago did anyone penetrate the glamour and disclose the real relation of the westward movement to our national life. In the last three decades, we have come to realize clearly that the spirit of that picket line of expansion - the frontier - engendered the fundamental spirit of the American people and determined the course of events in the nation as a whole. But, having gained this new vision of the frontier of settlement, we have strangely contented ourselves with the assumption that the westward movement ceased to exist at the beginning of the 'nineties, when the more picturesque days were over....

"A third of a century has passed...and it seems pertinent to ask if we have not become so engrossed in the task of writing the obituary of a single frontier - that of settlement - that we have shut our eyes to the fact that the westward movement in its larger sense, with its succession of many kinds of frontiers followed by a full sweep of people and their attendant civilization, did not cease in 1890 but has been a persistent factor in our national life, still tending to distinguish the American people from the people of European nations." - p. 461-462.

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Reflections on the nature of the westward movement.  
American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch,  
Proceedings, 1930, p. 98-112. EL72.A60 (73)

Comments:

The conclusion is as follows: "Groping and uncertain beginnings prepare the way for a long period marked by the discord of sharply contrasted elements until finally the theme changes into a more smooth intermingling of ideas and manners in which the West has been gradually but steadily tamed, quieted, and civilized by being overtaken by Eastern influences, while the East has been constantly jarred out of its ruts, energized, and forced to keep alive by the persistence of the Western mood. Divergent forces will probably always keep us sectional and heterogeneous, but if there ever is discernible an amalgamated American spirit it will be explained only after a clear and comprehensive appreciation of the interrelated phases and elements of the westward movement and a study of their resultant influence on the individual and the nation."

The article is summarized by F. H. Herrick, in Social Science Abstracts 4:5516 (April 1932).



PARRINGTON, VERNON LOUIS. Main currents in American thought; an interpretation of American literature from the beginnings to 1920. 3 v. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927-1930.

Contents to be noted:

PS88.P3 (74)

The frontier in letters, 2:161-179.

Comments:

Professor P. H. Boynton, in reviewing this work, wrote: "On the whole, he has shown a surprising disregard for the importance of the frontier as introduced to history by F. J. Turner and pursued through literature by Mr. Rusk, Miss Dondore and Mrs. Hazard. Yet, in the large, Mr. Parrington's undertaking is an impressive one.... It does not need current report to reveal that it has been a work of years. No book of such substance and such sustained quality could have been turned out in short order or under high pressure. And it is a striking fact that, started so long ago, it should have come to the public in this day; for it takes its place worthily in the ranks of the various broad surveys of history, philosophy, science, religion and literature which are a significant sign of the times." - New Republic 51:181 (July 6, 1927).

Reviews:

C. A. Beard, in Nation 124:560 (May 18, 1927). G. W. Brown, in Canadian Historical Review 8:269-270 (September 1927). E. E. Burch, in American Literature 1:115-130 (March 1929). H. S. Canby, in Saturday Review of Literature 3:925 (June 25, 1927). M. R. Cohen, in New Republic 65:303 (Jan. 28, 1931). Norman Foerster, in Saturday Review of Literature 7:705 (Apr. 4, 1931). K. B. Murdock, in Yale Review 17:382-384 (January 1928). T. V. Smith, in International Journal of Ethics 38:114, 41:386 (October 1927, April 1931). Carl Van Doren, in New York Herald Tribune Books, May 1, 1927, p. 5; Nov. 30, 1930, p. 4. Stanley Williams, in New England Quarterly 1:89-92 (January 1928), and Yale Review 20:624-626 (March 1931).

PAXSON, FREDERIC LOGAN. Frontier: American history.

Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, edited by Edwin R. A. Seligman 6:500-503. New York, Macmillan Co. 1931.

Comments:

280 Em1 (75)

The concluding statement reads: "For three centuries the common American had an easier opportunity to become a free economic agent than did any of his contemporaries. The democratic aspect of American life, its fluidity and its adaptability appear to have some connection with this environment. The American ideology which assumes freedom to be the common lot of man may be a part of it. American restiveness under remote or absentee control seems to derive from it. American suspicion of Europe may be a reaction toward a world whose narrow opportunities made men through ten generations willing to leave its fold. The hypothesis that Turner phrased continued therefore to account for much that is vital in the interpretation of American history and of American status in the world, now that the frontier itself is gone." See also Citations 26 and 113.



PAXSON, FREDERIC LOGAN. A generation of the frontier hypothesis, 1893-1932. Pacific Historical Review 2:34-51. March 1933. F851.P18 (76)

Comments:

Epitomizing the Turner interpretation as "composite race and Americanization, social re-creation in the light of the frontier experience, and nationality," these conditions of American life are examined to ascertain if they were derived as Turner thought they were.

Concerning Professor Turner, the article reads: "It was enough for him, with modesty, to point a way. And though he never trod it with many pages of exploitation or description, the horde of historians that settled into the new chairs of our historical renaissance followed his lead; or, thinking that they were following it, sought through the writing of our history to find the meaning of our civilization." - p. 35.

Professor Paxson's History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893 (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924. 598 p., maps), is a synthesis of the facts on the westward advance of the frontier, and it is therefore an exemplification of the frontier hypothesis. Its emphasis is on events and movements rather than an analysis.

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Influence of frontier life on the development of American law. Wisconsin State Bar Association, Proceedings (1919-21) 13:477-489. Madison, Wis., Cantwell Printing Co. 1921.

Comments:

Library of Congress - Law (77)

An address before the annual meeting of the State Bar Association of Wisconsin, Chippewa Falls, Wis., June 23, 1921.

Holding that the "frontier process...may be regarded as our American great first cause" and that "Repeating itself for 300 years and bringing into existence local communities at least as numerous as the 3000 or more settled counties in the United States, it could not avoid leaving some mark on the people who were concerned," Professor Paxson discusses the type of communities produced by this process, its relation to the American system of state-making, - the American way of empire, - the extent to which our political history is the product of the frontier "one way or another," and the relation to the content of state constitutions.

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The last American frontier, 402 p., maps. New York, Macmillan Co. 1910. F591.P34 (78)

Contents to be noted:

Ch. 1, The westward movement, p. 1-13.

Reviews:

Max Farrand, in American Historical Review 15:892-893 (July 1910). G. W. Wright, in Journal of Political Economy 18:319-321 (April 1910). Dial 48:280 (Apr. 16, 1910). History Teacher's Magazine 1:230-231 (June 1910). Iowa Journal of History and Politics 8:423-424 (July 1910). Spectator 104:680 (Apr. 23, 1910). Yale Review 19:109 (May 1910).

PAXSON, FREDERIC LOGAN. The new frontier and the old American habit. Pacific Historical Review 4:309-327. December 1935. F851.P18

(79)

Comments:

This address was delivered under the auspices of the Graduate Council of the University of California at Berkeley on Jan. 24, 1935.

"The frontier of 1935 is the social boundary where meet two great classes of Americans -- those who have and those who want. It is a frontier which, like every other frontier, separates this from that. The this and the that of 1935 make a line of cleavage upon which the American future rests. The this and the that of yesterday were geographic zones; for the old historic frontier separated the occupied areas of the United States from the region next beyond, which, though capable of being farmed, was yet in virgin state.

"The new frontier differs from the old in that on either side lie the horizontal strata of social class, instead of regional sections meeting upon a single social plane.... American policy has ever generated most rapidly along some line of friction. And the old American habit of party creation invites reexamination in the light of new experience....

"The new frontier, which may be only a metaphor, and the old American habit, which at least is fact, provide us with a window through which to survey our past." - p. 309.

The sequence of political parties in America are then discussed in detail, and the conclusions are as follows:

"When the West was gone, and gone it was by 1893, in the sense of great contiguous areas capable of sustaining agriculture and yet unoccupied, there was left no new frontiers of geographic type. But frontiers persisted in a different sense. The lines could no longer be traced across the map, but through the heart of American civilization they thrust cleavages between class and class. Social strata, more sharply defined with each new decade, broke down the importance of geographic section, while the frontiers that separated class from class became the battleground of new ideas....

"The elements of the new frontier of class...have been visible for twenty years or more. Among them may be below the line of cleavage, an alien multitude invited to the United States but not received as equals; a working population dependent on its job; an agrarian population able to raise more food than it can ever eat or sell; and a middle class that in spite of its inherited aversion to the word middle finds itself in reality ground between the upper millstone of finance and industry, and the lower millstone of class-conscious workers." - p. 321-322.

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When the west is gone. 137 p. New York, Henry Holt & Co. 1930. F591.P35

(80)

Contents to be noted:

- 1, When the west was new, p. 3-45.
- 2, The middle west, p. 46-90.
- 3, When the west has gone, p. 91-137.



**PAXSON, FREDERIC LOGAN.** Continued.

Comments:

These three essays delivered as the Colver Lectures at Brown University in 1929 show how the forces of the open frontier with its great expanse of cheap land, and the environment which it created, have shaped the character of the American people and the whole history of the United States.

The first lecture discusses the formation and typical character of the successive frontiers that Americans have come to call the "West." The second is a singularly lucid and stimulating account of how the old America came to survive and be enshrined in the "Middle West," while the East, South, and Far West developed encircling types of civilization of their own, differing from one another and the past. In the final lecture there is a forecast of the future trend of character and events now that the West is gone in the old sense. The frontier, winning against conservatism under Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln, was defeated under Bryan.

In reviewing this book, Mr. William MacDonald wrote: "His main purpose...is a consideration of the condition and outlook of the United States now that the West, as a region more or less synonymous with the frontier, has disappeared, but he has also contrived to present a kind of running survey of American history from the beginning with the shifting of the frontier as the central thread of description and explanation. Far from being superficial, the survey is scholarly, balanced and broad in its grasp, and the comments thoughtful and in the best sense suggestive.

"The general thesis, of course, is not new.... Already we have an imposing list of books devoted to the ins and outs, the ups and downs, of the frontier and its people. Now comes Professor Paxson, equipped with learning and a style of undeniable charm, to tell us summarily what the frontier has meant and to ask us to ponder the state of the nation now that the frontier has gone." - New York Times Book Review, Mar. 23, 1930, p. 1.

A review by Professor Avery Craven includes the following: "This is a stimulating, suggestive and thoughtful book. It deserves a wide reading from those capable of thinking in terms of the past at the same time they grasp the meanings of the present." - New York Herald Tribune Books, Apr. 13, 1930, p. 9.

Reviews:

R. P. Bieber, in American Historical Review 17:651-652 (March 1931). E. D. Branch, in Minnesota History 11:422-424 (December 1930). F. R. Dulles, in Bookman 71:468 (July 1930). Nation 130:739 (June 25, 1930).

**PHILLIPS, ULRICH BONNELL**, editor. Plantation and frontier documents, 1649-1863; illustrative of industrial history in the colonial and ante-bellum South; collected from original manuscripts and other rare sources. 2 v. Cleveland, Ohio, Arthur H. Clark Co. 1909. 283 D63 (81)



PHILLIPS, ULRICH BONNELL, editor. Continued.

Contents to be noted:

Introduction, 1:69-104.

Comments:

These volumes were prepared under the auspices of the American Bureau of Industrial Research, with the cooperation of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. One hundred and fifty sets were printed as a separate from volume 1, p. 67-375, and volume 2, p. 9-379 of the more generally available work, *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, edited by John R. Commons, Ulrich B. Phillips, Eugene A. Gilmore, Helen L. Sumner, and John B. Andrews (Cleveland, Ohio, Arthur H. Clark Co., 1910). 283 D63

Pages 70-74, 83-94 of Professor Phillips's Introduction are reprinted in L. B. Schmidt and E. D. Ross, editors, *Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture*, p. 131-137, 271-274 (New York, Macmillan Co., 1925). 277 Sch 5

Reviews:

E. L. Bogart, in the *American Economic Association, Economic Bulletin* 3:26-29 (March 1910). W. E. Dodd, in *American Journal of Sociology* 15:850-853 (May 1910). Max Farrand, in *Yale Review* 19:188-192, (n.s.)1:168-169 (August 1910, October 1911). M. B. Hammond, in *Dial* 49:235-238 (Oct. 1, 1910). E. R. Johnson, in *American Academy of Political and Social Science, Annals* 36:465-470 (September 1910). W. R. Shepherd, in *Political Science Quarterly* 25:525-527 (September 1910). A. H. Stone, in *American Historical Review* 16:137-139 (October 1910). Graham Taylor, in *Survey* 23:715-718 (February 1910). *American Review of Reviews* 41:251 (February 1910). *Catholic World* 91:252-253 (May 1910). *Independent* 68:316 (Feb. 10, 1910). *Nation* 91:342 (Oct. 13, 1910). *New York Times Saturday Review* 15:246 (Apr. 30, 1910). *Saturday Review* 110:20-21 (July 2, 1910).

POLLARD, A. F. *Factors in American history.* 315 p. New York, Macmillan Co. 1925. EL78.6.P75 (82)

Contents to be noted:

Ch. 4, "New Birth of Our New Soil," p. 123-165, especially p. 132-149.

Ch. 6, Idealism, p. 207-242, especially p. 223-228.

Comments:

The lectures printed in this volume were delivered on the Sir George Watson Foundation for American History, Literature and Institutions at various English universities during the spring of 1924.

POUND, ROSCOE. The spirit of the common law. 224 p. Boston,  
Marshall Jones, Co. 1921. Library of Congress - Law (83)

Contents to be noted:

Ch. 5, The pioneers and the law, p. 112-138.

Comments:

In conclusion, Dean Pound wrote: "Reviewing the influence of the pioneer upon our law, it may be conceded that we owe not a little to the vigorous good sense of the judges who made over the common law of England for our pioneer communities. Science might have sunk into pedantry where strong sense gave to America a practical system in which the traditional principles were made to work in a new environment. On the other hand this rapid development of law in a pioneer environment left a bad mark on our administration of justice. The descendants of the frontiersmen have been slow to learn that democracy is not necessarily a synonym of vulgarity and provincialism; that the court of a sovereign people may be surrounded by dignity which is the dignity of that people; that order and decorum conduce to the dispatch of judicial business, while disorder and easy-going familiarity retard it; that a counsellor at law may be a gentleman with fine professional feelings without being a member of a privileged caste; that a trial may be an agency of justice among a free people without being a forensic gladiatorial show; that a judge may be an independent, experienced, expert specialist without being a tyrant. In the federal courts and in an increasing number of the states something has been done to secure the dignity of judicial tribunals. But the country over there is still much to do. Not the least factor in making courts and bar efficient agencies for justice will be restoration of common-law ideals and deliverance of both from the yoke of crudity and coarseness which the frontier sought to impose on them." - p. 137-138.

The text of the essay is essentially the same as that of the author's article, "The Pioneers and the Common Law," in West Virginia Law Quarterly 27:1-19 (November 1920). See also Citations 3, 40, 77, 110-112.

RIEDEL, ROBERT E. America moves west. 595 p., maps. New York,  
Henry Holt & Co. 1930. F591.R53 (84)

Contents to be noted:

Ch. 42, Where has the frontier gone?, p. 563-566.

Comments:

Professor John C. Parish, in reviewing this book, wrote: "Mr. Riegel has chosen to present facts rather than to interpret. He has taken a stirring title and has written in an easy and readable style a book that can be used either as a text or as a survey for the general reader.... The strong tendency of the writer is toward descriptive presentation." - Minnesota History 12:70-72 (March 1931).

RIEGEL, ROBERT E. Continued.

Reviews:

Louis Pelzer, in Mississippi Valley Historical Review 18:575 (March 1932). R. K. Wyllys, in American Historical Review 37:811-812 (July 1932).

ROWE, HENRY KALLOCH. The history of religion in the United States. 213 p. New York, Macmillan Co. 1924. BR515.R6 (85)

Contents to be noted:

Ch. 5, Religion on the frontier, p. 72-89.

Comments:

The author's interest in the frontier is indicated in the following statement from the Preface: "The significance of religion in American history has been its gradual emancipation from the institutionalism and tradition of the Old World. Coming from Europe, the colonists brought as a part of their heritage the ideas and forms of a religion that was shackled by tradition among Protestants as well as among Catholics. The power of that tradition could not be shaken off easily. The European peoples never have succeeded in large numbers in the organization of free churches or the transformation of religious ideas. In America it became possible to think and act more unconventionally."

The chapter cited includes the following: "The frontier period of the history of religion in America had its consequences in the forms of church organization, in the development of certain characteristics in religious groups, in diversity of sects, and in an intensification of the independency that was won in the East when the frontier was a few miles back from the coast...."

"The people of the vanishing frontier of the West are capable of taking care of themselves. But the influences of the frontier will linger long in ecclesiastical circles. There will be a need of broadening, of culturing, so to speak, a need of faith in the spirit of man to work his way free from the limitations that have rested upon him as a religious being. The nation needs the idealism of the West, its democratic spirit, its intensity of conviction, but the churches of the West, at least, need to socialize their individualism, make efficient their democracy, and apply their idealism to the insistent problems that vex twentieth century civilization at home and abroad." - p. 85, 88.

Reviews:

C. B. Coleman, in American Historical Review 30:829-830 (July 1925). P. G. Mode, in Journal of Religion 5:431 (July 1925). Woodbridge Riley, in Nation 121:74 (July 8, 1925).



SAGE, WALTER N. Some aspects of the frontier in Canadian history. Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report, 1928, p. 62-72 (Ottawa, 1929). F1001.C26 (86)

Comments:

A discussion of the applicability to Canadian history of Professor Turner's hypothesis. The history of the Canadian frontier is closely interwoven with that of the United States. From the American Revolution to the War of 1812 the American frontier pushed into Upper Canada. During the middle of the nineteenth century, until Canada acquired her prairie provinces, the Canadian frontier was in the western United States. With the end of free land in the American West, American farmers turned to Canada's northwest.

Professor Sage concludes: "The influence of the American frontier has been most marked in the Prairie Provinces. As in the western States it has been a case of a debtor west and a creditor east. The result has been the same, the rise of agrarian political parties and the formation of cooperative societies.... The Canadian wheat pools have demonstrated the economic power of the western farmers. On the whole it is not perhaps too much to say that the western Canadians have profited from the mistakes as well as the successes of the American frontier.

"The Canadian frontier is not yet closed. There are still good agricultural lands waiting to be opened up; there is still a frontier line past which settlement has not progressed. This line in Canada has to be pressed northward rather than westward, although there is available land yet in the west. Possibly in a generation or so from now the frontier may cease to exist; that will depend upon the potentialities of the northern sections of Canada. When the Canadian frontier is closed Canada will then be in a similar condition to that in which the United States is today. The heroic age of the frontier will be over, and Canadians will have lost something which they can never regain." - p. 71-72.

SCHAFFER, JOSEPH. Concerning the frontier as safety valve. Political Science Quarterly 52:407-420. September 1937.

Comments: 280.8 P75 (87)

This article is a criticism of Citation 43. According to Dr. Schaffer, "The gentlemen are to be commended for the judicial tone they maintain throughout the articles, though serious doubts must be entertained about the validity of their methodology.... They concede that the popular belief of statesmen, politicians, philosophers, editors and the general public favored the validity of the safety-valve theory in its fullest extension. They also admit that all or nearly all historians have been of the same opinion. They even quote such outstanding land and labor specialists as Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Karl Marx on the same side of the question. But all this positive testimony they firmly set aside as illusory when the newspapers are found to be silent on the

SCHAFFER, JOSEPH. Continued.

subject of the migration of workers to the West and the few records of colonizing movements studied are also indecisive." - p. 408.

Attention is then called to "several notable omissions from their roll of adherents to the safety-valve theory," - namely Benjamin Franklin, with his Observations on the Peopling of Countries (Philadelphia, 1751); Thomas Jefferson, who "expressed conviction that imported handicraftsmen would 'after a while go to the plow and the hoe'"; and Alexander Hamilton, in his Report on Manufactures (1791).

Pages 412-419 supply data in reply to "Goodrich and Davison's challenging demand for 'concrete evidence' in support of the safety-valve theory."

The conclusion is as follows:

"Did the representation of former laborers and craftsmen among the owning farmers of the western states, as we have found them through local studies, affect the situation of industrial and other labor? To ask this question is to be compelled to answer it in the spirit of Benjamin Franklin writing 186 years ago: 'Until the land was fully settled, labor could not be cheap. And if, as Goodrich and Davison concede, the frontier 'tended to hold up the level of industrial wages', their elaborate argumentation falls to the ground, for wages are the proof of the safety valve's reality.

"The condition of American industrial labor has been by no means ideal. Yet, despite the disruptive effects of the successive immigrations and the near disaster incident to recurring depressions, a gradual if irregular advance in wages and in working conditions has been achieved latterly, of course, principally through effective organization. Were it not for the safety valve, which operated from the beginning of our national history, it is permissible to ask if American employers, served during many years by such a strong and steady influx of cheap labor from abroad, would have been more considerate of their employees than were the employing classes in France, Germany and England. Here is another question that statistics cannot answer. It is certain, however, that the effect of what has been called the safety valve has been largely psychological, operating alike upon laborers, employers and the general public." - p. 420.

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Peopling the Middle West. Wisconsin Magazine of  
History 21:85-106. September 1937. F576.W7 (88)

Comments:

This article is a valuable analysis of the utility of census statistics and other data in studies of American settlement, and because of this fact, it is basic in the discussions incident to the so-called safety-valve controversy.

The following quotations indicate the main points emphasized:



SCHAFFER, JOSEPH. Continued.

"The census figures representing the growth of population in these twelve commonwealths give a deceptive effect of regularity on the course of their settlement. It is conceivable that a plan for disposing of the land to individuals could have been devised which would have guaranteed a more or less steady movement westward, bringing contiguous new lands into cultivation year by year till first the Mississippi then the high plains had been reached. But it is very far from being the history of the actual process of settlement.

"That process can be described as spasmodic. The West, in fact, was occupied mainly through a succession of distinct movements, some of them of tremendous proportions, like that which brought into Oklahoma 50,000 persons in a single day of 1889, others comparatively light, like the migration of some 800 persons across plains and mountains to Oregon in 1843. The federal census, taken as it is at intervals of a decade, largely disguises such movements, flattening them out in ten-year averages." - p. 87.

"A corollary to the proposition that statistical tables fail to make clear the spasmodic character of western settlements is that despite fairly adequate figures on the subject, economists, historians, and the general reading public are prone to underestimate the natural increase as opposed to the enlargement of western communities through immigration because, as a people, we have been extraordinarily mobile." - p. 94.

"On every count, therefore, it is found the rural population is more stable than the urban. City life is plastic, mobile, responsive to a multitude of influences social, industrial, commercial, political that result in continual change. Rural life, having channeled its courses long since, responds grudgingly to impulses from without and yields only to the major forces of change. If we are to look for the older America anywhere, it will not be in the cities but among long established rural neighborhoods.

"Nor is it essential that these should be composed exclusively of families derived from the older American stock, for within the farming democracy with its local life in town-meeting, school-meeting, church, school, and market, dominated by American customs and ideals, adaptable foreigners and their families, whether originally English-speaking or not, became assimilated to the American tone of society in the space of a single generation. Except in cases where foreigners of non-English speech lived in colonies, they rarely preserved the old country traditions and customs longer. And the children of American-born children of foreigners are for the most part undistinguishable from old-line Americans." - p. 99-100.

"...our preoccupation with interior migration and with foreign immigration, films over the fact that, as soon as the lands of a new region have become mainly occupied by settlers of whatever derivation, natural increase of population along the lines of the original settlers is apt to be more important than



SCHAFFER, JOSEPH. Continued.

immigration in the further development of the population. Another general principle revealed by our statistical approach is that, so far as the rural population of the western states is concerned, foreign immigration, though very important in the first instance, tends on the farms to become 'native of natives' in a couple of generations. When we add that a new state, which relied for the original occupation of its lands upon out-of-state Americans and foreign immigrants became, as soon as the farms began to raise surplus children as well as surplus crops and live stock, itself a colonizer of newer regions, we have the outline of the process of building the Middle West. The tone of new-state civilization will depend upon the original population more definitely in its rural than in its urban aspect because a farm population is apt to hand down its characteristics while a city population responds more pliantly to the varied impulses of change." - p. 100-101.

"A trend toward colonizing implies that the colonizing community has reached the saturation point in its population development, considering the absorptive powers of its industries. In an agricultural region that point will be reached when the available good farm lands are all owned and used, and the farm families to a large extent have grown children who need land. New York, which was a chief colonizer of the Middle-western states, is an admirable example.... In like manner, as we have already seen the western states themselves became colonizers of the newer regions.

"But a reverse movement sets in also with the development of manufactures which absorb surplus population from the farms to some extent just as the newer frontiers absorbed surplus labor from the industrial centers. The people of these western states, having reached the agricultural saturation point, would not only 'go west' to find land but would 'go east' as well to find work or to the cities in their home states." - p. 105-106.

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Some facts bearing on the safety-valve theory. Wisconsin Magazine of History 20:216-232. December 1936. F576.W7 (89)

Comments:

This article is a commentary of the views given in Citations 42, 92, 94.

The use of the manuscript census returns and the indexes of the censuses now prepared by the WPA as well as diaries and letters are discussed.

"It is by no means contended that the bits of evidence presented above prove the affirmative of the safety-valve theory in the sense in which Goodrich and Davison or Shannon define it; they merely show that the negative ought not to be assumed lightly."

SCHAFFER, JOSEPH. Turner's America. Wisconsin Magazine of History  
17:447-465. June 1934. F576.W7 (90)

Comments:

On the death of Professor Turner, Professor Frederic L. Paxson "pronounced Turner 'the greatest Americanist of his generation.'

"That expression voiced the general sentiment of contemporaries in his field. With few exceptions, students of American institutions regarded him as their master, as the man who had peered most deeply into the complicated movements which underlay and conditioned American life.

"The standpoint from which Turner viewed his subject was that of the unflinching realist....

"And while, like the true scientist, equally ready to adopt or to reject hypotheses, he was as free from biasing allegiances as is possible to the mere human....

"Advancing beyond these preliminary considerations to see what was the conception of America entertained by Turner, we have a choice of approaches."

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Turner's frontier philosophy. Wisconsin Magazine of  
History 16:451-469. June 1933. F576.W7 (91)

Comments:

A cogent presentation of the main ideas in Turner's frontier hypothesis and a refutation of the contentions of his recent critics. Special attention is given to nationalism, the question of democracy, Americanization, and the limitations of the theory.

Supplement with the same author's article, "The Author of the Frontier Hypothesis," in the Wisconsin Magazine of History 15:86-103 (September 1931). This is "a kind of word picture" of Professor Turner at the time that his theory had its inception.

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Was the west a safety valve for labor? Mississippi  
Valley Historical Review 24:299-314. December 1937.

Comments:

134.8 M69 (92)

This paper was presented at a luncheon conference of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at St. Louis on Apr. 29, 1937. Professor Fred A. Shannon gave an oral rebuttal on the same occasion.

In introducing the subject, Benjamin Franklin's Observations Concerning the Peopling of Countries (Philadelphia, 1751), and later writings, Thomas Jefferson's Notes on Virginia (1781) and Alexander Hamilton's Report on Manufactures (1791) are quoted and interpreted as laying down "for the American people the easily accepted doctrine that an open, partially settled country like the United States was especially advantageous to labor because cheap lands guaranteed high wages." - p. 299.



SCHAFFER, JOSEPH. Continued.

In substantiation of this view, evidence on the influx of craftsmen, especially Germans, is given. The observations of foreign travelers in America who "saw mechanics and laborers going west to find favorable farming opportunities" are mentioned, and evidence from local history studies of the Middle West is also analyzed. The manuscript census returns, local biographies, and county histories are similarly utilized.

The conclusion is as follows: "From the results of these studies, it becomes probable that about one-third of the middle western farmers, around 1880, had earned their farms as laborers or craftsmen.... Did this representation of laborers and craftsmen among the owning farmers of the western states affect the situation of industrial and other labor?... until the land was fully settled, labor could not be cheap in the European sense. And if, as Goodrich and Davison very properly concede, the frontier 'tended to hold up the level of industrial wages,' the safety valve for labor was a reality whatever research may show as to the comparative fewness of the actual industrial laborers who became western farmers." - p. 313.

SEMPLE, ELLEN CHURCHILL. Influences of geographic environment, on the basis of Ratzel's system of anthropo-geography. 683 p., maps. New York, Henry Holt & Co. 1911. 278 Se5 (93)

Contents to be noted:

Ch. 7, Geographical boundaries, p. 204-241.

Bibliographical notes at the end of the chapters.

The pages cited in the index under "Boundaries."

Reviews:

American Geographical Society, Bulletin 43:937-939  
(December 1911).

SHANNON, FRED A. The homestead act and the labor surplus.

American Historical Review 41:637-651. July 1936.

Comments: E171.A57 (94)

This paper was first read at a session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Cincinnati on Apr. 26, 1935. The purpose is explained in the following introductory paragraph:

"Every American historian and all students of Western history are well acquainted with the declaration of the Superintendent of the Eleventh Census of the United States that by 1890 'the unsettled area [of the United States] has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line'. The reader of these words need not become prematurely alarmed - it is not the purpose of this paper either to amplify or attack the Turner hypothesis. Only some of the later perversions of the frontier philosophy will be considered. The Superintendent of the Census was very cautious in the phraseology of his state-



SHANNON, FEED A. Continued.

ment, and Professor Turner, in his original essay, did not attempt to read more into the sentence than its literal meaning conveyed. But long repetition, without frequent reference to the original text, plays tricks with the memory. Within a few years students were being told that by 1890 the frontier was gone, next that by 1890 the West was filled up with settlers, and finally that by 1890 all the free land in the West had been homesteaded. Since 1920 a fair proportion of the college textbooks in American history have contained such exaggerated statements as these in one form or another. Three out of five picked off the same shelf repeated the dogma in varying style. The pronouncements are so readily found that there is no need to make any embarrassing commitments concerning the authors or titles of the books examined." - p. 637-638.

The article concludes:

"But, whatever the basis of calculation, it cannot be denied that unemployment was a major economic ailment in every decade from 1865 to the close of the century, and it is equally certain that free land did not solve the problem. No doubt there was once a time in American history when underpaid, unemployed, or dissatisfied laborers could take their choice between continuing as intermittent wage employees or becoming freehold farmers; that wages of industrial labor were higher for that undefined period than they otherwise would have been; and that industrial strife, in consequence, was kept at a minimum. A more certain fact is that such conditions have not existed since the coming of the factory system. In other words, the much vaunted cheap or free public lands of the country, whatever may have been their effect in other regards, since the rise of a class-conscious labor group have not been of measurable consequence as an alleviator of labor conditions." - p. 651.

For a reinterpretation of the significance of the Homestead Act, see Paul Wallace Gates, "The Homestead Law in an Incongruous Land System," American Historical Review 41:652-681 (July 1936).

E171.A57

SHIELDS, W. EUGENE. The frontier hypothesis: a corollary.

Mid-America 17:3-9. January 1935.

BX1415.I3M5 (95)

Comments:

The article concludes with the following statement: "The whole story of the mission frontier is still to be written and appreciated.... When...energy...has been expended on the mission corollary, on the significance of the mission in the frontier story, there will appear a fuller understanding of what we Americans are and how we come to be such. And a far more sensible view of the power of religious forces in modern history will have been revealed." - p. 9.

SHIPP, RALPH. Frontier and American political life. The Aereid;  
A Kansas Quarterly 3:195-203. Fall 1932. (96)

Comments:

In this connection the author's conclusion is of interest:  
"At different times the frontier was in all parts of the United States. As long as the frontier was east of the Appalachian Mountains there was a tendency to look toward Europe and her institutions. The frontier west of the Appalachian Mountains looked west and tended to develop ideas of its own. As the frontier moved westward the old frontier would disappear and take on the conservative spirit. The true frontier has disappeared in the actual sense, but we still have throughout the middle-west a farmer who has to a great extent inherited the ideals of the old Frontier. At least his outlook is agricultural and for the most part he belongs to the debtor class.

"This present-day Westerner is the liberal thinker and actor. He is impatient of restraints and radical in times of stress. Since the frontier was the chief influence in so many of our country's contributions to democracy, we may look to the present Westerner to contribute his share to our democracy."

SHIPTON, CLIFFORD K. The New England frontier. New England  
Quarterly 10:25-36. March 1937. Fl.N62 (97)

Comments:

"New England is a striking example of that corollary of the theory of the influence of the frontier according to which the characteristics of the new society may owe more to the cultural importations of the settlers than to the new environment.

"Pre-revolutionary New England owed its democracy in church, education, and government, to the ideals of the European group which its first settlers represented. 'Frontier influence' is represented only in modifications and in certain less important departures, such as the abolition of primogeniture in intestate estates. The Puritan colonies were one of the most striking cases since the days of ancient Greek colonization of the successful transplanting of cultural ideals to a new environment." - p. 36.

SIMS, NEWELL LEROY, editor. The rural community, ancient and modern.  
916 p. New York [etc.], Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920.  
Contents to be noted: 281.2 S15 (98)

The rise of individualism, p. 121-126.

Comments:

The concluding statement is as follows: "More and more as settlement stretched westward were the ties that bind in social unity loosened. Society became increasingly atomic. Social organization grew feeble or disappeared. 'In most cases there was no original social body - no village with the school and church, and neighborly life. The individual was first, the community afterward. From the start the school district had the right of way, and any sect that could sustain itself



SIMS, NEWELL LEROY, editor. Continued.

pressed in, to the confounding of the ecclesiastical order. There was too much sectarianism, too much of clique and faction.' The border-man of the rapidly advancing frontier, eschewing communal life altogether, came to be the typical citizen of the rural regions of the far West.... Thus, pioneering constantly sorted out and fostered the most individualistic stock while at the same time it dissolved communal organization and relationship to their most elemental forms." - p. 126.

STAVRIANOS, L. S. Is the frontier theory applicable to the Canadian rebellions of 1837-1838? Michigan History Magazine 22: 326-337. Summer 1938. F561.M57 (99)

Comments:

This study of the extent to which westward expansion contributed to the Canadian rebellions of 1837-1838 supplies a comparison of the frontier process as it operated in United States and Canada.

"The growth of Canada has been influenced by a number of modifying factors not present in the American frontier, which have made impossible the acceptance of the Turner thesis with all its economic, social and political implications. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the frontier theory is wholly inapplicable to Canadian history. This is especially true of the period leading to the rebellions of 1837-38, when the Canadas were influenced by the prosperous American republic with its Jacksonian democracy, as well as by a frontier environment similar in many respects to that on the American frontier. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to estimate to what extent, if at all, the Turner hypothesis is applicable to the Canadian rebellions." - p. 326.

STEPHENSON, NATHANIEL W. An illustration of the frontier as seed bed. American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch, Proceedings, 1928, p. 56-66. E172.A60 (100)

Comments:

This article has been summarized as follows:

"Unlike the westward movement in the North, which was one of discontented classes, that in the South, at least after 1820, was one of social expansion of contented portions of the older communities. Radicalism in the South between 1800 and 1850 found an outlet in the free Northwest. At the same time Southerners received leaders from the North such as J. A. Quitman and S. S. Prentiss, who sought to maintain the plantation system because they liked it. Mississippi is the most complete illustration of social expansion on the southern frontier. Statistics show there: (1) an unequivocal attachment to the plantation system; (2) settlements all-southern in character; (3) complete southernizing of northern settlers; (4) vigorous acceptance of slavery as basis of social life.



STEINBENDER, NATHANIEL W. Continued.

More important is the fact that the frontier in the South exerted a generalizing effect upon the State Rights man: he became a southern nationalist. In the South Carolina Convention of 1852, secession was prevented by Cheves, Barnwell, and A. P. Butler, ardent secessionists, who wished to wait until all Southern states would join. Jefferson Davis' struggle in the Confederacy with true States Rights men shows the strength of his southern nationalism. Movement for southern independence was a joint movement of: (1) those devoted to political independence of individual states; (2) those considering political devices a means to maintaining a social order." - F. P. Weisenburger, in Social Science Abstracts 4:20654 (December 1932).

SWEET, WILLIAM WARREN. The story of religions in America. 571 p., illus. New York and London, Harper & Bros. 1930.

Contents to be noted: BR515.S82 (101)  
Ch. 1, Creative forces in American religion, p. 1-10,  
especially p. 4-6.

Comments:

See also the same author's Our American Churches (New York, Cincinnati, Methodist Book Co., 1924), ch. 4, The American churches during and following the Revolution, p. 36-44. BR515.S8

TAYLOR, GRIFFITH. The frontiers of settlement in Australia. Geographical Review 16:1-25, illus., maps. January 1926.

Comments: 500 An35G (102)

The subject is discussed in terms of the following topics: Exploration and present settlement; Is there a desert in Australia?; Comparison with the United States and northern Africa; The empty tropical lands; Communications; Habitability of Australia; General survey of the fringe of settlement.

THOMAS, JOHN MARTIN. Influence of frontier life on American Christianity. New Jersey Historical Society, Proceedings 11:1-18. January 1926. F131.N58 (103)

Comments:

The article includes the following statements: "By force of frontier circumstances each man's religion in America became his own affair. Neither Church nor State followed the frontiersman into the forest to determine his religion for him....

"It was by force of the same frontier circumstances that the doctrine of complete religious liberty and the separation of Church and State, often declared the greatest contribution of America to civilization and the world, had its origin." - p. 10.

THOMAS, JOHN MARTIN. Continued.

"By virtue of the same frontier circumstances America is the home of religious sects above all other lands in the world." - p. 12.

"America has made anew of Christianity what it was in Galilee - an enthusiasm, a heroism, a passion of the heart of man to accomplish the will of God on earth. And the work has been done, not in the eastern centers of thought and culture, not in the studies of learned divines, but out in the open where men conquered the forests and built homes for a nation of a hundred million men." - p. 17-18.

THOMPSON, JAMES WESTFALL. Profitable fields of investigation in medieval history. *American Historical Review* 18:490-504. April 1913. E171.A57 (104)

Comments:

This article, presented at the conference on medieval history of the American Historical Association in Boston on Dec. 28, 1912, is interesting for the analogies between the American westward movement and German eastward expansion in the Middle Ages. "This parallel...is not a fanciful one. With scarcely more than changes of dates and proper names many of the paragraphs in Professor Turner's essay may be applied to German medieval history." - p. 495.

The theme of this article was elaborated in a paper on "East German Colonization in the Middle Ages" at the session on medieval history of the American Historical Association in Washington, D. C., Dec. 28, 1915. In this second paper, Professor Thompson explained "the economic and social motives which, in settled western Germany, led small landowners and the dispossessed to retire before the extension of large proprietorship and the feudal system and to take refuge and seek free land and carve out new fortunes in the thinly populated lands lying to the eastward. On the other hand, he traced, from Charlemagne's time to the thirteenth century, the development of successive frontiers and the progressive acquisition of one Slavic area after another. In the time of Charlemagne the frontier of settlement barely reached beyond the Rhine. Under the Saxon emperors it was extended to the Aller and the Saale, to Bamberg and the mountains of Styria. During the Franconian period Wendish revolts in Nordalbingia and Slavic resistance elsewhere prevented farther advance, but under the first Hohenstaufens the forward pressure of the Germans carried them quickly to the occupation of Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and Pomerania. The machinery for the encouragement of settlement, the system of rectangular survey, the methods of economic exploitation, were effectively described, and the analogies between the eastward movement of the Germans and the westward movement characteristic of American history were shown to be much more than superficial." - Annual Report, p. 35.

For the complete text, see the American Historical Association, Annual Report, 1915, p. 125-150. E172.A60



TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS CHARLES HENRI MAURICE CLÉREL DE. De la  
démocratie en Amérique. 2 v. Bruxelles, Louis Hauman et  
comp<sup>e</sup>. 1835. JK216.T65-1835 (105)

Comments:

This notable work is included in this bibliography because the general tone is complementary to the frontier interpretation.

The French edition was translated by Henry Reeve and published in four volumes under the title, *Democracy in America* (London, Saunders & Otley, 1835-1840). JK216.T7-1835

A translation by Henry Reeve was also published under the title, *Democracy in America*, with an original preface and notes by John C. Spencer (New York, G. Dearborn & Co., 1838. xxx, 464 p.). JK216.T7-1838

The following articles and books discuss Tocqueville and his work on *Democracy in America*: Edwin Lawrence Godkin, "Aristocratic Opinions of Democracy," *North American Review* 100:194-232 (January 1865); see Citation 40. Richmond Laurin Hawkins, ed., "Unpublished Letters of Alexis de Tocqueville," *Romantic Review* 19:195-217 (July 1928). Matthew Josephson, "A Century after Tocqueville," *Virginia Quarterly Review* 14: 579-595 (Autumn 1938). William E. Lingelbach, "American Democracy and European Interpreters," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 61:1-25 (January 1937), especially p. 2-13. [Julia Maynard, ed.], "M. de Tocqueville Inquires about New England," *New England Quarterly* 7:142-145 (1934). George Wilson Pierson, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938. 352 p., illus.). Harold Spender, "America Now and in the 'Thirties: In the Steps of De Tocqueville," *Fortnightly Review* (n.s.) 110: 1-13 (July 1921). Harold W. Stoke, "De Tocqueville's Appraisal of Democracy - Then and Now," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 36:14-22 (January 1937). Fortunat Strowski, "La démocratie en Amérique, d'Alexis de Tocqueville, et l'Amérique actuelle," *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, Paris, 26(4):366-374 (Jan. 30, 1925). Paul Lambert White, "American Manners in 1830," *Yale Review* (n.s.) 12:118-131 (October 1922). Douglas Woodruff, "De Tocqueville on the United States," *Dublin's Review* 182:275-285 (April 1928).

TREVELYAN, GEORGE OTTO. The life and letters of Lord Macaulay.  
2 v. New York, Harper & Bros. 1877. DA3.M3.T5 (106)

Contents to be noted:

Lord Macaulay on American institutions, 2:407-412,  
especially the letter from T. B. Macaulay to  
H. S. Randall, dated May 23, 1857, p. 407-410.

Comments:

The following quotation from the letter cited above is of interest: "As long as you have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land, your laboring population will be far more at ease than the laboring population of the Old World, and, while that is the case, the Jefferson politics may continue to exist without causing any fatal calamity." - p. 408.



TRIMBLE, WILLIAM J. The influence of the passing of the public lands. Atlantic Monthly 113:755-767. June 1914.

Comments:

AP2.A8 (107)

The article includes the following significant statements: "However natural and often defensible, under the economic conditions of the free-land era, exploitive methods may have been, they are now not only unsuited to the present age, but are reprehensible from the standpoint of its needs and instincts. Instead, scientific methods are displacing the old as rapidly perhaps as we have a right to expect. The full effect of the movement toward a scientific, permanent system of agriculture will probably not be felt until the children and young people who are now being trained in the new agriculture take their places in life. No one who comes into contact with the boys and girls of our great corn-growing and bread-making contests and like movements, or with the earnest students in our agricultural colleges, can fail to appreciate the great renovation of agriculture which is preparing....

"The transformation which is under way in agricultural life is but a part of the vast process of change through which we are passing. In this process the most far-reaching and vital problems have to do with the influence upon American democracy of the passing of the public lands." - p. 761, 762.

The article is reprinted in part under the title, "Some influences of the Passing of the Public Lands," in L. B. Schmidt and E. D. Ross, eds., Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture, p. 339-345 (New York, 1925).

TUGWELL, REXFORD G. No more frontiers. Today 4(9):3-4, 21, illus. June 22, 1935.

280.8 T562 (108)

Comments:

This article includes the following paragraphs: "For three hundred years we have been wasting our heritage in riotous farming. The limitless free lands of the virgin continent which our pioneer ancestors found awaiting them when they set foot on this soil have limits now. The traditions and practices of careful agriculture which had been instilled into the English yeomen and European peasants by generations of experience were neglected here and the kind of agriculture which successively injured the fertility of New England and of the Piedmont area was too often adopted.

"The essence of this form of agriculture was that a man did not expect to spend more than twenty years in farming any one piece of land. A farmer would marry and beget sons. When the children came of working age, the father would deed the land to his eldest son by mortgage and retire to live on the proceeds for the rest of his life. The younger sons moved westward and staked out, preempted, 'squatted on' or otherwise got hold of farms on which to repeat this process. It was all very romantic - much of our national epic was

TUGWELL, REXFORD G. Continued.

based upon this way of life -- but it was also very short-sighted. No man expected a piece of ground to support his family for more than a generation, and even the best soil cannot stand such exploitation for more than two generations.

"It is a matter of record with us that some of the most fertile land of early America is now waste, covered with scrubby second growth, dotted with abandoned farms, inhabited by a dwindling population which supports life by exploiting the tourist trade and selling antiques to 'summer people.' In other words, the typical American system of farming from the very first has been ruinously extensive as distinguished from the slow, laborious and conservative intensive farming which characterizes old-world agriculture. It is a further fact worth noting that many of our racial and agrarian difficulties in the Far West and in New England itself have arisen through the competition of recent immigrants who deliberately adopted intensive methods of agriculture and made the land pay where the native American farmer could not. A technical crisis in our agriculture occurred about a century ago when the invention of the mechanical reaper placed a premium on extensive farming in the prairie regions, where the old-style hand-farming of the early pioneers was impracticable. This followed the earlier invention of the cotton gin which set a premium on extensive cotton culture. As a result, the early habits of our ancestors received the most powerful reinforcement from industry and science, and America became the land of agricultural mass production even before it adopted industrial mass production. The Homestead Act of 1862 signed the death warrant of the prudent use of our land resources."

See also the same author's article, "Resettling America: A Vast Land Program," in New York Times, Jan. 14, 1934, sect. 8, p. 1. The following passage reflects the significance of the frontier: "We have swarmed over this continent like demanding, thoughtless children.... Now we must settle down, put our lands in order, rid our hearts and minds of the barbaric notion that unlimited economic conflict leads somehow to universal balance and plenty, and learn to live together as a civilized people should.... This Nation has come of age and turned from a confused and wistful appeal to the past to confront the future."

This article was also issued in mimeographed form by the U. S. Department of Agriculture with the title, "Renewed Frontiers."

See also the same author's address before the Federation of Bar Associations of Western New York, Rochester, June 24, 1933, issued in mimeographed form by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and printed in part with the title, "Government in a Changing World," in Review of Reviews 88(2):33-34, 56 (August 1933), and with the title, "Design for Government," in Political Science Quarterly 48:321-332 (September 1933).



TURNER, FREDERICK JACKSON. The early writings of Frederick Jackson Turner. With a list of all his works compiled by Everett E. Edwards and an introduction by Fulmer Mood. 316 p. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press. 1938. Contents to be noted: 135 T85E (109)

Preface, by Louise Phelps Kellogg, p. v-ix.  
Turner's formative period, by Fulmer Mood, p. 3-39.  
The significance of history, by Frederick Jackson Turner, p. 43-68. Reprinted from Wisconsin Journal of Education (Madison), 21:230-234, 253-256 (October, November 1891).  
Problems in American history, by Frederick Jackson Turner, p. 71-83. Reprinted from Aegis (Madison, Wis.), 7:48-52 (Nov. 4, 1892).  
The character and influence of the Indian trade in Wisconsin, by Frederick Jackson Turner, p. 87-181. Reprinted from the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, ser. 9, nos. 11-12 (Baltimore, 1891. 94 p.).

The significance of the frontier in American history, by Frederick Jackson Turner, p. 185-229. Comparison of differing versions of "The Significance of the Frontier," in Appendix, p. 275-292.

Bibliography of the writings of Frederick Jackson Turner and references on his life and work, compiled by Everett E. Edwards, p. 233-272. In this bibliography "a special effort has been made to indicate the evolution of Turner's ideas, at least in a general way, by listing the titles chronologically, and likewise to epitomize the history of his essays and books by the notation of their various oral and printed presentations." - p. 233.

Reviews:

Kirk Bates, in Milwaukee Journal, Jan. 27, 1939, sect. 1, p. 16. H. H. Bellot, in Minnesota History 19:432-434 (December 1938). G. W. Brown, in Canadian Historical Review 19:412 (December 1938). H. S. Commager, in N. Y. Herald Tribune Books, Aug. 28, 1938, p. 12. Avery Craven, in Mississippi Valley Historical Review 25:567-569 (March 1939). W. O. Lynch, in Indiana Magazine of History 34:346-347 (September 1938). Max Otto, in Wisconsin State Journal (Madison), Oct. 1, 1938, sect. 1, p. 4. E. L. Ryan, in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 46:373-374 (October 1938). Joseph Schafer, in Wisconsin Magazine of History 22:213-231 (December 1938). Georgia Historical Quarterly 23:100-101 (March 1939). Missouri Historical Review 33:283-284 (January 1939). St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Oct. 1, 1938, sect. 1, p. 4a.

\_\_\_\_\_ The frontier in American history. 375 p. New York, Henry Holt & Co. 1920. E178.T95 (110)

Contents to be noted:

Note particularly the initial essay, The Significance of the Frontier in American History, p. 1-38. It was originally



TURNER, FREDERICK JACKSON. Continued.

printed in the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Proceedings (1893) 41:79-112, and in the American Historical Association, Annual Report, 1893, p. 199-227. It is also in Charles Jesse Bullock, editor, Selected Readings in Economics, p. 23-59 (Boston, 1907), and with additions in the National Herbart Society, Yearbook (1899) 5:7-41.

The following are the titles of the other essays in this volume:

- 2, The first official frontier of the Massachusetts Bay, p. 39-66. Reprinted from Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications 17(Transactions, 1913-14):250-271.
- 3, The Old West, p. 67-125. Reprinted from Wisconsin State Historical Society, Proceedings (1908) 56:184-233.
- 4, The Middle West, p. 126-156. Reprinted from International Monthly 4:794-820 (December 1901).
- 5, The Ohio Valley in American history, p. 157-176. Reprinted from Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications 20:32-47 (January 1911), and in History Teacher's Magazine 2:147-152 (March 1911). Originally read in 1909.
- 6, The significance of the Mississippi Valley in American history, p. 177-204. Reprinted from Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Proceedings for 1909-10, 3:159-184.
- 7, The problem of the West, p. 205-221. Reprinted from Atlantic Monthly 78:289-297 (September 1896).
- 8, Dominant forces in western life, p. 222-242. Reprinted from Atlantic Monthly 79:433-443 (April 1897).
- 9, Contributions of the West to American democracy, p. 243-268. Reprinted from Atlantic Monthly 91:83-96 (January 1903).
- 10, Pioneer ideals and the State university, p. 269-289.
- 11, The West and American ideals, p. 290-310. Reprinted from Washington Historical Quarterly 5:243-257 (October 1914).
- 12, Social forces in American history, p. 311-334. Reprinted from American Historical Review 16:217-233 (January 1911), and in part in Magazine of History 13:111-118 (March 1911).
- 13, Middle western pioneer democracy, p. 335-359. Reprinted from Minnesota History Bulletin 3:393-414 (August 1920).

Comments:

In reviewing this collection of essays Professor C. W. Alvord wrote: "Mr. Turner's special genius lies in synthesis. It was by synthesis, based, of course, on analysis, that he arrived at a new viewpoint for our national history and laid the foundation for its reinterpretation. Some day in the distant future when a history of American historiography is written, Mr. Turner will be given a very notable place. No one since Bancroft has so completely redirected the course of historical research as has this westerner. His emphasis on the frontier his analysis of its conditions, his insistence on its influence on the building of American character, his history of its movement across the continent and his proof of

TURNER, FREDERICK JACKSON. Continued.

its weight in politics and national issues have formed the vantage ground for his new outlook on American history, the value of which his students and followers are further proving." - Mississippi Valley Historical Review 7:403-407 (March 1921).

Certain of Dr. Allen Johnson's comments are also of interest. In a review in the American Historical Review 26: 542-543 (April 1921), he wrote: "The period of American history covered by this collection of essays and addresses is what Professor Turner calls 'the age of colonization which came gradually to an end with the disappearance of the frontier and free land'. It is now twenty-seven years since the first of these illuminating essays...was read at a meeting of the American Historical Association. What was then a fresh and exceedingly suggestive interpretation of our history has come to be almost a commonplace in American historiography, so completely have the younger historians made this point of view their own.... Professor Turner has a gift for epigrammatic expression; and many of his incisive statements may be recalled with profit by those who have followed eagerly the trail he has blazed. American historians are prone to forget that 'the West, at bottom, is a form of society, rather than an area', and that 'not the Constitution, but free land and an abundance of natural resources open to a fit people, made the democratic type of society in America for three centuries'." - American Historical Review 26: 542-543 (April 1921).

See also Professor Turner's article, "Frontier in American Development," in Cyclopedia of American Government, edited by Andrew C. McLaughlin and Albert Bushnell Hart, 2:61-64 (New York and London, D. Appleton & Co., 1914). Its topics are: frontier line; frontier characteristics; frontier zones; successive changes; significance in eighteenth century; early nineteenth century; in national politics; sectional effects; effect on diplomacy; effect on adventurous characters; effect on political organizations; economic combinations; conservation; references.

See also Professor Turner's article, "West as a Factor in American Politics," in Cyclopedia of American Government, edited by Andrew C. McLaughlin and Albert Bushnell Hart, 3: 668-675 (New York and London, D. Appleton & Co., 1914).

Reviews:

For references to reviews of this collection of essays, see p. 263 of Citation 109.

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The significance of sections in American history.

Introduction by Max Farrand. 347 p., maps. New York, Henry Holt & Co. 1932. EL78.T96 (111)

Contents to be noted:

- 1, Problems in American history, p. 3-21. Reprinted from International Congress of Arts and Science, St. Louis, 1904, Congress of Arts and Science, Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904, edited by Howard J. Rogers



TURNER, FREDERICK JACKSON. Continued.

- 2:183-194 (New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1906).
- 2, The significance of the section in American history, p. 22-51. Reprinted from Wisconsin Magazine of History 3:255-280 (March 1925).
  - 4, Western State-making in the Revolutionary era, p. 86-138. Reprinted from American Historical Review 1:70-87, 251-269 (October 1895, January 1896).
  - 6, Geographical influences in American political history, p. 183-192. Reprinted from Bulletin of the American Geographical Society 46:591-595 (August 1914).
  - 7, Geographical sectionalism in American history, p. 193-206. Reprinted from Annals of the Association of American Geographers 16:85-93 (June 1926).
  - 8, Since the foundation [of Clark University (1889)], p. 207-234. Reprinted from Publications of the Clark University Library 7(3):9-24 (February 1924). Reprinted in Historical Outlook 15:335-342 (November 1924).
  - 9, The West - 1876 and 1926, p. 235-255. Reprinted from World's Work 52:319-327 (July 1926).
  - 10, The children of the pioneers, p. 256-286. Reprinted from Yale Review 15:645-670 (July 1926).
  - 11, Is sectionalism in America dying away?, p. 287-314. Reprinted from American Journal of Sociology 13:661-675 (March 1908).
  - 12, Sections and nation, p. 315-339. Reprinted from Yale Review 12:1-21 (October 1922).

Comments:

"Every chapter of this volume is a refrain of the note struck in Professor Turner's epoch-making paper on 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History'...namely, 'the peculiar importance of American history for understanding the processes of social development'.... He never swerved from the conviction that 'the free lands of the United States have been the most important single factor in explaining our development'." - George M. Stephenson, in Minnesota History 14:316-318 (September 1933).

"In this volume the ripest product of Turner's thinking is admirably set forth in the two essays on 'Sections and Nation,' and 'The Significance of the Section in American History,'... Together they go far toward meeting the current reaction against the emphasis on the frontier hypothesis." - Jonas Viles, in Mississippi Valley Historical Review 20:579 (March 1934).

"It was a natural next step that carried Turner from the study of the frontiers to that of the sections. In a way, the frontier which he first saw was a sort of peripatetic section, shifting always with the recession of 'the hither edge of free land', but ever retaining such uniformity of characteristics as to draw attention to frontier significance. Among the frontiers the uniformities were attached to a stage of functional process; but there are other uniformities,



TURNER, FREDERICK JACKSON. Continued.

dependent upon natural resources or topographic strategy, quite as uniform, and Turner came to see them as fully as important....

"Not all of the dozen papers that are assembled here belong to Turner's later life, but each of them has something to add of his great hypothesis. And in the one that concludes the volume, Sections and Nation, he passes from the realm of history to that of statesmanship and prophecy as he discusses what chance the American ideals have to survive, against the background that gave them birth, and in the face of the world with which they have to live." - Frederic L. Paxson, in American Historical Review 38:773-774 (July 1933).

See also Professor Turner's article, "Sectionalism in the United States," in Cyclopedia of American Government, edited by Andrew C. McLaughlin and Albert Bushnell Hart, 3:280-285 (New York and London, D. Appleton & Co., 1914).

Reviews:

For references to reviews of this collection of essays, see p. 266 of Citation 109.

U. S. NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LAW OBSERVANCE AND ENFORCEMENT.

Enforcement of the prohibition laws of the United States. Message from the President of the United States transmitting a report of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement relative to the facts as to the enforcement, the benefits, and the abuses under the prohibition laws, both before and since the adoption of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution. Issued also as no. 2 in the series of Reports, v. 1. (71st Cong., 3d sess. House Doc. 722). 162 p. Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Off. 1931.

Contents to be noted: 148 9361 (112)

Separate Report of Henry W. Anderson, especially the section, "The Causes for Existing Conditions," p. 91-98.

Comments:

The section referred to includes the following paragraphs: "The Eighteenth Amendment and the National Prohibition Act undertake to establish one uniform rule of conduct as to alcoholic beverages for over one hundred and twenty million people throughout the territory of the United States. This large and widely scattered population contains elements of nearly every race in the world. Many of them are but recently derived from their parent stocks. They still cling, in a greater or less degree, to the social conceptions of the races from which they sprang, and to the habits and customs of their inheritance.

"The social, political, and economic views of these elements and groups are correspondingly varied and often conflicting. This variety or conflict of view finds direct expression in their personal habits, and is reflected in the

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thought and political organizations of the communities in which they live. Some of the political divisions of the country have had centuries of existence with settled habits and fixed social customs. Others are but the recent outgrowths of frontier life and have all those characteristics of independence, and of resentments of social control, incident to pioneer conditions.

Few things are so stubborn and unyielding as habits and conceptions of personal or political conduct which have their roots in racial instincts or social traditions. As a consequence of this truth - so often ignored - the development of that social and institutional cohesion which is essential to the spirit and fact of nationality is always a matter of slow and painful evolution. It can not be hurried by mandate of law. It comes only through the influence of association and understanding, through the development of common ideals and interests, the reluctant yielding of individual freedom to the demands of social organization....

"As the older communities became settled and individual freedom of action became limited by necessary social restraints, the more adventurous elements moved on to the frontier. New states were organized to begin again the difficult process of social adjustment. The frontier only disappeared late in the last century.

"In the meantime successive tides of immigration have brought into this confused and divergent social order new elements of various races, customs and ideals which have created strong cross currents in the stream of American life and have tended to affect its flow.

"Under modern conditions the progress of the United States toward that stage of social uniformity and cohesion which would admit of national regulation of matters affecting personal habit and conduct has been more rapid than that of older nations, but it appears yet to be far from actual attainment. The social and economic outlook, habits, and customs of the urban and industrial communities of the East are necessarily different from those of the agricultural communities of the South or West, of the more recently settled areas of the frontier." - p. 92, 93.

VANCE, RUPERT B. Frontier; geographical and social aspects. Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, edited by Edwin R. A. Seligman, 6:503-505. New York, Macmillan Co. 1931. 280 Enl v.6

(113)

Comments:

Professor Vance's conclusion is as follows: "The frontier has had considerable impact on American economic life and opinion. It opened a new economic hinterland with its wealth of resources and its problems of internal improvements and government control. It gave the common man easy access to the public domain. The difficulty of



VANCE, RUPERT B. Continued.

maintaining a labor supply in the face of free land was partly met in different sections by slavery and immigration. The presence of unassimilated Negroes and immigrants conspired with the native working man's tendency to take up lands in the west to retard the growth of an American labor movement. The laissez faire philosophy of the frontier meant freedom to exploit natural resources. The situation encouraged land grabbing, hasty skimming of natural resources, corrupt politics and speculation in mining, ranching and real estate deals. Mistakes were quickly cured by expansion into the public domain, and the resulting prosperity constituted an argument in favor of lax policies. In this sense the heritage of the public domain has left America a generation behind Germany and England in programs of social legislation.

"In other spheres the frontier has dissolved old patterns and directed an insurrectionary attack on new ones. It cut the ground from under the traditional aristocratic political thinking of the Federalists. It displaced the idealogical democracy of the thinkers of the French and American revolutions by a workaday democracy that glorified the common man while it left the actual machinery of government to professional politicians and a spoils system. It served as the setting of experiments in political and social adaptation and in the wheat belt aided in assimilating certain foreign groups. In religion it was important in substituting sects for a more comprehensive church and emphasis on revivals and emotional experience for religious nurture and confirmation.... The frontier gave American literature new subject matter and a new viewpoint, reaching characteristic expressions in David Crockett's Autobiography, Bret Harte, Hamlin Garland and, above all, Mark Twain."

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Human geography of the South; a study in regional resources and human adequacy. 596 p., illus. Chapel Hill, Univ. N. C. Press. 1932. 278.002 V26 (114)

Contents to be noted:

Ch. 4, The heritage of the frontier, p. 59-76.

The pages cited under "Frontier, American" in the index.

Comments:

Professor Vance summarizes with these comments: "In the South today it can safely be said that no flavor is stronger than that imparted by the frontier. No trait of the frontier can safely be neglected by the social historian as an antiquarian's item....

"The South still possesses the largest number of practically self-sufficing farms to be found in any comparable area in the nation. Its rural life is characterized by isolated farmsteads in the open country. If southern conditions of living have often appeared crude to the critics, it is for the reason that they have retained not only the



VANCE, RUPERT B. Continued.

usages but often the conditions of the frontier. More than any other section except the sparsely settled western range it has remained a pioneer belt, and the common man living in the open country faces much the same situation with the cultural heritage left by the frontier. While they were formative the folkways of the South got the stamp of the frontier. From the frontier, part of the area passed to the plantation, but the plantation area retained many of the frontier traits. Institutions and customs are still tinged with the shades of the forest, whether as survivals or as adjustments to ruralism." - p. 75, 76.

VAN DOREN, MARK. The repudiation of the pioneer. English  
Journal 17:616-623. October 1928. FEL.E5 (115)

Comments:

A discussion of what the author calls "a movement against the frontier, an effort to cast out of ourselves the last remaining vestiges of the thing we have been in the habit of honoring - the pioneer spirit."

The author concluded: "Now that we are fairly compact as a people, and stand facing a future which will not excuse us if we fail to be interesting, it is our privilege - I do not say it is our duty - to be interesting. We can do this by ceasing to harp upon our pioneering past, by bothering no longer about our origins, our character, our destiny, and by settling down to produce a number of grown-up, independent interpretations of the universe."

WALLACE, HENRY A. New frontiers. 314 p. New York, Reynal &  
Hitchcock. 1934. 280.12 W152 (116)

Contents to be noted:

Ch. 1, Explorers and pioneers, p. 3-13.

Ch. 21, Beyond the frontier, p. 269-287.

Comments:

The following are pertinent quotations: "the land frontier of the United States is gone. Depression can no longer be solved by shipping the unemployed West. We must learn to live with each other. We have no longer enormous, unexploited natural resources awaiting only the touch of young and vigorous hands to be transformed into fabulous, individual wealth." - p. 271.

"the hopes and fears that existed in the old frontier furnished a unity to our national life. For a hundred and fifty years we felt it was manifest destiny to push onward, until the Pacific Coast was reached, until all the fertile lands between had been plowed and bound together by railroads and paved highways.

"The obvious physical task to which we set ourselves has been accomplished; and in so doing, we have destroyed in

**WALLACE, HENRY A.** Continued.

large measure the thing which gave us hope and unity as a people.

"We now demand a new unity, a new hope. There are many spiritual and mental frontiers yet to be conquered, but they lead in many different directions and our hearts have not yet fully warmed to any one of them. They do not point in an obvious single direction as did that downright physical challenge which, for so many generations, existed on the Western edge of our life. Now we have come to the time when we must search our souls and the relationship of our souls and bodies to those of other human beings," - p. 272-273.

"The keynote of the new frontier is cooperation just as that of the old frontier was individualistic competition. The mechanism of progress of the new frontier is social invention, whereas that of the old frontier was mechanical invention and the competitive seizure of opportunities for wealth. Power and wealth were worshiped in the old days. Beauty and justice and joy of spirit must be worshiped in the new." - p. 274.

Reviews:

Grace Abbott, in *Social Service Review* 9:142-144 (March 1935). H. E. Barnes, in *Nation* 139:654 (Dec. 5, 1934). I. M. Beard, in *Survey Graphic* 24:41 (January 1935). Antonio Fossati, in *Giornale degli Economisti* 50(6):533-539 (June 1935). M. H., in *Unemployment Relief Digest* 2(3):40-42 (Feb. 4, 1935). Henry Hazlitt, in *New York Times Book Review*, Oct. 7, 1934, p. 1, 16. C. L. King, in *American Political Science Review* 29:314-316 (April 1935). B. Y. Landis, in *Rural America* 12(9):11 (December 1934). Sir Willmott Lewis, in *New York Herald Tribune Books* 11(5):1, 2 (Oct. 7, 1934). E. M. Patterson, in *American Academy of Political and Social Science, Annals* 179:248-249 (May 1935). A. A. Rogers, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 21:586-588 (March 1935). *Barron's* 14(42):6 (Oct. 15, 1934).

**WEBB, WALTER PRESCOTT.** *Divided we stand: the crisis of a frontierless democracy.* 239 p. New York, Farrar & Rinehart. 1937.

HC103.3.W37 (117)

Contents to be noted:

- 1, The three sections, p. 3-13.
- 2, The North takes the lead, p. 14-50.
- 3, The rise of America's feudal system, p. 51-85.
- 4, Everywhere in chains, p. 86-131.
- 5, The song of the machine, p. 132-153.
- 6, The crisis of a frontierless democracy, p. 154-216.
- 7, Is there a way out?, p. 217-239.

Comments:

"The interpretation that follows is the result of a prolonged study of American history accompanied by the desire to isolate and define the elemental forces that have shaped domestic affairs between the dates that mark the surrender of Robert E. Lee and the defeat of Herbert Hoover.



WEBB, WALTER PRESCOTT. Continued.

If the line between the two events seems to run too straight, it cannot be charged as a common fault of those who interpret contemporary life. If the forces credited with having driven us from the first point to the second are considered too few, they at least have good claim to being elemental, and especially so if they have been dynamic enough to make a straight broad path from there to here. The closing frontier and the growing corporations -- both synonymous with decreasing common opportunity -- are offered as mated keys to the recent crisis of the modern world's first great democracy." -- p. vi.

Reviews:

Elizabeth Cochran, in *Social Education* 2:518-519 (October 1938). A. C. Cole, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 25:294-295 (September 1938). J. F. Dobic, in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 41:257-259 (January 1938). *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 22:205 (June 1938).

WILSON, CHARLES MORROW. *The surviving American frontier.*

*Current History* 34:189-192. May 1931.

D501.N5 (118)

Comments:

The author's argument is stated in the following quotation: "Frontier life in America for two centuries has been characterized as rigorous and abounding in hardship, as a life of primitive initiative, a life permeated with virile and spontaneous democracy, embodying a distinctive society, adaptable to place and environment. All these generalities to a certain extent are valid. But in one basic respect the popular conception of the frontier is decidedly at variance with fact, that is, in assuming that the age of frontiers is passed, that the American frontier, as a transient institution, has long ago become part of history.... the American frontier continues to live, manned by a newer and even finer generation of frontiersmen, our contemporary backwoods Americans. It is a vast commonwealth, actual and far-spread, with the primary characteristics of difficult terrain, paucity of cashable resources and consequent union of isolation and poverty. Probably its most extensive centre remains in the Southern Highlands.... The frontier is present in almost every section -- in the new West and the old East, in New England, the Lake country and in the high empire of the Rockies, in the marginal fringes of the Corn Belt, in the variable South, from the red lands of Georgia to the black lands of Pennsylvania, in the Creole everglades and the Germanic mid-West, in the Tidewater and on the Pacific Coast.

"The boundaries of this America are neither arbitrary nor permanent. Modern highways make their way even into the wildest and most isolated mountain valleys. Cheap automobiles come by the sputtering millions. Government mail, supervised



WILSON, CHARLES MORROW. Continued.

schools, radios and mail order catalogues have penetrated almost everywhere. Yet the essential qualities of American frontier life are little changed. Old ways of living continue." - p. 139.

His conclusion is that, "Our newer generation of frontiersmen shows an ever increasing ability to look about themselves with accurate appraisal, to become more widely acquainted with the world of today and to appreciate effort and attainment, even though the work be of a lowly nature. This trend is a continuation of nearly three centuries of American frontier tradition."

WILSON, WOODROW. The making of the nation. Atlantic Monthly 30:1-14. July 1897. AP2.A3 (119)

Comments:

The article includes the following statement: "The 'West' was once a series of States and settlements beyond which lay free lands not yet occupied, into which the restless and all who could not thrive by mere steady industry, all who had come too late and all who had stayed too long, could pass on, and, it might be, better their fortunes. Now it lies without outlet. The free lands are gone. New communities must make their life sufficient without this easy escape, - must study economy, find their fortunes in what lies at hand, intensify effort, increase capital, build up a future out of details. It is as if they were caught in a fixed order of life and forced into a new competition, and both their self-consciousness and their keenness to observe every point of self-interest are enlarged beyond former example." - p. 3.

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Mr. Goldwin Smith's "views" on our political history. Forum 16:489-499. December 1893. 110 F77 (120)

Comments:

After criticizing Goldwin Smith's views, the author commented: "When the great westward migration began everything was modified.... Beyond the mountains...a new nation sprang up.... Our continental life is a radically different thing from our life in the old settlements...."

"The formative period of American history...did not end in colonial times or on the Atlantic coast...nor will it end until we cease to have frontier communities and a young political life just accomodating itself to fixed institutions. ... Almost all the critical issues of our politics have been made up beyond the mountains." - p. 495-497.

WILSON, WOODROW. The proper perspective of American history.  
Forum 19:544-559. July 1895. 110 F77 (121)

Comments:

The article includes the following statement: "the fact that we kept always, for close upon three hundred years...a frontier people always in our van, is, so far, the central and determining fact of our national history. 'East' and 'West,' an ever-changing line, but an unvarying experience and a constant leaven of change working always within the body of our folk. Our political, our economic, our social life has felt this potent influence from the wild border all our history through. The 'West' is the great word of our history. The 'Westerner' has been the type and master of our American life. Now at length, as I have said, we have lost our frontier: our front lies almost unbroken along all the great coast line of the western sea. The Westerner, in some day soon to come, will pass out of our life, as he so long ago passed out of the life of the Old World. Then a new epoch will open for us. Perhaps it has opened already. Slowly we shall grow old, compact our people, study the delicate adjustments of an intricate society, and ponder the niceties, as we have hitherto pondered the bulks and structural framework, of government."-p. 551.

WOODBURN, JAMES ALBERT. Western radicalism in American politics.  
Mississippi Valley Historical Review 13:143-168.  
September 1926. 134.8 M69 (122)

Comments:

The theme of this presidential address, given before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Springfield, Illinois, on May 6, 1926, is as follows:

"Every generation in America since the adoption of the federal Constitution has witnessed an advance of democracy. This advance has been the result of radical opinion, radical action, and radical leadership. To a very large extent this radicalism, from Jefferson to La Follette, has had its source and its impetus on the frontier or in the advancing West. Professor Turner in his Frontier in American History has revealed this once for all, and Professor Pollard has very pertinently pointed this out in his Factors in American History, when he says, 'The products of the American frontier were radicalism and democracy,' a phenomenon 'more important as a condition of society than as an area and more important as an influence in political evolution than as a cause of native strife.' " - p. 145.

WRIGHT, BENJAMIN F., Jr. American democracy and the frontier.  
Yale Review 20:349-365. December 1930. AP2.Y2 (123)

Comments:

The article was summarized by the author as follows:  
"The theory advanced by Turner and his disciples to account for the growth of American democracy greatly exaggerates the influence of the frontier. Certain aspects of this process of democratization were stimulated by the presence of free land and by the example of the frontier communities, but the central force came from Europe and from the eastern part of the U. S. The colonies of the 17th century afford a particularly good example of the importance of the European background: the comparatively democratic character of the institutions of the English colonies as contrasted with those of the French, Dutch, and Spanish colonies was due not to the local environment but to the customs and ideas brought from England. In all of the great democratic movements since that time - the Revolution, Jeffersonianism, the slavery crusade, even Jacksonian democracy - the roll of the frontier has been of less importance than that of the East. In general, the new communities took over their political, social, and economic ideas and institutions from the East. They did not originate new ones, nor did they modify the character of the old ones to any very marked extent." - Social Science Abstracts 3: 9757 (June 1931).

See also Citation 37; and Dr. Wright's review of Professor Turner's Significance of Sections in American History, in New England Quarterly 6:630-634 (September 1933).

WRIGHT, C. W. [The significance of the disappearance of free land in our economic development.] American Economic Review Supplement 16:265-271. March 1926.

Comments: 280.3 Am32 Suppl. (124)

This discussion was presented at a round table conference on "Topics in Economic History" at the thirty-eighth annual meeting of the American Economic Association in New York on Dec. 30, 1925.

In introducing his subject, Professor Wright said:  
"The last thirty years have witnessed a growing recognition of the great influence of the West in the country's history. Essentially this influence has meant that of having within our continental borders a vast area of rich, varied, and undeveloped natural resources obtainable for little or nothing. Probably no other factor has had broader ramifications or greater importance in shaping our political, our economic, and our social history. Certainly in our economic history, from the first settlement down to the close of the nineteenth century, nothing exercised a more predominant influence than this vast supply of relatively free and undeveloped land, the essential economic significance of which consisted in cheap natural resources." - p. 265.



WRIGHT, C. W. Continued.

The author's conclusion is as follows: "The frontier has been the nursery of individualism and democracy, economic, political, and social; its impress on our ideals and institutions is well recognized. In the future that influence will decline. As the urban population grows and the rural population becomes denser, as we live closer together and in steadily growing interdependence so that the actions of each become of greater concern to all, the social point of view will be more readily accepted and the individualistic, laissez faire policy will be modified by an increasing measure of social control. With the economic opportunity provided by free land no longer available the insistent demand for greater equality of economic opportunity may force further alterations in our economic life. At the same time the greater density of population will further the closer contacts, the opportunities for cooperation, and the institutions dependent upon local concentration of wealth which are so vital to social progress." -- p. 269.

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## C H R O N O L O G Y

The following chronology indicates the general development of interest in the point of view that the frontier was a significant factor in American history. In using this list, it should be borne in mind that only the outstanding so-called precursors of Professor Turner and only those of his essays which relate primarily to the subject are cited in this bibliography.

<u>Year</u>		<u>Item</u>
1751	Franklin, Benjamin. Observations on the peopling of countries.....	87, 92
1781	Jefferson, Thomas. Notes on Virginia.....	87, 92
1791	Hamilton, Alexander. Report on manufactures.....	87, 92
1835	Tocqueville, A.C.H.M.C. de. De la démocratie en Amérique.....	105
1844	Emerson, R. W. The young American.....	68
1857	Letter of T. B. Macaulay to H. S. Randall on American institutions.....	106
1865	Godkin, E. L. Aristocratic opinions of democracy.....	40
1879	George Henry. Progress and poverty.....	39
1880	[Godkin, E. L.]. An agricultural outlook.....	40
1886	Godkin, E. L. Popular government.....	40
1887	Bryce, James. The American Commonwealth - chapter on The Temper of the West.....	16
	Lamar, L. Q. C. Calhoun's speech at Charleston.....	19
1889	Adams, Henry. History of the United States of America during the first administration of Thomas Jefferson.....	2
1891	Turner, F. J. The character and influence of the Indian trade in Wisconsin.....	109
	Turner, F. J. The significance of history.....	109
1892	Turner, F. J. Problems in American history.....	109
1893	<u>TURNER, F. J. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FRONTIER IN AMERICAN HISTORY.....</u>	109, 110
	Wilson, Woodrow. Mr. Goldwin Smith's "views" on our political history.....	120
1895	Wilson, Woodrow. The proper perspective of American history.....	121
1896	Turner, F. J. The problem of the West.....	110
1897	Turner, F. J. Dominant forces in western life.....	110
	Wilson, Woodrow. The making of the Nation.....	119
1901	Turner, F. J. The Middle West.....	110

<u>Year</u>		<u>Item</u>
1902	Turner, F. J. Contributions of the West to American democracy.....	110
1904	Turner, F. J. Problems in American history.....	111
1908	Turner, F. J. The Old West.....	110
1909	Croly, H. D. The promise of American life.....	29
	Phillips, U. B. Plantation and frontier documents....	81
	Turner, F. J. Is sectionalism in America dying away?.	111
	Turner, F. J. The Ohio Valley in American history....	110
1910	Mathews, L. K. The American frontier.....	63
	Paxson, F. L. The last American frontier.....	78
	Turner, F. J. Pioneer ideals and the State university.....	110
	Turner, F. J. The significance of the Mississippi Valley in American history.....	110
	Turner, F. J. Social forces in American history.....	110
1911	Semple, E. C. Influences of geographic environment...	93
1912	Thompson, J. W. Profitable fields of investigation in mediæval history.....	104
1914	Trimble, W. J. The influence of the passing of the public lands.....	107
	Turner, F. J. The first official frontier of the Massachusetts Bay.....	110
	Turner, F. J. The West and American ideals.....	110
1915	Thompson, J. W. East German colonization in the Middle Ages.....	104
1917	Fish, C. R. The frontier a world problem.....	34
	Hockett, H. C. The influence of the West on the rise and fall of political parties.....	52
1918	Turner, F. J. Middle western pioneer democracy.....	110
1920	Becker, C. L. The United States: an experiment in democracy.....	9
	Emerson, Guy. The new frontier; a study of the American liberal spirit, its frontier origin, and its application to modern problems.....	33
	Henderson, Archibald. The conquest of the Old Southwest.....	51
	Pound, Roscoe. The pioneers and the common law.....	83
	Sims, N. L. The rural community, ancient and modern..	98
	Turner, F. J. The frontier in American history - essays on subject published as a collection.....	110
1921	Beard, C. A. The frontier in American history.....	6
	Mode, P. G. Revivalism as a phase of frontier life...	65
	Paxson, F. L. Influence of frontier life on the development of American law.....	77
	Pound, Roscoe. The spirit of the common law.....	83
1922	Belaunde, V. A. The frontier in Hispanic America....	10
	Turner, F. J. Sections and Nation.....	111
1923	Charnwood, Lord. Theodore Roosevelt.....	20
	Mode, P. G. The frontier spirit in American Christianity.....	65



<u>Year</u>		<u>Item</u>
1924	Haynes, F. E. Social politics in the United States.....	46
	Paxson, F. L. History of the American frontier, 1763-1893.....	76
	Pollard, A. F. Factors in American history - the Sir George Watson Foundation Lectures.....	82
	Rowe, H. K. The history of religion in the United States.....	85
	Sweet, W. W. Our American churches.....	101
1925	Almack, J. C. The shibboleth of the frontier.....	4
	Bowman, Isaiah. The scientific study of settlement - first presented before the National Research Council in April 1925.....	13
	Foerster, Norman. American literature.....	35
	Hubbell, J. B. The frontier in American literature.....	35
	MacDonald, William. Some observations on the spirit and influence of the American frontier.....	61
	Mumford, Lewis. The fourth migration.....	66
	Mumford, Lewis. The golden day.....	66
	Turner, F. J. Geographical sectionalism in American history.....	111
	Turner, F. J. The significance of the section in American history.....	111
	Wright, C. W. The significance of the disappearance of free land in our economic development.....	124
1926	Dondore, D. A. The prairie and the making of middle America.....	32
	Foerster, Norman. New viewpoints in American literature. A reprinting of American Literature (1925).....	35
	Fox, D. R. Civilization in transit.....	36
	Parish, J. C. The persistence of the westward movement..	72
	Taylor, Griffith. The frontiers of settlement in Australia.....	102
	Thomas, J. M. Influence of frontier life on American Christianity.....	103
	Turner, F. J. The children of the pioneers.....	111
	Woodburn, J. A. Western radicalism in American politics.	122
	Becker, C. L. Frederick Jackson Turner.....	8
	Becker, C. L. The United States: an experiment in democracy. Reprinted as Our Great Experiment in Democracy.....	9
1927	Bowman, Isaiah. The pioneer fringe.....	13
	Connager, H. S. The literature of the pioneer West.....	25
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