

FRANCES R. DONOVAN AND THE CHICAGO SCHOOL OF SOCIOLOGY:
A CASE STUDY IN MARGINALITY

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: "Frances R. Donovan and The Chicago School of Sociology: A Case Study in Marginality"

Heather Paul Kurent, Doctor of Philosophy, Spring, 1982

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This work examines the Chicago School's contribution to sociological analysis using the life and works of one of its marginal figures, Frances R. Donovan. A "reflexive" approach to the history of sociology turns the early Chicago School's study of "the other" upon itself.

Frances Donovan, an English teacher in the Chicago Public Schools, wrote three studies of working women: The Woman Who Waits (1920); The Saleslady (1929) and The School Ma'am (1939). The Saleslady was part of The Chicago Sociology Series. Edited by Robert E. Park and Ernest Burgess, this series included The Hobo, The Ghetto and The Gold Coast and The Slum, among other publications now regarded as early classics in urban ethnography. These studies also are known for their middle class preoccupation with marginal "types" and deviant subcultures, as well as a neglect of studies on women. Therefore, Frances Donovan's own marginal status and unique research interests offer a different perspective on the Chicago School's treatment of other outsiders.

Chapter One traces the development of the concept of marginality within the Chicago School from its founding in

1892 until the late 1930's, Georg Simmel's role theory, specifically that of "the stranger," maverick personalities in the department and women's isolated status in academics are included as evidence. Chapter Two is a biographical sketch of Frances Donovan, drawing on unpublished manuscripts and contacts with those who knew her before her death in 1968. Given the dearth of information on early women in sociology, the life of Frances Donovan gives evidence of a kind of woman who worked independently with no credentials, network, or funding to do her research. Chapter Three places Donovan's studies in the context of other works of the Sociology Series. Finally, Chapter Four explores her unique methodology of "disguised" participant-observation. As a waitress, saleswoman and teacher-critic, Donovan raises an important question regarding the relationship between the observer and the observed in social science. Furthermore, Donovan's motivations and personal rewards for doing her own brand of sociology are located in a larger participant-observation tradition including the anthropologists Ruth Benedict and Hortense Powdermaker. The studies of "muckrakers" of the Progressive period also provide a historical context for women's role-playing. Besides marginality, this last chapter emphasizes a second major theme of this inquiry: the transformative nature of the fieldwork experience.

PREFACE

"Everywhere the old order is passing, but the new order has not yet arrived. Everything is loose and free, but everything is problematic."

Robert E. Park
Introduction to The Gold Coast and the Slum

Frances Donovan was a high school English teacher. She also was inspired by the Chicago School of Sociology to become a social investigator. Exploring this relationship, this study of the Chicago School places at the heart, rather than at the periphery, one of its marginal figures.

Author of three little known works, The Woman Who Waits (1920), The Saleslady (1929) and The School Ma'am (1939), Donovan's only academic affiliation is with the University of Chicago Sociology Series under whose auspices The Saleslady was published. Frances Donovan's marginal status thereby grants a unique perspective on the Chicago School's own felt sense of marginality. Such an approach alters the conventional picture of the Chicagoans of the 1920-40 period as middle class experts studying "the other." In its stead, a group of dynamic personalities and committed intellectuals emerges, as caught in the problems of cultural transition as the "deviant" subcultures they studied.

The Chicago School is known for its interest in life histories. One of its main tenets was that social structure and social problems must be grounded by relating them to individual lives. Using the Chicago tradition, Frances Donovan's life illustrates how culture is mediated through the individual. A consideration of Frances Donovan grounds the history of an academic movement, the history of women

in a crucial period, and the ways in which participant-observation affect the participant-observer, in one woman's life and work. Generalizations about sociology and women's history are finally tested against individual experience.

This inquiry takes as its starting point Frances Donovan's transition in a restaurant's dressing room in 1917. The "scene" is a literal moment of change: Donovan is shedding her staid and middle class identity for that of a single, working class waitress. More generally, Donovan's change of clothes can stand for larger questions of cultural transition. 1917 is also the advent of the "golden days" of Chicago sociology in which tensions between ethics and science will tug at the new professionals for decades to come. Professionalization itself, especially in the social sciences, will pose the problem of who is qualified and given the authority to describe and analyze social reality. It is also a period in which lay contributors like Frances Donovan were welcomed, before their virtual exclusion from research in the late 1930's.

The period that spanned Donovan's first two publications from 1917 to 1929 furthermore embodies the crisis of an American middle class forced to respond to the imposition of a large immigrant and urban population and new social mores epitomized by the "new woman." The entrance of these marginal figures, signalled a social transformation of major proportions. Frances Donovan, caught between disgust and admiration for waitresses freed from middle class censure, reflected

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the ambiguity exemplified by the 1920's media approval of iconoclastic behavior coupled with a deep fear of an unhinged social order.

In sum, my interests here are two fold: in the structure of an academic department and how it functioned in relationship to its students and scientific goals, and in the unusual woman who worked with the department, but operated independent of professional credentials or funding. The Chicago School of the 1920's was also unique in a number of ways. Not only was it the first sociology department in the country; it was in addition created as an institution before it had intellectual content. Perhaps because its initial roots were in personalities and departmental structure before ideas were fully formed, it managed to establish a community of faculty, students and other professional groups that worked collectively, combining teaching research and publications.

Frances Donovan is intriguing because she does not fall into conventional categories. She is not the brilliant sociologist whose greatness needs resurrecting. Neither is she a feminist whose political activities or ideology place her at the forefront of the history of women's rights. Furthermore, unlike other women with professional degrees in sociology, she held no alternative positions of "social housekeeping." Instead, Frances Donovan always worked alone. Her attitude toward women and work is at times inconsistent, yet it is in these inconsistencies that her life and work

are most revealing.

Chapter One of this inquiry provides a context for Frances Donovan's marginality, and also that of the Chicago School itself. Marginality is here conceptually credited to the German sociologist Georg Simmel, and his exploration of the character type he deemed "the stranger." It is no accident that Albion Small, the first chairman of the sociology department, was the first American to translate Simmel; and that ten years later Robert Park (who would not know of the Chicago School for another fifteen years) would work under Simmel and later call him "the greatest of all sociologists." Simmel, interested in the dialectic of self and society through the acquisition of social roles and in the determination of social reality based on interaction, was the precursor of symbolic interactionism.

Whereas Chapter One places Frances Donovan's moment of transition into a broader social context, Chapter Two provides a sharper biographical focus. Because virtually nothing has been published about Frances Donovan, her life has been reconstructed from the accounts of personal friends and colleagues, autobiographical fragments and unpublished papers.

Chapter Three is a comparative analysis of Donovan's three studies with those of her fellow Chicagoans of the period. By laying out the major characteristics of Chicago sociological theory, a major question emerges: How does a

marginal figure's work compare with that of her more mainstream colleagues? Having the license to avoid typical professional and scientific restraints imposed on more credentialed investigators, Donovan can illuminate the deepest impulses of the Chicago School while also taking these impulses in new directions. For instance, Frances Donovan refashions the Chicagoans' metaphor of the urban frontier to fit working women. Also, Robert Park's thesis that occupational identity has a substantial effect on personality is uniquely applied by Donovan to three kinds of women's work.

It is also emphasized in this chapter that the Chicago School anticipated the present interest in what anthropologists call "emic" analysis by which actors define their own behavior and social worlds. Donovan takes the analysis a step further. Believing in first-hand observation, Frances Donovan becomes ^{one of} the women she studies, and describes herself in the process of observation.

Taking the risk of "going native," Donovan clarifies the unique aspects of others' culture. By describing her own interaction with women, the small details of conversation and public versus private work attitudes and values, Donovan documents the idea of "work culture" that is not pursued until decades later by social historians and anthropologists. For instance, Frances Donovan describes conditions of work from the women worker's point of view. This

is the world of the insider, where formal rules are broken and alternative understandings of restaurant, sales and school-room behavior are embraced by those expected to conform to the rules others stipulate.

Comparing Donovan's studies with others of the Series too reveals her preoccupation with women's sexuality as defined by the workplace. Personally involved in the drama of heterosexual interaction as a waitress and saleswoman, Donovan's studies make clear what the anthropologists James P. Spradley and Brenda Mann discover fifty years later in their ethnography of a cocktail lounge.¹ Studying the dynamics of men and women at work together is crucial for understanding gender relationships. The historian Robert Smuts has said that "The question of women's employment involves two subjects which lie near the center of human emotions: work and the relationship between men and women."² Frances Donovan works in this interaction.

In addition, Donovan penetrates a stereotype of women presented in sociological literature that prevailed for decades after her publications--that of invisibility. In the mid-1970's feminist sociologists could still say that the conceptual currency of women in sociology--the translation of their life into symbol--continued to be cast in expressive, nurturant roles. "Public, official and visible spheres"--occupied exclusively by males--were considered the only worthy focus for a study of social behavior. By

rendering the lives of waitresses, saleswomen and teachers dramatic, Frances Donovan renders them visible.

Finally, Chapter Four discusses Donovan's fieldwork and others' fieldwork in terms of its personal function and transformative effects. Donovan's intimate relationship to her subjects and her use of the first person force a consideration of the process of research and its impact on the researcher that often has been ignored in the past.

Murray Murphey, a well-known spokesperson for the American Studies movement, has insisted that "the substantive frontier for American Studies in the 1980's lies in the ethnographic reconstruction of past and present groups."³ This study of Frances Donovan and the Chicago School provides such a reconstruction in the attempt to fulfill the promise implied by such an agenda. Furthermore, given the new attention paid reflexiveness in ethnography,⁴ this inquiry is additional evidence that a study of others, is indeed a study of self.

NOTES

¹James P. Spradley and Brenda Mann, The Cocktail Waitress: Woman's Work In A Man's World (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1975).

²Robert W. Smuts, Women and Work In America (1959; rpt. New York: Schocken Books, 1971), p. 111.

³Murray Murphey, American Studies Symposium, 1980.

⁴See John L. Caughey, "Ethnography, Introspection and Reflexive Culture Studies," Prospects: An Annual of American Culture Studies. VII, 1982.

"No sociological study that does not come back to the problems of biography, of history and of their inter-sections within a society has completed its intellectual journey."

C. Wright Mills
The Sociological Imagination (p. 6)



FRANCES R. DONOVAN (1880-1965)



H. L. Smith, 18-20 years old ST. CLAIR, MICH.

PHOTOGRAPHER.



Seven years old

DEDICATION

To My Mother

Heather Carne Williams Paul

Woman/Mother/Teacher Extraordinaire

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Former colleagues, friends and family of Frances Donovan deserve special praise. Their enthusiastic responses to my inquiries made possible this first portrait of her life and work.

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I. "MARGINALITY AND METHOD: FRANCES DONOVAN AND THE CHICAGO SCHOOL OF SOCIOLOGY"

"Wherever there are cultural transition and cultural conflicts there are marginal personalities."

Robert E. Park, Introduction to
The Marginal Man by Everett V.
Stonequist

One day in 1917 a tall and heavy set woman dressed in her "oldest and shabbiest black suit" walked into a restaurant on the Chicago Loop, and asked for a job. What indeed was an ordinary occurrence on the Loop was not so for Frances Donovan. Thirty-seven years old, middle class and the wife of an invalid architect who was soon to die, Frances Donovan was about to enter another world. Disguised as a single woman named Fanny, she was entering a working class environment where women "slung hash" and engaged in "sexual candor." Thus began a life-long career of sociological fieldwork. As a participant-observer, Frances Donovan was about to study waitresses for what would be her first publication, entitled The Woman Who Waits (1920).

From the first pages of The Woman Who Waits, the reader is made aware of how shocking such a journey into another world was for Frances Donovan: "I started to enter, draw back, hesitated, tried to think clearly, but the din of the street interfered. I made another attempt. With my heart beating so fast that it nearly choked me, I pushed myself through the swinging door. . . ." ¹ Minutes later, having been given a job, "Fanny" slipped out of her somber clothes into a waitress' uniform. In the intimacy of a dressing room, she was greeted warmly by women who called her "dearie, Girlie, kid and kiddo." Overhearing tales of last night's sexual exploits, complaints against unfaithful lovers and rude jokes made Frances Donovan, former teacher and dignified lady of small town Montana, "feel like fainting."

Frances Donovan's study, initially done out of simple curiosity, quickly became a journey of self-discovery as well:

"I had no idea of what I should discover. I did not imagine that I was entering a new world and that I should return with a knowledge of life new and strange to me."² Donovan's knowledge then was of a professional and personal kind. She learned about poverty, economic survival and sexual freedom as a social investigator--and as a woman. As a social investigator and woman she would be changed forevermore.

Frances Donovan's second immersion into another social world would come nearly ten years later. Again, as a disguised participant-observer, she became a saleswoman by spending two summer vacations working in New York City department stores. Once more Donovan made clear that her investigation of other women's lives was both private and public. Enamoured of a life she thought exciting (in contrast to her own profession of teaching), Donovan painted a perhaps rosy picture of life behind a counter. The Saleslady (1929), was published as part of the prestigious University of Chicago Sociological Series, thus rendering Donovan's private quest a sociological excursion into alternative female experiences. As an author of this series, Donovan established an affiliation with the first and what was then clearly the foremost sociology department in America. Finally, The School Ma'am (1939), written another decade later, is a reflexive critique of Donovan's own profession. Although not part of the Series, its acknowledgements indicate Donovan's on-going relationship with the department.

Taken together, Donovan's three books form a remarkable trilogy, tracing her steps from being a conventional middle

the "sexual vanguard", to an ally to "gadfly" of the teaching. This trilogy has been largely known of only an occasional scholar or commentaries on women's work.³ Information is available about Frances Donovan in American Women: The Story of Notable Women, her only book. There is with Calumet High School a formal undergraduate degree conferred by the University of Chicago in 1918, there is no presence in the sociology department or critique of the Chicago School.⁵ This inquiry therefore is about the forgotten figure of Frances Donovan. Levels: (1) Donovan's participant-observer as a personal journey that challenges, and (2) her unique status offered up as a fresh perspective on the early days of American sociology. The subject of this inquiry because she was an uncredentialed sociologist who criticized her own profession. Her important issues having to do with professional expectations; the social sciences; the mission of sociology; and the relationship of a woman in general--to the Chicago School.

class female to a member of the "sexual vanguard", to an 'emancipated worker", and finally to "gadfly" of the teaching profession. Unfortunately, this trilogy has been largely ignored, drawing the attention of only an occasional scholar interested in idiosyncratic commentaries on women's work.³ Furthermore, little information is available about Frances Donovan.⁴ While she is mentioned in American Women: The Standard Biographical Dictionary of Notable Women, her only professional affiliation cited there is with Calumet High School in Chicago. Besides a formal undergraduate degree in English from the University of Chicago in 1918, there is no official record of her presence in the sociology department. Neither does a history or critique of the Chicago School refer to her, or her work.⁵ This inquiry therefore is intended in part to resurrect the forgotten figure of Frances Donovan. It does so on two levels: (1) Donovan's participant-observation experiences are seen as a personal journey that resulted in a changed consciousness, and (2) her unique status and work in sociology are offered up as a fresh perspective from which to view the founding days of American sociology at Chicago.

Frances Donovan became the subject of this inquiry because she straddled two worlds. She was an uncredentialed sociologist and a teacher who criticized her own profession. Her marginal status then raises important issues having to do with women's personal and professional expectations; the professionalization of the social sciences; the mission of early twentieth century sociology; and the relationship of a marginal figure--and marginality in general--to the Chicago School.

Placing Donovan's marginality at the heart, rather than at the periphery, of the Chicago School brings the School into a new focus. Too often critics have dismissed the Chicagoans as bourgeois Protestant reformers titillated by non-middle class behavior they termed deviant. Such a simplistic dismissal of the Chicagoans' motivations makes it difficult to appreciate the degree of empathy they felt toward their subjects as well as the strides they made toward understanding other cultures in their own terms. Focusing on Frances Donovan and her very obvious identification with her subject matter, therefore, highlights those aspects of the Chicago School that fostered an appreciation of marginality in "the other"--as well as themselves.

Beginning with Frances Donovan's encouragement and acceptance as a non-credentialed figure within the department allows us to explore the marginal impulse within the Chicago School in general. The impulse runs wider and deeper than the School's relationship to Frances Donovan. But, as this inquiry argues, the impulse may be better understood through her and her work. For example, it is valuable to compare Donovan's studies with others of the Chicago Sociological Series. In so doing the breadth and flexibility of Chicago theory can be seen in the context of the work of a Chicagoan who was not bound by the same structures of professional status and recognition as other teachers in a university setting at the time. Furthermore, by looking at Donovan's studies and other's studies of hobos, hotel drifters or gangs in terms of the transformative potential possible for the author, we consider motivations of the early Chicagoans that have been

ignored.

Before discussing Frances Donovan's marginality in particular, it is first necessary to understand how integral the general concept of marginality was to the earliest formulations of sociological theory and philosophy at Chicago.

* * * * *

An actual sociological definition for marginality originated with Robert E. Park and was later expanded by Park's former student, Everett Stonequist, in his 1937 study, The Marginal Man.⁶ In an introduction to Stonequist's work, Robert Park described the social and psychological dilemma of those destined to live on the edge of two cultures. He used the example of the mulatto and the Jew seeking assimilation to illustrate the personality type that he claimed was peculiarly characteristic of the modern world. Park asserted that the marginal person represented a "broadswEEPing sense of the interpenetration of peoples and a fusion of cultures."⁷ He was "one whom fate had condemned to live in two societies and in two, not merely different, but antagonistic cultures. . . ."⁸ If condemned to live in two worlds he was also in a position as straddler to see more than those who live wholly encapsulated in a single world: "He is the cosmopolitan and the stranger . . . the individual with the wider horizon, the keener intelligence, and the more detached and rational viewpoint."⁹ There is no need to confirm or refute the validity of a theory that people, by virtue of occupying a certain social status, have a special vision, or

critical distance. The point here is that within the Chicago School there was a philosophical inclination toward recognizing and appreciating marginality in others and themselves.

According to Stonequist, this special consciousness of the "marginal man" came from the individual's conception of self that was to a great extent a social product.¹⁰ Clearly influenced by the social psychology of John Dewey and W. I. Thomas, Stonequist reflected one intellectual camp of the Chicago School which held that personality, while to some degree innate, "achieves its final form under the influence of the individual's conception of himself--which is determined by the role fate assigns to him and opinions, attitudes--in short, upon his social status."¹¹ Using only the "racial hybrid" and the "cultural hybrid" (the denationalized European, the second generation immigrant), Stonequist elaborated on the crisis that caused this kind of "double consciousness."¹² It was the marginal "man" who found himself the crucible of cultural fusion; and who as insider/outsider became the astute critic of the dominant culture.

Within the Chicago department there existed just such cultural and racial hybrids as Stonequist described. There were the intellectual rebels, Albion Small and W. I. Thomas, and later, the middle class Negroes like E. Franklin Frazier and Charles Johnson. There was also the former hobo, Nels Anderson and the high school teacher Frances Donovan. These persons, as well as others of the first and second generation of Chicagoans, had reason to see themselves--by

culture and by choice--as living in two worlds. Whether straddling fences of color, class, intellectual traditions or sex roles, many Chicagoans at least had the potential for a special vantage point from which to view cultural conditioning.

How self-conscious the Chicagoans were about their own marginality is another question. I contend that their introspectiveness existed on the first of two levels. As this inquiry will argue, certain Chicagoans made a connection between their own social role of marginality and that of the group they studied. For instance, a Jewish graduate student would study the ghetto and a Black man, the Negro family. However, their reflexiveness did not in general extend to their articulation of their personal role in the research. With the exception of Nels Anderson and Frances Donovan (the two most fringe figures of the Chicagoans studied here), no introspective statements on research experiences existed inside or outside Chicagoans' texts. In other words the early Chicagoans made use of what C. Wright Mills called the "sociological imagination"--but only to a limited degree. The sociological imagination was Mills' term for the social critic's ideal consciousness that would make connections between personal and public issues.¹³ As the following chapters make clear, the connection the Chicagoans frequently made between personal and public issues was subtle--so subtle that a knowledge of the social investigator's background is necessary to establish a link between

him/herself and the cultural group chosen for study.

Taking C. W. Mills' sociological imagination farther, requires an introspective analysis--and an integration of that analysis with the text--that is still rare in the social sciences today. Thus Frances Donovan's "impressionistic" inclusion of herself in her studies is actually one form (albeit limited) of the reflexivity some contemporary sociologists and anthropologists now call for.

Finally, it is important to stress any personal connection between the Chicagoans and their material because of past criticism that the famous Chicago Studies of the 1920's and 1930's were always a study of "the other."¹⁴ As a consideration of the Chicagoans in terms of Frances Donovan's work reveals, the Chicago studies were also a study of self --implicitly as well as explicitly.

* * * * *

Having provided a sociological definition of marginality used by Frances Donovan's generation of Chicagoans, it is essential to return to the founding days of the department to establish its marginal roots that existed there in inchoate form.

Albion Small, under the direction of President William Rainey Harper, created the first American department of sociology in 1892, the same year as the University of Chicago's founding. With the aid of Rockefeller funds, Harper had as a mission the near-instant creation of a univer-

sity that would soon become the Harvard of the Midwest. Through a quick infusion of money, rather than a slow process of evolution, President Harper attracted to this new institution renowned scholars in every discipline, and subsequently a notable reputation that other universities would take generations to acquire.

From the outset, the sociology department contended with the warring impulses of moral reform and new social science theory that prevailed in academe from the 1890's through the mid 1930's.¹⁵ Albion Small himself embodied these contradictions. President Harper recruited Small from his presidency at Colby College in Maine. Small was a full-fledged son of the Social Gospel, with a clergyman for a father and three years of seminary behind him before he took a Ph.D. in Constitutional History at Johns Hopkins University 1889. Noting that Johns Hopkins was known for its radical historians, one critic claims that Small's degree was actually in "welfare economics" and that this academic experience forged his vision for a moral science that would help redistribute American wealth and power.¹⁶ Small's activities as a lecturer on the Chautauqua circuit further solidified his theories on a need for scientifically minded reformers who could serve as a corrective to the do-gooders who operated on "false beliefs and social shibboleths."¹⁷ As Thomas Haskell makes clear in The Emergence of Professional Social Science (1977), men like Albion Small were part of the nineteenth century intellectual movement that

that was exchanging "natural" explanations of human behavior for environmental explanations, based on causal relationships in the social order.¹⁸ As head of the Chicago Sociology department, Small sought to carry out his goal of creating a discipline that could base reform on knowledge of the social process.

Albion Small's concept of sociology was set up as a counter to two worlds--one of dry intellectual abstraction, and the other of emotional religious zeal. Small's ideas were characteristic of the late nineteenth century philosophical shift, later termed "the revolt against formalism."¹⁹ To many a narrow application of social science theory had resulted in the unrestrained capitalism of Adam Smith's classical economics and the inhumaneness of Spencerian natural laws of survival. Like other intellectuals of the 1890's, Small became convinced that "logic, abstraction deduction, mathematics and mechanics were inadequate to social research and incapable of containing the rich, living current of social life."²⁰

Small's major intellectual legacy to the Chicago School was his attempt at synthesizing science and ethics, as well as attempting to merge the richness of experience and observation with the detachment of scientific theory. Some critics have claimed that such a mission was always a contradiction in terms, and that "detached science" was not possible in a struggle against social injustice. As Everett Stonequist said of his marginal type more than thirty years

later, living in two different worlds leads to an uneasy truce with either one. Small's first faculty embodied this uneasiness. Charles Henderson, as the first hired, was a former minister who had interests primarily in applied humanitarianism;²¹ Small soon brought in George E. Vincent, a son of Chautauqua's founder, who made pleas for a philosophy of general education. In 1893 William I. Thomas came on board. He proved to be by far the most brilliant and influential member of the department who had interests in philosophy, social psychology and social reform.

W. I. Thomas embodied the maverick impulses of the department. Having acquired an interest in sociology while teaching English at Oberlin College in Ohio, Thomas arrived at Chicago at the age of thirty-seven ready to earn a doctorate in this new field. With extensive graduate work in Philosophy and Literature from Germany, Thomas joined other American and European colleagues who saw themselves as interdisciplinarians. To them sociology was a holistic approach to ideas that could incorporate their wide-ranging intellectual interests and their desire to understand social structure and solve social problems.²²

Frances Donovan began her affiliation with the Chicago Sociology Department in 1916, and took at least one course with Thomas before his departure. Her first book, The Woman Who Waits, suggests the influence of his early (and later abandoned) theories on human instinct. It is likely that Thomas' personality and social views made an equally strong

impression on her. Thomas was renowned for his arresting charm and dynamism. He was also a controversial supporter of women's suffrage and a colorful libertine.²³

Frances Donovan also could have learned from the maverick Thomas that ideas were not the exclusive possession of scholars or universities. Thomas himself was wed to the world of action as well as the one of ideas. He maintained close connections with Jane Addams' Hull House and spent many a social evening there, dining and lecturing.²⁴ Certainly his publications, especially Sex and Society (1907), indicate his concern with contemporary problems, like racism and the status of women. Called an early feminist tract by some,²⁵ Sex and Society offers a rare anthropological and historical explanation of how women have been oppressed. One essay included in this collection, "The Adventitious Character of Woman", is prophetic of a position that feminists would not articulate for decades. Thomas referred to women as "adventitious" (meaning cut off or disconnected), because "they have no powerful role to play in society. "Woman," he claimed, "exists in the white man's world of practical and scientific activity, but is excluded from full participation."²⁶ Denied direct political and economic power, women, according to Thomas, were marginal to society. Thomas did not successfully negate all arguments in regard to women's innate and inferior differences. Yet, he was an early critic of those who stressed biological destiny and provided evidence that women's emotional states to a great

extent were linked closely to social limits on personal growth.²⁷

If Frances Donovan was exposed to incipient feminist ideas in the department, she was also witness to the department's most intense years of formulating a new scholarly discipline. Sociology's state of theoretical flux and its lack of definition was its greatest virtue, as well as its major vulnerability. Adhering to no strict paradigm, the Chicago sociology department gathered into its fold powerful and idiosyncratic personalities who in turn brought with them a wide-ranging set of interests. As early as 1908, Albion Small, in a letter to a colleague, expressed his frustration at the academic community's perception of sociology as too vague: "The obstacle which specialists of my sort encounter is the inveterate opinion that sociology is merely a convenient label for left-overs within the range of human knowledge which cannot be classified under any other head."²⁸ This "convenient label" of marginality to some meant left-over ideas--those left outside the narrow yet respectable boundaries of philosophy, political science and economics--entertained by left-over people. However, to others within the discipline marginality meant the liberty to open up new areas of inquiry, to work at the crossroads of different disciplines--in short, the license to avoid limited intellectual boundaries that eventual professionalization of the social sciences would necessitate.

When Frances Donovan entered sociology at Chicago in

1916, it was an interdisciplinary field. While studying socio-economic structure with Albion Small, she also could have been learning about social psychology under W. I. Thomas, who had been influenced by John Dewey, William James and George Herbert Mead. Like other students in the department, Frances Donovan was encouraged to take courses outside sociology to enrich her perspective on human beings in society. For example, sociology and anthropology were always closely intertwined at Chicago in the 1920's. In fact the department itself was called "Sociology and Anthropology" until anthropology broke away to form its own department under Fay Cooper Cole in 1929. Furthermore, W. I. Thomas closely paralleled the anthropologist Franz Boas in his attempts to do away with social theories based on normative structures wrought of theoretical speculation. The cultural explanations that replaced them, according to Thomas and Boas, were to be based on first-hand observation and an exploration of other social worlds from the subject's point of view. Thomas, in fact, claimed on occasion that he really saw himself as an anthropologist. Taking his model from the field work experiences of the Hull House women whom he knew very well (experiences which preceded those of Boas' first American trained anthropologists by two decades), Thomas did indeed perceive himself and Chicago graduate students as pioneer ethnographers.

An interest in "left-over" knowledge resulted in an interdisciplinary spirit at Chicago that was crucial to the

kind of student and quality of scholarship that the department produced. However, just as important a factor in the department's distinctiveness were its "left-over" personalities--those who could not reside comfortably in more traditional disciplines. Some biographical information therefore seems appropriate to further elucidate the marginal context in which, and out of which, Donovan and her colleagues produced their groundbreaking studies, such as The Hobo, The Ghetto, The Pilgrims of Russian Town and The Gold Coast and the Slum.

As noted earlier, much past criticism of the Chicago School has ignored the Chicagoans' personal relationship to their work and the possibility that they saw themselves as marginal types. Too often they have been dismissed as bourgeois reformers who imposed small town or "Gemeinschaft" values on a new urban "Gesellschaft" world.²⁹ By exploring the non-traditional aspects of Chicago personalities, I suggest that the earliest sociologists were operating with a "distance from their own normative structures" that contemporary sociologists say is necessary.³⁰ This ideal distance is also called "professionalized marginality."

* * * * *

When Frances Donovan took a course from W. I. Thomas in 1917, his intellectual energy was at its peak. He was just completing his classic study, The Polish Peasant In Europe and America, and his relationship with Robert Park, a colleague whom he

had recruited himself in 1914, was at its most productive and satisfying stage. When Thomas was forced to leave the University of Chicago in 1919, it was a great loss to the sociology department, as well as to individual students like Frances Donovan. The full dimension of the scandal which resulted in Thomas' resignation seems permanently obscured in the historical record. A certain fact was that Thomas was arrested by the F.B.I. one night in a hotel room in 1919 for violation of the Mann Act. The discovery of Thomas in bed with a married woman under age, was the last straw for the University of Chicago. This was not the first time he had shocked the sensibilities of his colleagues, given his controversial politics and life-style. It was, however, the worst time, and it proved to be the last time. Thomas had no recourse but to offer his resignation. No doubt the sociology department shared his humiliation and sadness. Although there is some intimation of entrapment by political enemies of Thomas' wife, the result was that he never again held a permanent post in a sociology department. Thomas seems to have paid dearly for his maverick status.

At this point, Robert Park became the main figure of the department, and Frances Donovan's chief mentor.³¹ Actually, Park's life, too, was a testament to non-conformity and a thirst for new experiences. Where Thomas had begun a PhD at thirty-seven, Park went back to Harvard for an M.A. in Philosophy at the age of thirty-four. For the eleven previous years Park had been a muckraking journalist in

in Minneapolis and New York City, immersing himself in the human drama of street life that would fascinate him forever. At Harvard in 1897-99, he was fortunate enough to work under the philosophers William James, Josiah Royce and George Santayana. An insatiable reader and inveterate scholar, Park then spent the next seven years in Europe, where he received a PhD in Philosophy at Heidelberg in 1903.

Infused with the spirit of urban life, Park had gone back to graduate school with little patience for mere arm-chair speculation. Throughout his career, he would emphasize the value of experiential learning. His early attraction to the empiricism of William James was understandable. Park's biographer and colleague Winifred Rauschenbush, describes him as a man who revered individual experience above all. Describing William James in a letter to a friend, Park was really describing himself as well: "the universe was not for him a closed system . . . every individual man, having his own peculiar experience, had some insight into the world that no other mind could have. The real world was the experience of actual men and women and not the abbreviated and shorthand description of it we call knowledge. . . ."32

Years later, at the University of Chicago, Park's own passion for people and ideas grounded in experience would lead to his insistence that students, including Frances Donovan, make these same connections between theory and observed events. According to Park himself, one European thinker directly influenced his social theory and his

perception of what sociology should be about. Although Park had worked with Windelband and Knopp at Strassburg, it was Georg Simmel at Berlin who provided "the fundamental point of view" for his doctoral dissertation, Masse und Publikum (The Crowd and The Public).³³ Simmel's writings also confirmed for Park his belief in the connection between the journalist's "stuff of life" and a philosopher's high levels of abstraction.³⁴ In fact, Park goes so far as to say that it was from Simmel alone that he received "any systematic instruction in sociology."³⁵

Given the importance Park placed on Georg Simmel's influence, it may be useful to look more closely at Simmel's life and work. By doing so, we learn that Simmel (1858-1919) reveals the kind of personality and philosophy that I claim is a case exemplar for the Chicago School experience: non-conformity and critical distance. According to the historian of sociology, Lewis Coser, no one who reads Robert Park's work can overlook Simmel's profound impact:

The one semester he spent in Simmel's class-room was probably the most important academic semester in his life. Park's general approach to society as a system of interactions, and his more specific ideas such as those on social conflict, the marginal man, the characteristics of urban dwellers, and social distance, were all stimulated by Simmel.³⁶

Although not as familiar to Americans as, say, Karl Marx, or Emile Durkheim or Max Weber, Georg Simmel nevertheless is associated with these brilliant social critics who made vital contributions to western thought. For instance,

Simmel is credited with doing the first work on role theory. His late nineteenth century writings indicate his thesis that social reality was an individually and culturally defined construct, and that social roles were numerous, acquired, and very influential in determining one's perception of social reality. Simmel's areas of interest and subsequent theories are complex and wide-ranging. For the purposes of this discussion, however, we need only deal with Simmel's scheme of character types, most particularly, that of "the stranger."

It is Simmel's theory on the stranger that lies at the heart of the second generation of Chicagoans' concern for marginality in others, and themselves. Informing Simmel's thought is a sensitivity to a dialectic of ongoing tensions between the individual and society.³⁷ Simmel saw man in a dual relation to his world; although by socialization he was incorporated within it, he also stood against it, for the social web which drew him/her in, also threatened his/her autonomy. Himself a Jew, Simmel used the Jew as an archetype for the stranger who embodies both these tensions. Historically denied "ownership of the soil" in many European cities, the Jew nevertheless was a vital social and economic contributor to the community. For Simmel, then, the Jew symbolically (and literally) occupied two worlds: one of quasi-assimilation outside the walls of the ghetto, and separateness within those walls. As a result, Simmel claimed that this "synthesis of nearness and remoteness" allows a

special insight into the functioning of culture.

Like his American student, Robert Park, Georg Simmel was a charismatic figure who served as a model for his own character type of the stranger. Although he was at the center of Berlin intellectual life in the 1890's and co-founder with Max Weber and Ferdinand Tönnies of the German Society for Sociology, Simmel's life was marked by controversy and anything but acceptance. Park no doubt was enthralled by this popular figure who was a "virtuoso on the platform." Simmel's academic status, however, was a tenuous one. When Park attended his lectures in 1900, Simmel was renowned throughout Europe for his publications and public speaking. He was then forty-one and a "privat dozent" at the University of Berlin--an unpaid lecturer totally reliant on student fees. Due to what Lewis Coser claims was anti-Semitism and Simmel's "refusal to specialize in any of the fields that claimed his interest and attention," Simmel was never given a professorship.³⁸

Descriptions of Simmel's maverick nature and intellectual eclecticism make it easy to understand how Robert Park could have been drawn to a personality so much like himself. But the breadth of Simmel's knowledge and interests, together with his stubborn refusal to be restricted to the existing disciplinary boundaries, rankled more conventional spirits in the academic community. He was also a brilliant lecturer who moved effortlessly from topic to topic: "How could one deal," his critics asked, "with a man who in one semester

would offer a profound course on Kantian epistemology and, in the next, publish essays on the sociology of smell, on the sociology of the meal, or on the sociology of coquetry and fashions?"³⁹ Condemned as a popularizer in the 1890's, Simmel's worst crime was filling his lecture halls with students from various disciplines, artists, journalists and tourists. Park would later call Simmel "the greatest of all sociologists."

Possessing the same kind of eclectic mind, Robert Park also urged close ties between the university department and the lay community of Chicago. The sociologists Everett and Helen Hughes, for instance, speak wistfully of the 1920's department that welcomed people like Frances Donovan to take courses and participate in a sociological mission of interpreting an urban world to the wider public.⁴⁰ Furthermore, Park's interest in the theory of "the stranger," like Simmel's, was directly connected to his own life experiences. It is important to understand these experiences because their effect on Park, in turn, affected the philosophy and structure of the 1920's sociology department.

If Simmel's ideas on nearness and remoteness had their origins in his Jewishness, Park's concept of the stranger was doubtless forged by his experience with another "near and remote personality of culture": the American Negro. Ten years after returning from Germany with his PhD in Philosophy, Park was still searching for a professional commitment. At forty he had a published dissertation and years of part-time

teaching behind him. Between Thomas and Park who changed careers at mid-life (and thereafter did their most important work in a new field), it is not surprising that Frances Donovan could have been welcomed into sociology in her mid-thirties. In 1905 Robert Park was finally given the opportunity to make a serious commitment. Doing work for the Congo Reform Association, he came to know Booker T. Washington, then at the height of his fame and influence. Washington soon offered Park a position as his press agent and general assistant. This collaboration would last for the next seven years.

Traveling extensively in the rural south, and aiding Booker T. Washington in his research and policy formulation, Park felt that he was neither doing "irrelevant" work nor the "genteel reform activity" that he despised.⁴¹ From his own accounts, he spent almost all his time among upper-class, light-skinned blacks. As a Tuskegee representative and indeed the only white man on Washington's staff, Park was privy to a world his own race knew nearly nothing of:

"Booker T. Washington gave me an opportunity such as no one else ever had, I am sure, to get acquainted with the actual and intimate life of the Negro in the South . . . I became, for all intents and purposes, a Negro myself. . . ."⁴²

Park's first experience as a participant-observer, playing a marginal role, could not have been more intense or dramatic. He learned first-hand that the color line was at the same time a sharp division of cultural experiences, and an amorphous

perception whose reality lay only in the eyes of the beholder. On more than one occasion Park was mistaken for a black man, simply because he traveled with black men. Such an experience no doubt influenced Park years later when he stressed to sociology students like Frances Donovan that the closer one observed another social world, the deeper one's understanding of it. Speaking retrospectively of his years at Tuskegee with Washington, he said: "It was as a student participating in a great enterprise but sufficiently detached to see it in more general social and sociological significance that I looked at the Negro, and the South. . . ."⁴³

In summary, there are elements of marginality within the Chicago tradition that provide a useful context in which to study Frances Donovan's marginality: the first generation's ambivalence toward social reform versus social science; a new discipline's unformed boundaries; and Thomas' and Park's insistence on straddling both worlds of abstract ideas and practical experience.

Frances Donovan's marginality was not limited to its origins within the Chicago School. For instance, broader aspects of marginality that not only could have drawn Donovan in, but also kept her outside the department, might be considered. For instance restriction on women's participation in higher education was one factor that could have prevented her from obtaining a formal graduate degree in sociology. We should then ask, what was the climate for women at Chicago in the 1920's? If certain men--by choice--lived on the edge

in "nearness and remoteness," what elements of marginality were imposed on Donovan because she was a woman?

* * * * *

The preceding section has been an attempt to place the Chicago School including Frances Donovan within an academic, philosophical and biographical framework of marginality. However, there is another tradition of marginality that has as much, if not more, bearing on Donovan's work, namely women's general social status as outsider. The first section tipped the conventional picture of "middle class" Chicagoans to see their own relationship to marginality. Now, taking the category of gender as an index of marginality, three issues emerge: 1) women's role in the Chicago sociology department, 2) social science attitudes toward women, and 3) the treatment of women in sociological literature.

Only within the last ten years has there been a substantial feminist challenge to the role of objectivity in the social sciences. Veteran sociologists like Jessie Bernard and Helen MacGill Hughes who earned their PhD's in the 1920's recently have reassessed their life long relationships to a largely male discipline.⁴⁴ Also younger feminist sociologists such as Pauline Bart and Alice Rossi have attempted a revision of what they term "male paradigms of social structure." It is therefore important and enlightening to place Frances Donovan within a women's academic world of the 1920's which was indeed marginal. The history of the

roles women have played in the social sciences is only now being written. Donovan, as an isolated figure working outside even traditional female networks, provides information that deepens our understanding of women's experience in early sociology.

An eyewitness to the 1920's period in the department was Helen MacGill Hughes. With her husband Everett she was a graduate student in the late 1920's. Helen Hughes claims that there was no overt discrimination: women were encouraged in the graduate program and relations were friendly.⁴⁵ Ruth Shonle Cavan, another doctoral student from the 1920's, goes so far as to claim that "it had been easy--no obstacles that I see because I was a woman . . . I had no intention of working for a degree but was encouraged to do so by the faculty, which at that time (1920-26) was all male."⁴⁶ Yet, Cavan goes on to provide perhaps a stronger criticism of the department than she intended:

There was perhaps some favoring of men students but not in a very objectionable way. For example, the introductory course was taught in small sections by graduate students; women students were never given these positions. A woman might be appointed assistant to the head of the department, and I held this position for several years. I had no regrets; at that time I had no desire to teach.⁴⁷

It is interesting to note that Cavan called her own position--and the only one held by female students--"assistant to the head of the department." However, her colleague Helen Hughes refers to Cavan's position as "department

secretary" as does Robert E. L. Faris in his history of the Chicago School. Certainly no male graduate student colleague could boast of completing a publication (Suicide, 1928), while being the department's secretary. Although an indictment of the department as "sexist to a man" is extreme,⁴⁸ there were discriminatory policies in the department that made it no different than any other area of academics.⁴⁹ The fact is that no woman had the opportunity in the 1920's to teach as a full-fledged member of the sociology department, regardless of the good will and encouragement some women felt and received, including Frances Donovan.

In general, professional women struggled to survive at any university before Frances Donovan's days in the 1920's. It was not until 1892 that the Association of Collegiate Alumni (ACA), later called the American Association of University Women (AAUW), won women's right to do advanced work at several elite institutions such as the University of Pennsylvania, University of Chicago, Yale and Stanford.⁵⁰ Plagued by meager funding, few jobs and scant emotional support, women made little headway by merely obtaining admission to a few exclusive universities.

Women in sociology at Chicago, however, were well represented. Between 1890 and 1930 ten women (10.67%) received Ph.d.s and 49 women (30.3%) received M.A.s. Also, faculty members like George Herbert Mead who was closely affiliated with the department, and Thomas were known as active supporters of the feminist movement.⁵¹ Donovan, however, could

not have been blind to the parallels between women's status in sociology and in the public school teaching profession. In The School Ma'am Donovan notes that almost all public school administrators were men, while women were the low paid rank and file teachers. Women in sociology also were confined to secondary roles in the profession, regardless of having met the intellectual challenge of an advanced degree.

Sophonisba Breckinridge and Edith Abbott are prime examples of women whose careers in the social sciences were defined by their gender. By 1901, Breckinridge had a doctorate in Political Science and Economics, as well as law, while Abbott earned a Phd in sociology from Chicago in 1905. (Her dissertation topic was "Women In Industry").⁵² Both women then did post-doctoral work at Hull House and both had to fight to gain formal affiliation with the University of Chicago.⁵³ In the early twentieth century, deep tensions existed between the new sociologists who espoused scientific objectivity (which some called moral neutrality) and the social reformers whose main position was one of strong advocacy.

Abbott and Breckinridge--both fine intellectuals and social activists--found themselves in the middle of this debate. The Social Service Review, a journal which both women launched in 1927, is a testament to their efforts to bridge social work and social theory. As Steven Diner, a historian of the Chicago School, claims, the SSR embodies

these women's attempts to professionalize social work by stressing that "social action should be a practical application of scientific theories based on scientific research."⁵⁴ Up until recently the contribution of Sophonisba Breckinridge and Edith Abbott has been all but ignored. For instance, few scholars have made any connection between the Chicago fieldwork studies and the fieldwork that Abbott and Breckenridge did for their social research more than a decade before the Chicagoans began theirs.

Abbott's and Breckinridge's female experience was indeed one of marginality, but of a subtle, professional kind. Like other women sociologists at Chicago they were systematically excluded from formal faculty positions in the sociology department. Instead they held marginal "official" titles in such sub-departments as the Department of Household Administration. Edith Abbott for instance did teach sociology courses, but always as Special Lecturer, or Instructor. Sophonisba Breckinridge meanwhile was guest lecturer in Political Science and had other positions like Assistant Professor of Social Economy with the Department of Household Administration. Other women sociologists of the 1890 to 1930 period can be found in such social housekeeping categories as the "University of Chicago Settlement House" and the "School of Civics and Philanthropy."

* * * * *

Frances Donovan's marginality lies even farther outside

the accepted way of doing academic sociology. Donovan neither attempted a formal degree in sociology, nor associated with the women of Hull House or other social work agencies. She did her own brand of sociology alone, without close friends in the department. Even with her colleagues at Chicago, Donovan kept to herself. Those contacted from the 1920's department all knew of her, but none identified her as a friend.⁵⁵ If social housekeepers like Sophonisba Breckinridge and Edith Abbott were "lost sociologists" of one kind, Frances Donovan was "lost" in another way. Donovan is representative of many women who took courses in sociology and used their new knowledge of social structure to enhance their own and others' lives. Donovan happened to turn her knowledge into a kind of fieldwork experience and a recording of that experience.

Regardless of the publications which set her apart from other women who studied and disappeared from the department, Donovan has remained in obscurity. Research problems involved in discovering who she was, therefore, are great and particularly typical of those experienced by anyone interested in women's history. Mary Jo Deegan, a sociologist from the University of Nebraska who is at work developing the first archival collection of early women in sociology, claims these research problems are typical for historians of women in sociology as well. According to Deegan, the scarcity of living informants, discrimination that kept women buried behind the scenes, and sociology's heretofore lack of appre-

ciation for its own history are some of the problems of investigation that plague any researcher.⁵⁶

Professor Deegan also cites another hindrance to uncovering isolated figures of sociology such as Frances R. Donovan. She calls it "the sociologist's lack of analytical skills to intersect history and sociology." Deegan considers it to be her own discipline's failing that the study of social structure has not been well integrated with a study of individual lives who comprise the social structure: "While the historian often looks for the unique, the sociologist searches for the generalizable," she says.⁵⁷ Frances Donovan is a clear case of the unique. Yet to understand her uniqueness it is necessary to have a sense of the general social realities within the Chicago department, as well as in the culture at large. Therefore, it is the task of this researcher to work within this intersection of the unique and the generalizable, thus crossing fine lines of history, biography and sociological theory. In such a way Donovan's marginal role within the Chicago School might be determined, and also the role of marginality in structuring sociology at the Chicago School.

Having placed Donovan as a female in the department itself, it is helpful to provide a wider context for her relationship to sociology. Nineteenth ^{century} philosophical assumptions regarding women make clear the deeply entrenched attitudes that the earliest sociologists possessed, and in some cases, rejected.

In an irony that is not lost on feminist sociologists, Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer are considered forerunners of the "scientific" tradition in sociology as well as perpetrators of sexism.⁵⁸ Comte wrote numerous treatises on women's biological inferiority and rationales for their subordination to men. Similarly, Spencer, initially asking for women's equal competition in the marketplace, later reversed his position, saying that women's only happiness came from within the domestic sphere.⁵⁹

In contrast to most of the nineteenth century's theorizing on the innate inferiority of women, W. I. Thomas' 1920's comments on women appear enlightened. Like Franz Boas, Thomas attempted to discredit ideas of biological determinism by substituting explanations of human difference, environment and culture. As noted earlier, Thomas explained the degraded social status of women as due in part to "such 'civilized' institutions as law, government, private property and patriarchal religion."⁶⁰ Thomas' work did represent the first shift in analytical emphasis among sociologists, from biology to social and psychological forces. However, many claim that he, along with others, still developed an ill-fated argument for sexual equality. In Sex and Society (1907) he did fall prey to instinct theory and natural law by stressing women's "adaptive traits" (passiveness and emotionalism) as complementary to men's activities. The implication was that these sexual differences, although based on culture, are necessary to society's functioning.⁶¹

However by 1917 when Donovan took Thomas' course at Chicago, he had rejected some of his early instinct theories, and was working on The Unadjusted Girl (1923). The Unadjusted Girl in fact displays a sensitivity toward women's frustration and rebellion against narrowly defined sex roles that is extraordinary for his time. Much of his understanding of prostitutes, for instance, was due to his prevalent use of autobiographical accounts. Like few others, he had an insider's view. Given Thomas' respect for women's own interpretations of experience, it is a historical and simplistic to dismiss him as sexist.⁶²

With Thomas, there is reason to believe that Donovan was in an atmosphere in which she could think about women's roles without facing hostility. After Thomas' departure, Park became the major influence in the department and doubtless provided that same conducive atmosphere for Donovan's work on women. As noted earlier, women graduate students such as Helen Hughes and Ruth Cavan felt nothing but encouragement from Park. Yet, the lack of attention to women's specific social condition in his writings, makes unclear the kind of influence he had on Donovan's work on women. What we can be sure about, however, is the influence Georg Simmel had on Park's thought--and Simmel had very clear ideas on women, ideas which were ignored until recently.⁶³

In 1911 Simmel published a volume of essays entitled Philosophische Kulture of which two dealt with women. In them, Simmel revealed insights far ahead of his time. He described the cultural and social restraints imposed on

women, a world operating on male standards, and the obstacles to females who did attempt autonomy in such a male-defined culture.⁶⁴ Simmel made an argument that male standards had been mistaken as normative. Although women looked at institutions, judgements or behavior as characteristically male, men tended to "perceive them as rooted in the eternal order of things."⁶⁵

Simmel's position on women was clearly expressed in the fiery lectures he gave in Berlin around 1900, ones which Park doubtless heard. Such radical ideas as these likely made an impression on the young Park who was fascinated by the relationship between the individual and society. Indeed, Simmel's words from one essay conceivably could be found in a contemporary feminist tract:

Almost all discussions of women deal only with what they are in relation to men in terms of real, ideal, or value criteria. Nobody asks what they are for themselves....And since one always sees them in terms of their relationship to men, it becomes understandable that one ends up by concluding that they are nothing in themselves....⁶⁶

Simmel's student, Park, has never been described as a feminist, from a political or theoretical perspective. His written work on the subject seems finally to beg the question of innateness versus cultural conditioning. In his classic textbook, Introduction to the Social Science of Sociology (1921), for instance, Park describes "apparent" differences of active (male) versus passive (female) temperaments without dwelling on cause.⁶⁷ However, one of Park's theses

throughout his writing is Simmel's notion that all socialized individuals remained in a dual relation to society--by being incorporated within it, yet standing outside it. Park might well have been struck by the complex outsider/insider role that, according to Simmel, was obviously woman's.

Unfortunately, the professional Chicagoans never developed the notion of the marginal woman, as they did that of the marginal man. In fact, Thomas's Unadjusted Girl (1923) is the only work by an early Chicagoan to address women specifically. The other exceptions, of course, are Donovan's three studies on working women. As I shall argue later, a person like Frances Donovan, by her very marginality, can tap new or perhaps latent elements of marginality within the discipline. Furthermore, her unique contributions fall into two categories: an exploration of women's roles and a self-conscious understanding of the observer's relationship to the observed.

Donovan's studies of working women stand out when contrasted with other works of the Sociology Series that neglect the subject of independent women workers. In fact, some sociologists cite the Chicago Studies as prime examples of the male model that has prevailed in sociology until the last decade. This model can be described as a dichotomized world in which men play the "instrumental roles", or the important ones of a worker, family patriarch or even gangster, while the women play the "expressive roles", or the secondary or complementary ones that are usually nurturant,

e.g., wife or mother or even prostitute. In sum, mostly male sociologists have studied other more exotic male roles. In so doing there also has been a factor of romance and titillation on the part of middle class men studying deviant male behavior. The sociologist Lyn Lofland defines this male tradition in sociology as it applies to the Chicago School:

When [the researcher's lens] moves forward to a close, detailed focus, [the women] are fuzzy, shadowy background figures, framing the male at center stage. There is really nothing in urban sociology on women quite comparable to the finely textured, close-grained, empirically loving portrayal of "the boy's world" in Suttles' The Social Order of the Slum (1968) or "of corner boys and college boys" in Whyte's Street Corner Society (1955)--or of "Negro streetcorner men" in Liebow's Talley's Corner (1967) or urban nomads in Spradley's You Owe Yourself A Drunk (1970).⁶⁸

This commentary on well-known urban ethnographies of the last few years certainly fits the mold of the well-known Chicago studies such as The Gang (Thrasher), Taxi-Dance Hall (Cressey), The Hobo (Anderson) and Hotel Life (Hayner) in which women are either nonexistent (The Hobo, The Gang) or seen only in relation to male activity (Taxi-Dance Hall and Hotel Life). Ironically, in Lofland's survey of a male tradition in sociology, she mentions no exception of women who are in "close, detailed focus." Surely Lofland had not read Frances Donovan's works. This is a good illustration of how a study of the exception, as well as the rule--how a consideration of the marginal study as well as the well-known one--might have enriched our perspective on the history of

sociology.

Feminist sociologists have described their discipline as suffering from a "restriction of vision"--a "selective eye" that exclusively focused on "public, official and visible spheres" that male professionals considered the only dramatic arena in which to view social behavior.⁶⁹ Jessie Bernard also has called sociology "a male science of male society."⁷⁰ In the past, normative values--now exposed as predominantly male--did eliminate the possibility of seeing the richness of women's participation in society. In truth women have always worked and they have always been "dramatic" contributors to this culture. Women comprised a substantial percentage of the first industrial work force of the nineteenth century; they have been sole breadwinners for a surprisingly high percentage of American families; and they have found a variety of ways to live outside the domestic sphere.

It is necessary to understand the power of the paradigm that was just beginning to emerge from the Chicago studies, in order to understand Donovan's relationship to it. Characterized by a general failure to explore women's identities, the Chicago School brings into relief the uniqueness of Donovan's work on women. It is so unique indeed, that no feminist has alluded to Donovan's writing as an exception to the male rule. Donovan's perspective on waitresses, saleswomen and finally teachers is that these women had identities that were formed by occupation, rather than by male or family relationships.

This was a new idea in sociology and the culture at large-- and still would be a new idea more than fifty years later.

I would argue that Frances Donovan's studies actually provide new symbols for understanding culture. Sociology's role has been "that of turning immediate and concrete features of experience into the conceptual mode in which the governing of society is done."⁷¹ In choosing to define women in autonomous states of economic independence, Donovan transposes women's lives and experience into a new "conceptual currency." By describing a reality previously ignored, Donovan provides new ways to view women. In the case of working class females, Donovan reworks their previous "conceptual currency" as ignorant and promiscuous. Despite her initial treatment of waitresses in these class-bound terms (by calling them crass, crude and shockingly immoral) she eventually does transform them into new symbols--lacking inhibitions and possessing strength and sensuality. Ironically, these qualities prove to be the ones that are sadly absent in the symbolic content of the teacher role, one that Donovan describes twenty years later as a repressive and repressed character type in her last study, The School Ma'am.

In some ways Donovan's work is in the tradition of late nineteenth century women's studies of female employment which flourished between 1890 and 1920 under such auspices as The Consumer's League, the Women's Bureau and the Russell Sage Foundation. However, Pamela Roby notes that sociological

interest in the female working class waned with World War I.⁷² Better working conditions and protective legislation as well as a renewed rhetoric urging women to stay in the home to raise children account for this lapse. As an indicator of the dearth of these studies on women, Roby records the results of her historical survey of sociological literature. She found that up until 1975 researchers "did not have a single book primarily devoted to women employed in blue collar, industrial or service jobs."⁷³ Donovan's work then has an additional interest as being in an area that still needs much more research. For instance, her emphasis on the sexual dynamics of the workplace--the interaction of men and women based on the kind of work environment they share--was not simply voyeurism. It was an early and unique attempt to deal with the sexual politics of work that have only begun to be explored. Anthropologists James P. Spradley and Brenda Mann make the same point in their contemporary ethnography The Cocktail Waitress (1975). Studying the behavior of cocktail waitresses and bartenders, Spradley and Mann note that only in an observation of their interaction can the sexual politics and general work environment for men and women be understood.

A second aspect of Donovan's marginality that needs examining is her methodology. What makes her work immediately distinct is that no one else disguised her/himself in order to enter what Chicagoans called another "social world." According to the much used field manual by all graduate

students of the period, no clear lines seemed to be drawn as to what good fieldwork was, or was not.⁷⁴ Donovan's colleague from the 1920's, Nels Anderson, adds that graduate students were not even familiar with the term "participant-observation" and referred to their first hand experiences in the field as the "anthropological method."⁷⁵ Regardless of what the Chicagoans called their methodology for getting cultural description, no one else temporarily became one of the group they studied.

In some ways Donovan's willingness to become a waitress, and a saleswoman as well as a gadfly of her own teaching profession reveals a personal investment in understanding marginal identities, that fellow Chicagoans chose not to make so explicit in their studies. As noted earlier the Chicagoans of the 1920's were struggling to establish themselves as "objective" social scientists. Consequently, an encouragement of their full immersion into often "deviant" worlds of hobos, hotel dwellers, gang members or prostitutes had to be threatening. Not only would it heighten the risk of "going native" and losing all scientific perspective,⁷⁶ it might also call into jeopardy the self-conscious distance the new sociologists were trying to put between themselves and settlement workers. Early on, "the professionals" suffered under what they considered a harmful nineteenth century stereotype of the do-gooder social housekeeper--the (usually female) "amateur" who lived amongst the poor or was at least "too close" to their problems truly to understand

them.⁷⁷ Frances Donovan, not suffering these same pressures of professionalism, took the risk of getting "too close."

Women's role-playing furthermore, can be connected to contemporary feminist theory as well as to sociological theory. Just as Simmel described "the stranger" who was destined to live on the "edge" of culture in a relationship of nearness and remoteness to it, feminists talk of women's "otherness."⁷⁸ For decades sociology's depiction of women in only "expressive" roles mirrored the perceptions of the larger culture. According to feminist theorists, being in this instrumental world, but not of it, has given women a potentially unique perspective a "special searing vision" that pierces through other mediating filters of observation and subsequent definitions of the world.⁷⁹

Donovan's marginal status as sociologist and marginal vision as woman required that she place herself at the center of her investigations of women. Her insistence that her work be grounded in her own experience, therefore ties together contemporary feminist views and certain kinds of sociological methods. It also makes her a forerunner of them. Feminist sociologists hold that sociological description of women must be squared with the reality of women's lives. In order to do this a woman sociologist must start where "she is actually situated," so that she can "take her direct experience of the everyday world the primary ground of her knowledge, rather than male constructs."⁸⁰ Sociologists like Pauline Bart have found attractive C. W. Mill's vision for

sociology:

To use Mill's concept, we are interweaving biography and history because we discovered that what we thought were private problems were in fact public issues. Thus our personal experiences are not juicy anecdotes to liven up a text or to gain the attention of the students who are reading the newspaper while we lecture. Our personal experiences are data.⁸¹

In addition, little work has been done on the question of women as participant-observers. As explored later in this inquiry, women particularly have had a long tradition of moving easily in and out of different identities for a multitude of reasons. For instance, in the Progressive Period, hundreds of middle-class women journeyed out of their domestic sphere and into the squalid world of city factories and tenements as muckrakers. Many disguised themselves to become workers in pickle factories, laundries or shoe shops. The sole purpose for their disguise was ostensibly to expose the wretched working conditions. Less than obvious motivations included a desire to experience other cultural worlds and "deviant" female identities--outside the narrowly defined ones prescribed for Victorian women. This need to broaden the severely limited horizons of female experience was accompanied by a logical fascination with deviance. Frances Donovan as a participant-observer turned deviance into a potential middle class model and, as other participant-observers, like the anthropologist Ruth Benedict, used deviance within other cultures to point out the relativistic--and therefore less

binding--nature of social roles within her own culture.

Finally, when Frances Donovan included her own experiences as data, Robert Park called her work "impressionistic"--meaning unscientific. Yet according to some current theories in the social sciences, Donovan's work does attempt a kind of scientific truth. This theory insists that a documenting of the process of gaining cultural description is essential to our determination of what culture really is. The sociologists Colin Bell and Howard Newby state:

We take it as one of the causes of impoverishment of sociological monographs that their authors have not written "simply as a human being." The divorce of the personal from the so-called scientific means that the scientific has not been scientific at all.⁸²

If the scientific is a wedding of the researcher and the research, Frances Donovan certainly does not divorce herself from science. To the contrary. Her data on waitresses, saleswomen and teachers is intertwined with a description of the personal process by which she obtained her data. Donovan records her sense of discovery, her passions and her biases toward these women. The sociological knowledge that she offers, therefore, is described in the context of how that learning was structured--through conversations, anecdotes and shared experience.

In sum, Frances Donovan's marginality is a useful lens through which to view the first academic sociological mission in America. Not only does her presence call attention to a felt sense of marginality within the department itself. It

also calls attention to the Chicago School's methodology in general, and in a broader sense, to the whole participant-observation tradition in the social sciences.

Notes

¹ Frances R. Donovan, The Woman Who Waits (Boston: Gorham Press, 1920), p. 11.

² Ibid., p. 12.

³ To this researcher's knowledge, Mary P. Ryan in Womanhood In America (1975) is the only historian who uses Frances Donovan's work as a primary source in women's history, and her references are brief. See pages 270, 291, 292-293, 307, 320, 331. In addition, Erving Goffman in The Presentation of Self In Everyday Life (1959) is the only sociologist who uses Donovan's work as sociological knowledge. For instance, he cites Donovan's descriptions of saleswomen to illustrate his concept of "communication out of character." See page 171.

⁴ See Virginia Fish, "The Chicago School Revisited: Whatever Happened to Annie Marie Maclean and Frances R. Donovan?" Paper Presented at the Forty-First Annual Meeting of the Midwest Sociological Society, April 13-16, 1977 in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Fish's point is that she cannot answer most of her own questions based on her research through typical archival methods and materials dealing with the Chicago School of Sociology.

⁵ With the exception of Robert E. L. Faris' Chicago Sociology, 1920-1932 (1967) which mentions a "Mrs. Donovan" inadvertently while citing another graduate student's diary entry, the major interpretations of the Chicago School ignore her existence. These major works include: Frederick H. Matthews, Quest for an American Sociology (1977); James Short, The Social Fabric of the Metropolis (1971); John Madge, The Origins of Scientific Sociology (1967); James T. Carey, Sociology and Public Affairs (1975); Winifred Raushenbush, Robert E. Park (1979).

⁶ In The Marginal Man (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), Stonequist gives Robert E. Park credit for the idea of marginality and the idea for his book. See also Robert Park's first use of the concept in a published work in "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," American Journal of Sociology 33 (Mar 1928): pp. 881-93; see also Everett C. Hughes, "Social Change and Social Protest: An Essay on the Marginal Man," Phylon 10 (Nov): pp. 58-65. According to the sociologist Gino Germani (Marginality, New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1980) marginality is a widely accepted concept in the social sciences, one that originally and "for

a long time" strictly referred to urban ecological characteristics of the poor in shantytowns or squatter settlements." (See Janice Perlman, Myth of Marginality (1976) as a classic example of this strict usage of the term, in this case referring to the sociopolitical status of shantytown dwellers in Rio de Janeiro; and also Marianne Githens, and Jewel Prestage (Eds.) Portrait of Marginality (New York: David McKay Company Inc., 1977) for its use in a sociopolitical context). Germani claims that marginality "later" was extended to aspects of living standards, and "only recently" to a "realization of different norms, values and attitudes in most spheres of life." It is clear from Germani's sense of the history of marginality as a concept that he has no knowledge of the Chicago School's broad psychosociological origins for it. Germani's clear failure to see within the Chicago tradition the source of contemporary ideas (too often assumed the richest of all ideas) is typical of the oversights found in many assessments of the Chicago School. Fortunately, there are a few major exceptions and they are cited in this dissertation.

7 Robert E. Park, Introduction to The Marginal Man by Everett V. Stonequist, p. xiv.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid., p. xviii.

10 Hughes, p. 60.

11 Park, Introduction, p. xvi.

12 Stonequist, p. 144.

13 C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 8.

14 Donald B. Meyer, The Positive Thinkers (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1965), p. 153.

15 See Steven F. Diner's excellent article, "Department and Discipline: The Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago, 1892-1920," Minerva 13, (Winter, 1975) for a full account of motivations and negotiations regarding the founding of the University of Chicago and its first sociology department.

16 Ernest Becker, The Lost Science of Man (New York: George Braziller, 1971), pp. 1-64.

17 Ibid., p. 100. Becker sees Albion Small as a man with a reformer's vision, who capitulated to "value neutrality" and thus contributed to sociology's "lost vision" of true social reform. See also Vernon K. Dibble, The Legacy

of Albion Small (1975) for a more generous development of Small's attempted synthesis of scientific method and ethics.

For other critiques of sociology as a "lost vision," refer to Mary O. Furner, Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of the Social Sciences (1975); Alvin Gouldner, The Coming Crisis in Western Sociology (1970); Herman and Julia Schwendinger, Sociologists of the Chair: A Radical Analysis of the Formative Years of North American Sociology (1974).

18 Thomas L. Haskell, The Emergence of Professional Social Science (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), pp. 1-23.

19 Morton G. White, Social Thought In America (New York: Viking Press, 1949), Chapter Two, "The Revolt Against Formalism," pp.

20 White, p. 11.

21 Faris, p. 12.

22 The Chicago School's European predecessors had wide-ranging fields of interest and backgrounds. It is easy to see how the earliest American sociologists could have perceived themselves as interdisciplinarians: Pareto (1848-1923) had studied engineering; Tarde (1848-1904) and Durkheim (1858-1917) had studied law; Weber (1865-1920) and Charles Cooley (1864-1929) were economists; and Spencer (1820-1903) and Simmel (1858-1918) were philosophers.

23 See Eli Zaretsky's insightful comments on W. I. Thomas in his introduction to a new edited version Thomas and Znaniecki's Polish Peasant In Europe and America which is still in manuscript form.

24 Ibid.

25 See Julia and Herman Schwendinger, "Sociology's Founding Fathers: Sexist To A Man," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 33 (1971), pp. 783-799, for a negative critique of Thomas' sex role theories.

26 W. I. Thomas, "The Mind of Woman and the Lower Races," Sex and Society, p. 291.

27 See Rosalind Rosenberg, "The Dissent From Darwin, 1890-1930: The New View of Women By American Social Scientists." (Ph.D. Diss., Temple University, 1975), for a fair assessment of Thomas' final contribution to a sociology of women.

28 Letter from Albion Small to Walter A. Payne, 30 April, 1908, as cited in Steven F. Diner, "Department and

Discipline," p. 523.

29 Robert A. Nisbet, The Sociological Tradition (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966), pp. 73-78.

30 Alice A. Rossi, "Feminist History in Perspective: Sociological Contributions to Biographical Analysis," A Sampler of Women's Studies (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1973), p. 97.

31 Frederick H. Matthews, Quest For An American Sociology: Robert E. Park and the Chicago School (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press: 1977), p. 103.

32 Robert E. Park, as quoted in Winifred Raushenbush, Robert E. Park: Biography of a Sociologist (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979), p. 29.

33 Robert E. Park, "The Life Histories of William I. Thomas and Robert E. Park," American Journal of Sociology Vol. 79 (September, 1973), p. 256.

These two life histories are taken from the Luther L. Bernard Papers, Pennsylvania State Historical Collection at University Park. In 1927, Bernard, a well known sociologist and a Chicagoan took it upon himself to solicit 256 life histories and personal commentaries from sociologists across the country. His purpose was to record the founding days of major sociology departments through the eyes of its participants. These papers seem to be a rich, untapped source of information on the attitudes and assumptions regarding a new discipline, taking in regional differences, indicating the creation of different intellectual camps, etc.--all from the insider's point of view. Furthermore, the fact that it is such an extraordinarily large sampling adds to its credibility as a collective "life history" of academic sociology in the process of professionalization.

34 Park, ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Lewis Coser, "Robert E. Park," Masters of Sociological Thought (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1971), p. 374.

37 See Simmel's chapter on "The Stranger" in The Sociology of Georg Simmel, a translated edition by Kurt Wolff (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950).

The best American criticism in English on Simmel is Georg Simmel, a collection of essays edited by Lewis Coser (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965); see also Lewis Coser, "Georg Simmel" in Masters of Sociological Thought pages 177-215; Don Martindale, The Nature and Types of

Sociological Theory (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), pages
; P. A. Lawrence, Georg Simmel: Sociologist and
European (New York: Harper & Rowe, 1976), p. 1-40.

38 Lewis Coser, "Georg Simmel's Neglected Contributions to the Sociology of Women," Signs, 2, 1977, p. 869.

It is an interesting coincidence that Park, like Simmel, the "privat dozent," was forced to stay outside a formal academic framework for a number of years despite his influence. Although Park was the dynamo of the Chicago department after Thomas' departure in 1919, Park served only as an independent lecturer from 1914 to 1923; at which time he received a professorship which he kept ten years before retiring to teach at Fisk University. Simmel and Park survived because they had independent wealth. Perhaps their independence from normal academic restraints played a substantial role in both their brilliant and wide-ranging accomplishments.

39 Coser, Masters of Sociological Thought, p. 195, 196.

40 Letter received from Helen MacGill Hughes, June 27, 1981. See also Steven F. Diner, A City and Its Universities: Public Policy In Chicago, 1892-1919 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980). Diner mentions that "the university took a special interest in extension work for public school teachers." p. 21.

41 Frederick H. Matthews, Quest For An American Sociology: Robert E. Park and the Chicago School (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1977), p. 62.

42 Robert Park, as quoted in Winifred Raushenbush, Robert E. Park, pp. 49-50 (my italics).

43 Ibid.

44 See Helen M. Hughes' three articles on her experience at the University of Chicago: "Maid of All Work or Departmental Sister-in-law? The Faculty Wife Employed On Campus," American Journal of Sociology, 78 (January, 1973), pp. 767-72; "Women in Academic Sociology, 1925-75," Sociological Focus, 8 (August, 1975), pp. 215-222; "Woman/Wasp/Sociologist," Society 4 No. 5 (1977) pp. 69-80.

For commentaries on women in sociology see also Jessie Bernard, "My Four Revolutions: An Autobiographical History of the ASA," American Journal of Sociology 78 (January 1973), pp. 883-91; Daryl Chubin, "Sociological Manpower and Woman Power: Sex Differences in Career Patterns of Two Cohorts of American Doctorate Sociologists," American Sociologist 9 (1974) pp. 83-92; Sylvia Fleis Fava, "The Status of Women in Professional Sociology," American Sociological Review 25 (1960) pp. 271-72.

- 45 Helen MacGill Hughes (1973), p. 767-69.
- 46 Letter received from Ruth Shonle Cavan, January 12, 1981.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Schwendinger and Schwendinger, p.783.
- 49 Professor Mary Jo Deegan at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln is at work on an archival collection for what she terms "Lost Women of Sociology, 1890-1930." Although much work has been done recently on women in academics generally, almost nothing exists on women of the early period in sociology. Deegan's article, "Women and Sociology, 1890-1930" in Journal of the History of Sociology 1, provides excellent statistics that support her thesis that women sociologists were left to create "alternative professional networks" outside the mainstream one of academic sociology.
- 50 Marion Talbot and Lois Kimball Mathews Rosenberry, The History of the American Association of University Women, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, [193]). p. 142-43.
- See also Lyn D. Gordon, "Co-educational On Two Campuses: Berkeley and Chicago, 1890-1912" in Woman's Being, Woman's Place, (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1979) pp. 180-189; Ann E. Davis, "Women As A Minority Group in Higher Academics," American Sociologist 4 (1969), pp. 95-9; Barbara Harris, Beyond Her Sphere: Women and The Professions in American History (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1978), pp. 136-138.
- 51 Deegan, p. 10.
- 52 See Edith Abbott's pioneering study, Women In Industry: A Study In Economic History (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1910) that agrees with just a few other sociologists like William I. Thomas that women's inferior status had more to do with economics than nature.
- 53 See Steven F. Diner's article "Scholarship in the Quest For Social Welfare: A Fifty Year History of the Social Service Review," in the Social Service Review, 51, No. 1 (1977), pp. 1-66. Here Diner elaborates on the brilliant scholarship and service of such extraordinary women as Sophonisba Breckinridge and Edith Abbott. See also Jessie Bernard, Academic Women, pp. 242-250 for her discussion on social work as "women's only academic field." Refer also to Katherine Kish Sklar's work, "Florence Kelley: Resources and Achievements," Paper Presented at the Fifth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, July 1981. Working on a full-length study on Florence Kelley, of Hull House, of

which this paper is a part, Sklar speaks to the political activist tradition out of which many Hull House figures came. Her position (backed up by evidence of family backgrounds that were more political than religious) runs contrary to many assessment of these women as social housekeepers with purely altruistic and religious motives, rather than political ones. This is certainly the case with both Edith Abbott and Sophonisba Breckinridge who had fathers who were prominent political figures.

54 Diner, ibid.

55 Former Chicago graduate students of the 1920's who were contacted corroborate that Frances Donovan was "known of" by everyone, but known well by no one. Correspondents and dates of letters received include:
Nels Anderson, University of New Brunswick, Canada (February 14, 1981)

Robert E. L. Faris, Coronado, Canada (February 6, 1981)

Helen MacGill Hughes, Cambridge, Massachusetts (June 27, 1978; February 17, 1981)

Ruth Shonle Cavan, University of Northern Illinois (January 2, 1981)

Leonard Cotrell, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, (January 14, 1981)

James T. Carey, University of Illinois (January 28, 1981)

Carey, having interviewed all living former graduates from the Chicago sociology department from the 1920's, determined through polling that all knew the name Frances Donovan (and many had read her books in class) but no one listed her as a friend.

56 Deegan, p. 3.

57 Deegan, ibid.

58 The Nature of Woman: An Encyclopedia and Guide To the Literature, Ed. Mary Anne Warren, (Pt. Reyes: Edgepress, 1980), p. 432-434.

59 Herbert Spencer, Part III, "Domestic Institutions," The Status of Women, Principles of Sociology (New York: Appleton, 1908), pp. 725-745.

60 The Nature of Woman, p. 432.

61 Schwendinger and Schwendinger, "Sociology's Founding Fathers: Sexist To a Man," Journal of Marriage and the Family (November, 1971) p. 783-799.

62 Coser, Signs, p. 870. Coser, defending Simmel's enlightened albeit inconsistent position on women, states the historian's problems in terms that pertain to

understanding the early Chicago School as well: "Students of the predicaments of women as well as of men in modern culture should not pass out posthumous grades. One needs to cultivate the ability to recognize a valuable insight even though it may be found alongside antiquated and discredited cultural assumptions." (p. 875)

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid., p. 871.

65 Ibid., p. 872.

66 Simmel, as quoted from Philosophische Kulture in Signs p. 873.

67 Robert E. Park and Ernest Burgess, Chapters on "Sex Differences" and "Sexual Conflicts," Introduction to the Science of Sociology, Third Edition, (1921, rpt, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

68 Lyn H. Lofland, "The Thereness of Women: A Selective Review of Urban Sociology," in Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science eds. Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Moss Kanter (Garden City: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1975), p. 145.

69 Eloise C. Snyder, "The Selective Eye of Sociology, in The Study of Women: Enlarging Perspectives of Social Reality" ed. Eloise C. Snyder (New York: Harper & Row, 1979)

70 Jessie Bernard, "My Four Revolutions . . ." p. 883.

71 Dorothy E. Smith, "Women's Perspectives As A Radical Critique of Sociology," Sociological Inquiry 44 (1974) p. 8.

72 Pamela Roby, "Sociology and Women in Working Class Jobs, 1890-1970," Sociological Inquiry 45 (1975) p. 205.

73 Roby's statistics (as of 1975) are very revealing: In the American Journal of Sociology only seven articles had been written on employed-working class women, and they were all before 1910; American Sociological Review had one article since 1943 and the Sociological Inquiry had none.

74 Vivien Palmer, Section II, "The Methods of Sociological Research," Field Studies In Sociology: A Student's Manual (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), pp. 19-32.

75 Nels Anderson, Introduction to The Hobo, Phoenix Edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. xiii.

76 Peter Berger, Rumour of Angels (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1969), p. 8.

77 Bernard, Academic Women, p. 242.

78 See Simone de Beauvoir's first and famous use of the phrase "women as other" in The Second Sex.

See also Vivian Gornick "Woman As Outsider," in Woman In A Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness, eds. Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran, (New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1972), p. 138.

79 Snyder, p. 47 .

80 Smith, p. 11.

81 Pauline Bart, "Sexism and Social Science: From The Gilded Cage, or The Perils of Pauline," Journal of Marriage and the Family 33 (November 1971), p. 374.

82 Colin Bell and Howard Newby, Introduction to Doing Sociological Research, (New York: Free Press, 1977), p. 14.

II. FRANCES R. DONOVAN: PROFESSIONAL STRANGER

"If we knew the full life history of a single individual in his social setting, we would probably know most of what is worth knowing about social life and human nature."

Louis Wirth, The Ghetto

". . . I referred to her /Frances Donovan/ when lecturing this winter as an instance of the self starting, independent investigator, the lone worker, with no team of research associates, no printed questionnaire, electronic hardware, no grant. She got interested in something and pursued the subject."

Letter from Helen MacGill Hughes
June 27, 1978

FRANCES ROBERTSON DONOVAN

Chronology

- April 6, 1880 Born "Cora Frances Robertson" to Eva St. Clair Bissell and Frank Leslie Robertson in St. Clair, Michigan
- 1898 Graduates from St. Clair High School
- 1898-1899 Takes a first teaching position in a one room rural school house outside St. Clair
- 1899-1901 Earns a teaching degree from Ypsilanti Normal College, Michigan State University
- 1901-1903 Teaches in a Detroit suburb
- 1903-1905 Teaches in a Chicago suburb
- 1905-1906 Moves to Great Falls, Montana, taking another teaching position; Meets William B. Donovan, her future husband
- December, 1907 Marries Donovan and retires from teaching
- 1914 Great Falls economy collapses; The Donovan's move to Chicago; William becomes ill
- 1916-1918 Earns credits at the University of Chicago; Takes classes in the sociology department, including "Occupational Survey"; William Donovan dies
- 1917 Waitresses on the Chicago Loop
- December 17, 1918 Graduates from the University of Chicago with an undergraduate degree in English
- 1919 Manages a teachers' agency
- 1920 Publication of The Woman Who Waits
- 1920-1921 Teaches as a substitute for the Chicago Board of Education; Meets best friend, Letitia Parry Jones Owen
- 1921-1923 Manages "The Chicago Temple Book Shop"
- 1923 Works informally with the Chicago Sociology department

1924	Takes permanent position with Calumet High School in Chicago
Summers 1924, 25	Works as a saleswoman in Macy's Department Store, and Saks Fifth Avenue in New York City
1928	Publication of <u>The Saleslady</u>
1933	Plays an active role in Chicago teachers' strikes with John Fewks, head of the Volunteer Emergency Committee
1938	Publication of <u>The School Ma'am</u>
May, 1945	Retires from Calumet High School; Moves to Eureka Springs, Arkansas to "pioneer" at the age of 65
1953	Begins community study of Eureka Springs at age 73
1963	Enters "Leisure Lodge" Nursing Home in Berryville, Arkansas
November, 1965	Dies at the age of 85 in the "Leisure Lodge"

Frances Donovan strode into that Chicago Loop restaurant in 1917, with an air of self-assurance. Thirty-seven years old and 5' 10" tall, she carried herself with dignity. Her brown hair was pulled back in a knot, allowing only wavy wisps to frame a large-featured but plain face, while her slender arms and legs offset a broad chest and wide hips. To close friends Donovan occasionally referred--half-kiddingly--to her contrasting proportions as "the real sign of an aristocrat."¹ On this particular day, the aristocrat was about to transform herself into a waitress. Beneath her self-assurance was a new nervousness.

Over her lifetime Frances Donovan was accustomed to multiple and perhaps inconsistent roles. For as long as she could remember there was something inside her that was not what her life was about.² As a genteel member of the midwestern middle class, she dreamed of lighting out into frontier territory like her pioneering great aunt. She married a good man, but scorned the frivolous pastimes that accompanied her role as wife. She taught high school English with dutiful competence for over twenty years, but perceived herself as separate and apart from her colleagues--as an intellectual, published author and social investigator. If Frances Donovan was extraordinary for straying from a prescribed role as wife or teacher, she was also what a Chicagoan called a "representative type": one of many

hundreds of women, before and since, who was decent and bright and doing her best to understand a changing world and women's place in it. Up until the end of her life she fought a quiet battle against life's vicissitudes, ones that were not gender exclusive: being alone, earning a living, finding satisfaction in friendship and coping with old age and death.

Born into the family of a well to do lumberman in 1880 and brought up to be a Michigan lakeside debutante, Cora Frances Robertson was expected to marry into money, motherhood and domesticity. Instead, in 1917 she found herself at middle age with a dying husband, no children and the prospect of returning to paid work to support herself.

By the time Frances peered into a restaurant's plate glass windows to contemplate a waitress' existence (as well as her own), she already had a connection to the University of Chicago Sociology Department. After returning to school for an English degree, Donovan had taken a sociology course, "Occupational Survey," probably taught by W. I. Thomas. While learning about the personality types evolving out of a new urban order, Donovan no doubt caught the Chicagoans' missionary fever that impelled them to observe first-hand a world of depersonalized social relations and ethnic subcultures. Although Donovan had gone back to the University for the purpose of renewing her credentials for teaching high school English, she was captivated by sociology. Studying other groups' adjustment to an urban landscape

inadvertently gave Donovan an opportunity to study herself. In general, the early Chicagoans sought scientific explanations for a social structure that was in "vibrant disorder." However, certain members--and most certainly Frances Donovan--sought to impose meaning on their own complex experience as participant--and observer--of this same urban flux.

Two years before beginning classes at the University of Chicago, Donovan's position had seemed settled and secure in Great Falls, Montana. Married to William Donovan, a successful architect, Donovan had acquired the status of her husband when she quit teaching in 1907 to enjoy a life of upper-middle class privilege. Soon after the Donovans' move to Chicago in 1914, "Billy" was struck down with a terminal illness and eventually was institutionalized in what was ominously called the "Home For The Incurables," located near the University of Chicago.³ At this point Donovan suddenly found herself flung out into a city that offered as much possibility for loneliness and failure as it did for autonomy and freedom. Newly widowed and necessarily independent, she confronted the isolation and disorganization that she had learned about in her first sociology seminars--problems which plagued many Americans even outside the new ethnic subcultures or "deviant groups" which had become the focus of the Chicago sociology department.

In some ways resembling the first and second generation immigrants who comprised half of Chicago by 1920, Donovan experienced a painful uprooting from one set of expectations

to another. Forced to relinquish the secure but narrowly defined role of a small town wife, she now assumed a much less clear role as a single woman in the fastest growing industrial city in the country. Whatever her fears, she must have found exhilaration, too, in the new circumstances foisted on her. At least, she would go on to "play" at being a waitress, a saleswoman and even a teacher--having learned that, at the same time as one role was secure, a multiplicity of roles at least offered the possibility of exciting transformation.

Fitting herself for that first waitress uniform one day in 1917 Donovan had some of Simmel's "stranger" in her. She was on the "edge" of different cultures and experiences--of marriage and widowhood, of teaching and social investigation. She was also the Chicagoans' marginal woman, standing in "nearness and remoteness" to middle class life and to a waitress' working class one. To some extent, Donovan was conscious of her passage from one world into another. In The Woman Who Waits, she was obviously preoccupied by the "raw and crude life" of the heterosexual workplace, and focused on the "ritual" of waiting tables and the "sex games" between waitresses and male customers and co-workers. Donovan's waitressing stint may be seen, however, as her symbolic entrance into a work world where occupation redefines aspects of social and sexual identity. Freed from a social definition as wife, Donovan had to don a new identity with her waitress' uniform.

Her journey toward social and sexual definition is sustained throughout all three of her occupational studies. As she gives meaning to other women's lives as well as her own, each occupation takes on symbolic value on two levels. Donovan's symbolic journey from waitressing to saleswork to teaching traces not only Donovan's own stages of consciousness, but also suggests the pattern of possibilities of early twentieth century women's work. Waitressing as a direct extension of the domestic role can stand for the majority of women's work which has been historically unskilled and working class. It also stands for Donovan's intention to change drastically her identity by "starting at the bottom" of women's work to find her personal and public role once more.

Saleswork, in turn, represented to Donovan the burgeoning middle class opportunities for women--opportunities that were in fact double-edged in the 1920's. Cultural messages of liberating sexuality were linked with new advertising techniques that encouraged passive consumption. Donovan described a woman behind the counter as economically independent, well-dressed and sexually appealing--in short, "the sexy saleslady." But the sexy saleslady was also symbolic of more repressive realities in American culture. The "sexy saleslady" could stand for the status that was promised those who acquired things, rather than ideas, education or power.⁴ For Donovan, however, saleswork was the heterosexual, dynamic world that contrasted sharply

with a world of teaching. As The School Ma'am illustrates ten years later, teaching to Donovan epitomized the repressive, sex-segregated nature of women's work. Traditionally glorified as women's only professional option, teaching was at the same time devalued in economic terms. Donovan further appreciated the irony of the symbolic content of the school ma'am as both mother to the nation's children and a sexual spinster--contradictory identities with which Donovan contended for over twenty years.

In making an argument for the momentous nature of her transition in that restaurant dressing room, I am stressing Donovan's personal and intellectual--rather than altruistic--intentions for documenting the lives of women workers. Too often solely unselfish motives are imputed to "gentle-faced, middle-aged" teacher types like Frances Donovan, in attempting to downplay a woman's personal concern for status, intellectual growth or even serious political reform. This has certainly been the case with the nineteenth century social reformers such as Jane Addams or Florence Kelley. As some historians now point out, depicting them as martyrs or saints has been a form of dismissal and depersonalization.⁵ As with men, women's role as public servant also possesses a private side, marked by ambition and economic need.

Such "purifying" of women's motives is noticeable even in the scant writings on Donovan. For instance, a 1937 article for the Chicago Sunday Tribune, written twenty years

after Donovan's waitressing on the Chicago Loop, claimed that the "kindly, middle-aged teacher's sole reason for writing her first two studies was to help" her girls: "It is for the many earnest-faced eager-eyed girls who sit in the long rows of desks before her that she has been concerned. For them she has been a waitress, a saleslady and teacher. . . ."6

This image of selfless idealism contrasts with the picture of Donovan drawn by relatives, teaching colleagues and former students. As well as being "brilliant" and "opinionated," she demanded the best from others, as she did from, and for, herself. For instance, her contention that life should be personally fulfilling made a lasting impression on one of her students from the late 1930's who remembers Donovan for her "monolog lectures" at the end of class.⁷ One of her main themes, he remembers, was "be your own person": She stressed and she herself illustrated, what she regarded as all important," the student recalled, "namely that everyone should live his/her own life." He added that "It has taken me thirty years to realize how right she was . . . and is!" If Donovan gave unselfishly to her students, she also impressed them as a model of self-actualization.

There are other indications of the personal investment Donovan made in her work. For instance, a letter written by Donovan in retirement at the age of seventy-four reveals how much she valued her identity as a published author.

Addressed to a publisher who had rejected her community study of Eureka Springs, Donovan's reply is proud and even poignant. To her, the tone of the rejection implied an editor's dismissal of an old woman's misbegotten project. To a Mr. Lottinville she wrote indignantly:

Although since my retirement here nearly ten years ago, I have done no writing except for the local news sheet, I am not yet completely a "has-been".... I have published three books, all of which have sold to city libraries and to colleges and universities. My Saleslady was listed in the New York papers for several weeks as a best seller. No publisher has ever lost money on me....⁸

The above statement reflects a proud and ambitious woman who indeed cared as much about her professional status and self-esteem as she did "her girls'" welfare.

In summary, Donovan's activities as a social investigator were also an exercise in self-discovery. Her "nearness and remoteness" as a participant-observer extended to her motivation for writing. Combined with a deep concern for other women, she was also--through symbol and disguise--pushing out and discovering the boundaries of her own role definition.

Donovan's transition in the restaurant dressing room can be used as a symbol not only for the change in Donovan's personal life, but also as an important transitional time for the Chicago Sociology department, and even more broadly for women's history. Donovan's intellectually productive years began with her sojourn as a waitress in 1917, leading to her

first publication, The Woman Who Waits in 1920. Her last published work, The School Ma'am appeared in 1939. Generally, this interim period marks the "golden days" of Chicago Sociology; it also marks a less than golden period in women's history, full of contradictions suggesting alternatively feminist decline and women's liberation.

There are advantages to observing Donovan observing women in this important academic and historical context. Involved with the earliest sociology department in the country and with women's roles in the 1920's and 1930's, Donovan reacted to transitions in American culture and attempted to make what W. I. Thomas called "definitions of the situation," based on her own experience and other women's observed experience in American culture. The dualistic nature of this relationship between self and society is complex enough to have generated endless debates in the humanities and the social sciences. Certainly the Chicagoans saw this relationship as a major issue; and, given their historical period and interdisciplinary perspective, they respected the power of social forces such as economics, environment and tradition as well as individual self-will, ideas, and desires.

Generalizations abound regarding the connection between societal and personal change, but these become meaningful only if drawn from and related to peoples' lives. Frances Donovan's life and works allow a close look at how one observant woman reacted to major signals in the culture, at

the same time as she "defined" and "took action" as an independent and even isolated figure--in sociology and women's history. Moving in at close range to examine how culture is mediated through an individual is a necessary grounding for any generalizations about historical movements, disciples or general human experience. W. I. Thomas's major argument in The Polish Peasant in Europe and America was just this: that particular "life histories" have to be the primary stuff of which general sociological explanations are made.

Donovan began her investigation of the female urban landscape just after the publication of Robert E. Park's classic essay, "The City: Suggestions For the Investigation of Human Behavior," published in 1915. It ushered in the most prolific period of Chicago sociology. As Donovan's first work is her most intimate involvement with city life, so too are the early 1920's studies the best examples of the Chicagoans' fascination with describing and theorizing about the effects of the urban environment on human behavior. Their explorations of social psychology, urban ecology and social organization set the pace for a quarter century. Furthermore, the acceptance of Donovan's The Saleslady in the Chicago Sociology Series was her crowning moment, when she was most legitimated as a social investigator. The Series is also the Chicagoans' crowning achievement. Established in 1923 by Robert E. Park, the Series served as the forum for the department's best ethnographic data and applied theory.

The School Ma'am of 1939, the last of Donovan's publications, came two years after Talcott Parsons's publication of The Structure of Social Action which some consider to mark the end of the Chicago School's "hegemony." For nearly a quarter century the Chicago School's training and its preponderant influence in the American Journal of Sociology and the American Sociological Association had guided the discipline in America. However, with the wide acceptance of Parsons' functionalism, the Chicago School's hegemony vanished. Functionalism's reverence for quantification, testable generalizations and value-free analyses splintered the third generation of Chicagoans into separate camps.

Placing our dressing room transition in a larger context, Donovan's years of participant observation correspond to a key time for women in the newly developing discipline of anthropology. In 1920, Donovan completed an exercise in understanding herself through an attempt to live other women's lives. In the same year Margaret Mead was grooming herself at a midwestern university for a future career in anthropology. She would soon become a most famous participant-observer, playing a primary role in making anthropology a part of popular culture. Mead's first work in the field was also a study of other women. As a young woman herself, Mead studied adolescent girls of Samoa. This led to an unheard of anthropology dissertation-turned-best seller, Coming of Age in Samoa, published in 1928. The only other

participant observer to receive "best seller" status was another woman--Mead's early mentor, Ruth Benedict. Women's attraction to participant observation suggests that the particular cultural conditions of the 1920's provided a special climate for women's role experimentation in different cultures or spheres--bringing personal as well as professional gains.

Donovan's publication dates are also significant in a still wider context of women's history. The Women Who Waits was published the same year as the passing of the nineteenth amendment, ending a long battle for female suffrage in 1920. The evidence indicates that Donovan expended far more time and effort on transcribing her field notes and doing rewrites than on feminist politics. However, Donovan's non-political orientation in some ways ties her experience and concerns more directly to the major areas of change for women in the two decades when her publishing career flourished. At least some historians, like William O'Neill, state that women's presence in politics and the women's rights movement itself disappeared after female suffrage and by implication, efforts at reform and liberation.⁹ New work in women's history goes far toward qualifying these generalizations "handed down for forty years."¹⁰

But there seems little doubt that the major changes in women's opportunities and struggles occurred in relation to what Frederick Lewis Allen called "a sexual revolution of manners and morals" and in the sphere of changes related

to women's work--those areas that most concerned Frances Donovan. In a discipline that is still characterized by a dearth of published scholarship on early twentieth century women, there is much room for the study of individual lives in relation to issues deemed most significant. To test these ideas about a "dying feminism" or "sexual liberation" against Donovan's experience and observation is vital to establishing the varied forms of female experience in America, and to suggesting their broad meaning.

All Donovan's writings deal with women's careers, traditional or modern and their relationship to women's lives, sexuality, independence, and dreams in a way that tie them to the central questions of women's history of the period. For instance, in The Woman Who Waits and The Saleslady, Donovan's enthusiasm for the transformation of women due to new occupational identities is not only a reflection of her own emotional needs, or Robert Park's views on the "sociology of occupations." It reveals a broader cultural message found in magazines, movies and popular literature that touted the "new woman of the workplace."¹¹ Donovan's conflicted response as a participant-observer to these cultural messages--three personal commentaries written over the course of twenty years--is valuable cultural evidence. Finally, her skepticism in The School Ma'am follows women's cycle of expectations and disappointments in regard to job opportunities. With the depression, women were forced to reassess the force of a sexual discrimination that worsened

during economic crisis. Donovan experienced first-hand the plight of unpaid teachers in the 1930's; indeed her major political activity involved resisting the economic threat to women.

Like her mentor, W. I. Thomas, and Robert E. Park, Donovan entered the most productive phase of her life at middle age. Reading historical accounts of Thomas' and Park's seemingly boundless energy and enthusiasm in Chicago's early days, it is difficult to remember that these men's careers in sociology began in their forties. Such is the case with Donovan. One of her former high school students described her as "ageless."¹² Donovan certainly makes a point of remaining "ageless" in all of her books. As a waitress called "girlie," as a "sales-"girl" and as a school "ma'am", she prefers to give others no evidence of her age. At any rate, at least a few other Chicagoans came late to sociology. Certainly Donovan's previous life experience gave little indication that she would begin life again in a downtown Chicago restaurant. Having set the broad "scene" for Donovan's change of clothes, it is now important to return to the set of circumstances that brought her there.

* * * * *

Cora Frances Robertson was the oldest of five children born to Frank and Eva Bissell Robertson on April 6, 1880. In an article written in retirement (probably for a local Eureka Springs newspaper), entitled "The American Home--Yesterday and Today," Donovan described in great detail a late nineteenth century house that she most likely occupied.

Her own town of St. Clair, Michican must have been the average "village of some three thousand souls . . . with a main thoroughfare that ran through the center, usually known as Main Street, or Grant Street . . . [on which] were located the post office, the meat markets, the saloons." Her description of a Victorian home deemed "average" was hardly that: it was brick or frame with ten to twelve rooms, Brussels carpets, front and back parlours and live-in servants. If not average, it could have been the home of the Robertsons, who owned the major lumber and coal company in St. Clair:

Near the piano, there was a "parlour set" of chairs and sofas, upholstered, either in green "rep" or brocaded velvet in different patterns, and a center table of black walnut, marble-topped, on which reposed the Family Bible with gilt edges, and gilt clasps, the family album of photographs and tintypes and a Standard Book of Etiquette. A what-not in the corner held a vase of everlasting, some shells brought back from grandfather on one of his voyages, volumes of the classic poets, and a shepherd and shepherdess of Dresden china . . . (p. 2)

An interview with Donovan in the late 1930's depicts her as having had a happy, secure childhood, "filled with ice boating, horseback riding and raising pets."¹³ However, a younger brother, Burger, remembers his sister in less one-dimensional terms. Frances was always independent from the family, spending much time at her grandmother's and reading voraciously. When Donovan neared high school graduation and "the time to learn the graces of the St. Clair debutante so that she could fit into the mold of the

Robertson woman, Frances revolted and decided to become a teacher."¹⁴

At first it is difficult to see Donovan's decision to teach as a "revolt." Considered an extension of the domestic sphere, teaching had been part of "woman's proper place" since early nineteenth century educational reform.¹⁵ However, in some ways it was. Donovan could have continued to help her mother keep house until a suitable young man came along. This certainly was her father's wish. Instead, she chose an intellectual pursuit--indeed, the only one open to her. As teaching was the sole avenue for a working class girl to reach middle class status independently, so too was teaching the only profession that preserved this respectability for middle or upperclass females.¹⁶ In 1880, the year Donovan was born, almost nine out of ten professional women were teachers; and thirty years later in 1910, when Donovan began teaching, more than two out of every three professional women were still teachers. However, despite teaching's strictly sex segregated nature, there were opportunities for autonomy, self-growth and mobility that women could acquire nowhere else. Unfortunately, little scholarship exists on the potentially radicalizing aspects of the teaching profession.¹⁷

At this point, Donovan's life is recorded in a most interesting way in The School Ma'am. Without the skeletal outline of her life (in this case received from obscure newspaper articles and a 90 year-old brother) there would

be no way for the average reader of The School Ma'am to know that Donovan's chapter entitled "One of the Widowed" is in fact her own autobiography. Donovan calls her persona "Ellen Macmillan"--actually the name of Donovan's much adored pioneer aunt who went West on a wagon train in the early nineteenth century. Donovan, no doubt perceiving herself as another kind of pioneer, tells her story as "one of many teachers who in their lifetime have recapitulated the whole history of education in America from the Little Red Schoolhouse to the modern Big Factory system."¹⁸

Apparently after "Ellen" (hereafter referred to as Frances) was cited in her school graduation class of 1898 as an outstanding pupil, her principal advised her to go to college. Despite the fact that elsewhere Donovan and her brother refer to her father as "a wealthy lumberman" (who also owned the town coal yard), her father refused to send her for financial reasons. Her school principal then encouraged Frances to teach if she could not go to the university: "Why not be a teacher?" he suggested. "You could begin in a country school and in a few years save enough to pay your way at Ypsilanti." Due to the early nineteenth century educational reform movement, normal schools, like this one at Michigan State University in Ypsilanti, had spread across the country. Over 200 institutions existed by 1898, guaranteeing standardized training, and thus the professionalization of teachers.¹⁹

Donovan, proud and excited to be on her own, tells

the reader that she pedaled four miles to a school house and got her first job by simply registering for a county teaching certificate. Hired to teach for "seven months at a salary of \$22.00 a month," Donovan taught in an ungraded classroom of German farmers' children, and boarded with "a maiden lady up the road." While her father was "amused" at her exploit, her mother was pleased, for she "had been reading magazines and was not altogether unprepared for her daughter's declaration of independence."

By the late 1890's even women of small mid-western towns had felt the effect of the Progressive era's "New Woman." Touted in popular magazines, fiction and theatre, she was the essence of the Progressive reform movement.²⁰ "The New Woman" was actually another ideal type, revolving out of the "cult of true womanhood" (which confined woman to the hearth as a saint) "into one of independent opinions, self-reliance and a demand for direct contact with the world of experience."²¹ As the suffrage movement gained impetus, other more subtle forms of protest surfaced within magazine fiction and novels (such as the ones Donovan's mother read) pointing to deeper discontents. The fiction of the 1880's and 1890's was full of this new female whose spirit and forthrightness defied convention.

Donovan's mother had read about--and perhaps was raising--young girls "who were not inherently docile or demure . . . they (had) no desire to serve and defer to men or boys. . . ." They were ambitious in their own right,

physically active and possessed a "fierce desire to see, to do, to know, to experience."²² If this new spirited woman fit young Frances' description in 1889, so did the limitations and conventions that still defined her. Donovan notes that she had beaux in her first year of teaching. However, being brought up on "Ruth Ashmore's Side-Talk To Girls" in the Ladies Home Journal, she considered "kissing any man except the one she was to marry a sin." Regardless of new machines and mores of a world on the edge of the twentieth century, middle class life was still a very protected one.

According to Donovan, she petitioned her father once more, at the end of the school year, to allow her to work while she attended Ypsilanti. Infuriated with the prospect that people would see his daughter forced to make her own living, he refused again and ordered her to stay at home "until she found a husband." Her grandfather, hearing the news, offered to pay her tuition: "If you want to go as bad as that, I'll send you. I would've offered in the first place but you'll get married, and you know enough for a woman anyway." (85)

According to Donovan her two years from 1899 to 1901 at Ypsilanti were productive, "full of hard work in literature and the classics, as well as socializing." What she does not explicitly record, however, is her resentment, or at least disappointment, at being denied the opportunity to attend a major university (for which her high school

principal had singled her out). While two year normal colleges were improving the calibre of American teachers who had previously needed no credential outside a secondary school diploma, they hardly competed with major four year institutions. Giving the life history of another teacher in The School Ma'am, Frances Donovan puts words in this woman's mouth that were probably her own as well: "The two years I spent at this normal school left but little impression upon me. I was taught too much about the methods of teaching and too little of subject matter. How I have wished since that I might have had instead a college undergraduate's broadening courses in history, literature, and science. I missed contact with the minds that are found on the faculty of a large university. . . ." Frances Donovan, unlike the teacher whose story she tells, made sure that her wish did come true years later when she returned to the University of Chicago and indeed came in contact with the nation's finest minds in sociology.

Armed with her "lifetime diploma" she left Ypsilanti in 1901 for a middle school position outside Detroit. She stayed in another little red schoolhouse (this time larger, with four rooms and five teachers) for two years. Typical descriptions of classroom culture in small towns at the turn of the century consisted of grammar and multiplication tables being hammered into students' heads by means of a "slap of a birch stick." They hardly described intellectual challenge for a bright young woman. In 1903 Donovan moved

to a suburb of Chicago where she spent the next two years teaching in what she termed "pleasant, middle-class conditions."

At this point Donovan was twenty-five years old and economically self-sufficient, having lived in four different towns since leaving home at eighteen. Donovan already had experienced more independence than most women of her generation would ever know. However, Donovan had left "woman's sphere for women's work."²³ As Donovan noted years later, by the turn of the century teaching was a female profession and treated accordingly. Depicted as woman's "highest calling" next to biological motherhood, rewards were to be as much spiritual as financial. Wages were considered minimum. However, in addition to the limitations of a feminized profession (often justified by a domestic metaphor), there were real advantages in teaching for women like Frances Donovan that are often ignored. With each year she gained financial security, mobility and status. She had learned to support herself, travel and live alone in urban areas. In so doing, Donovan had indeed departed from the protected world her father wished for her, one which would have required her "to keep house for her father" until she could keep house for a husband.

A reassessment of the "culture" of teaching reveals more than just an oppressive model of subordinated women.²⁵ One of the lessons of recent women's history has been that it is necessary to look past prescriptive rhetoric (such as

that of Catherine Beecher) or cultural stereotypes to see "how the historical actors really acted."²⁶ For instance, often as one of the best educated members of the community, the teacher was frequently regarded as counselor, educational expert, political advisor, and even translator of important documents in immigrant rural communities. Such "heady" experiences have been overlooked as a training ground for strong, independent women in the areas of community leadership, political activism or (as in Donovan's case) independent intellectual endeavors.

According to Donovan's "disguised account" her spirit of adventurousness caused her to fall prey to "the glittering advertisements of the great western regions." In 1904 she answered a call for teachers in Great Falls, Montana. The salary inducement was \$85.00 per month, nearly twice her Chicago salary. No doubt filled with pioneer tales of her Aunt Ellen, Donovan was somewhat disappointed when she found a very civilized society of Great Falls. It was so civilized that she soon found herself caught up in the Episcopal Church ("the social leader of the denominations"), which was a gathering place for professionals and eastern "Ivy League" graduates making their mark out west. Having just turned twenty-five years old, Donovan was well traveled, gaining a decent livelihood and apparently ready for affairs of the heart.

Her School Ma'am description of "Ellen's" romantic encounter with her future husband at a Great Falls church

bazaar is ironically the most intimate self-portrait found in any of Donovan's three studies. Curiously, the issue of sexuality that pervades her writing of waitresses, saleswomen or teachers does not include any overt commentary on her own sexual identity. Consequently, there is something touching about a rare glimpse into Donovan's vulnerability as a young woman. Here she displays an uninhibitedness perhaps only possible because she goes by her aunt's name; or perhaps because (as in the stories of Progressive womanhood on which she had been raised) there was only one time when she could open herself up freely to sexual advances. That time might have begun and ended with the courtship of William Donovan which in turn began with a country club dance:

On the night of the event she tucked an artificial rose into the bun she wore on her neck, but not until she filched from it one petal which, moistened in water, provided a rouge that accentuated the actual redness of her cheeks. She felt very daring when she did this, for although other women had begun to wear make-up at the time, it was looked upon as unbecoming in one who was a teacher.

On that night Frances danced her first dance with "Billy" Donovan who already had made a name for himself as the architect responsible for Great Falls' newest institutional buildings. Possessing a "fine mind and spirited personality," Billy was ten years her senior. Born in Nebraska and trained in Chicago, he was most importantly on this evening, smitten by Cora Frances Robertson.

Married the very next year in December of 1907, Donovan perfunctorily resigned her teaching position after one year: "That had been taken for granted by all parties concerned, including the superintendent and the schoolboard." There is no way to determine how relieved or reluctant Donovan was, in having to trade a career for a marriage. We only know that she spent the next seven years socializing with local intellectuals, artists and "copper kings and millionaires." She refers to it elsewhere as a time of "going in for pink teas, bridge and baking pies . . . [when] she never thought of teaching again." Donovan's years in Great Falls were busy and constructive. Having "taken on the status of her husband," she joined clubs, became enough of an expert on city planning to give lectures on the subject, lobbied for manual training and domestic arts in the school, and instituted a state-wide "Housekeeper's Conference."

However, amidst the intellectual stimulation and civic work, there were still the daytime gatherings that to Donovan represented wasteful leisure time of middle class women. Three short stories in Frances Donovan's papers give an indication of what must have been her repressed scorn of this life-style: "The Social Progress of Priscilla Pritchard," "Bumped," and "A Reversion To Type: The Story of Narcissus Bailey and Nancy O'Keefe." Although undated, they were probably written sometime in the 1930's and seem to be clear retrospectives on her Montana years as a socialite. Having a few of the same women characters in all three stories,

Donovan seems to be working through--or exorcizing--some of the feelings she had about women of privilege.

All three stories attempt to be satires, revolving around a club of women who deemed themselves "the smart set," whose sole reason for being seemed to be the enhancement of their social image. The stories are marred by painstaking attention to the details of their petty intrigues, back-biting and ostracizing of one another. Donovan gets so involved in trivial plot, that her message is lost, and her criticism of women who make much ado about nothing is one that finally pertains to her fiction as well.

These short stories, however, do reveal Donovan's disapproval of the middle-class leisure she must have experienced in Great Falls, Montana, at least from the vantage point of her permanent return to the ranks of working women. Her fiction is marked by a close attention to the details of clothing, table settings and trivial conversation--certainly the result of Donovan's long-term observation of women who had been socialized to care more about pettifours arrangements than politics. Nevertheless, while some "Priscilla Pritchards" accepted the vapid social existence Donovan depicts, there were also those women whose experience of club organizing fostered "unintended attitudes" of independence and strength.²⁷ Whether organizing cultural events or political protest, women's revelation of sisterhood and shared concerns often created the antithesis of what Donovan describes--in essence, an environment prime

for "breeding the discontents of the women of privilege."²⁸ At least women like Donovan. The seven year period in which Donovan's role was one of social wife could have been her "tryworks"--forging in her a conviction that she was different and that her energies, intellect and desire to experience life, went far beyond that of the "smart set."

Ennui amongst privileged women has been a standard theme in women's literature since the late nineteenth century. In Victorian drawing rooms and 1960's suburban wastelands, women's problems of status have been poignantly defined. Certainly the Priscilla Pritchards were a direct contrast to the "New Woman" that dominated literature in Donovan's teen years of the 1890's. Themes of female restlessness and of the unfulfilled craving for a larger life "had already undergone a high degree of popularization"²⁹ by Donovan's retirement to wifehood in the early 1900's. It prevailed for decades after.

Donovan's married life of leisure came to a halt in 1914. When war was declared in August, Great Falls suffered a financial crisis as did other American industrial centers. In the initial phase of the European struggle the abrupt and extensive dislocation of international exchange, trade, and commerce caused a sharp recession in the many areas of the United States.³⁰ In School Ma'am Donovan records the impact of this crisis in her own town: "Within five days Great Falls' Big Copper Smelter shut down. Mountain banks began to close their doors; the bottom fell out of the real

estate market; all building ceased." Bill Donovan, like many other men, headed for jobs in the Mid West. He quickly found a position in a Chicago architectural firm. Frances Donovan meanwhile found herself relocated in a strange apartment in a strange city, knowing no one. She soon learned that "the housework in four rooms did not keep her busy." Eventually, Donovan enrolled as an English major at the University of Chicago to enhance her teaching credentials and no doubt satisfy her craving for intellectual challenges that were not available years before at Ypsilanti Normal College. Soon after their arrival in Chicago, Bill Donovan became ill with a terminal disease that would leave him an invalid for the next four years.

In 1916 Billy Donovan's condition was worsening, making obvious to his wife Frances that she soon would be alone and self-supporting. In this same year she took her first sociology courses. It was a heady discipline in those years. Albion Small was still chairman; Robert Park had just arrived to teach in the department, after being discovered by W. I. Thomas at Tuskegee; and Ernest Burgess, having completed his doctorate at Chicago three years before, came back to join the faculty. A few years later, he and Robert Park (who was also his office mate) would jointly teach the famous introductory course and publish the classic text of sociology, Introduction to the Science of Sociology (1921). Referred to as "The Green Bible," it set the direction of American sociology for years to come.

W. I. Thomas' literature background and interest in the drama of individual lives seen at close range must have appealed to Donovan's literary tastes and training. Furthermore, Park's experience as a muckraking journalist and his interest in social distance and isolation in an urban context must have been personally meaningful to her. Far from the Great Falls "smart set," Donovan was drawn into the Chicago mission to explore Chicago's urban landscape. Here she could inadvertently address her own problems of isolation and imminent widowhood by analyzing others' problems of adjustment. Committing herself to social investigation provided intellectual peers, adventure and a way to explore women's experience outside the confines of middle class experiential deprivation. She had escaped this "deprivation" once by leaving her St. Clair home; she would escape it again by becoming part of the first and most intense investigation of twentieth century American city life.

As noted earlier, it is very significant that Donovan sat in on courses around the time of Park's publication of his classic article, "The City: Suggestions For the Investigation of American Behavior In the Urban Environment," in the American Journal of Sociology (March, 1915). While the Chicagoans constructed theories around the new concept of a city as a laboratory for the study of social systems, Donovan extended the city-as-laboratory metaphor to apply to a study of women--and of herself. Just as the following

quote from Park's famous essay takes on new meaning when masculine pronouns are made feminine, Donovan's work will go on to take Chicago theory in new directions:

A very large part of the populations of great cities, including those who make their homes in tenements and apartment houses, live much as people do in some great hotel, meeting, but not knowing one another . . . The attraction of the metropolis is due in part, however, to the fact that in the long run every individual finds somewhere among the varied manifestations of city life the sort of environment in which he expands and feels at ease. He finds, in short, the moral climate in which that bring his innate qualities to full and free expression. (608, my italics)

Donovan worked up her first laboratory exercise in a restaurant. Waitressing was her "role experiment" in which she tested out a new relationship with men, work and other women. Meanwhile her husband was institutionalized, making more obvious the fact that his death would bring about her permanent change of identity. She recorded her year's stint in "lunch counters, tearooms, cafés, department stores and country club dining rooms" in very ambivalent terms. She was both drawn to, and appalled by, a waitress' lifestyle that she perceived as promiscuous as well as liberating. Given Donovan's own tenuous position as secure wife contemplating widowhood and a return to the chaste world of the classroom, it is not surprising that she finally talked admiringly of the raw vitality and lack of inhibition that she saw in these uneducated city women.

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Willian Donovan died in 1918, the same year that Frances graduated from the University of Chicago with an undergraduate

degree in English. While writing her first book, Frances supported herself as a manager of a teacher's agency. The following year, she began substitute teaching for the Chicago Board of Education. At this point, she met Letitia Parry Jones Owen (known as "Letty") who would be her lifetime friend.³¹ Letty's daughter, Elizabeth Owen Borst, remembers clearly the day her mother came home from a day of substitute teaching to declare that she had just met "an extraordinary and brilliant woman." Borst adds that it took her mother months to invite her to the house, since she knew Donovan smoked! (Perhaps this was one of the "loose" habits she acquired as a waitress.) Regardless of Donovan's distasteful habit, the two women soon struck up what to the Borst family was a close, yet incongruous friendship. One woman was the sheer antithesis of the other: Donovan was the strong and authoritative intellectual; while Letty was the petite, volatile, and (as Donovan was known to declare with tongue-in-cheek) "a woman who had never read a book, but had an intuitive intelligence."

For the next twenty years Donovan became a fixture in the Borst house for "Sunday night socials." Because Donovan lived alone permanently after losing her husband, she must have gained much comfort from this special family membership. Over the course of the years, a set group of friends congregated for dinner and good conversation. Borst remembers Donovan in heated arguments over politics and issues of education. Although not a political activist, Donovan

voted for the socialist Norman Thomas "in at least two presidential elections," probably 1928 and 1932.³²

One member of the Sunday night circle was Bob Hughes who was looking for someone to manage his bookstore in 1921. Donovan took the job, obviously willing to leave the classroom. However, by 1924, Donovan found bookstore management unrewarding--as well as the likelihood of a romance with Bob Hughes. She then took what would be a permanent teaching position at Calumet High School in 1924. For whatever reasons, Donovan would never again hold a position outside teaching--except for her stint as a saleswoman.

In the early 1920's the only evidence we have of Donovan's affiliation with the Chicago Sociology Department is a reference to her in the journal of a former graduate student, Norman Hayner. Robert E. L. Faris uses Hayner's journal in his history of the Chicago School as evidence of the advantages of close student-faculty relationships. Only in passing does he mention that "late in November (of 1921) Hayner had a meeting with Park, Burgess, and a Mrs. Donovan, who was acquainted with persons in some of the leading hotels of Chicago and promised to help distribute a questionnaire if Hayner would desire one."³³ Elizabeth Borst recalls that

Donovan did talk of her sociology courses in the early 20's. In fact she urged her "intuitive" teacher friend, Letty, to sign up for one. Letty, an obliging soul, attended classes but unfortunately was "bored to death." Donovan didn't urge her to share her interests again; however, Donovan's frequent teasing of Letty for hating the course, turned the episode into a longstanding family joke.

Although Letty Owen did not care for her graduate school experience, the fact that she was urged to attend and that she did, points out a certain attitude toward teachers and the general community that prevailed in the Chicago department in its early days. According to Everett C. Hughes, recalling his graduate experience in the early 1920's, "lines were not so clearly and strongly drawn between the community of Hyde Park and the University's sociologists," (as was later the case):

There were many people who moved in and out of the University orbit freely: they went to hear visiting lecturers, concerts; they turned up in seminars; came to evening meetings of the Social Research Society, where there were always likely to be one or two members of the department, as well as the graduate students. In this way Hyde Park (and other) "outsiders" came to know University people.³⁴

Hughes's description of a department that not only "endured" outsiders, but welcomed them, is certainly borne out in the case of Frances Donovan, and even Elizabeth Borst. For instance, there is evidence that the high school English teacher from Calumet was treated as a colleague and given

credit for experience (and publications) right through the 1920's. Harvey Zorbaugh in his classic study, The Gold Coast and the Slum (1928) acknowledges Frances Donovan as "one of the friends and fellow students who have generously placed at my disposal the results of their own research."

Both Everett and Helen Hughes lament that this situation changed by the 1930's. No explanation is given, but one can assume that the "professionalization" of sociology (and of the department itself), brought with it a typical element of exclusiveness. At any rate, the Chicago department lost its all-embracing attitude toward any interested community members who could assist in its sociological mission to understand--and have understood--social forces. It is also interesting to note that, according to Hughes, it was not assumed until the 1930's that graduate students would necessarily join university faculties.³⁵ Before then, many did teach at a secondary level. Furthermore, it is reasonable to assume that teachers did "feel at home on the campus" since the university since its founding had traditionally played a significant role in guiding the Chicago Public School System.³⁶ However, regardless of how many teachers felt comfortable in the department, no other high school teacher informally attended Chicago's sociology classes and published three sociological studies.

Donovan's uniqueness and subsequent marginality extended to her relationships with departmental colleagues as well. Helen Hughes remembers meeting her only once between 1925

and 1926 at a luncheon.³⁷ Ruth Cavan, another graduate student from 1920 to 1926 knew her "in a casual way" while also knowing she was "well regarded by the faculty."³⁸ Cavan does recall "a day's outing at the Indiana dunes with Walter Reckless and Frances." However, Cavan could provide no further information, nor could any other of the 1920's/30's students contacted. Such snippets of evidence suggest that Donovan contented herself with regular contacts only with a few faculty members, such as Robert Park and Ernest Burgess.

Even though Donovan took a permanent position at Calumet High School in 1924, she already had to be thinking about her next study, since it was published in 1928 and drew upon two previous summers in New York City department stores. There is evidence that Frances Donovan had a working relationship with Robert Park as early as 1921, and that her publication, The Woman Who Waits gave her a certain authority among other graduate students. Furthermore, given Park's introduction to The Saleslady (the highest endorsement possible for any Chicagoans) it is likely that Donovan designed her research and writing project on saleswomen under Park's guidance with a possible promise of inclusion in the prestigious Sociological Series. However, as with The Woman Who Waits, The Saleslady was not accompanied by any financial support nor an expectation that a publication would serve as a master's or doctoral dissertation.³⁹

One cannot overestimate the commitment and discipline of

someone like Donovan who researched and published outside the normal support structures of academe. Without the encouragement and incentive for further status that academics give each other for countless hours spent alone, and for little financial remuneration, it is safe to say that far fewer books would be written. In fact, the professional academician Helen Hughes claims that she has alluded to Donovan in occasional lectures to illustrate "the self-starting, independent investigator, the lone worker, with no team of research associates, no printed questionnaire, no electronic hardware, no grant."⁴⁰

Park's introduction to The Saleslady does indeed crown her efforts at working alone; however, it also qualifies them. Park's comments make obvious the fact that her sociology is unconventional by referring to The Saleslady as "in manner impressionistic and descriptive rather than systematic and formal;" furthermore, he notes that Donovan "is more interested in the history than in the sociology of contemporary life," by which he implies that it is description rather than analysis. How exactly Donovan's work does differ from other studies deemed more "scientific" will be discussed in the next chapter. Unfortunately, no extensive evidence exists on how her work was received in sociology circles. Reviews of her book are for a popular audience, and are shallow. However, the historian James Carey offers revealing information. In examining documents

of the University of Chicago Press for his book Sociology and Public Affairs (1975), Carey fell across Park's response to someone's criticism that The Saleslady "wasn't scholarly enough."⁴¹ According to Carey, Park "defensively" claimed that Donovan's work was an illustration of "the importance of first hand descriptions" that were vital to good sociology.⁴² NO doubt Park also was defending his choice of including a high school English teacher in his Series.

However, Donovan must have considered The Saleslady a popular success. It was given ten positive reviews, including one in The New York Times.⁴³ As sociological description, it aptly covered many aspects of saleswork and provided information on women's work that needed disseminating, according to reviewers. As personal journey, The Saleslady was part of Donovan's on-going questioning of her own life's work as a means of self-fulfillment. On its face, Donovan's study deals with the adventure and glamour of saleswork; actually The Saleslady is just as much about the absence of adventure or glamour in teaching.

Elizabeth Borst recalls that by 1930, Donovan impressed all who met her as an outspoken intellectual "with publications." Expensively tailored in conservative suits and dresses from "Marshall Field" Donovan was very discriminating in how she spent her free time, and with whom. Among her best friends, the Niblocks were also part of the Sunday night social at the Borst house. Henry, Paul and Orpha were

unmarried siblings, and years later would be the reason Donovan retired to Eureka Springs. It seems that outside Donovan's early romantic interest in Bob Hughes (owner of the "Temple Book Shop") she never sought males for anything other than intellectual companionship. In fact, as Borst notes, most of Donovan's men friends were homosexual, suggesting some lack of concern for sexual partners. Borst particularly remembers Donovan's friendship with a Samuel Butcher, the book editor for The Chicago Tribune, as well as the satisfaction she gained from spending time with fellow members of "The Society of Midland Authors."⁴⁴

By and large, however, Donovan was an extremely private woman who clearly was "known of" more than known. As noted earlier, the historian James Carey documented the fact that Chicago colleagues of the 1920's were familiar with her, but never cited her as a personal friend. Robert E. L. Faris, having entered the graduate program in 1928, also claims that "graduate students read her books" but can recall no one speaking of her as a friend.⁴⁵

Calumet teaching colleagues also testify to her aloofness as a faculty member. The Calumet yearbook, The Temulac (1939), indicates that Donovan through her twenty-two year-career there, was involved in various school activities. She was chairperson of the English Department, English advisor to the yearbook, Dean of Girls and, finally, advisor to the "Girls Service League" during WWII. However, her relationship with students was far more important than

her relationship with fellow teachers. Florence Davies, who taught in the Calumet English Department in the late 1930's, recalls that Frances Donovan was "a very impressive, intelligent woman . . . devoted to high ideals, whose publications somehow set her apart."⁴⁶ Ironically, as Donovan's high school teacher identity somewhat set her apart from other Chicago graduate students, it was her identity as an author that signalled to Calumet colleagues that she was different.

As countless other people who have had to make peace with the fact that their career was not their major source of intellectual fulfillment, Donovan's time was highly structured, confining her teaching to set hours so that she could return home to her latest writing project. From Monday to Friday she boarded a city bus promptly after school. Elizabeth Borst remembers that there were frequent blocks of time in which "no one was to get in touch with Aunt Frances." It was understood that she was writing.

Donovan's situation of needing an intellectual challenge that she could not get from public school teaching, is typical of extremely intelligent women of the past who were not given any professional options outside teaching. Until quite recently, females who were cited in school as "smart" were given the message that they should be teachers. Rather than being told that their genius for mathematics, science or letters could be made use of in a professional world that relied on these skills, they instead were charged with

teaching these skills, persumably to another generation of males who would use them. Certainly with the past limitations on women's professional ambitions, there were doubtless many extraordinary women in teaching whose energies and talents were far better suited for business, medicine or publishing than the world of children.⁴⁷ This could have been the case with Donovan. Referring to one such bright woman in The School Ma'am Donovan expresses a similar sentiment that some exceedingly accomplished teachers probably missed their calling: "If Mrs. Evans were a man, it's likely she'd be a great merchant, a builder of a utilities empire or possibly the president of the United States, but since she's a woman she's 'just a teacher'."⁴⁸

Ironically, the best teachers were probably not the women who perceived themselves as "mothers giving all" to the nation's children. They were probably bright women who managed to limit their work--as is done with most "jobs"--so that they could get on with the things in their lives that gave them intellectual satisfaction. At any rate, the continuity between mothering and teaching (so emphasized by the culture) was probably less significant than "a paycheck and the struggle to find a personal challenge and job satisfaction."⁴⁹

Of course, this is not to imply that teaching children is a mindless or intrinsically unsatisfying activity. To the contrary. According to her students Donovan was a very committed teacher. It is more the point that no one

profession should be termed "woman's true profession."⁵⁰ It seems likely that the present "crisis in the classroom," as it pertains to the poor quality of teaching, correlates with women's changing career patterns. The most intellectual or ambitious women are now in banks, research firms, professional practices, or universities. For one hundred years, it has been a common assumption--however unfortunate--that only "mediocre" males teach public school. Now that assumption includes women as well. Until the "status" of elementary and secondary teaching is improved, and until more of a premium is placed on human caring, "the brightest and the best" women (and men) lamentably will not be found in our nation's school rooms.

One school issue that did involve the loner, Donovan, was the plight of the Chicago School System in the Great Depression. No other American city in 1930 seemed in worse financial straits than Chicago. Newspaper articles entitled "Chicago--A Pauper City" and "Chicago Broke" made national headlines.⁵¹ Inefficiency, corruption and reform vigor were generally claimed the causes of Chicago's inability to pay the police, firemen and teachers. By November of 1929, (soon after Donovan's publication of the secure, high living world of saleswomen), Donovan's own paychecks were late, and continued to be, through April of 1931.⁵² April's checks were late by six weeks, and by summer, teachers were offered "scrip" which were tax warrants, only good for tax payments. For the next two years Donovan and her teacher

colleagues sometimes received scrip, and sometimes nothing. Drastic cuts in school services and personnel only increased the burden of those teachers who remained, for School closings meant classroom overloading. By 1931 teachers like Donovan were being publicly praised for their selflessness and the "fine example" of sacrifice they set for their pupils.⁵³

According to different accounts, teachers who had never been active in political organizing found themselves radicalized. By 1933 accusations of political corruption and misuse of public funds generated militant feelings; teacher-saints were beginning to feel their sacrifice was due more to mismanagement than financial collapse. Five years of instability and near poverty for teachers were documented in newspapers. For instance, one article measuring the despair of the teaching community claimed that more than 400 [Chicago teachers] were being sent to sanitariums . . . [and suffering] suicides and evictions."⁵⁴

From 1930 to 1936 independent activist groups surfaced in spurts of anger and protest, one of which was called the "Volunteer Emergency Committee." "By far the most dramatic," it was led by a John Fewks and three other high school teachers."⁵⁵ There is good reason to believe that Donovan was one of these three teachers. Elizabeth Borst remembers that "Frances worked very closely with John Fewks to organize the teachers strikes." Donovan's experience as a waitress might have contributed to her interest in union

organizing. At the end of The Woman Who Waits written twenty years before, she spoke at length about the virtues of "The Waitresses Alliance": It had "earned for waitresses the eight hour day;" and through it she also "learned the effectiveness of organization."⁵⁶

Probably in March of 1933 Donovan helped Fewks to organize the first mass meeting of Chicago teachers, parents, students and sympathizers. One month after this call for solidarity, the Volunteer Emergency Committee rallied 8,000 teachers to march down Michigan Boulevard to a bank from which they demanded cash for their scrips.⁵⁷ A further indication of Donovan's deep involvement in teacher's organizing is found later in The School Ma'am. Her description of the en masse enrollment of 6500 teachers in the first "Chicago Teacher's Union, Local No. 1" of the "American Federation of Teachers" is a dramatic one. Portraying the new unionized group almost as a mass of new converts committing their lives to Christ at a tent revival, Donovan as an eyewitness describes that evening and the crowd:

At eight o'clock on the evening of that day the members of the new Union, who had been waiting in long queues for almost an hour before the doors opened, filed into the Opera House. Matronly schoolma'ams came on the arms of husbands who were also teachers, slender spinster schoolma'ams and other spinster schoolma'ams not so slender, and youthful schoolma'ams, came in groups, the cocky little feathers on their tilted hats making the gathering gay with dots of color. Friends called to friends; pupils, now themselves Chicago teachers, greeted their own former instructors; and classmates who had not seen each other for a decade, or more, renewed acquaintance as they sought seats reserved for

them under the banners of the schools where they are now employed.

In the above description, Donovan notes the "types" of women who were teachers. Her last book The School Ma'am published by an independent press in 1939, was her exploration of these types. Written after a long period of deprivation in the profession, it is not surprising that Donovan placed a great emphasis on the repressive nature of the culturally imposed role of teacher. She claimed her study was based on years of observation: case histories and personal accounts prevail as her way of analyzing the profession. As noted earlier, by the late 1930's job scarcity caused women workers to be regarded suspiciously as those who were taking good jobs away from men. Unlike the climate of apparent encouragement in which Donovan wrote her first two studies, the late Depression revealed the very circumscribed nature of women's work opportunities. In the course of twenty years "women's work" had come to mean just that. As an example, fields that were not female-defined in 1900, such as clerical work and saleswork, now were filled almost exclusively with women, while law and medical schools kept their female quotas at 5% through the 1930's.⁵⁸

Certainly teachers personified sex-segregated occupations in America. Probably the most researched (therefore "objective") of her three studies, The School Ma'am is also the most personal. It is full of statistics and historical

background; but Donovan's emphasis, nevertheless, is on the "hard, thin, mean" school ma'am stereotype that teachers either accepted, or rejected. The idea that occupation had a large bearing on personality was a Robert E. Park theme. Donovan makes this contention the focus of her work. She describes the teacher's tendency to become overly dominant, pathologically sensitive to public opinion and neurotic due to emotional deprivation brought on by "spinsterhood," and other repressive aspects of teaching. In line with Chicago School explanations for human behavior, Donovan largely blames cultural forces for teachers' thwarted lives--but also, in some cases, personal idiosyncrasy.

Ironically, by the late 1930's, Donovan herself, now in her late fifties, was playing out aspects of the "school ma'am" role. According to a former student Bernice Shreve, who was Donovan's office assistant between 1936 and 1938, Donovan was Dean of Girls and basically in charge of girls' discipline. She recalls that "To see Donovan struck terror in girls' hearts," and that "most students were terrified of her. She ruled with an iron hand and 90% of the students didn't like her."⁵⁹ It is no wonder Donovan devotes much time to the destructive aspects of a disciplinarian role that plagued her personally as she wrote The School Ma'am.

On the other hand, the terror that students felt seemed less directed at Donovan personally, than at her identity as "Dean." As teacher, "there were those students who did get close enough to love her."⁶⁰ Donovan's conflicting

roles are borne out in her description of the "opposite tendencies" that a teacher had to incorporate:

The school ma'am must constantly be two persons of opposite tendencies. She must be the one who sees and represses undesirable traits and unsuitable behavior; at the same time she must also be the one who stimulates the thinking and draws forth the expression from her pupils which means successful classroom procedure.⁶¹

A Dr. William Shealey recalls that Donovan encouraged him to consider higher education, as she did many other students: "She specifically urged me to consider the University of Chicago; for that I shall always be grateful beyond any way of expressing my gratitude."⁶² Another student of the same period remembers Mrs. Donovan's English class in which "she was a great storyteller," interspersing her comments on the Classics with tales of her family, "including the wild Irishman called Donovan" whom she married.⁶³ Arthur Berndtson, now a professor of Philosophy at the University of Missouri (and an alumnus from the University of Chicago) credits her for encouraging his "budding interest in abstract thinking."⁶⁴ There is also the lengthy description of Donovan provided by C. William Kontos.⁶⁴ She was his "most valued teacher, friend and counselor" in his last two years at Calumet in 1938 to 1940. "With those whom she believed to have potential, she worked especially hard," Kontos notes. In a largely middle class school that sent less than half its students to college, Donovan made sure that her prize students did go on--usually to the University of Chicago.

No doubt Mrs. Donovan would be thrilled to know that her prize student. C. William Kontos, is presently the United States Ambassador to Sudan.

Clearly Donovan cared as much about inspiring students as about disciplining them. These student testimonies also point out the double world in which teachers can live. There are many studies that refer to the inauthenticity of the authority figure's role. Serving as a model to adolescents oftentimes necessitates a certain loss of humanity. A "private self" not revealed to students appropriately protects weaknesses and vulnerability; it also lessens the opportunities to be genuine and creates an understandable tension of the public versus private self. As Donovan notes in The School Ma'am, "There are always two teachers in the classroom, the teacher as she looks to herself and the teacher as she looks to the thirty or forty pairs of eyes that scrutinize her all day long." This double role must have been burdensome to Donovan, given the attention she gives the problem in The School Ma'am.

The repressed desires of a teacher's private self is the theme of Frances Donovan's unpublished short story, "No Questions Asked." Written in the late 1940's when Donovan was nearing retirement, the story is an affirmation of a teacher's right to non-conformity and self-fulfillment that lay outside public service. "No Questions Asked" revolves around two "old Normal College friends:" Emily Ruth who has recently retired from a post as school principal, and

Matilda, the narrator, who gave up teaching early on to be a wife to "Billy." Their longstanding friendship is deepened when to the shock and disgust of the townspeople, Emily Ruth--formerly known as "selfless" and "a saint" to the local community--becomes pregnant. Justifying her scandalous state to Matilda, Emily Ruth says: "For Twenty years I've taught school and I've done it faithfully and conscientiously. I've given my life to work just as truly as anyone has ever given hers. Now I figure . . . I've got the right to live the rest of my life the way I choose." The narrator, Matilda, supports her wholeheartedly and spends the next few months helping Emily Ruth with preparation for the new arrival. However, Emily Ruth's bravery and strength of conviction turn to tragedy. She dies in childbirth, leaving a healthy son for her friend Matilda and Bill to raise. Also named Billy, the boy has a happy childhood until young friends begin to taunt him about his origins. The story ends with his adopted parents' decision to send him off to boarding school.

Certainly this tale has elements of a Victorian melodrama in which the wayward woman finally has to be punished for her transgressions. On the other hand, Donovan's persona is the narrator who, by supporting an unmarried friend's pregnancy, acquires the beautiful child she never had. In this case, the ambiguous nature of Donovan's message is typical of her non-fiction as well as her fiction. As in The Woman Who Waits, The Saleslady and The School Ma'am, the

subject is a woman's sexual role in the context of--and often in conflict with--her work role. And once again the point of view is unclear. Donovan admits membership in a conforming middle-class, but is also sympathetic to those who do live outside social norms. Paralleling her three sociological studies, Donovan's perspective in "No Questions Asked" is that of the observer of deviance rather than the deviant. She does not write in the first person as Emily Ruth, but as Emily Ruth's observer. However, perhaps she could have completed her distance by choosing to write of both women in the third person (just as she could have studied women workers without becoming one of them). Instead, she does indeed participate in this fictional (and deviant) action by writing as the friend who condones this behavior. Furthermore, Donovan's identification with Emily Ruth is heightened by what the reader cannot know. She has given the name William ("Billy")--the name of her own dead husband--to Matilda's husband and to Emily Ruth's son, thus tying her more closely to both the participant and the observer of the tale. Once more, in fact and fiction, Donovan straddles two worlds.

In 1945 Frances R. Donovan--tyrant school ma'am to some, dear friend and accomplished author to others--retired from Calumet High School after twenty-one years of service. Being 65, she was past the age of considering something as shocking as motherhood; but she was ready to satisfy old and unconventional passions of another sort. A yearning for

open space and fresh air, after many years in the city, finally overwhelmed her. In what is unfortunately only a fragment of an autobiography found in her nursing home papers, Donovan describes her new restlessness:

I started to stare out the windows of my court apartment and saw only brick walls. I began to feel "cooped up" and longed with all my heart for a vista. I began to notice that the air in Chicago was thick with smoke, and dusty with the tramp of many people. The noise of the street cars, buses, trains, automobiles began to annoy me and even keep me awake at night. Even tho I had been lulled to sleep by just such city sounds for nearly thirty years.

The urban environment of Chicago that Donovan had described so enthusiastically as "a woman's Camelot" years ago, had now become Donovan's prison. For her, the possibilities of city life epitomized in Park's 1915 essay, had turned into a post war world of massive industrialization and rebuilding that belonged to younger generations.

Following the lead of her lifelong friends, the Nibblacks, Donovan retired to Eureka Springs, Arkansas, purchasing an 1870 cottage in what was deemed "The Little Switzerland of the Ozarks." Known as a tourist and health resort for over half a century, Eureka Springs boasted hot springs whose curative effects drew people from much farther away than Chicago. As early as the 1880's Eureka Springs was a "boom town of hotels, boarding houses and cabins."⁶⁶

Given Donovan's flare for the dramatic (and a good story), she credits much of her motivation for moving to her "pioneer blood that began to boil and bubble." She traces

this legacy to Aunt Ellen Macmillan (the name she used to tell her own story in The School Ma'am) upon whose pioneer tales she had been raised. After marrying a Scotsman called Robertson, Aunt Ellen got the "Go West Fever" before the Civil War: "and in covered wagons with animals in tow, they hired Indians as guides and trekked into the Great Northwest Territory."

Donovan's role playing was not yet finished. Having begun her pioneering on the urban frontier, she would now return to be a traditional pioneer of the mountains. Her own account of the move to Eureka Springs is poignant. Although not arriving by covered wagon with an Indian guide, her decision to strike out for new territory at 65 years of age took courage nonetheless. After selling her co-op apartment quickly, Donovan packed "only a few rugs, pictures, dishes, cooking utensils, heirlooms and books, hundreds of them" in a Trans-American movers truck. She then boarded a train alone, arriving in Arkansas chilled to the bone, "having slept all night with newspapers wrapped around her legs for warmth."

After boarding two more buses, she finally arrived at her cottage. She describes a weary climb up her crumbling front steps to a front porch that faced the Ozark mountains. As she caught her breath with the vista's beauty and silence. She flung open her screen door to face her new home with no heating system, walls in disrepair and much unaccustomed solitude. Hours later, when Donovan watched the Chicago

moving van pull away and disappear down the mountain road, she buried her face in her hands and "wept copiously."

According to Donovan, those were her last moments of regret before she took on her new role. Exchanging her expensive dresses from "Marshall Field" for blue denim jeans, Donovan installed an oil stove and joined Eureka Springs community life. The little cottage that was even abandoned by local hillpeople as unlivable, would give her fifteen years of peaceful pleasure. The former waitress/saleslady/teacher/social investigator adopted her last identity as pioneer with surprising ease:

This is now my home and I shall remain here as long as I can climb the hill, wield a can opener, cook my own meals, manage my own finances and remember what day of the week it is and where I have hidden the hammer and screwdriver.... Of course some day I may have to live with one of my younger relatives or go to an OLD LADIES HOME but until that time comes I shall live here, enjoy my delightful friends, the 275 days of sunshine from my front porch, and "lift mine eyes into the hills, from whence cometh my help."

"That time" when Donovan would no longer be able to wield a can opener or a screwdriver would not come until 1962. Meanwhile, Donovan kept close to the Nibblacks, gave occasional lectures to the women's club and wrote articles for the local paper, The Times-Echo.⁶⁷ She also worked on what she thought would be her fourth publication, a community study of Eureka Springs. In the Chicago tradition, Donovan attempted to generalize the personal. She transformed her own experience in retirement living into a broad community

study that could serve as a model and guide for older people making retirement decisions.

This manuscript, entitled I Have Found It: A Social Study of a Small Town in Arkansas, exists as part of her nursing home papers also. It is a strong effort at a local history including short biographies of distinguished citizens, chapters on education, churches and leisure-time activities. How complete this manuscript is remains unknown. It is clear that she began her project in 1953, for in that same year she wrote to the University of Chicago Press, asking if anyone might suggest recent community studies that would provide her with a model for hers.⁶⁸ She claimed that "the only book [she] could find down in Eureka was Middletown which wasn't very readable." Donovan adds in a postnote that perhaps Everett C. Hughes could be contacted for suggestions, since she had known him many years before. It is worth mentioning that James Carey came across this letter in his perusal of the University of Chicago Press documents. He recalls that Donovan's inquiry struck him as "pathetic."⁶⁹ Possessing no other information about her, he must have viewed her ambitious project as the pipedream of an old woman, and an amateur at that.

Certainly this was the impression held by a Mr. Lottinville, the publisher whom Donovan contacted regarding her community study, and the one who apparently sent her a rejection, more like a dismissal.⁷⁰ In a proud and indignant response, Donovan informed Mr. Lottinville that she was not

"the nobody" he took her for. She then refers him to her other publications and suggests that "someone more qualified--"perhaps a sociologist"--should see her manuscript. (!) James Carey and the condescending Mr. Lottinville had no reason to know that Donovan at 75, was a published author and certainly capable of one more publication, done under the same conditions: alone, and without any support networks (in this case, not even a good library). Rather than "pathetic," it seems more accurate to see her last attempt at a scholarly project as spunky and ambitious. Certainly few other "mainstream" Chicagoans, then retired themselves from academe, were planning writing projects as broad in scope as a community study.

By the time Donovan reached her eightieth year, her energy for writing and most other activities had left her. Elizabeth Borst describes Donovan's last years in her cottage as sad. Her debilitating arthritis was a great frustration to her. As a woman who prided herself on living independently and vigorously, it was difficult to reconcile herself to the fact that she was housebound and dependent on the assistance of her younger sister Betty, who had come to live with her. A series of Donovan's letters written to Borst between 1957 and 1959 document the uncontrollable ravages of time on her body, that left her mind largely in tact. Despite the fact that she was confined to the house and stumbling over chairs, she was quick-tongued enough to grumble about the Nibblacks for being "inhibited and

inarticulate," and to report on the latest Eureka Springs scandal.⁷¹ However, one letter catches her in a rare display of self-pity saying, "Well, well, I'm just a cantankerous old woman and I'm sick besides. Nothing fatal, more's the pity, but I am so depressed that I can't get the old kick out of life."⁷²

Another letter written at 2:30 a.m. in 1959, describes how her sleeplessness had led Donovan to take breakfast at midnight and keep a dawn vigil by writing letters. Having taken the "wonder drug, "Dacradon," Donovan's arthritic pain had lessened, although she "was still crawling around, hanging on to the furniture." In these letters of her last years at home, her self-pity always seems balanced by humour and a touch of realism. At the same time as she pokes fun at herself for being quite contented with such a simple life, she also concedes that one can live too long: "Hope none of you live long to get where we are. This extension of the life span is not, in my opinion, a blessing. Better to check out when one reaches the biblical three score years and ten." As usual, Frances Donovan appears to be both participant and observer of her own life.⁷³

By 1963, Donovan conceded that she could no longer function in her mountain retreat. In July of that year, she became the fifth admission to a newly opened nursing home eight miles away in Berryville, Arkansas called "Leisure Lodge." Catherine Grogan, then a "medication aid," remembers that Donovan arrived in a wheelchair, and she took to her immedi-

ately.⁷⁴ Grogan adds, that despite the fact that Donovan was "hard to please" and kept to herself, reading a great deal, they were good friends. Elizabeth Borst and her family visited once a year, while Betty, living nearby, came more frequently. Her brother, Burger, also recalls that he made a visit to Frances shortly before she died. He last remembers her "sitting quietly in her wheelchair, smiling, and taking in the afternoon sun."⁷⁵

Donovan commented in a last letter to Elizabeth, written from the Nursing Home, that she would not be surprised if she died "in a November or March . . . when my blood stream changes again." Donovan did die on November 2, 1965.

Obviously proud and concerned for posterity, Frances Donovan doubtless would prefer that she be remembered for her work, rather than her place in the sun. An analysis of the Chicago studies--a context for her work--follows.

NOTES

Chapter Two

¹ Taped interview with Mrs. Elizabeth Owen Borst, Chicago, Illinois, July, 1980. Responding to an inquiry placed in the University of Chicago Alumni Magazine, Elizabeth Borst was thrilled to inform me that Frances Donovan had been a close friend of her mother's. Adopting her as an aunt, "Aunt Frances" was considered "the most extraordinary woman [her] family had ever known." All information credited to Mrs. Borst, comes from this one taped conversation.

² Harry Chapin, "The Taxi Song" from the album Heads and Tales, Elektra Records, copyright 1972.

³ The "Chicago Home for The Incurables" was located in Hyde Park, near the University of Chicago campus. Noted as "admitting no mental or contagious cases," or Negroes, it is a reminder that William and Frances Donovan lived and even died in protected middle class environments. See Thomas Lee Philpott, The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle Class Reform, Chicago, 1880-1930 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978) pp. 304-306.

⁴ See Mary P. Ryan, Womanhood In America: From Colonial Times to the Present (1975) Chapter Five, "The Sexy Saleslady," pp. 251-305 to understand the link between advertising, female sexuality and consumption. See also Alice Kessler-Harris, Women Have Always Worked (Old Westbury: Feminist Press, 1980) Chapter 3, p. 132, 133 for an excellent analysis of big business' discovery of women's role as buyers, also Sheila Rothman, Woman's Proper Place: a History of Changing Ideals and Practices, 1870 to the present (New York: Basic Books, 1978), pp. 52-99; also Maurine Weiner Greenwald, War, Women and Work (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980), Chapter One; also Robert Sklar (Ed.), The Plastic Age, 1917-1930 (New York: George Braziller, 1970), pp. 87-97; A. Michael McHahon, "An American Courtship: Psychologists and Advertising Theory in the Progressive Era," American Studies 13 (Fall, 1972), pp. 5-18.

⁵ Katherine Kish Sklar, "Florence Kelley: Resources and Achievements," Paper Presented at the Fifth Berkshires Conference on the History of Women, Vassar College, July, 1981.

⁶ Rita Fitzpatrick, "Teacher Assists Girl Not Destined To Be Boss' Wife," Chicago Sunday Tribune, October 17, 1937, p. 1.

⁷ Letter received from Dr. William R. Shealey, Virginia Beach, Virginia, 3 August, 1981.

⁸ Letter addressed to a "Mr. Lottinville," 11 January, 1954, in Donovan Nursing Home Papers.

⁹ William O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969). Other historians who wrote about the disappearance of the women's movement after suffrage include: Frederick Lewis Allen, Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the Nineteen-Twenties (1931 Rpt., New York: Harper & Rowe, 1964), pp. 95-96; William E. Leuchtenberg, The Perils of Prosperity: 1914-1932 (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 159. For an excellent analysis of the historiographical treatment of women in this period, see Estelle B. Freedman, "The New Woman: Changing Views of Women in the 1920's," Journal of American History 61 (September, 1974), pp. 372-93.

¹⁰ Estelle B. Freedman, "The New Woman," p. 373.

¹¹ See Mary P. Ryan's article, "The Projection of New Womanhood: The Movie Moderns in the 20's," in Our American Sisters, eds. Jean E. Friedman, William G. Slade (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1976), pp. 366-384.

¹² Letter received from Mrs. Bernice Shreve, (Calumet H.S., Class of 1938), Michigan City, Indiana, July 15, 1981.

¹³ Fitzpatrick, "Teacher Assist Girl," p. 1.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ For a broad assessment of the feminization of the teaching profession see Nancy Hoffman, (Ed.) Woman's "True" Profession: Voices From the History of Teaching (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981), Introduction, pp. xiv-xxiii; Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, "The Sociology of Education: Perspectives on Women," in Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science, eds. Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Moss Kanter (Garden City: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1975), pp. 106-142; Redding S. Sugg, Jr. Motherteacher: The Feminization of American Education (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1978); Patrick J. Groff, "The Social Status of Teachers," Journal of Educational Sociology 32 (September, 1962), pp. 20-25; Gregory F. Zellhofer, (Ph.D. dissertation, Loyola University of Chicago, 1980), "The Image of the Public High School Teacher in the American Novel: 1920-1970;" J. Makosky, (Ph.D. Diss., University

of Pennsylvania, 1966), "Portrayal of Women in Wide-Circulation Magazines and Short Stories, 1905-1955," pp. 55-58. Sheila Rothman, Woman's Proper Place (1978), pp. 56-60. Refer also to such primary sources as Catherine Beecher's An Essay on the Education of Women (1835) to understand how such influential figures reinforced the philosophical framework for women's special spiritual qualities for teaching. Beecher can say: "Most happily the education necessary to fit a woman to be a teacher, is exactly the one that best fits her for that domestic relation she is primarily designed to fill." p. 18.

16 C. Wright Mills, "The Professionalization of Teaching", pp. 338-339. Sociology and Pragmatism: The Higher Learning in America (New York: Paine-Whitman Publishers, 1964). See also Thomas Woody, Chapter X, "Women Enter The Teaching Profession," Vol. I, A History of Women's Education in the United States (New York: The Science Press, 1929).

17 Keith E. Melder in his article, "Woman's High Calling," in American Studies 13 (Fall, 1972), pp. 19-32, ends his description of the oppressive socio-economic conditions of women teachers in the 19th century by voicing his puzzlement that women would settle for such little money and status. Melder's position is typical. It is only recently that scholars have looked beneath the surface of what seems like a bastion of conformity and conservatism to find women who were brought to independence and even political activism by the classroom experience. See Geraldine Clifford, "Teaching as a Seedbed for Feminism," Paper Presented at the Fifth Berkshires Conference on the History of Women, June, 1981.

18 See Margaret Mead, The School In American Culture (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1951), for a good analysis of the Little Red School House as symbol in American culture.

19 C. Wright Mills, Sociology and Pragmatism, p. 335.

20 Primary sources that indicate the "new woman" in popular culture of the Progressive Era include: Boyd Winchester, "The New Woman," Arena (April, 1902); Ouida, "The New Woman," North American Review (May, 1894), pp. 610-619; Josephine K. Henry, "The New Woman of the South," Arena (February, 1895), pp. 353-62; Lillian Betts, "The New Woman," Outlook (October 12, 1895), p. 587; see also Margaret Deland, "The Change In the Feminine Ideal," The Atlantic Monthly (March, 1910), pp. 289-302.

21 Carolyn Forrey, "The New Woman Revisited," Women's Studies 2 (1974), pp. 42-43.

22 Ibid.

23 Peter Gabriel Filene, Him/Herself: Sex Roles in Modern America (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1974), p. 32.

24 Melder, p. 20.

25 Geraldine Clifford, "Teaching As a Seedbed for Feminism," Berkshires Conference, 1981.

26 Ibid.

27 Filene, p. 14.

28 Margaret Deland, "The Change In the Feminine Ideal," p. 290. For an illustration of the new twentieth century intolerance of "idle" women of the middle class, see Lorinne Pruette, Women and Leisure: A Study of Social Waste (New York: F. P. Dutton & Company, 1924). See Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (New York: The Modern Library, 1924) for the most influential piece of criticism on wasteful consumption in modern America.

29 Christopher Lasch, "Woman As Alien," The New Radicalism In America (London: Chatto & Windus, 1966),

30 Maurine Weiner Greenwald, Women, War and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers In the U.S. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980), p. 15.

31 Taped conversation with Elizabeth Owen Borst, Chicago, Illinois, July, 1980.

32 Norman Thomas ran for President as a pacifist and socialist in many elections between 1928 and 1948. Pressing for "radical reforms" like unemployment compensation and old age insurance, Thomas received his largest vote in 1932. Probably one of his eight million American votes came from Frances Donovan.

33 Robert E. L. Faris, Chicago Sociology, 1920-1932 (Chicago: Chandler Publishing Company, 1967), p. 81.

34 Letter received from Helen MacGill Hughes, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 27 June, 1978.

35 Ibid.

36 Mary J. Herrick, The Chicago Schools: A Social and Political History (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1971), p. 81. The University of Chicago's ties with the Chicago Public School system were longstanding. From its beginnings in the early 1890's the University was a major force in many phases of Chicago's life. For instance, John Dewey, a national

spokesperson for education worked out of the University; and its president William Rainey Harper, headed a steering committee to improve the calibre of the city school system.

37 Letter received from Helen MacGill Hughes, 27 June, 1978.

38 Letter received from Ruth Cavan, Northern Illinois University, 12 January, 1981.

39 Unlike the case of Frances Donovan, Nels Anderson had his manuscript, "The Hobo" accepted for publication to the Sociological Series and then had it double as a master's thesis as well. None of Donovan's publications were used toward a degree in sociology.

40 Helen MacGill Hughes, 27 June, 1978.

41 Letter received from James T. Carey, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 28 January, 1981.

42 Ibid.

43 Reviews for The Saleslady include: Booklist 26 (December 29, 1928), p. 101; Bookman 70 (October 29, 1929), p. 10; Nation 129 (October 23, 1929), p. 470; New York Times (November 3, 1929), p. 3; Spectator 143 (October 26, 1929), p. 603; Survey 63 (November 15, 1929), p. 230; New York World (September 24, 1929).

44 The "Society of Midland Authors" was a social organization of writers from twelve states, having among its members Jane Addams, Vachel Lindsay and Harriet Monroe. According to Mary Lynn Ritzenthaler, Assistant Manuscript Librarian, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Frances Donovan was a member at least in the years 1922 through 1944.

45 Letter received from Robert E. L. Faris, Coronado, California, 6 February, 1981.

46 Letter received from Mrs. Florence E. Davies, Chicago, Illinois, 2 October, 1978.

47 Helen C. Hoerle and Florence Saltzberg, The Girl and the Job (New York: H. Holt & Company, 1932), p. 150.

48 Donovan, The School Ma'am, p. 72.

49 Nancy Hoffman, p. xviii.

50 Ibid.

51 Mary Herrick, p. 189.

52 Ibid, p. 190.

53 The "Teacher's Turn to Be Helped," School and Society
34 (August 8, 1931), p. 201.

54 "The Plight of the Chicago Schools," School and Society 37 (May 6, 1933), p. 578. See also Lois Scharf, "Even Spinsters Need Not Apply: Teachers In the Depression," To Work and To Wed: Female Employment, Feminism and The Great Depression (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980), pp. 66-85.

55 Herrick, p. 239.

56 Donovan, The Woman Who Waits, pp. 185-193.

57 Herrick, p. 239.

58 Sheila Rothman, pp. 42-63.

59 Letter received from Mrs. Bernice Shreve, Michigan City, Indiana, 15 July, 1981.

60 Ibid.

61 The School Ma'am, p. 111

62 Letter received from Dr. William Shealey, Virginia Beach, Virginia, 3 August, 1981.

63 Letter received from Howard J. Israelstam, Chicago, Illinois, 28 June, 1981.

64 Letter received from Dr. Arthur Berndtson, Professor of Philosophy, University of Missouri-Columbia, 31 August, 1981.

65 Letter received from United States Ambassador C. William Kontos, United States Embassy, Kartoum, Sudan, 4 September, 1981.

66 Taped interview with Mr. Burger L. Robertson, Great Falls, Montana.

67 Erma Knowles, County Tax Collector, Eureka Springs, Ark.

68 Letter from Frances Donovan to a Mrs. Baird, University of Chicago Press, 8 October, 1953, Donovan Nursing Home Papers.

69 Letter from James T. Carey, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 28 January, 1981.

70 Letter from Frances Donovan to a Mr. Lottinville, Eureka Springs, Arkansas, 11 January, 1954. Donovan Nursing Home Papers.

71 Letter from Frances Donovan to the Borst family, Eureka Springs, Arkansas, 17 June, 1958.

72 Ibid.

73 Letter from Frances Donovan to the Borst family, Eureka Springs, Arkansas, 22 December, 1959.

74 Letter from Mrs. Catherine Grogan, Berryville, Arkansas, 6 November, 1980.

75 Burger L. Robertson, Great Falls, Montana.

The following sources constitute the means by which Frances Donovan's life has been reconstructed:

Nursing Home Papers:

(Provided by Mrs. Catherine Grogan, former friend of Frances Donovan and presently administrator, "Leisure Lodge Nursing Home).

-Autobiographical fragment

-Articles:

"The American Home--Yesterday and Today" (Post-1945)

"Dear! Dear! What Can the Matter be!" (Post-1945)

"The Social Progress of Priscilla Pritchard" (1930)

"Bumped" (1930's); A Reversion to Type: The Story of

Narcissus Bailey and Nancy O'Keefe

"No Questions Asked" (1930's)

-Manuscript for Eureka Springs Community Study, I Have Found It (1950's)

Relatives and Intimates:

Mrs. Elizabeth Owen Borst, Chicago Illinois (Taped Conversation)

Mr. Burger L. Robertson, Great Falls, Montana (Taped Conversation)

Mrs. Catherine Grogan, Berryville, Arkansas

Sociologists Contacted:

Robert E. L. Faris, Coronado, California

James T. Carey, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

Everett C. Hughes, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Helen Macgill Hughes, Radcliffe Research Center

Morris Janowitz, Chairperson, University of Chicago

Irving Louis Horowitz, Transaction magazine

Eli Zaretsky, San Francisco, California

Jesse Bernard, Washington, D.C.

Dorothy Wertz, Cambridge, Mass

Virginia Fish, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Mary Jo Deegan, University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point

Graduate students of the Sociology Department at the University of Chicago, 1920-1940

Ruth Shonle Cavan, Northern Illinois University

Nels Anderson, University of New Brunswick

Helen, Everett C. Hughes

Leonard Cottrell, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Herbert Blumer, Professor Emeritus, Berkeley

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Calumet High School Former Students:

United States Ambassador, C. William Kantos, Kartoum, Sudan
Dr. Arthur Berndtson, Distinguished Professor of Philosophy
University of Missouri-Columbia
Dr. William Shealey, Virginia Beach, Virginia
Howard J. Israelstam, Chicago, Illinois
Bernice Shreve, Michigan City, Indiana

Other Calumet contacts:

Mr. Joseph Jurica, Teacher, yearbook advisor, Calumet High
School, (1978-79)

University of Chicago Contacts:

University of Chicago Office of Alumni Affairs
University of Chicago Press
Hull House Association
Chicago Historical Society

Luther L. Bernard Papers, Penn State Historical Collections,
Penn State University

Eureka Springs, Arkansas Contacts:

Eureka Springs Historical Society
The Times Echo and The Star-Progress
"Leisure Lodge" Nursing Home
County Tax Collector's Office, Eureka Springs, Arkansas

III. CITY OF STRANGERS: THE CHICAGO STUDIES

"I have never found particularly convincing the patently self-serving theory that intellectuals construct about themselves--that they are "classless," or constitute an "interstitial" stratum (in Karl Mannheim's version), or are "un-attached." To their productions, as to those of the truck driver, we must address the nervy, vulgar little sociology-of-knowledge question "says who?" as Peter Berger puts it. There are many forms of "attachment": if we are not particularly class-bound, perhaps we are region-bound, or time-bound, or culture-bound, or subculture-bound."

John Murray Cuddihy,
Ordeal of Civility: Freud, Marx,
Levi-Strauss and the Jewish
Struggle with Modernity

Chapter One asserts that a sense of marginality pervaded the early days of the Chicago School; that the philosophical origins, historical circumstances and particular personalities of the first American sociology department compelled its members to see themselves and their subjects on the edge of a new and old world order. Chapter Two fleshes out the life of one obscure Chicago School figure, Frances R. Donovan. Straddling worlds of professional sociology and public school teaching, as well as ones of working class and middle class culture, Frances Donovan saw herself and her subjects in uniquely marginal terms. Chapter Three then places Frances Donovan's work in the context of other Chicago studies of the period. In so doing, it examines how Donovan's marginality joins her, as well as separates her, from other Chicagoans; it also attempts to shed further light on the extraordinary nature of the Chicago sociology department--both in the power of its explanatory scheme and in its remarkable record of graduate student research and publication.

A context for Frances Donovan's work is The Saleslady (1929), a part of the Chicago Sociological Series. As noted earlier, the Series began in 1923 under the co-editorship of Robert E. Park and Ernest Burgess. Over the next

two decades it functioned as the chief conduit through which the now classic Chicago studies flowed. It also became the primary forum for the Chicago School's vanguard ideas in urban sociology. Further proof of Donovan's affiliation with the Chicago School (from 1918 through the late 1930's) has been provided by former colleagues.

The Sociological Series, especially the most renowned studies, provide the data necessary for examining Chicago theory and practice in the 1920-1940 period. The Series, thirty-one publications in all, also includes cross-cultural research and concentratedly theoretical pieces not mentioned here. Of the thirty-one, I have chosen eleven which investigate the American urban milieu: The Hobo (1923) by Nels Anderson; The Unadjusted Girl (1923) by W.I. Thomas; The Gang (1927) by Frederick Thrasher; The Ghetto (1928) by Louis Wirth; Family Disorganization (1927) by Ernest Mowrer; Gold Coast and the Slum (1929) by Harvey W. Zorbaugh; Suicide (1928) by Ruth Cavan; The Taxi-Dance Hall (1932) by Paul Cressey; The Pilgrims of Russian Town (1932) by Pauline Young; Vice In Chicago (1933) by Walter Reckless; and The Negro Family (1935) by E. Franklin Frazier.

Although Frances Donovan's work resembles these other Chicago studies in numerous ways, she was the only one without a formal degree or professional career in sociology. Donovan's marginality therefore offers a special perspective for viewing a major academic movement. A review of

the prefaces to works of the Series reveals a definite "school" of thought. Underlying an author's simple tributes to a graduate department, a funding agency, mentors, or friends are messages of increasing professionalization in the 20th Century, including a lock-step pattern of academic success. Whether called a paradigm, a community of inquiry or intellectual camp, a school of thought (in this case embodied in an academic department) is validated as much by the proper Ph. D. credentials and series of job placements as by the ideas themselves. The Chicago studies are a testament to this self-perpetuating school. Mentioning the same mentors and each other repeatedly, their authors give an early indication of the important role they eventually played. As second and third generation Chicagoans, they spread their influence to other sociology departments across the country. Frances Donovan, however, did not. After writing each book, she returned to the same high school classroom, decade after decade.

This fact raises important questions. What kind of power did Chicago sociology have, if a high school English teacher could be motivated to write three sociological studies with no professional vested interest? If her publications were meeting primarily personal rather than professional needs, could other Chicagoans' work be examined not simply in terms of their contributions to Chicago theory and emergent professionalism, but as extensions of

personal needs as well? Furthermore, what can be learned about the accepted theories and methodology of the Chicago School when practiced by a marginal person who does not suffer the same pressures to uphold them? Do ideas hold new possibilities when handled by an outsider who has the license to "play" with them, and treat them more directly as a means of personal knowledge or fulfillment? Using a non-professional like Frances Donovan to measure the professional nature of a social science proves especially revealing. Donovan was not pressed to obey all the rules of scientific research that signalled membership into the budding profession of sociology. For instance, The Woman Who Waits and The Saleslady lack the heavily theoretical language and third person point of view that mark the other studies. Without this veneer of "objectivity" or neutrality, the important question becomes: What is left?

In this chapter I shall argue that there is a great deal left. Without incentive to obey faithfully the dictates of a social science struggling to be value-free, Donovan was able to bring her lack of sophistication to bear on her choice of subject matter, writing style and role-playing. I contend that this "simplicity" illuminates many Chicagoans' motives, methodology and ideology, and lays bare the essential strengths and weaknesses of the Chicago School. For instance, the Chicagoans' attempt at "sympathetic understanding" of marginal groups such as

hobos, gang members or hotel drifters, becomes extreme identification when Donovan "becomes" a waitress or a saleswoman. Getting even closer to her subjects than her colleagues who interview and record life histories, Donovan becomes a part of the social drama she witnesses--a risk no other Chicagoan takes. Similarly, the bourgeois values and the potential for harboring racist or elitist views (for which Chicagoans have been maligned by critics) are intensified in Donovan's unprofessional candor. However, rather than further condemning the Chicago School, Donovan's inconsistency reveals the genuine struggle in which all Chicagoans were engaged: to make sense of a drastically changing world both personally and professionally.

Finally, Donovan's marginal work casts some light on directions in which Chicagoans might have gone. One critic claims that the Chicago School's major shortcoming was a lack of introspection which in turn set the precedent for an American brand of sociology that was largely "the study of others, not of self."¹ Certainly Donovan never goes so far as to turn sociology inward on itself as C. Wright Mills does many years later. She does, however, study her own group of teachers, a group of which she had been part for twenty years, thus attempting a kind of reflexivity other Chicagoans did not.

This chapter works with two assumptions regarding Chicago School theory and methodology: "The first is that

the sociology department Donovan came to know from 1916 through the late 1930's was unique, combining elements of an urban "frontier" landscape, dynamic faculty personalities and inspired graduate students whose interactions resulted in publications that still serve a model of what an academic department should be. Furthermore, the Chicago School was exceptional because it contrasted sharply with the European academic tradition wherein an institution grew around "a chair" or leading genius in the field. Therefore, Chicago's freedom of thought and wide range of theories can be credited to one American brand of sociology that "began as an institution before it had a distinctive intellectual content, a distinctive method, or even point of view."³ Originating as a department, rather than as an extension of one mind or one theory, Chicago sociology was a collective enterprise that bid students and professionals to join--not just to learn from one master, but to contribute data and ideas affecting the very nature of a discipline in its formative stages. The special intensity of the 1920's Chicago group is reflected also in the life-long friendships that were made there, and in its literal sense of family. For example, within its ranks it had a father and son (Ellsworth and Robert E. L. Faris), two couples (Pauline and Erle F. Young and Helen and Everett C. Hughes), Park's son-in-law, the well-known anthropologist, Robert Redfield, and a departmental secretary, Ruth Cavan, who produced a book for the Sociological Series.

This chapter's second emphasis is on what I consider the Chicago School's main legacy to twentieth century social theory: its faith in description as a major way to determine social reality. Chicago's methodology was based on the importance of "continuous observation of unfolding events in their natural setting,"⁴ as opposed to surveys, statistics or contrived laboratory settings. This fascination with the action of daily events and larger social forces led in two directions: to important theories dealing with the mechanisms of change, such as social disorganization; and, perhaps most importantly, to the practice of letting subjects speak for themselves, as a way of accurately determining "social worlds" other than those of a mainstream middle-class. The Chicagoans attempted to understand phenomena on the basis of intimate and detailed knowledge of, and by, participants. This effort makes them precursors of schools of social theory emphasizing "emic" analyses, such as cognitive anthropology, symbolic anthropology and the sociology of knowledge.

Endorsing the findings of scholars, Frederick H. Matthews, James Carey and Eli Zaretsky, this study attempts to refute long standing criticisms of the Chicago School as elitist and primitive. A typical stereotype of the Chicagoans has prevailed, especially since the 1950's under the elegant and complex language and theory of functionalism. It is of social investigators who were so overwhelmed by a new world that they had all they could do just to record their

ethnographic data. Moreover, according to these critics, this data lacked the theory to explain it, or frame it. A comment by one sociologist that "Chicago provided material and theoretical organization came with later generations"⁵ not only denies central theoretical contributions of the Chicagoans; it also reflects an academic version of unilinear evolutionism. The prevailing view that contemporary modes of explanation are the most enlightened, coupled with the social sciences' general neglect of their own history, resulted in the dismissal of the Chicago School's best innovations.

Considered unsophisticated theoreticians, Chicagoans have also been labeled bourgeois thinkers--mere products of the Social Gospel and small town nostalgia.⁶ In contradictory ways, they have been accused of not distancing themselves enough to avoid imposing their own middle class values on groups they deemed deviant, and distancing themselves too much by refusing to wed their data directly to political reform.⁷

However, I think an emphasis on the Chicagoans' early attempts at "emic" analyses goes far to blunt these criticisms. Given their European predecessors' highly speculative sociology, the Chicagoans' zealous empiricism was a great step toward the wedding of theory and description. Furthermore, early twentieth century America was marked by a deep conservatism.⁷ In the face of racist and reactionary responses to ethnic and urban changes in America,

the Chicagoans managed to separate what they saw (different cultures) from what the majority of their contemporaries believed they saw (basic inferiority and deviance.) They were able to do this because they had faith in the power of "plain description."

The Chicago School's attempt at value-neutrality cannot be dismissed as merely a deluded ideal or a capitulation to a status quo. It is true that the first sociologists were reluctant to describe social problems in terms of the failures of capitalism. They instead saw themselves as scientists whose role was to provide the "neutral data" by which others made political judgements. If this position was politically naive, it was also sociologically insightful. Contending that social description by participants and observers, could stand alone--outside the normative language of professionals and ideologues--Chicagoans newly defined social reality. For example, once allowing gang members, hobos or waitresses to describe their own worlds, their own argots, values and belief systems emerged. The Chicago Studies could then describe a "culture" where other Americans saw an absence of culture. In the process of letting actors speak for themselves, the reader could acquire more empathy and understanding for them--as could the researcher.

Finally, a reappraisal of the Chicago School offers the satisfaction of calling for a reusable past. Returning to the historic origins of a discipline to find the most

contemporary ideas of social science theory (such as "emic knowledge") in seed form may contribute to the integration of the past and present, which seems healthy in any discipline. As James Carey notes, "By rendering past intellectual achievements obsolete, we lose such assurances as traditions can give to our sense of purposive, intelligent direction."⁹ Henrika Kuklick further comments that due to the renewed interest in social psychology "we may now feel the need of intellectual ancestors, of the sort that Chicago sociologists can provide."¹⁰

THE CHICAGOANS: IN CONTEXT AND METAPHOR

Initially, it is necessary to reconstruct the nineteenth century world in which the first American sociology department flourished. By contrasting Victorian social science with the Chicago School, the latter's advanced theories can be appreciated.

The Chicago social scientists who took modernity as their subject--in its most dramatic expression: the city--confronted new social forces for which their small-town Midwestern backgrounds had not prepared them. Chicago, a prime example of the onslaught of modernization, had gone from frontier to metropolis in one generation. Despite the Chicago sociologists' openness to new theories and new cultures, they nevertheless had grown up in towns with less than 30,000 people and had been molded by the "primary relations" of family, church and school. In a city that

had grown from 1,800,000 in 1900 to over 2,700,000 in 1920, in which 2/3 of the population would be foreign born or the children of foreign born by 1930,¹¹ little of the Victorian order survived.

In 1892, when the University of Chicago and its sociology department opened its doors, the "social question" predominated. Mass immigration and rapid industrialization had given rise to problems of poverty, class conflict, labor organization and violence.¹² The Social Gospel had just about run its course and simple progressive solutions to baffling new economic and social relationships had become untenable.¹³ Social reformers began to acknowledge that controlling the new urban disorder through a simple revivification of bourgeois values such as piety, frugality and sexual restraint had met with minimal success.

Certainly the new social science theory at Chicago in the early 1900's was an extension of the Progressive thought which had already taken hold in American culture. The Chicagoans joined other intellectuals in a "revolt against formalism,"¹⁴ by questioning long held assumptions in such areas as formal logic, classical economics and jurisprudence. The first generation of Chicagoans were part of this movement by erecting the laws of social science in relativistic terms--not as logic, but as "experience in some streaming sense." However, their commitment to record and explain this "streaming" experience finally allowed them to grasp the new urban world in ways Progressive

reformers could not. By "close and intimate observation" they understood their task not as dealing with a temporary aberration from old norms, but as investigation into radical transformations in American character and culture. Problems accompanying such changes demanded new solutions.

The period before 1915 was a time in which the Chicago School underwent a kind of "paradigm-shift." Thomas Kuhn's popular term to describe the "revolutions" of thought within scientific communities,¹⁵ is here modified to refer simply to the intellectual "shift" from nineteenth century moral philosophy to twentieth century social science. Moral philosophy in the European tradition of "armchair speculation" on the human condition was exchanged for an American brand of sociology, demanding empirical inquiry, or a faith in reality rendered by direct observation. The Chicagoans exchanged a prevailing social idealism that dealt with society in terms of moral absolutes, for a social "reality" that demanded an astute, "objective" observer to define its flux. This shift was of course not total. The early work of Albion Small, Thomas and Park reflects a tenuous balance of old and new ideas that mark later studies of the Sociological Series as well. Even before 1910, elaborate theoretical abstractions co-existed with empirical description;¹⁶ and for decades "value-free" sociological data was provided by those who were active in making social policy.

By the late nineteenth century, social reality had

become complex--complex enough to require a "specially trained intelligence"¹⁷ to understand it. At least one idea was clear to late nineteenth century reformers: a world of "common sense" in which every person of free will could be held responsible for his/her actions no longer existed. Voluntaristic explanations of human behavior receded to "remote circles of causation" where the forces of family, environment and economics played just as great a part in poverty or depravity, as "low moral character."¹⁸

When Frances Donovan entered the University in 1916 it generally was acknowledged that it took "professionals" to understand these forces. Thomas, in The Unadjusted Girl (1923), remarks that "common sense had not been adequate" to the problems of crime, alcoholism, prostitution and other forms of severe anomie. By the early twentieth century, social critics and reformers were conceding a sense of powerlessness over the drastic changes taking place in American culture. Here, Thomas expresses the need for a new expertise which he implies sociologists, the new social engineers, can provide:" Up to the present time society has not been able to control the direction of its own evolution or even to determine the form of life and relationships necessary to produce a world in which it is possible and desirable for all to live."¹⁹

The Chicago Studies repeatedly voice the assumption that all previous efforts at reform had failed because they were not based on scientific principles. Harvey W. Zorbaugh,

in perhaps the most renowned study of the Series, The Gold Coast and the Slum, traces the misguided history of American reform. Beginning with Jacob Riis' pictorial exposes in the 1880's, Zorbaugh claims that muckraking had led to "more voyeuristic slum parties" than improvement of conditions. Organized charities followed, whose shallow efforts demonstrated that social problems "went deeper than relief;" and on their heels came countless social surveys which (albeit less sensationalistic) merely provided data for ineffectual settlement workers who knew nothing of "different social worlds."²⁰ Zorbaugh's message was echoed in other works of the Series. Clearly, new solutions were needed. Problem-solving devolved upon the trained intelligence of the Chicagoans. Seeing themselves as the first to tread the path between ideas and experience, they committed themselves to an "adequate explanation of external reality" based on empirical description.

The proper laboratory for this integration of theoretical abstraction and "intimate knowledge" of hobos, prostitutes or waitresses was the single most exciting and problematic phenomenon of the twentieth century--the city. Robert E. Park's classic essay of 1915 "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment" was a watershed, ushering in the most productive period of the Chicago School and giving a dramatically new conceptual framework to the notion of "city." To Park, a city (specifically Chicago) was not merely a

"symptom" of industrialization, or a simple geographical area. Rather, it was a "natural area," an organic unit that shaped human behavior as much as it was shaped by human hands. The introduction to Park's 1915 essay is regularly quoted in the annals of urban sociology:

The city . . . is something more than a congeries of individual men and of social conveniences--streets, buildings, electric lights, tramways, and telephones, etc; something more, also than a mere constellation of institutions and administrative devices--courts, hospitals, schools, police, and civil functionaries of various sorts. The city is, rather, a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of the organized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in these customs and are transmitted with this tradition. The city is not, in other words, merely a physical mechanism and an artificial construction. It is involved in the vital processes of the people who compose it; it is a product of nature, and particularly of human nature.²¹

Park's essay became required reading in sociology classes. The essay forced new students of sociology (including Frances Donovan, recently arrived from Great Falls, Montana) to look at urban environments in totally new terms. Park's influential essay reversed the 18th century Western myth which held that a city embodied only decadence and was an unfortunate aberration from the pristine life of the village. Park also reworked Tönnies' "Gesellschaft/Gemeinschaft," which distinguished the close and implicitly positive networks of small towns from the alienation of urban areas. Instead of using the city as the focus for a jeremiad, Park chose to view it as a hymn to human potential. The city embodied everything its inhabitants were

capable of creating, as well as destroying; ". . . , at the least, the city is complex for it lays bare to the public view in a massive manner all the human characters and traits which are ordinarily obscured and suppressed in smaller communities. The city, in short, shows the good and evil in human nature in excess."²²

In a sense Park and the Chicagoans reversed a Thoreauvian search for self-realization through nature. Rather than seeking the solitude of uncleared forest as the escape from social restraints, Park urged his students to find that same potential for freedom on city streets. Here, the "individual might find the moral climate in which his peculiar nature obtains the stimulus that brings his innate disposition to full and free expression."²³ Freedom, of course, was double-edged. Anonymity could as easily mean a welcome release from small town forms of repression as it could severe dislocation and isolation. Despite this ambivalence, the Chicagoans made a commitment to a new urban world. Poverty, drastic influxes of immigrants, and increased crimes were serious problems, but they were not a condemnation of a new stage of civilization. Instead they were a part of the struggle of human survival on its new frontier: the city--where people's best and worst inclinations co-existed. They were convinced that on this Manichean stage society could be revitalized.

In a sense, the Chicagoans extended Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis.²⁴ The historian had made a

unique argument at the end of the nineteenth century that the American psyche had been spiritually revitalized by the continued existence of its frontier boundaries. However, by attaching so much significance to the geographical frontier, he failed to foresee the rejuvenating potential of any other kind of physical space.²⁵ The Chicagoans made that transference, as evidenced by the frequent use of frontier imagery in their studies. Chicago served as their "vast cultural frontier--a common meeting place for the divergent and antagonistic peoples of the earth."²⁶ Frederick Jackson Turner's belief in the transformative power of environment to change personality and culture was shared by these pioneers of sociology. On the cutting edge of social science theory, however, they perceived that the outermost boundary of new civilization was now its urban centers: "Inherited custom, tradition, all our ancient social and political heritages--human nature itself--have changed and are changing under the influence of the modern urban environment."²⁷

Desperadoes as well as spirited adventurers filled their urban landscape. The University of Chicago Sociological Series began in 1923 with Nels Anderson declaring the hobo (previously portrayed as loiterer, misfit and new violator of the American work ethic²⁸), as "one of the heroic figures of the frontier." Frederick Thrasher stated that gang members occupied the "fringes of civilization . . . where life is rough, untamed and rich in social significance." As

"products of the city wilderness" gang members carved out their own systems of law and order.²⁹ Paul Cressey also described a taxi-dance hall as a "world of relaxed social controls" which was "on the edge of jungle, fulfilling men's desire for stimulation."³⁰

Sociology early on mirrored the larger society's tendency to see men's lives as far more interesting than women's. With the exception of prostitutes, little attention was given women outside the context of home and family in early sociology. Male worlds of hotel drifters, hobos or Bohemians prevailed. Therefore, in this context, Frances Donovan used her marginal status and her gender to extend the boundaries of Chicago sociology to include women. She is the only author of the Series to explore the city as a particularly female frontier. In her first study The Woman Who Waits, Donovan answers her own questions as to why women have moved to the cities in ever increasing numbers:

Why do they come? Because life is dull in the small town or on the farm and because there is excitement and adventure in the city. The lure of the stage, of the movie, of the shop, and of the office make of it the definite El Dorado of the woman. It is her frontier and in it she is the pioneer.³¹

Besides The Saleslady, W. I. Thomas' The Unadjusted Girl (1923), is the only work of the Series that focuses on women's new or controversial urban role. The Unadjusted Girl is indeed a sympathetic portrayal of city women who have been labeled deviant through their violation of social

and moral codes. For instance, Thomas redefines sexual promiscuity as legitimate behavior rather than innate depravity, indicating women's universal desire for less inhibited affection. Other studies also reflect feminist sympathies, including Walter Reckless' Vice In Chicago. For instance, Reckless places the relationship between pimp and prostitute in the context of "man's inhumanity to woman: a patriarchal pattern."

Nevertheless it is only Frances Donovan who deals with the multi-faceted urban woman, not simply as a creature of oppression but one of great potential. Whereas her more mainstream colleagues were attracted to the specifically male prototype of marginality or the less gender-specific problems of alienation such as suicide or family disorganization, Donovan was captivated by the possibilities for her own sex in the workplace. It is only in the last few decades that a substantial women's history has existed testifying to the instrumental role urbanization has played in changing the female experience.³²

Frances Donovan was indeed ahead of her time. She was born into a largely rural world of 1880 that had become 50% urban by the time her publication, The Woman Who Waits, appeared in 1920. The ramifications, especially for middle class women, were enormous in city areas that made available all the advances of technology. The preparation of food and clothing, a predominantly female task for centuries, was no longer necessarily a home function. Women's

mobility was increased by trains, cars and by newly lighted streets. In 1907 only 8% of non-urban areas had electricity; yet by 1920 47% of all cities had electrical power, making stores and walkways accessible to women at all hours of night and day.³³ Birth~~y~~control information, the proliferation of labor saving devices and the increase in boarding houses and apartment dwellings were further factors that provided a conducive environment for "the new woman," touted in popular literature.³⁴

Cities were also a natural breeding ground for the women's reform movement. Beginning with issues of abolition and suffrage, and later extending to organized efforts at social control (such as temperance and anti-vice groups), urban women learned to exercise their independence and political power.³⁵ Certainly these women did their share in debunking the agrarian myth that freedom and equality lay only in the pasturelands.

Of utmost significance in this effort was women's entrance into the urban workplace. The female labor force remained largely sex-segregated, non-skilled and clerical as America became a service economy from 1917 through the late 1930's.³⁶ Donovan's insistence that special attention be paid the woman worker highlighted a social issue that some regard as the most crucial of the twentieth century--women's changed identity as worker outside the home.

"Outside" work for women has, since the mid-nineteenth century, involved personal and cultural conflict. There

has been a constant tension between the two areas of women's lives, the home and the marketplace. With the rise of industrialization, the domestic and economic sphere became so antithetical that the workplace itself, whether factory, store and later business office, became a threat to the traditional role of women. Here she was exposed to male crassness, danger and a loss of virtue. With the growth of a large middle class that measured status by the leisure available to its female members, there was a further class bias against those females forced into work because it now signified a lack of gentility.

Donovan, therefore, in choosing waitresses as her first subjects, creates a fitting symbol for the deep cultural ambivalence toward the effects of work on women--especially when the sexes "mixed." No longer serving food to male members of her own family, she was now serving strangers. Donovan, nevertheless, sees these working women as the "advance guard" for all women:

What makes the story of the waitress important, aside from its human interest, is the fact that these women represent the advance guard of working women who are marching steadily deeper and deeper into the world of economic competition, getting into new and dangerous contacts.³⁷

It is the waitresses' personality--after exposure to a rough work world--that Donovan finds intriguing. And, as with the other Chicagoans, Donovan's description of those living out marginal existences are a blend of disapproval and begrudging admiration:

She is a free soul, the waitress, and she often manifests her freedom by swearing like a trooper. The city is her frontier; she has found independence and her sense of freedom expresses itself in all the vulgarity and robustness of primitive life everywhere.³⁸

Donovan's endorsement of a working woman's freedom is less qualified by a middle-class sense of propriety when she writes of saleswomen eight years later. It becomes easier for Donovan to fully embrace the city as a place of possibility in recording the lives of women who are in appearance middle class, or at least upwardly mobile (by wearing fashionable clothes and working at Saks Fifth Avenue or Macy's). In the Saleslady she notes:

The city of today, with its rumble, its noise, and its changes is for the women of today the field of Camelot and they are the knights who tilt in its industrial tournaments for the reward it has to give. . . But it is this kind of world that has made men, and the women of today are striving in their manners, their dress, and in their activities not only to compete with men but to equal if not surpass them.³⁹

In retrospect Donovan's belief that women's full equality would be easily won in the urban workplace was highly exaggerated. However, this unrealistic enthusiasm reflects Donovan's sense of her own pioneering role as participant and observer of other women's pioneering roles.

THE CHICAGOANS: SELF AND SUBJECT

At the heart of this inquiry is the thesis that the Chicagoans, who were preoccupied by marginality in others, were also aware of it in themselves. This "spirit" of marginality was collectively forged within the 1920's

department. It is important to keep in mind that the Chicago School did not look to a few stars for direction as much as to each other. Various personal accounts of the Chicago days of the 1920's contain off-hand comments revealing the special energy and momentum that swept up a whole graduate department in an anthropological urgency to record the details of a culture in transition. Certainly there has been no graduate department, before or since, which has been more attuned to the connections between the world inside and outside the classroom. Chicagoans' reminiscences indicate that their seminars buzzed with the social questions that were revealed to these eager graduate students each day: in the streets they walked, in the life histories they gathered, in the headlines of the morning paper they brought to class.

Robert S. Park and Ernest Burgess (and to a lesser degree other and later Chicago personalities like E. L. Faris) made their students feel special, tapping their unique interests and deepest concerns. For instance, Park was content to work behind the scenes as prodder, teacher and theoretician. Not the least bit concerned with the status conferred by his numerous book-length publications, Park is claimed to have said that "rather than write ten books, I would rather have ten students who each write one."⁴⁰ In fact, the departmental mission of collecting urban ethnographic data was so compelling that "even the lowliest graduate student could conduct field studies"⁴¹ . . . including a high school English teacher named Frances Donovan.

Whether lowly or exalted, the members of the 1920's group had certain characteristics in common. According to James Carey, who interviewed most surviving former students of the period, all of them came to Chicago with some exposure to sociology in their undergraduate classes. They also had a clear sense that Chicago was at the forefront--where "sociology was taking dramatic shape."⁴² One can infer, then, that at least a few students came with the hope of being a ground-breaker, of contributing to a new social science, and a new understanding of society. They did not come to conform to an already respected career pattern or intellectual tradition. They came to create one.

Chicagoans also had in common, notes Carey, a solid exposure to naturalist fiction. Those who made it a point to read Emile Zola and his American predecessors such as Frank Norris, Stephen Crane, and Theodore Dreiser, were revealing more than a common taste in literature. They were indicating a shared interest in social reality based on "scientific" principles. Like the naturalists, they were fascinated by forces of nature and human nature--observed at close range. Ironically, these fiction writers served as the Chicagoans' only model for detailed and graphic accounts of ordinary "reality: " "We are mainly indebted to writers of fiction for our more intimate knowledge of contemporary urban life," said Park in 1915.⁴³

The relationship between literary naturalism and the Chicago School is close in numerous ways. W.I. Thomas had

a background in literature and Park had been a journalist for eleven years. Park often referred to his own work as "muckraking," thus identifying himself with a similar naturalist impulse in journalism to expose the wretched conditions of an urban underclass. Admittedly, sociology's intentions were far broader than many naturalists' obsession with decadence and determinism. The Chicagoans also lacked a strong socialist perspective found in the works of Theodore Dreiser and Frank Norris. Yet they did share the naturalists' intention to become accomplished observers of the human predicament. And they self-consciously played a comparable role as intellectual rebels. While naturalist writers were in revolt against a genteel tradition that prescribed the proper form and content of good literature, the first sociologists were rejecting the formalism of biological determinism and unilinear evolution.

The naturalist influence on the Chicagoan's approach to their material can be found in many works of the Series devoted to close descriptions of colorful people, subcultures and physical environments. Carey notes that sociology course syllabi of the 1920's included novels. There were also close ties to the English department, one beneficiary of which was Frances Donovan who received a degree in literature in 1918. But the "literary" quality of these studies--for instance, their sense of narrative, choice of language and point of view--has not been fully explored.⁴⁴ Once again, Donovan's work (in what Park calls its uniquely

"impressionistic" style) clearly reveals elements that operate more subtly in other Chicago studies. For instance, The Woman Who Waits, published in 1920 before the series began, epitomizes "the dramatic elements" of naturalist fiction that appear in lesser degrees in later works of the Series.

One of Donovan's strengths is that she can, indeed, tell a good story. Her unpublished papers testify to her life-long interest and skill in writing fiction. For instance, the very first pages of The Woman Who Waits draw the reader into the action of the tale, to see through Donovan's eyes the women who commuted by train to the Chicago Loop:

. . . there was the blonde girl with the pearl earrings and high-topped lace boots, and the brunette with a bewitching nose veil; there was the slender girl in a "strictly tailored suit," . . . and there was the middle aged woman who, with rouge and an extravagantly short skirt, was making a pitiful attempt to cheat the years. . . 45

She also possessed an "unscientific" fascination for the lurid and for the "base" instincts of human nature, pre-dictably embodied in members of the lower class. In one scene she follows her description of restaurant workers' sexual obsessions with one of the kitchen after hours:

Great fat, gray rats, as big as kittens used to slink across the tables and racks, or stand on their hind legs on the floor and blink at waitresses and the kitchen men used to make coarse jokes about these rats in which the ever-present sex interest was the important factor. 46

Such graphic description linking sexuality and bestiality was not as common to the Chicagoans as it was to the

naturalists. But the occasional "overenthusiasm" for the lurid nature of Bohemian life or the sordidness of hotel rooms can be found in a Chicago study.

Along with some parallel approaches to determining "social reality" the naturalists and the Chicagoans shared similar personal backgrounds as "outsiders" to the acceptable academic circles of the day.⁴⁷ Malcolm Cowley describes a "status revolution" in which literary elites were being replaced by writers who "were in some way disadvantaged . . . they were not of the Atlantic seaboard, or not of the old stock, or not educated in the right schools . . . or not sufficiently respectable in their persons or in their family backgrounds."⁴⁸ Certainly Frances Donovan is the extreme example of the new sociologists' less-than aristocratic origins. With no advanced degree, she had come from an obscure mid-western normal college and taught high school for a living.

Other mainstream Chicagoans reflected this "status revolution." Many, (although Protestant) had not attended prestigious undergraduate schools, nor were they financially comfortable. Nels Anderson was the son of a Swedish peasant and migrant worker, and Walter Reckless and Paul Cressey were two of many graduate students who had to work part-time or full-time to pay tuition. There also were others whose culture and race had never allowed easy entrance into elite social or intellectual circles. For example, Herbert Blumer and Louis Wirth were Jews and known for their fringe

association with the slightly disreputable "Bohemian Crowd of Jackson Park Colony" located near the university. There was also a notably large number of female graduate students. Furthermore, Chicago (through Robert E. Park's past affiliation with Tuskegee) drew black students at a time when Negroes stayed at Negro colleges. For instance, in the 1920's, the Chicago School trained the two foremost black sociologists of their generation, E. Franklin Frazier and Charles Henderson. Park, in fact, brought the stamp of Tuskegee with him. The first course he taught at Chicago sociology department was "The Negro in America." It is not surprising that Chicago maintained its reputation as a training ground for Black sociologists for decades afterwards. ⁴⁹

In summary, such factors as the Chicagoans' interest in the relationship between literature and social reality, as well as its non-mainstream origins, set them apart as a unique group in academics. However, it was finally the tapping of this uniqueness and the integrating of their sense of marginality into the structure of the program that to a great extent accounts for the dynamism and productivity that marked the 1920's group. This was accomplished through the special powers of Robert E. Park (and to a lesser degree Ernest Burgess).

Winifred Raushenbush who interviewed 1920's students for her recent biography of Robert E. Park, documents the precedent that Park set for having his students see the relationship between their personal lives and their work,

One former student comments that "on first being alone with Park he was likely to interview them about their life histories."⁵⁰ Recalling his experience as a young and insecure Black graduate student, Charles Johnson remembers that Park quickly helped every newcomer explore "the murky channels of our thinking. . . . A first revelation came, when I discovered through one of his excursions that it was possible to identify my own experience and thinking with a large and respectable fund . . . of social knowledge."⁵¹ Evidently, Park's urging of students to connect their private experience and their social knowledge served as a catalyst for their subsequent interest and identification with other marginal social worlds.

Park is remembered as an intense, charismatic personality capable of setting students "on fire" with the desire to define their culture. Herbert Blumer, recalling Park in the 1920's, claims that "in the course of my more than thirty years of observation in the field of graduate work I have never seen any teacher who could be as successful as Park in awakening, mobilizing and directing the talents of students and bringing them to their highest potentiality."⁵² The following description of a session in Park's office seems indicative of Robert E. Park's power to instill in his protégés this intense commitment to social research and self-understanding:

A student would come in to see him about a thesis problem . . . Dr. Park would question him about his background, his life, his

experiences. He would probe and probe until finally some experience which had never seemed important perhaps until that day, would emerge, burn itself into the student's consciousness and set him on fire.⁵³

In a sense the Chicagoans were precursors to a present movement in the social sciences: one that acknowledges the relationship between the observers' "context of discovery" and the data observed. Some current theoreticians go so far as to call for the detailing of this relationship within the body of the text, as an overt part of the data recorded.⁵⁴ Studies of the Chicago Series never include the author in the research, with only one exception: Frances Donovan. The above recollections do indicate that Robert Park understood the interplay of the researcher and his subject matter. However, as noted earlier, American sociology was engaged in a struggle to prove itself a valid science built on a foundation of "objectivity." Such a position had to discourage sociologists from taking the risk of appearing merely "impressionistic" by personalizing their reports--at least those sociologists professionally trained, credentialed and hired. But Donovan did. Having no academic reputation at stake, no professional approval to lose, Donovan was able to include herself directly in her data, as a disguised participant-observer, and finally as a critic of her own teaching profession.

In some sense, Donovan was able to live out fully what Park and Burgess encouraged, the most intimate understanding of another social world. Neither The Woman Who Waits

nor The Saleslady is an ideal example of emic analysis, nor is The School Ma'am the perfect reflexive study. However, Donovan's intentions and opportunity to know her subject from the inside out reveals much about a sociology department that triggered in a high school English teacher the desire to enter other women's intimate and social worlds.

Herbert Blumer recalls that Robert Park did not reserve his inspirational powers for only those sociology students destined for greatness in academe. Students were pushed to exceed limits that were "even surprising to themselves": "He attracted a wide variety of students, some of the greatest ability, others of average talent, and some less than mediocre. . . . He succeeded in getting a large number of them to develop an unflagging interest in concentrated work on their topics, resulting, it should be noted, in a very impressive series of publication."⁵⁵ One cannot overemphasize the extraordinary nature of a department that spurred on Frances Donovan at the same time as it was grooming eight future American Sociological Association Presidents: Everett C. Hughes, Herbert Blumer, Stuart Queen, Leonard Cottrell, Edward Reuter, Robert E. L. Faris, Louis Wirth and E. Franklin Frazier.

Donovan is part of a phenomenon in the Chicago school characterized by a belief that everyone willing to document "social reality" had a particular job to do, depending on his/her particular talents. Just as Franz Boas in the same years turned Indians into informants of their own culture,

Park and his colleagues had Japanese students doing studies on Japanese culture, Jews on ghettos, a hobo on hobos--and one working woman on other working women. It is quite possible that Frances Donovan took a first sociology course in 1916 to find out about society; yet, in so doing, she found out about herself. Sitting in Park's office as a new widow, she could have discovered her own "burning question": the fate of an independent woman bereft of male support whose economic survival and identity were now to be determined by a work role. Her answer to this question never led to an ASA presidency. However it did lead to a commitment so strong that she would publish three books over the course of twenty years, written after the school day was over, during summer vacations with no funding and only limited status.

Donovan was not alone among the Chicagoans in attempting to render her personal experience grist for the ethnographic mill. Nels Anderson, author of The Hobo, wrote an autobiography, meaningfully entitled The American Hobo (1975). The extensive insights he provides into his relationship to his work and the analogy to Donovan's efforts warrant a closer analysis. It is fitting that The Hobo (1923) was Park's choice for the first entry of the Sociological Series. The Hobo represents the "purest" intentions of Chicago empirical⁵⁶

theory: Anderson had been, and was one of his subjects. One can imagine the excitement Robert Park must have felt in finding Anderson among his graduate students. An unassuming young man, Anderson came to the graduate school as a former

migrant worker, railroadman, panhandler, muleskinner and lumberman. Through such jobs he worked his way through high school and, years later, college. It was not until his arrival in the department that he learned hobos had been transformed by their urban setting into "homeless men"--a problem that sociologists were eager to address.

Anderson's autobiography, together with introductory comments from a 1961 revised edition of The Hobo, describes his relationship to his subject matter on three different levels. His conceptualization of his experience on various levels of consciousness indicates the complexity of a researcher's role--a complexity that has been overlooked in the past. Only personal testimonies, such as Anderson's, help to make this relationship clear. Early in his autobiography Anderson comments that his choice of subject "homeless men," was based on expedience: ". . . it turned out to be the practical thing to do my term papers on subjects I knew most about." (xii) Later, however, the choice is not dealt with as nonchalantly. He makes a clear distinction between himself and other student colleagues doing fieldwork by saying that "I did not go down into the slum. I was at home in that area." (p. 65) His choice now seems to have grown more complex, at least in its implications. Choosing to relate so closely to his non-middle class origins had its price.

Even within a graduate group that had "marginal" leanings, Anderson's unique position of having been one of the "homeless

men" he studied set him apart and made him feel isolated. He comments that the study he was trying to do "was outside the ken of my fellow graduate students, as I was outside their interest areas." (xii) Anderson was sure that he occupied an even more marginal world than his classmates: "When talking to Thrasher about gangs or Reckless about vice . . . their methods and hypotheses seemed like common sense knowledge. But if I spoke of the hobo or other men in my sector of Chicago, their ways of life and work, it was all remote from their understanding. They would respond with some sort of weary willie humor, which reminded me over and over and over of a sort of cultural gap between my colleagues and me." (p. 164 AH)

Anderson's recollection of feeling alienated does not so much indicate the callousness of bourgeois colleagues.

Rather, it signals the extent to which the Chicago School had committed itself to empirical knowledge. Many Chicagoans obviously never fully escaped their middle class origins. Nonetheless they formed a graduate community that took into its ranks anyone who could be an effective researcher of the urban frontier. Both a former hobo and English teacher could do that very well. If they were not completely comfortable with every colleague, they were at least colleagues.

Unfortunately, no evidence presently exists on how Donovan felt about her maverick status at Chicago, nor how her work was received initially or after revisions. What does exist, however, is Anderson's account of his great

insecurity when working away at a manuscript of The Hobo that no one saw before its completion. As a new Master's degree student, Anderson submitted his work to Ernest Burgess with great trepidation, only to be shocked by the news that Burgess had given it to Park, who immediately announced that it would be the first of the Sociological Series. Park knew he had an extraordinary document, an account of marginal man truly written from the inside out.

The Chicago School's faith in direct experience as scientific data was further put to the test in Anderson's case. The Hobo signified the empirical thrust of the department, one that was meant to be well integrated with theory. Anderson's master's orals, therefore, must have caused moments of uneasiness for both faculty and master's candidate. Anderson recalls:

Still, even after the publication of The Hobo when I was permitted to take the oral examination for my master's degree, I was not able to answer most of the questions put to me. Apparently, some of my answers must have amused the professors. When I was called back into the room for the verdict, Professor Albion Small pointed to the street, "You know your sociology out there better than we do, but you don't know it in here. We have decided to take a chance and approve you for your Master's degree."⁵⁷

Certainly the irony was not lost on Small, Park, or Burgess that one of their stars was strictly street-smart, rather than book-smart. However, the fact remains--they took the risk. They obviously regarded Anderson's empirical understanding of the world as crucial. Later as a Ph.D.

student, he no doubt acquired enough theory.

On another occasion Anderson refers to his fieldwork experience as a double process of simultaneously distancing himself and immersing himself in the world of hobos. Departing dramatically from the farming expertise his father had hoped he would acquire by going to school, Anderson, by entering sociology, made a flight into the thin air of scholarship and intellectual pursuits. Anderson therefore used his humble origins to transcend those origins:

While this method [participant-observation] was faithfully followed in my work, it was not in the usual sense of the term. I did not descend into the pit, assume a role there, and later ascend to brush off the dust. I was in the process of moving out of the hobo world. To use a hobo expression, preparing the book was a way of "getting by," earning a living while the exit was under way. The role was familiar before the research began. In the realm of sociology and university life, I was moving into a new role.⁵⁸

For the working class Anderson, fieldwork that was meant to legitimize hobo experience also legitimized his distance from that experience. Immersion one last time into a hobo world guaranteed his separation from that world forever in the form of a publication and credentials as a "trained intelligence," a professional sociologist. Anderson's post-note provides a further irony. Anderson's escape was not as complete as he would have liked. The publication of The Hobo "marked" him as much as validated his new identity: "The identity (of hobo) continued to mark me as something less than a fully accepted sociologist." Anderson had been such a

complete participant-observer that the academic world outside the Chicago sociology department could not fully separate the hobo from the intellectual. He notes poignantly in his 1975 autobiography that it was not until retirement that he received his first professorship at the University of Newfoundland, after being trapped in social service agencies for the previous forty years.

The case of Nels Anderson provides insight into Donovan's experience in sociology, and perhaps other Chicagoans' as well. For instance, Anderson's use of the hobo term "getting by" can be broadened and usefully applied to Donovan's fieldwork as a waitress, saleswoman and even teacher. To use Anderson's terms, Donovan used waitressing not so much as a "means of making a living" but as a means of exploring making a living "while the exit was underway." Donovan's exit was from a middle class marriage of status and economic security, made necessary by her husband's death. Her immersion into the world of waitressing, work that she deemed "the bottom of the ladder," was her first reevaluation of her identity as a single woman worker. The Saleslady follows The Woman Who Waits as Donovan's further means of escaping a narrowly defined role, in this case that of teacher. Finally The School Ma'am functions similarly to Anderson's Hobo: by Donovan's "immersion" in her own "social world" of teachers, she distances herself from it. As her former teaching colleagues indicate, The School Ma'am set Donovan apart as a "published author" and

furthermore, as a gadfly critic of her own profession.

Since various other Chicago graduate students were not children of the middle class, earning a graduate degree was often part of the process of social mobility. Professional credentials could go far in emancipating a person from the status associated with one's ethnic background or parents' occupations. Louis Wirth made his subject the ghetto, a place from which he and his family had escaped. Pauline Young's fluency in Russian, which influenced her decision to study a Russian sect, indicates her own East European origins. And E. Franklin Frazier, a Black, was to become the foremost scholar on American Black culture.

Actually, E. Franklin Frazier was a special case of marginality. Raised in a middle class family and given a good education (including studying under W.E.B. Dubois), Frazier's sociology was not a necessary ticket to social advancement. However, his lifelong dedication to scholarship on Black culture--108 publications in all--no doubt sprang from his own experiences as "marginal man." As one of Robert Park's favorite students of the 1920's, Frazier had learned that "distance" was crucial to getting at the truth of race relations in America. Throughout his career he was known as "a nonconformist, a protester and a gadfly . . . who risked condemnation from both a white and black world."⁵⁹ This was certainly the case with his most famous and controversial work, The Black Bourgeoisie, published in 1957. It was a condemnation of middle class Blacks who

practiced the "fakerie" of modeling themselves after the white elite. Frazier described this special group as "marginal" people who were accepted in neither a thoroughly white or black world. Writing as a longstanding chairperson of the Sociology Department at Howard University--then a bastion of the black middle-class--Frazier was asked why he had been such a harsh critic of the bourgeoisie. His reply was "Because I am a black bourgeoisie."⁶⁰

Certainly it is not a coincidence that the same department produced both a black sociologist who was gadfly to his own black social class, and a high school English teacher who was critic to her own profession. Both E. Franklin Frazier and Frances Donovan had the courage to turn social criticism upon their own group, believing that the best criticism might come from the inside. Frazier, a light-skinned black intellectual, popular amongst his white colleagues, examined the effects of slavery on African heritage and black pride. He had vividly experienced the cultural position of marginality--he also used it "scientifically"--to give him distance on black-white relations. Donovan also used her personal experience of being different (more intellectual and independent than her socialization called for) to provide her with the distance and closeness for studying other women, including herself.

The above is an attempt to provide what sociologists of knowledge or cognitive anthropologists call "the context of discovery."⁶¹ Until recently a notion prevailed in the

social sciences that the idiosyncrasies of person or circumstance had little or nothing to do with a researcher's findings. However, it has gradually become respectable to question the context of the discover-er, as well as the discover-y. Even the tenets of Freud, Marx and Levi-Strauss --considered by many to be "the truths" of modern social science--can be discussed profitably in terms of their author's personal response to social condition.⁶² In regard to the Chicago School, these connections are important not merely because they have recently become respectable; they may also add to the record a key factor in understanding the extraordinary power and productivity of the Chicago School.

THE CHICAGOANS: PUBLIC INTENTIONS

Where personal motives for doing Chicago sociology were hardly realized, public intentions were quite plain. The new professionals, the "trained intelligence," were self-consciously digging beneath surfaces, but of a national, rather than personal kind. The Chicagoans were attempting to penetrate the forces of change--in people and environments--that society simplistically categorized as "problems." The decade of the 1920's with its stereotype of carefree and liberating behavior was actually rife with tension. It was the same decade that brought to national politics the deep schism of urban versus rural values with Alfred E. Smith's presidential candidacy in 1928. It was also the

same decade that witnessed the Red Scare, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, race riots, Prohibition (with its aim to change the "alien" ways of immigrants) and restrictive immigration quotas that favored northern and western Europe.⁶³

Fears of subversive immigrants, blacks, and relaxed moral standards were associated with the rapid and seemingly uncontrolled growth of the city. The city "types" that the Chicagoans studied--hobos, saleswomen or dancehall girls--became negative stereotypes, emblems of all that threatened a middle class way of life. Observing these stereotypes at close range, the Chicagoans did more than render them human. They put them in new categories, outside ones of deviance or genetic deficiency. The Chicagoans' subjects became multi-dimensional characters in a complex drama of cultural change. The sociology department's "Green Bible," The Introduction to the Social Science of Sociology, (1921)--devoted many chapters to rapid social change which brought with it "crises." It argued that one of the best ways crises can be measured is by "marginal" people, those caught between the old and new ways: peasant families uprooted and living in urban ghettos; Negroes moved north; and women forced to become economically independent.

Breaking through these stereotypes with new categories, Chicagoans often brought a sense of wonder to their descriptions. As if freed from a narrow vision of people and environments, their view became panoramic. With almost a Whitmanesque spirit and a wide-angle lens, city life was

embraced rather than rejected. The actors on this city set, no longer one-dimensional deviants or misfits, became fascinating studies in cultural change--fascinating because their complexity lay beneath the surface:

Indeed, the color and picturesqueness of the city exists in the intimations of what lies behind the superficial contrasts of its life. How various are the thoughts of the individuals who throng up Michigan Avenue from the Loop at the close of the day--artists, shop girls immigrants, inventors, men of affairs, women of fashion, waitresses, clerks, entertainers. How many are their vocational interests; how different are their ambitions. How vastly multiplied are the chances of life in a great city, as compared with those of the American towns and European peasant villages from which most of these individuals have come. What plans, plots, conspiracies, and dreams for taking advantage of these chances different individuals must harbor under their hats.⁶⁴

The Woman Who Waits begins with this same sense of wonder. Donovan's panoramic view takes in the broad and fascinating variety of working women:

There is the high-salaried manager of a fashionable tea room the private secretary of a prominent lawyer, the office executive, the stenographer, the typist, and the little filing clerk; there is the saleslady, the shop girl, and the bundle wrapper; the masseuse, the chiropodist, the manicurist, and the lady barber; the boot and the shoe worker, the garment worker, the glove operator, the bindery woman.

Defining people in such distinctive ways, Donovan gives attention to waitresses previously dismissed as crass and promiscuous. She later transformed the salesgirl from a pathetic creature out of O. Henry's "Lick Penny Lover," as one reviewer of The Saleslady notes,⁶⁵ into someone independent, and upwardly mobile. Finally, her main intention

in The School Ma'am was to explore a most one dimensional character even turned caricature, the spinster teacher.

In the comic valentine of the nineties the school-ma'am was depicted in hard crude color as a tall, thin, slab-sided female, her scraggly hair brushed straight back from a high and bulging forehead and fastened with a single pin in a skimpy wad in the back of her head.

Her frock was dark and shapeless; her collar tight and high; her shoes broad and unimaginative. Her nose was long and pinched at the end; her eyes small and deep-set; her lips narrow and severe. Over her stomach she wore an apron of black sateen, and in her hand she held a brutal little switch, the sceptre with which she ruled her kingdom of helpless childhood. Underneath the picture was a verse--not always the same verse--but always doggerel that called her a crank and hurled at her the insulting epithet "Old Maid."

Comic valentines have disappeared with the horse and buggy, leg o'mutton sleeves, bearded men, and bustles, but the comic valentine picture of the woman school teacher remains as deeply ingrained in the minds of the American people as the Little Red Schoolhouse itself, which was painted that color because red paint was the cheapest. And the school-ma'am was accorded her numerical supremacy in the biggest enterprise in the United States for the same reason.

Scores of life histories follow that flesh out the school marm stereotype, explaining it, decrying it and correcting it.

At the same time that Chicagoans zoomed in to flesh out former stereotypes, they also stood back to formulate generalizations. Attention was paid marginal members of society not just because they were more individually interesting than their stereotypes, but because they operated as symbols much larger than themselves. Hobos, gang members, and waitresses were referred to as "pioneers" of a new code of values; taxi dance halls represented "in bold relief the

impersonality of the city;" And the ghetto was not just a Jewish problem; it was "the physical symbol for that sort of moral isolation, imposed in different ways, by many groups."

According to various prefaces of the Chicago Series, the new sociologists were not only struggling against stereotypes--but also against a total absence of information. In a formulaic way, each Chicagoan mentions that his/her study began with a perusal of all available materials on the subject. Their paucity, superficiality, or sensationalism rendered them inadequate. Thrasher, for instance, comments that literature on gangs had been "general and meager." Ernest Mowrer, in Family Disorganization (1927) reports that "Astonishing as it seems, except for a few impressionistic sketches in fiction, no picture (of the modern family) exists." Donovan says she searched in vain for more than statistics on both waitresses and saleswomen. No doubt with Emile Durkheim's renowned European study in mind, Ruth Cavan claims that there was no decent material on American suicides. What existed was "only a tendency to treat suicide statistically, with a neglect of life histories which are perhaps not so exact as statistics, but which give vastly more insight into, and understanding of, human nature." Furthermore, E. Franklin Frazier, in his introduction to The Negro Family, is more specific by saying that "with the exception of a 1908 monograph by W. E. Dubois (his mentor) and materials of an incidental nature appearing in local surveys, nothing existed on the Negro family life." (XIX)

At a time when "information overload" was hardly the problem in the social sciences, it is important not to underestimate the Chicagoans' sense of importance in providing information and insights that never existed before. Although the Chicago School constantly struggled to separate itself from direct reform policy, it nevertheless believed that the accumulation of data and theoretical explanations would enlighten reformers and indeed contribute to a better world. The Chicagoans were also confident that their perspective was very different--and superior--to anything done in the name of social reform. Paul Cressey, for instance, admits there was material on dance halls but it was "scanty and of little value, for what little is reported in the press, by social workers and by exploring visitors is colorful, but damning and shocking."⁶⁶

With the scorn anthropologists reserve for missionaries, the sociologists were quick to separate themselves from "meddling do-gooders" and righteous reformers. Ironically, later critics would associate the Chicagoans with just the romantic and class-bound interests they condemned in others. Nels Anderson described the hobo's rightful aversion to shallow reform measures, aimed at "turning individualists into conformists." Walter Reckless, in Vice In Chicago, blatantly referred to most reformers as "the forces of repression." Cressey talked of the stupidity and futility of organized campaigns, raids and lock-ups to curb what were "irrepressible and legitimate needs for urban recreation."

In railing against one misbegotten anti-dance hall crusade, Cressey articulates what Thomas Haskell defines as a world that had grown too complex for anyone but the social scientist to understand: "The typical pattern of reform has been a reaction to the external aspects of a situation without any real understanding of the social forces underlying its origin and growth," says Cressey.⁶⁷ And Harvey Zorbaugh, in Gold Coast and The Slum, giving a cursory history of social reform's "sentimental interests," mentions the Women's Clubs which had conducted tours in Little Hell, on Chicago's South side. They were "mere instructive slumming parties for society's socially minded during which large buses brought the Social Register into fleeting and horrified contact with the submerged truth."⁶⁸

The Chicagoans regularly condemned bourgeois attitudes toward urban problems. Yet, as critics note, they never directly attacked a larger socio-economic system of capitalism that perpetuated such gaps between rich and poor. In these terms it must be agreed that the Chicagoans were apolitical. The Chicagoans themselves, however, called this position scientific. Science or "value-neutrality" was their major weapon (or neutralizer) against the only "politics" of social reform that had previously existed--Christian salvation, elitism and sentimentalism.

As scientists, they believed their role was to define and categorize social processes--not social policy. For it was from "neutral" scientific data and theory that better policy

would come. In a "Methodological Note" to The Polish Peasant In America, a linchpin of Chicago theory, W. I. Thomas makes a distinction between "political" explanation (sentiment, bias, prejudice) and the universals of science: "Social theory as nomothetic science must be clearly distinguished from any philosophy of social life which attempts to determine the essence of social reality or to outline the unique process of social evolution."

However, for every impulse there seems a counter-impulse. As much as the Chicagoans attempted to keep their sociology free of direct policy making, many actively served on civic committees, associations and urban leagues. The Chicago Department of Sociology, from its inception under the leadership of Albion Small, had played a major advisory role in Chicago civic affairs.⁶⁹ Many works of the Sociology Series were funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, United Charities, the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago and the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. Also, graduate students who needed part-time or full-time work took positions with social service agencies or research councils. For instance, Paul Cressey was a caseworker for the Juvenile Protective Association as he gathered his material on closed dance halls.

Yet, neither affiliation nor funding necessarily proves that the Chicagoans' results are direct reflections of those with vested interest in social control. It also must be remembered that the University-trained professionals were a

new breed of problem-solver, often given deference by social agencies and reformers as the one hope for a world grown too complex. If the 1920's was a time of social upheaval, it was also a period of the greatest faith in the problem solving potential of the social scientists.⁷⁰ As Thomas Haskell makes clear, the end of the nineteenth century was marked by the realization that human behavior no longer could be explained in simple terms of good and evil or free will. With "the increasing pressure and density of social relationships," says Haskell, explanations of human behavior "receded from the obscure . . . to a realm of remote causation."⁷¹

A new kind of expertise--that of the professional social scientist--was needed to make sense of the interdependent forces that operated on people, institutions and social structure. Economic, ecological and sociological forces were now understood to entangle people in a web only the social theoreticians and engineers could understand.

Given this context, it is simplistic to dismiss Chicagoans as puppets of social control. As the new experts, the Chicagoans possessed scientific knowledge considered inaccessible to those non-experts (such as their funding agencies) who nevertheless craved it and believed in its healing powers. Furthermore, many studies were extensions of masters and doctorate theses, more likely to be meeting departmental standards, than those of an outside censor. One Chicagoan's sense of autonomy is indicated in a preface to The Taxi-Dance Hall, written by the Juvenile Protective Association which

provided funds for Cressey's study: "While our interpretation of the taxi-dance hall 'problem' may not coincide entirely with Mr. Cressey's this possibility does not make us less appreciative of the great contribution he has made." The contributions the Chicagoans finally made went far beyond any social agency's expectations.

Chicago Theory

The following section provides another important context for Frances Donovan's work. It places her studies within an intellectual tradition that gave shape and substance to most of the current subdivisions of contemporary American sociology. With the post-1930's interest in functionalist theory, some sociologists dismissed Chicago studies as "a dustbowl of empiricism"⁷² in which description sorely outweighed legitimate theory. However, within the last fifteen years the Chicago School has undergone a reappraisal. Looking past its detailed descriptions, many critics have acknowledged that the Chicago School has provided the impetus, if not the final definition, for areas of sociology such as "the family, criminology, race relations, social problems, social change, sociology of occupations, political sociology, social psychology and social psychiatry."⁷³

The breadth of the Chicago School's theoretical interests and its respect for historical as well as contemporary conditions make it a useful model of an interdisciplinary department. Their deep curiosity and enthusiasm for

discovering a modern world encouraged them to make connections more narrow disciplines could not. Rather than being threatened by anthropological, psychological or economic interpretations of social forces, Chicagoans attempted to incorporate them. For instance, at the heart of their inquiry into social reality was a respect for individual experience as well as structural theory. At one end of the spectrum they acknowledged the contribution literature could make to providing good empirical description; on the other they looked for the ways in which theoretical constructs like "social disorganization" could explain patterns of behavior.

This following section addresses itself to the major areas of Chicago theory: Urban Ecology, Social Organization and Social Psychology. It is important to understand the principles underlying all three areas because they often bear upon individual works of the Series. After the 1920's, certain Chicagoans did become associated with definite camps. For instance, Ernest Burgess and Louis Wirth were most clearly linked with urban ecology, while W. I. Thomas, Ellsworth Faris and later Herbert Blumer were considered scions of social psychology and symbolic interactionism. However, the 1920's was marked by its experimentation and broad embrace of many theories and each work of this early period may possess elements of Thomas' instinct theory, Burgess' ecological emphasis and Park's fascination with the spiritual nomad. This is certainly the case in Frances

Donovan's work.

It makes sense to begin with the least controversial of Chicago theories: Urban ecology. Over the years this theory has been remembered merely for its "mapping" strategy--the dividing of an area into cultural "zones" by means of a series of concentric circles. Actually, Urban ecology was much more complex. Working out an organic metaphor, Park and Burgess described a city as a "natural area" that had its own territorial as well as cultural organization.⁷⁴ This natural area functioned like a community in the sense "that it had a way of acting, setting up standards, defining aims and getting things done."⁷⁵ The idea that a physical location had a psychic unity as well as a spatial one is not unique to anyone today familiar with social theory. However, to the Chicagoans the linking of natural growth patterns to an urban environment was a totally new concept.

In fact, it refuted the generally held static view of a city as a simple creation of the people who resided in it. "Non-professional" reformers had operated under the shallow judgement that squalid environments were made that way by the poor, as were red light districts by depraved women. The notion that an environment acted upon its residents or that "zones" were often a function of socio-economic forces, provided an entirely new way of looking at the relationship between people and environment.

Urban ecology's influence is easily detected in the Chicagoans' work. Donovan's waitresses, for example, occupy

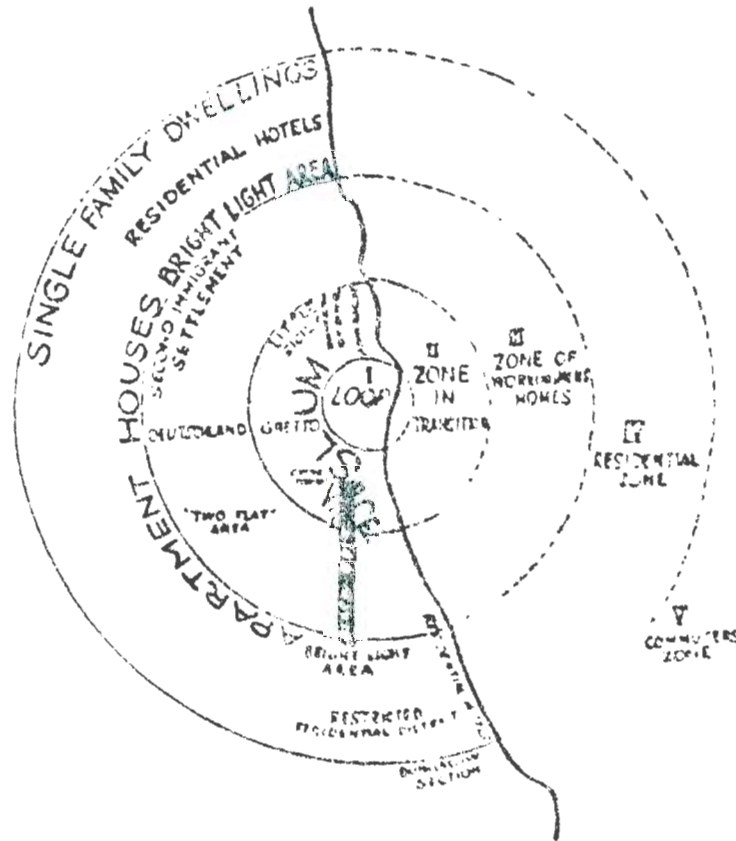
the world of the Chicago "Loop"--the innermost zone of the city which offers the most heterogeneity, intensity and cultural transition. "The Loop" affects waitresses' behavior through the rooms they rent, the congested space they occupy, and the kind of restaurants they work in. The "hash house" has a character of its own, as does the cafe. Later, in The Saleslady, the department store functions as a kind of community, setting up a code of conduct, establishing kinship networks and providing means for achievement of status or censure. For the various marginal actors of the Chicago Series--teen age gang members, prostitutes or hotel dwellers--the streets, saloons, dance halls or rented rooms became arenas, or theatres for their playing out of new roles.

The "mapping" or dividing of zones was also an attempt to find universal patterns amongst what seemed to be idiosyncracies indigenous to one area, or one city. A legitimate criticism of the Chicago maps has been that their alleged universal patterns of city growth did not hold up well, when matched against many other cities.⁷⁶ However, one must consider their efforts in context. Although the claims they made for their maps were too generous, they were willing to dissect a city in order to understand the complex forces at work.

Concentric circles were also a way of imposing order and meaning on a city environment that seemed uncontrollable and ominous. Congested areas that reeked of garbage and human misery, garish commercial districts and street corners that kept in contiguity aristocrats and newly arrived

immigrants--all seemed manageable, or at least capable of being understood when placed in the Chicagoans' tidy circles. Zorbaugh's anatomy of the city from Goldcoast and the Slum is a typical map offering comfort in its simplicity:

URBAN AREAS



Combining aspects of social psychology, the Chicago authors made connections between ecology, cultural behavior and societal change. The isolation of hotel living, for example, could cause deep depression; particular streets determined gang activity or membership; and confined space contributed

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to domestic violence.

Most Chicagoans, however, limited their theorizing on the interactions of people and an urban environment to explanations of marginal types and deviant behavior. Such an emphasis was understandable. The Chicago School had close ties to social agencies and community service groups through funding and consulting and it was eager to have its sociological knowledge applied to specific problem areas. Immigrants, blacks or anomic individuals were those "problems" most in need of understanding and "enlightened" social policy.

Frances Donovan, however, was freed from addressing herself specifically to marginal people upon which social policy focused. Donovan's peers, by their own accounts, were urged to investigate urban issues (and consequently people) which needed direct attention by, for instance, the Juvenile Protective Association or the Chicago Commission on Race Relations. Comparing the preface to The Saleslady (1928) with other Chicago Series studies published in the same two year period indicates subtle differences of audience and expectation. Introductory comments in The Gang (1927), The Ghetto (1928) and Suicide (1928) talk of crime in the streets, the mounting racial and religious prejudice, and the rising suicide rates as urban problems that need to be addressed immediately. These authors also reveal a sense of their own importance. It is assumed that their insights and data will be quickly fed to policy makers to improve

social conditions.

Such is not the case with The Saleslady. When Park calls her work "impressionistic" in the introduction, he implies that Donovan's data is her own experience and the record of that experience is not meant to provide solutions to "problems" as much as to explain a new way of life for women. There was no pressing problem of saleswomen cast adrift on city streets. Donovan was working with a larger issue than wayward girls or homeless men. She was dealing with permanent changes in sex roles. The marginality of women workers was hardly a question social agencies cared to address in 1929.

Due to Donovan's own "adventitious" position (a term W. E. Thomas used to describe women's condition of being "cut off" from society), she could afford to be a visionary. Instead of working with a marginal subgroup whose distance from middle class experience made a researcher's full identification impossible, Donovan studied women very much like herself and other women: those who enjoyed economic independence and a life outside the domestic sphere.

Her use of urban ecology illustrates one way in which she refashioned Chicago theory to suit her own purposes. Other Chicagoans frequently had to dwell on the socially undesirable connections between environment and human behavior simply because of the "disorganized" nature of their subjects. Donovan, at least in The Saleslady, did not. She could outrightly call the city "a woman's Camelot" and think of it in terms of "a natural area" for all women that

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was a theatre of total possibility, offering job opportunities, upward mobility and liberating life-style. In retrospect, Donovan's estimation of the transformative effects of city living for women was overly optimistic. However, once again the validity of her findings is not the main point. The issue is rather the way she does sociology as a "non-professional" maverick figure.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: A SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION PARADIGM

Social disorganization, one facet of the Chicago School's theory of social organization, was a focus of the 1920's studies. It also provides a focus for most criticism of the Chicago School.⁷⁷

The term "social disorganization" was first elaborated in William I. Thomas' and Florian Znaniecki's Polish Peasant In Europe and America (1921). They used it to describe the disruptive impact of life in a strange new environment, in this case that of Polish immigrants uprooted from a peasant culture to an urban and highly industrialized American one.⁷⁸ Their data was comprised of intimate and lengthy exchanges of family letters, life histories, newspaper and social agency accounts. These primary sources provide a fascinating and heart-rending documentation of social upheaval.

In Polish Peasant, Thomas and Znaniecki brilliantly organized masses of private emotion into public explanations. Letters of homesick Poles lamenting a lost sweetheart or a sibling's death in a factory, grieving parents scolding a

prodigal son in the new world--all became scientific data for scientific theories. Thomas and Znaniecki inform the reader that these are people suffering from a loss of "primary relations," or familial and local means of social control. In their place are "secondary relations": casual acquaintances, abstract legal authorities, and institutions which cannot penetrate these new urbanites' sense of anonymity. The common purpose and concerted action guaranteed by a small world disappear: autonomy, and, in some cases, "severe individualism" prevail.

Thomas and other Chicagoans consistently make clear that freedom from small town control and forced inhibitions was problematic, yet inevitable. Park's comments in a preface to Thomas' The Unadjusted Girl are typical of those found in other works of the Series: "The old community is no longer desirable" and it would "be neither possible nor desirable to restore it in its old form. It does not correspond with the present direction of social evolution and it would now be a distressing condition in which to live." 79

Actually, to the Chicagoans social disorganization was only a part of social process: after disorganization came reorganization. However, the Chicagoans were conscious of living in the midst of cultural crisis. Population explosion, mass communication, alienated individuals and groups demanded description, while the tranquil reorganization phase (to follow disorganization) still seemed inchoate.

The Chicagoans in general were inevitably preoccupied with the shattered "web of values" that had held people together and protected them from "the pain of thought."⁸⁰ They were also preoccupied with the most startling symbols of disorganization--the dramatic pioneers who lived on the farthest edge of civilization (in this case the innermost part of the city). The following description of the "world of furnished rooms" indicates how the Chicagoans used space as an objective correlative for the disorganized state of its occupants:

Such is the world of furnished rooms--a mobile, anonymous, individual world, a world of thwarted wishes, of unsatisfied longings, of constant restlessness; a world in which people, in the effort to live, are building up a body of ideas that free them from a conventional tradition that has become fixed, hard, and oppressive; a world in which individuation, so typical of the life of the city, is carried to the extreme of personal and social disorganization. People behave in strange and incalculable ways; quick and intimate relationships spring up in the most casual way, and dissolve as quickly and as casually. Behavior is impulsive rather than social. It is a world of atomized individuals, of spiritual nomads.⁸¹

The above description also serves as the stereotype of Chicago School's worst failings according to its critics: their depreciation of heterogeneity, their normative assumptions of what an organized culture was, and their tendency to dwell on the "pathological" aspects of social change.⁸² To some extent this is true. However, as those who have come to the Chicago School's defense in the last few years

have noted, social disorganization was originally a very useful tool for measuring cultural change. By giving attention and respect to disruptive social forces over which certain groups had little control, the Chicagoans departed from a unilinear perspective of the world as a predictable upward progression in which only inferior segments stayed the same or regressed.

Zorbaugh's description of furnished rooms reveals something further--an ambivalence regarding the effects of social disorganization. "The spiritual nomads" not only operate without the old codes, but they "are building up a body of ideas that free them from a conventional tradition that has become fixed, hard, and oppressive." They are challenging these codes and being confronted by "new operational meanings."⁸³

The debate on whether the Chicagoans were finally seeing diversity or deviance when they examined marginal groups has not ended. It is interesting, however, to discover that critics of either position never use as an illustration the work of Frances Donovan. It is an unfortunate omission, because her work offers a unique perspective through which one can examine the Chicagoans' meaning for social disorganization. Donovan worked with Park and Thomas around 1917 on her participant-observer's study of waitresses for which she received no funding or degree. (Certainly, no in-house publication could have been promised her, since the Chicago Sociological Series was not yet in existence.) Operating

outside these professional dictates, Donovan, unlike other graduate students of the 1920's, disguised herself as a member of the marginal group she chose to study. Living as a waitress, Donovan experienced what the Chicagoans called "social disorganization" first hand. Her responses to a "break-down" of old codes and her receptivity to the formation of new ones is, consequently, personalized and intensified. What other Chicagoans' felt at a greater distance, Donovan experienced intimately.

Using The Woman Who Waits to explore the Chicagoans' meaning of social disorganization is instructive. Donovan talks in the first person. She shows her shock and disgust at certain kinds of behavior and life-style. She makes clumsy attempts at theorizing. And she shows her genuine affection and admiration for women of another class. Not being on a professional track leading to a degree and credibility as a social scientist, Donovan has the license to respond directly to stimuli and to record those responses relatively unself-consciously without attention to objective, "scientific" language. Shorn of theoretical and methodological "distance," Frances Donovan reveals the basic strengths and weaknesses of the Chicago School regarding their use of the category social disorganization.

Donovan's position seems to be, finally, ambivalence regarding the losses and gains made for women in a twentieth century workplace. This ambivalence toward the reordering of an urban world is not unique to Donovan. As noted, other

Chicagoans expressed it as well. What distinguishes Donovan's work, especially The Woman Who Waits, from the others, is her ability to express these conflicted feelings in such an intense and personal way. When she distances herself from her subject matter she openly registers the shock of being thrown into an entirely different world:

There were about ten girls in the little basement room. They were putting on their aprons, combing their hair, powdering their noses, applying lipstick to their lips and rouge to their cheeks, all the while tossing back and forth to each other, apparently in a spirit of good-natured comradeship, the most vile epithets that I have ever heard emerge from the lips of a human being, and mingled with these were long oaths of obscene profanity,

It seemed at times that I must rush out anywhere to get away from it, that I could not endure it for another minute.⁸⁴

Donovan's early descriptions are written from the perspective of a middle class woman appalled by crude behavior and "raw" life stripped of its genteel veneer. However, the same role playing that forces her outside a largely protected world, allows her entry into one that she comes to appreciate as vital and challenging:

[The waitress's life] is full, full to overflowing with excitement and the fierce joy of struggle. It is the struggle that keeps her young. To go out into the world and grab from it the right to live in spite of the competition of youth is vastly more interesting than to make weekly pilgrimages to the beauty parlour . . . (or to) live the narrow, shut-in existence of the home cooking woman in utter ignorance of life in its nakedness and crudity.⁸⁵

The above descriptions reveal--in a way other studies of the Series do not--the Chicagoans' deep and conflicted attitudes toward "felt experience" that seems to lie outside middle class experience. A reviewer of The Woman Who Waits commented that Donovan was overly concerned with the waitress' sexuality.⁸⁶ If Donovan is overly concerned with sex it is because a waitress' uninhibited life style calls into question her own staid and protected one (especially as a new widow of a long term invalid). To Donovan, the waitress's life--one of bawdiness, economic (and independent) struggle and physical intimacy with friends became a symbol for what Donovan did not have. What she did have was what Christopher Lasch defines as "experiential deprivation."⁸⁷

The historian Lasch contends that within the radical intellectual impulse of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century there was a craving for a "religion of experience": "the intellectual in his estrangement from the middle class identified himself with other outcasts and tried to look at the world from their point of view."⁸⁸ This point of view was particularly appealing when bourgeois experience was perceived as vapid and far removed from "raw" experience.⁸⁹ Although Lasch never mentions the Chicago School specifically, he suggests underlying motives for political reform and literary innovation that also can pertain to the Chicago field studies:

One sees it in the vogue of literary naturalism; in muckraking journalism, with its celebration (under the guise of censure) of the

teeming life of the cities; in the assumption, common to both, that "reality" was at once sordid and romantic, dirty and unspeakably exciting--whatever in short was the antithesis of genteel respectability."⁹⁰

Park had been a muckraking journalist and the students whom he led into the field were readers of naturalist fiction. There are also stories of Park's and Thomas' late night excursions into the seamiest parts of Chicago. Certainly, the Chicagoans' close examination of hobos, gang members, prostitutes, or waitresses was to some extent a "walk on the wild side," a titillating brush with those who defied the law, the work ethic, and bourgeois codes of decency. Yet, it would be inaccurate to claim the Chicagoans' major motive for studying the marginal products of social disorganization was voyeurism. To the contrary, no previous group had been more seriously committed to developing a new social science antithetical to subjectivity and sentimentality.

However, an analysis of The Woman Who Waits and later The Saleslady brings into focus the vital role personal identification generally plays in studying a social group. Donovan's account of her role-playing, or her interaction with her subjects, allows the reader to see her emotional reaction to other social worlds, before her intellectual response. The ambivalence that other Chicagoans felt toward the effects of social disorganization is usually on the level of abstract social theory. (For example, another Chicagoan asks, can individuals practice self-control when

primary relations are missing?) Instead, Donovan's ambivalence is revealed through her immediate response to a conversation in a restaurant or a waitress' monologue in her rented room. The reader finally is asked to measure the losses and gains of urban life by observing the participants themselves--in the process of playing out "scenes" of their lives, observed and sometimes shared by Donovan herself.

As she unabashedly reports her aversions, she also can give final unqualified approval. At the end of The Woman Who Waits, for instance, she has so risen above her initial prejudices that she can see "the feminist movement embodied in a class of waitresses" who are the vanguard of all working women:

The emancipation of a group always involves a break-down of social order on the part of the individual and the society Just as in the Middle Ages the serf got his freedom with the development of the city, the woman is getting her freedom under the conditions which prevail in the modern city.⁹¹

Pursuing her special interest in women, Donovan takes the idea of social disorganization in a special direction. As dangerous and negative as she claims the world of waitressing is--for instance, through sexual exploitation or low wages--she still knows that within those risks of economic independence lay the only future for an emancipated woman.

Chicago researchers were indeed more open to accepting the integrity of marginal culture than any previous group

of reformers or intellectuals. However, there were limits to the kind of understanding they had. I would argue that the social disorganization of homeless men, prostitutes or gang members lay far outside professional male researchers' experience, so far that it never held the promise of a viable alternative lifestyle that the social disorganization of waitresses (and later saleswomen) did for Frances Donovan. Although Donovan could regard waitresses as crass or ignorant, they nevertheless embodied--more by necessity than choice--a sexual and economic independence that few women previously had experienced. When Donovan waitressed in 1917-18, women were not allowed the vote (let alone tenured positions in sociology). As a girl, Donovan had rebelled against the narrow prescriptions of a middle class female's role that dictated she marry rather than attend college. Later, as a former teacher and a Montana architect's wife, Donovan observed first-hand the sheltered existence of privileged women. Widowhood freed Donovan to experience independence once more. She was therefore sensitive to drastic changes in culture that loosened the constraints on women's behavior. As she saw it, these changes, deemed social disorganization, would lead to women's freedom. To other male Chicagoans the role of hobo, criminal, or mental patient could not have offered to the same degree a new or preferable social role.

Like Donovan, her colleague Nels Anderson had a close identification with the subjects of social disorganization

studied. His identification was complete: he had been a hobo and was studying hobos. As noted earlier, Anderson recalls feeling alienated from graduate student colleagues. Despite other students' deep involvement with red light districts, hotels and police precincts, Anderson sensed from their comments they could not quite understand the degree of Anderson's identification and the kind of experience he was having in the field. Anderson--by being his subject matter--had understandably surpassed the degree of empathy of which other Chicagoans were capable. So did Frances Donovan. Not only did she role-play, she also identified with them as embodying the future of all women. Waitresses revealed the challenge and risk of the journey toward women's economic independence. Later, saleswomen became the economically independent woman with less risk and more upward mobility. It is only The Saleslady, written during the same period as The Ghetto, The Gang and Suicide, that highlights social re-organization. Donovan's account of saleswork is admittedly overromanticized. But she attempted to look past a "social disorganization" paradigm--and was successful.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

The last area of Chicago theory that provides a fruitful context for Donovan's work is social psychology. Like urban ecology and social organization theories, social psychology attempted to maintain a delicate balance between the influence of outside forces versus those of free will

as an explanation of human behavior. Around the turn of the century, W. I. Thomas, under the influence of Charles Cooley and George Herbert Mead, worked out a primitive theory of personality which he labeled "the four wishes." He claimed that a "desire for security, for new experience, response and recognition" were those "universal needs" which operated in all cultural situations. The four wishes appeared initially in Thomas' Sex and Society in 1907. They are incorporated in The Woman Who Waits, as clear evidence that Donovan had been a Chicago sociology student before the 1920's. At one point Donovan says of waitresses: "There is not much that is complex about the waitress, and her behavior can easily be reduced to the two fundamental appetites of food hunger and sex hunger."

By 1923 Thomas had abandoned the remnants of instinct theory and in The Unadjusted Girl began to work with an explanation for human action he termed "the definition of the situation." Simply stated, Thomas claimed that a person made decisions and took action based on his/her understanding of reality. This understanding or "definition" was a subjective one, based on social conditioning, which included "common social elements" and "elements unique to an individual's life history." Such early speculation on the subjective interpretation of reality places Thomas and his followers at the forefront of some of the most interesting work presently being done in social theory.

Symbolic interactionism, with its semantic origins credited to a 1938 essay by the Chicagoan Louis Blumer, has been the most controversial extension of Chicago's early work in social psychology.⁹² Including in its camp, Erving Goffman, a Chicagoan, and Peter Berger, a theorist of the Sociology of Knowledge, symbolic interactionism has been the inspiration for major ideas on the social construction of reality.⁹³ As its chief critics, Freudians and Marxists have claimed that such theories place too little emphasis on the conditions over which people have little control and that in the process of exploring a human's symbol-making powers, he/she is given too much personal responsibility for determining the quality of life.

W. I. Thomas more than fifty years ago grappled with the same question. The Unadjusted Girl is a sympathetic examination of young women who in various ways have broken with conventional norms. Thomas explains that these were females torn from their moorings. Living in cities as anonymous figures, they had been stripped of the natural social control of primary relations. Denied the "security, recognition and experience that came as a group member," these women operated on the basis of "extreme individualism." Thomas, Park, and certainly Frances Donovan recognized that the world had changed when people could make a "personal schematization of life . . . determining one's own behavior norms."⁹⁴ They also knew that statistics and surveys weren't sufficient for understanding what these individual

interpretations of life were. Only in-depth interviews, life histories, and astute observation of "ordinary life" could bring them close enough to the social and personal forces at work.

Donovan's most intriguing contribution is in this area of social psychology. Her unconventional method of disguised participant observation and her final choice to study her own group of teachers enables Donovan to make connections between culture and personality that other authors of the Series do not. Once again, Donovan's work can be seen as the model of the weaknesses, strengths and more importantly, the potential of Chicago theory. Her contribution to social psychology is two fold: her unique approach to acquiring "emic" knowledge, or understanding of her subjects from their point of view, and her sense of social interaction as drama.

Many of the Chicago Studies echo what Park learned from Georg Simmel: that there were clearly defined roles assigned to men and women in the "drama" of culture, but that there was also room for rebellion, alienation or assertion of individual personality despite these roles.⁹⁵ Anderson, in The Hobo, the first work of the Series, divides hobos into different role categories such as "the professional gamblers," "the drifters," and "the peddlers". Thrasher, throughout his study of gangs, refers to their city turf as a "theatre" or "arena" on which group and individual identities are played out and where status, forms of recognition and control

are won and lost. Cressey, too, is fascinated by the dance hall as "a drama" in which men and women play out sexual roles as "conqueror," "overnight date" or "isolated stranger," vying for romance and socio-economic gain.

In a key footnote, Cressey credits Frances Donovan with providing him his key concept of a "sex game" (which is also a chapter subheading). Cressey borrows Donovan's term to describe the ways in which women use their sexuality to procure status, money or other desired favors. Donovan uses the term in this same way to define the sexual politics of waitressing: the means by which waitresses ingratiate themselves or accept sexual invitations from male customers for financial gain. Using their beauty or charm, they gain control over social or economic circumstances.

Donovan's role-playing as waitress unwittingly brought her into direct contact with Thomas' vision of reality as socially constructed and Park's theories on social roles. Donovan's own narrative indicates that by donning a waitress' uniform, she knew herself to have entered another world and that she had a new part--indeed many new parts--to play. As "Fanny" the waitress, she accepted food orders from surly men and ignored sexual overtures from more friendly ones. She became a confidante to girls flaunting their promiscuity and a "tough cookie" to bullying employers--all the while hiding her middle-class, mid-western teacher identity. Possibly such role-playing made Donovan understand vividly,

and for the first time, how women are defined by occupation, appearance, association and many other factors outside the ones they consciously communicated.

Donovan's uniform came to stand for the difference between self-perception and public perception. There could be no better place to learn of these distinctions than in a restaurant. She calls "eating a ceremony in which the waitress plays an important role." With mostly male city workers as customers, waitresses in 1917 performed a female service for strangers that was once performed by women for family members. The men still searched for this intimacy: they liked to confide in a waitress, flirt with her, and believe that she was a real friend. Yet Donovan was very aware that the waitress' intimacy was feigned for self-interest. "You've got to jolly the customers," she reports: consent to pleasantries, listen to private confessions and accept compliments (and insults) graciously. However, the role was an ambiguous one: there was some point at which a waitress' amiability turned into "loose behavior" that led to her acceptance of lewd comments and indecent proposals verging on prostitution. A waitress in Donovan's mind clearly symbolized women's universal courting of men's favor and their need to play multiple roles to meet male expectations. An old waitress was good for nothing "when her looks are gone" and pretty waitresses got the bigger tips. In short, women's economic success was determined by her image in men's eyes.

Yet, regardless of this dangerously close contact with men and her cynical discoveries, Donovan admits to the excitement of the restaurant "drama". For instance, she talks of the thrill of "getting the jump on the customer"--a situation in which a seemingly docile and obliging waitress manipulates her customer into accepting any kind of food service she chooses to dish out. Such a simple anecdote reflects a sophisticated sense of role theory. In fact, Donovan paints a picture of role distance that Erving Goffman directly refers to in The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (as does Peter Berger indirectly in An Invitation to Sociology). Donovan learns first-hand that a separate self-definition outside the culturally determined one of waitresses as promiscuous and crude is essential. In fact, she taps an occupational "identity" problem that still adheres to waitresses today.⁹⁶ Recent first-hand accounts by waitresses reveal the social stigma still attached to the occupation, as well as the imputation that waitresses are promiscuous and welcome invitations from customers.

Donovan further extends her connection between work roles and sex roles in The Saleslady. She investigates a second position of female service. However, the conditions have changed somewhat. Instead of taking part in an urbanized version of a traditional eating ceremony, women are at the center of a twentieth century one--the "consuming" ceremony in which people are coaxed and flattered into buying

what they do not essentially need. Whereas in 1917 the majority of working women were unskilled (most notably, waitresses), by 1928 a burgeoning service economy had redistributed the work force. Most women were in sex-segregated positions. By 1930 more than two million women were employed as secretaries, typists and file clerks, while another 700,000 worked as salesgirls in department stores.⁹⁷ As the historian Mary Ryan points out in Womanhood in America, the "selling game" became an extension of the "sex game." With the rise of advertising in the late 1920's, it was understood that youth, beauty and sexual appeal sold good which promised attractiveness and status.

Once again, Donovan is a masked actor in an intricate play. The Saleslady makes the drama metaphor explicit: "The store is a great theatre, the customers are the audience, the selling force the actors, the non-selling force and the managers are the stage hands and scene-shifters."⁹⁸ Here, again, she describes women in their work identities compelled to operate on different levels of consciousness for "the audience" and "stage hands." As waitresses hide behind their "service" demeanor, so, too, do saleswomen mask their "astute powers of judging human behavior." Donovan watches saleswomen watching women, as they try on clothes, revealing vanity, ignorance or good will.

Donovan notes that women played "the sex game" in order to gain subtle means of power and control in a basically powerless situation. The saleswomen's enactment of the

"customer's game" (another play within a play) was created for similar reasons. "played at every opportunity it is a game which for caricature and comedy, has never been surpassed on any stage," says Donovan. One employee takes the role of customer and mimics various customers' vain, haughty or ignorant traits, while another saleswoman uncanonically imitates the mannerisms of another colleague who is usually watching. Erving Goffman, in his Presentation of Self In Everyday Life, specifically cites the customer game of The Saleslady as an example of "communication out of character"--which allows, in this case, saleswomen to maintain their "group solidarity" in the face of what might be "a loss of self-respect."⁹⁹ As a symbolic interactionist, Goffman recognizes that Donovan is sensitive to the symbolic aspects of social interaction.

Nevertheless, one reviewer of The Saleslady observed that it was finally a distorted picture of saleswork.¹⁰⁰ Donovan makes such claims as "Woman is happier here than anywhere" and she [the salesgirl] get more satisfaction out of life than any other group." Actually, judging store life by two summer stints in Saks Fifth Avenue and Macy's hardly made Donovan's study representative. The majority of "shop-girls" remained overworked and underpaid in less prestigious stores across the country.¹⁰¹ However, Donovan's overenthusiastic depiction of saleswork as "full of drama" and offering women endless possibilities of economic independence, upward mobility, and a social life must be viewed in context.

Unlike waitressing, which was work of the "underclass" (regardless of its liberating aspects), saleswork was the only viable profession for women that Donovan had ever witnessed first hand, except teaching. Where a "school ma'am" was "always under the restraint of the public eye" and forced to conform to conservative mores, the "sales-lady" was free to obey her own code as a single woman and, moreover, continue to work after marriage.

Once again Donovan's relative accuracy in recording the reality of women's work is not as important as her unique interest in the dynamics of the workplace. If, for instance, she exaggerates the good conditions and excitement of a sales woman's life, she nevertheless focuses on the ways in which a woman's occupation defines her freedom and transforms her personality. In the case of saleswork, Donovan observed with astonishment that such factors as a wide exposure to customers, good clothes, a paycheck and a stimulating and heterosexual social network gave females an independent spirit and a set of personal goals that she had not witnessed before. Donovan's life as a teacher did not hold that possibility for freedom and excitement and her revelation that another "lesser profession could, caused her to see saleswork in a conspicuously favorable light.

Donovan's attention to sex role changes through work role changes certainly put her outside typical feminist concerns of the day. Until the passing of the nineteenth

amendment these concerns had been mostly political. When The Saleslady was published in 1929, America was closely observing the immediate effects of female suffrage. Contemporaries and later historians looked at national voting patterns, short skirts, and a flapper fad as indicator that little had altered with the vote. What they did not examine were the individual changes experienced by women that lay outside the public roles of flapper or suffragists.¹⁰² These changes were deep and permanent and it took an unconventional sociologist like Frances Donovan to detect them in unconventional places--specifically the workplace. Trained by Park and Burgess, Donovan came to understand the interplay of work, environment, and personality. Learning about the new and dramatic roles played out on vibrant and disorderly stages of city streets, Donovan applied this sociological knowledge to women's workplace, an arena of cultural change that Donovan knew affected women in drastic ways.

The School Ma'am, published in 1939, provides Donovan with her third and last stage on which women act out their parts as workers. Unlike waitressing and sales which Donovan depicts as a means of escape from the constraints of a narrowly defined sex role, teaching represents them. As Donovan notes with irony, the school marm epitomizes all women's condition. She is given "the most sacred duty" as mother of all America's children while she is treated as a "second class citizen" in terms of salary, promotions and basic civil rights.

Although not published by the Chicago Sociological Series, The School Ma'am is the most "scientific" of Donovan's three works. Full of statistics, surveys and footnotes, it gives a historical background to the teaching profession and offers socio-cultural and psychological explanations of teachers and their institution with each chapter. Nevertheless, Donovan's preoccupation is still with a woman's sexuality as determined by her work identity. Donovan's description of the school marm stereotype, as "a tall, thick slab-sided . . . crank", captures her personal bitterness at being in a role that denies a woman's sexuality.

Donovan thus made the journey from the uninhibited sensuality of waitressing, to the moderate blend of freedom and social control in saleswork, to teaching--representing nearly absolute social control. As a 20-year veteran of the classroom, Donovan was sensitive to the contrary messages she had received there. The same culture that narrowly limited her own life style and asked that she serve as a model of propriety to her students also demanded that she inspire them, and elicit from them spontaneity, creativity and intellectual integrity. Donovan commented that to work at such cross-purposes--to function as a repressor and stimulator--makes some teachers' "neurotic" behavior quite understandable.

She also examined numerous factors--both individual and cultural--that contribute to the willing or reluctant

participation in a sex role that is also a work role. Why teachers don't marry, or why they become the stereotype they despise is a complex question with answers lying in individual case histories as much as school board dictates. According to a 1930 census, 77.3% of teachers were single, while another educational study indicated that 76% of school systems questioned refused to accept married women in the classroom.¹⁰³ Teaching, then, for Donovan served as a classic example of how human behavior and personality were directly affected by the codes of certain occupations.

Park, in his introduction to The Saleslady, had emphasized that occupational changes were tied to a changing culture and that where "the old tribal and local organization of life is everywhere in the process of dissolution, a new and different social and moral order based upon occupational association [takes] its place." Park further indicated that sociology had a responsibility to look at work in a new way: "the occupations have been studied heretofore mainly as an economic phenomenon, as one of the incidents to the production and distribution of goods and services," and not as a means of shaping or reshaping personality and culture.

Surprisingly, Frances Donovan was the only Chicagoan who pursued connections between personality, culture, and a specific occupation. She was also the only one to investigate the sexual dynamics of the workplace. Her studies make up a unique investigation of the way in which work defines

sexuality--as "raw arena" for "crude flirtation", as a counter behind which attractive women sell wares and buy their security, or as sterile classroom in which a female can be denied passion and heterosexual contact.

Donovan touched on the issues of sexual politics and work that are still unexplored.¹⁰⁴ She might have done so because she operated with a certain freedom to do her field work intensely, more than scientifically. By living out roles (alternative to teaching) that were fascinating, painful and exhilarating, she could not dismiss occupation as only an economic phenomenon. The restaurant, the dress department, and the classroom were key theaters in which Donovan observed first hand the effects of a work environment on a woman's behavior and social identity.

The second aspect of Chicago social psychology discussed here is their emphasis upon "emic" understanding, or the meanings individuals impart to their world. Based on work done by George Herbert Mead, John Dewey, William James and W. I. Thomas, the Chicagoan's approach was characterized by a concern for actors' interpretations or meanings. Consistent with the Chicago School's interest in emic knowledge was their use of life histories, oral interviews, and other means of close observation that allowed them entry into different social worlds. The early Chicagoans had an aversion to statistics, surveys, and pure theory unconnected to empirical evidence. They believed these tools alone could not adequately portray the new subculture which had

arisen in urban areas.

Beginning with Thomas and Znaniecki's Polish Peasant in America volumes, largely composed of personal letters, followed by Thomas' The Unadjusted Girl, which primarily drew on personal testimony from a Yiddish newspaper, the Chicago School set a precedent for describing groups in what they deemed "neutral terms." As studies of the Chicago Series indicate (and as Donovan's work epitomizes) absolute neutrality eluded them. However, in their understanding of the term, they did attempt to operate without the religious, racist, or deterministic explanations that prevailed in their day.

To them neutrality also meant a separation of political ideology from sociological theory and description. According to some critics, the Chicagoans' neutrality meant condoning capitalist exploitation and refusing to censure the established institutions that were responsible for poverty, ghettos and crime. To some extent this is true. The Chicago School felt the same subtle pressures to stifle radical political criticism for the sake of professional security and scientific credibility that other departments felt.¹⁰⁵

However, their neutrality can be viewed in another way. As noted earlier, their naïve and imperfect attempt to separate description from theoretical or ideological considerations can be seen as a break-through. For the first time, subjects could speak for themselves and be defined in their own terms, outside normative explanations. People put in

categories of deviance without their consent were given their own voices. The words of immigrant Russian girls poignantly capture their sexual longings, teen gang members describe their street pride, taxi-dance hall girls define in slang terms their variety of male customers. In their own words their thoughts and behavior are rendered merely human, rather than deviant. More than a blindness to reality, neutrality to the Chicagoans meant an opening up to reality--encouraging in them a new respect for social systems apart from the mainstream middle class. Neutrality also allowed them to enter "deviant worlds . . . in some ways which have never been surpassed."¹⁰⁶ Cressey's description of a dance hall, previously considered a den of iniquity or the site of the next raid, indicates the new ways Chicagoans attempted to see subcultures as unique social systems:

(A dance hall) . . . "has a distinct social world, with its own ways of acting, talking and thinking. It has its own vocabulary, its own activities and interests, its own conception of what is significant in life, and--to a certain extent--its own scheme of life"¹⁰⁷

"From the outside all deviants look alike" states the sociologist David Matza¹⁰⁸ referring to present ethnic prejudices. This certainly was the case in the early twentieth century. However, Chicagoans tried to get inside so-called deviant worlds to penetrate this sameness. For example, Pauline Young's Russian peasants were considered bizarre creatures and "dismissed as clannish, ignorant, refusing to mix." At a time when full Americanization was

insisted upon, Young spent hundreds of pages in pilgrim of Russian Town detailing their attitudes, predicaments, and belief system. In an introduction to her work, Park notes, "She knew Russian, but also . . . she was able to penetrate into the inner sanctum of Molakanism. This had enabled her to perform, for the Russian sectarians themselves and for the American public, a task that neither could well perform for themselves." Authors of the Chicago Series all entered deviant worlds with different degrees of sympathetic involvement and identification. There certainly were differences of "distance," for instance, between Ruth Cavan's study of suicide victims' case histories from social agencies and Frances Donovan's role playing. However, each study attempts an insider's view of a "problem" or "problem group" never seen from the inside before. By so doing, there is a "general loosening of intellectual and emotional ties to the middle class, and middle class norms."¹⁰⁹

Loosening these ties meant breaking down the barriers between normal and abnormal. When Thomas referred to the reputation of the unadjusted girl as a "deficient type," he claimed his goal was "to erase the line between normal and abnormal, for only then can one see the connection between [in this case] women considered deviant and more conventional women who harbor the same repressed desires for freedom, longing for sexual satisfaction, for independence, for anonymity"¹¹⁰ E. Franklin Frazier redefined the Negro family as typical of any uprooted group,

rather than a problem of race. Frederick Thrasher in The Gang drew parallels between teenage working class gangs and college boys, crime and corporate life. Ruth Cavan pointed out in Suicide that "the normal person who committed suicide was overlooked as though the popular prejudice were indeed that suicide is ipso facto proof of abnormality." (preface)

Donovan's perceptions of waitresses, saleswomen, and teachers reflect this idea that normal and abnormal categories overlapped. Through her training, she was open to viewing the lowly waitresses as the vanguard for all working women, and the pathetic "shop girls" as professional role model. Finally, in a reverse way she was able to look beneath the surface of the most "normal" of groups, the school teachers, to find elements of "personal disorganization" brought on by social forces over which they had little control.

Donovan's emphasis in The School Ma'am is on the negative ramifications of living out the sterile sex role stereotype. Donovan cites the testimony of one student to convey the insidiousness of a teacher's stereotype that denies her humanity: "I looked upon a teacher as either a goddess or devil. I could not visualize her as a human being experiencing the sorrows or enjoying the pleasures of an ordinary person."¹¹¹ With such a focus Donovan once again takes a tenet of Chicago sociology in a new direction. In all three of her studies she does what the Chicagoans consistently do: make intelligible a formerly misunderstood

group. However, by using school teachers as the misunderstood group, she redefines the concept of a social problem. Instead of determining social or mental disorganization by standards of the culture at large (who deem hobos or wayward girls a problem--not teachers), Donovan turns this process of labeling deviance inside out. By having the insiders, in this case the teachers, identify the problem it is relocated in the culture at large--not themselves. Donovan is therefore the one Chicagoan to investigate a group that society has categorized in conforming, seemingly ideal terms. By revealing (among other factors) the unfairness of "enforced celibacy" or low social status, Donovan broadens the definition of prejudice and social stigma.

In a sense Donovan can be viewed as a precursor of C. Wright Mills. She was the one Chicagoan to claim that the destructive elements of middle class life were just as worthy of investigation as those of the underclass.

Her case history of a Hope Gray, for example, includes Gray's own words for the hidden miseries of women who become "queer" due to the persistence of Puritan notions of female sacrifice and sexual inhibition embodied in the teaching profession:

I have lived a studious, lonely life. I've been constantly on the move, have lived, as well as taught, in many different states, and that I believe is the reason why I have never been well acquainted with any men. . . . There is nothing holy about living a life of socially enforced celibacy. It is absurd, unjust, and diabolically cruel that thousands of healthy women should have their natural passions repressed for a lifetime.¹¹²

Although Donovan never identifies herself as repressed or lonely as a single or widowed woman, her best and most moving accounts are of sexually deprived women. There is no doubt that her personal position as single and widowed enhances her insight into this prevailing stereotype of the spinster teacher.¹¹³

Another way the Chicagoans sought an "emic" understanding of their subjects was to render them "naming power." Chicagoans such as Nels Anderson, Frederick Thrasher, and Paul Cressey included in their studies lists of slang terms that their subjects used to classify and define their worlds. For instance, Anderson's lengthy lists of terms from a hobo's argot, including words like "flapper," "moocher," "stuffy," and "dummy", indicate how these homeless men differentiate roles and make explicit the rules and rewards of their own socially constructed realities. Anderson's intent to depict a hobo's world from a hobo perspective bears a strong resemblance to that of the anthropologist, James P. Spradley, in his classic study of skid row men called You Owe Yourself A Drunk (1970). Written more than fifty years later, Spradley's work exceeds Anderson's in its theoretical sophistication and methodology employed to get at the meanings of a group dismissed as socially disorganized and meaningless. However, Anderson's work, as well as other Chicagoans', does provide a precedent for Spradley's effort at obtaining cognitive knowledge. These studies are also a precursor to a contemporary trend in social history. Led by such historians

as Herbert Gutman and Eugene Genovese, the trend emphasizes the integrity and solidarity of subcultures rather than their destruction at the hands of dominant cultures. Fortunately, after years of neglect, some scholars are starting to give credit to the Chicago School for their very early attempts at describing culture from the participants' point of view.¹¹⁴

If the Chicago School's contribution to social theory or social history has been dismissed, certainly Frances Donovan's particular contribution has. Even those presently interested in resurrecting the Chicago School never mention Donovan's studies as proof of the School's prescience. A central impulse of Chicago sociology was emic understanding. Florian Znaniecki, W. I. Thomas' collaborator in The Polish Peasant In Europe And America, sums up this position by saying "What we know about reality we know only by experiencing it . . . there is only one way of experiencing an object: it is to observe it personally."¹¹⁵ Thomas Meisenhelder's article, "Sociology and New Journalism" in the Journal of Popular Culture (Summer 1977) is a prime example of the new attention paid the Chicago School's empirical work--and a prime example of how this attention is less than fully adequate with no mention of Frances Donovan. Drawing parallels between New Journalists like Hunter Thompson and Norman Mailer and the 1920's graduate students of Park and Burgess, Meisenhelder comments: "The Chicagoans went out into the streets, alleys and hotels of their city. They did

as Herbert Gutman and Eugene Genovese, the trend emphasizes the integrity and solidarity of subcultures rather than their destruction at the hands of dominant cultures. Fortunately, after years of neglect, some scholars are starting to give credit to the Chicago School for their very early attempts at describing culture from the participants' point of view.¹¹⁴

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not detach themselves from their subjects; rather they lived their research." However, Meisenhelder uses Nels Anderson as his only example of a researcher who lived among his subjects, and Paul Cressey as the next most involved researcher because he actually "hired informants" to go into the dance halls to obtain for him his data. Surely Meisenhelder's argument would have been bolstered by mentioning a maverick Chicagoan who lived a waitress' life and a saleswoman's life for her data; who did more than record the testimony of participants, but instead became one; who not only provided detailed descriptions of people and environments, but included in the narrative her own interaction with them.

Meisenhelder further claims that the New Journalists distinguished themselves from the Chicagoans by the "reflexivity" in their research: "That is, the New Journalist often includes himself or herself in the story." The implication is that the Chicagoans did not. As in the case of other critics, Meisenhelder studied only the well known publications of the Series written by those who went on to become professional sociologists. Meisenhelder therefore missed a valuable insight: that a marginal figure to the discipline could push the process of observation farther, to include intimate and even disguised participation.

Another logical consequence of reflexiveness is that the author's identity becomes as important a focus as his/her subject matter. Furthermore, what the research does to the

researcher becomes a key issue. The scholars knowledge of deviant world tends to subvert the "correctional conception of pathology." Simply put, the more intimately one knows individuals, the more empathy one has for them. There is no question that the Chicago Series reflects varying degrees of acquired sympathy. Donovan's work is a prime example of an author's extreme identification. Yet her studies also epitomize the complexities of determining whether the researcher is perceiving his/her subjects as products of different, but no less respectable, cultures or simply social disorganization.

James Carey has been particularly interested in the question of the Chicagoans' openness to seeing diversity rather than pathology while doing their "objective" investigations of American subcultures. Carey discovered in his study of Chicago publications that "curiously, those most faithful to the reality they were portraying were those who were least involved in the professional world of the sociologist, those who had the least to lose."¹¹⁶

Unfortunately, Carey cites no other example except that of Nels Anderson. And as he testifies in a personal letter, he did not consider Frances Donovan in his research. However, whether or not he referred to Donovan is finally immaterial. His theory is nevertheless best borne out in her work. No Chicagoan was "less involved" in professional sociology or had less to lose than Frances Donovan. And certainly no one else took such a risk in establishing intimacy with her subjects.

NOTES

Chapter Three

1 Donald Meyer, The Positive Thinkers: The American Quest for Health and Wealth (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1965), p. 153.

2 C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959).

3 David Earl Southerland, "Who Now Reads European Sociology? Reflections on the Relationship Between European and American Sociology," Journal of the History of Sociology, I (Fall 1978), p. 39.

4 James Short, ed. Introduction, The Social Fabric of the Metropolis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. xliv.

5 John Madge. The Origins of Scientific Sociology (New York: Free Press, 1962), p. 110; see also Edward Shils, The Present State of Sociology (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1948), pp. 1-12. Shils sees only the descriptive merits of the 1920's studies, asserting that "they never became science" (p. 11); see Shils' The Calling of Sociology (1955) for an argument that good sociology "did not begin until the 1940's."

6 Meyer, p. 152.

7 The following works address (to varying degrees) aspects of the Chicago School's elitism: Ernest Becker, The Lost Science of Man (New York: George Braziller, 1971); Vernon Dibble, The Legacy of Albion Small (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975); Robert Friedrichs, A Sociology of Sociology (New York: The Free Press, 1975); Alvin Gouldner, The Coming Crisis in Western Sociology and Objectivity: A Book, (1970); Mary O. Furner, Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of the Social Sciences (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975); Charles H. Page, Class and American Sociology: From Ward to Ross (New York: Dial Press, 1940); Julia and Herman Schwendinger, Sociologists of the Chair: A Radical Analysis of the Formative Years of North American Sociology, (1883-1922), (New York: Basic Books, 1974).

8 See William E. Leuchtenberg, The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-1932 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

⁹ James Carey (quoting B. Karl in "The Power of Intellect and the Politics of Ideas" in Daedalus (Summer, 1968), in Sociology and Public Affairs: The Chicago School Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1975), p. 119.

¹⁰ Henrika Kuklick, "A Scientific Revolution: Sociological Theory in the United States, 1930-1945," Sociological Inquiry 43 (1973), p. 17.

¹¹ Carey, p. 114.

¹² See Dorothy Ross, "Socialism and American Liberalism: Academic Social Thought in the 1880's," Perspectives in American History XI, (1977-78), pp. 7-79, for an excellent assessment of the failure of the Protestant reform tradition to cope with the "historical crisis" of late nineteenth century America.

¹³ Mary O. Furner, Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865-1905 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975), p. 1.

¹⁴ Morton G. White, Social Thought in America: The Revolt Against Formalism (1947; rpt. Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), p. 12.

¹⁵ Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962)

¹⁶ Vernon K. Dibble, The Legacy of Albion Small, p. 1-12

¹⁷ Thomas L. Haskell, The Emergence of Professional Social Science (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977). Haskell uses the American Social Science Association (1865-1909) as a paradigm for urban-industrial transformation. Through the demise of the ASSA he attempts to measure the nineteenth century crisis of professional authority and the growing persuasiveness of the social science mentality. Haskell credits disruption in the ASSA to social forces, technological change and the end of what his mentor, Robert Wiebe called "island communities" in exchange for a new interdependence. Another Wiebe protégé, Mary O. Furner, takes issue with Haskell. In Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of the Social Sciences, (1865-1905) Furner sees the ASSA's problems as class-based.

See also Burton Bledstein, The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and Higher Education in America (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1976) for a discussion of professionalism as "the enthusiasm of the middle class for its own forms of self-expression, peculiar ideas and devices for self-discipline." (p. ix)

¹⁸ Ibid.

- 19 William I. Thomas, The Unadjusted Girl (1921; rpt. New York: Harper & Rowe, 1967), p. 254.
- 20 Howard Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), p. 263.
- 21 Robert E. Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment," originally published in American Journal of Sociology, 1915, here found in Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, The City (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 1.
- 23 William I. Thomas, The Unadjusted Girl, p. 46.
- 22 Park, "The City," from The City, p. 46.
- 24 Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," originally printed in 1893, and reprinted in The Frontier in American History (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920).
- 25 See Gene Wise, American Historical Explanations: A Strategy for Grounded Inquiry (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1980), pp. 187-211. Wise uses Turner's frontier thesis as a case study to illustrate a historian's "explanation-form under strain"--in this case being Turner's theory that the frontier (newly closed in the 1890's) was America's only space in which rejuvenation could occur.
- 26 Frederick Thrasher, The Gang (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927), p. 194.
- 27 Robert E. Park, Introduction to The Hobo by Nels Anderson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923), p. xxii.
- 28 See James Gilbert, Work Without Salvation: America's Intellectuals and Industrial Alienation, 1888-1910 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), p. 23. Gilbert refers to Anderson's hobo as a "symbol of the 'maladjustment to industrial America' and 'a form of discontentment in American society'".
- 29 Thrasher, p.
- 30 Paul Cressey, The Taxi-Dance Hall (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), p.
- 31 Frances R. Donovan, The Woman Who Waits (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1920).

32 See Margaret Gibbons Wilson, The American Woman In Transition: The Urban Influence, 1870-1920 (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1979) for a broad assessment of the ways in which urban living affected women's lives; also Barbara Berg, The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); John Modell Hareven, "Examination of Urbanization and the Malleable Household," Journal of Marriage and the Family 35 (August, 1973), pp. 467-479; Samuel Hays, "Changing Political Structure of the City in Industrial America," Journal of Urban History I (November, 1974), pp. 6-38.

33 Ibid., p. 83.

34 Harper's Bazaar had a symposium beginning in 1908 which was an ongoing column for many years entitled, "The Girl Who Came to the City." See also "The Girl Who Comes to the City" in The Ladies Home Journal, August 11, p. 16. See also articles of the early 1900's dealing with the image of the "New Woman" in Chapter Two, footnote #20.

35 See Howard B. Furer, "The American City: A Catalyst for the Women's Rights Movement," Wisconsin Magazine of History 52 (Summer, 1969), pp. 285-305.

36 Within the past five years excellent histories on women's twentieth century work patterns have been written. They include: Lois Scharf, To Work and To Wed: Female Employment, Feminism and the Great Depression (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980); Karen Anderson, Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations and the Status of Women During World War II, 1981; Maurine Weiner Greenwald, Women, War and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers in the United States (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980); Alice Kessler-Harris, Women Have Always Worked: a Historical Overview (Old Westbury: Feminist Press, 1981). See Gibbons-Wilson, The American Woman In Transition, Chapter 6, "Employment," pp. 111-147. See also, Winifred D. W. Bolin, "Past Ideals and Present Pleasures: Women, Work and the Family, 1920-1940" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Minnesota, 1976); Barbara J. Harris, Beyond Her Sphere: Women and the Professions in American History. For a case study of one profession see "Women's Place Is At the Typewriter: the Feminization of the Clerical Work Force", Radical America 8 (July-August, 1974), pp. 1-28.

37 The Woman Who Waits, p. 14.

38 Ibid., p. 224.

39 Frances Donovan, The Saleslady (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), p. 189.

- 40 Robert E. L. Faris, Chicago Sociology, 1929-1932 (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1967), p. 14, 81.
- 41 Maurice Stein, Eclipse of the Community: An Interpretation of American Studies (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 14.
- 42 Carey, Sociology and Public Affairs, p. 51.
- 43 Park, "The City," in The City, p. 3.
- 44 Thomas Meisenhelder in his article "Sociology and the New Journalism," Journal of Popular Culture (Summer, 1977), pp. 467-477, does make use of the Chicago School's literary techniques to draw parallels between the early sociologists and such writers as Hunter Thompson and Norman Mailer and Tom Wolfe.
- 45 The Woman Who Waits, p. 8.
- 46 Ibid., p. 80.
- 47 Carey, pp. 50-51.
- 48 Malcolm Cowley, Exile's Return (1934; rpt. New York: The Viking Press, 1956), pp. 301-302.
- 49 James E. Conyers in "Negro Doctorates in Sociology: A Social Portrait," Phylon 29 (Fall, 1968), pp. 209-223, indicates that the University of Chicago leads all institutions in the number of sociology doctorates granted to Blacks; and with the exception of Ohio State University, Chicago produced more than twice as many Black Ph.D.'s as any other institutions, as of 1965.
- 50 Winifred Raushenbush, Robert E. Park: Biography of a Sociologist (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979), p. 101.
- 51 Raushenbush, p. 101.
- 52 Ibid., p. 105.
- 53 Ibid., p. 37.
- 54 The following studies speak to the need for the inclusion of the "process of doing" the research in the research: Richard H. Brown, Chapter Three, "Point of View"; A Poetic For Sociology (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Colin Bell and Howard Newby, eds., Doing Sociological Research (New York: The Free Press, 1977); Phillip Hammond, ed., Sociologists At Work (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964);

Michael Clarke, "Survival In the Field: Implications of Personal Experience In Field Work," Theory and Society, 2 (Spring, 1975), pp. 95-123; Rosalie Wax, Doing Fieldwork (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971); See also Ned Polsky (a protege of Louis Wirth and Herbert Blumer), Hustlers, Beats and Others (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967). Having always been a billiard player himself, his comments in billiard playing make him another example of what Spradley refers to as "complete participation."

55 Raushenbush, p. 105.

56 James P. Spradley, Participant-Observation (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980), p. 61. Spradley would label Anderson's situation as "complete participation" because it is one in which "the highest level of involvement for ethnographers is to have already been one of the ordinary participants." (One may note, however, that in Eduard Lindeman's 1924 text on sociology, Social Discovery, he calls disguised participant observation as "complete participant-observation").

57 Nels Anderson, Introduction to The Hobo (196] Phoenix Edition

58 Nels Anderson, The American Hobo: An Autobiography (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), p. 165.

59 Arthur P. Davies, "E. Franklin Frazier, (1894-1962): A Profile," The Journal of Negro Education 31 (Fall, 1962), p. 429.

60 Ibid., p. 435.

61 See Robert K. Merton's Foreword in Bernard Barber's Science and The Social Order (rev. ed., New York: Collier Books, 1962).

62 See John Murray Cuddihy, The Ordeal of Civility (New York: Basic Books, 1974). As a student of Peter Berger, Cuddihy writes of Freud, Marx and Levi-Strauss as a "study of subculture-boundedness."

63 See William Leuchtenberg, The Perils of Prosperity (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

64 The Gold Coast and the Slum, p. 13.

65 Harry Hansen, "The First Reader: The Woikin Girl," Review of The Saleslady, New York World, September 24, 1929.

66 The Taxi-Dance Hall, xxvii.

- 67 Ibid., p. 7.
- 68 Gold Coast and the Slum, p. 201.
- 69 See Steven Diner, A City and Its Universities: Public Policy In Chicago, 1892-1919 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); also James T. Carey, Chapter Three, "Policy and Civic Involvement in the 1920's," pp. 71-94 and Chapter Five, "Local Sponsors of Sociological Research," pp. 121-150 in Sociology and Public Affairs.
- 70 Carey, pp. 121-150.
- 71 Haskell,
- 72 See Edward Shils, The Present State of American Sociology (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1948), pp. 1-55, for the most negative assessment of the Chicago School's contribution to sociological theory. See Nicholas C. Mullins, Theories and Theory Groups in Contemporary American Sociology, pp. 46-48 for a direct rebuttal to the Chicago School's label of "dustbowl of empiricism."
- 73 Stein, p. 14.
- 74 Robert E. Park, Human Communities 2 of The Collected Works of Robert E. Park, 1950-55 (Glencoe: The Free Press, 19), p. 231.
- 75 Howard Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum, p. 221.
- 76 See Sam Bass Warner, Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth In Boston, 1870-1900 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press and the MIT Press, 1962) for a mapping strategy that does include class distinctions. Some critics of the Chicago School have claimed that differentiation of human types into spatial and ecological patterns diverted generations of sociologists from analysis of class structure.
- 77 Carey, "The Social Disorganization Paradigm" in Sociology and Public Affairs, pp. 95-121.
- 78 See Eli Zaretsky's Editor's Introduction to The Polish Peasant (in manuscript form) crediting to its authors the first social history model for such historians as Oscar Handlin.
- 79 Park, Introduction to The Unadjusted Girl, p. 44.
- 80 Michael Parenti, Introduction to The Unadjusted Girl (1923; rpt. New York: Harper & Rowe, 1967), p. xviii.
- 81 The Gold Coast and the Slum, p. 86.

82 The Chicago School's reputation further suffered when C. Wright Mills decried Chicagoans as well as other sociologists for creating a "sociology of pathology" in his essay, "The Professional Ideology of Social Pathologists" American Journal of Sociology (Sept., 1943); (See Carey and Matthews for a refutation of Mill's thesis that Chicagoans should be included in this group); see also Louis Wirth's admissions to the flaws of social disorganization theory in "Ideological Aspects of Social Disorganization" in American Sociological Review 5 (August, 1940), pp. 472-82; also Morris Janowitz, William I. Thomas on Social Organization and Personality (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), Introduction.

83 Parenti, Introduction to The Unadjusted Girl, p. xvii

84 The Woman Who Waits, p. 20, 28.

85 Ibid., p. 226.

86 Nelle Swartz, "Review of The Woman Who Waits," The Survey (February 5, 1921), pp. 675-676.

87 Christopher Lasch, The New Radicalism: The Intellectual As A Social Type (London: Chatto and Windus, 1966), p. xv.

88 Ibid.

89 For women's expression of their own sense of middle class deprivation, see Suzanne Wilcox, "The Unrest of Modern Women," Independent, 8 June, 1909, 62-66.

90 Lasch , p. 63.

91 The Woman Who Waits, p.

92 Herbert Blumer, "Social Psychology," in Emerson R. Schmidt, Man and Society (1938; rpt. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), pp. 144-198.

93 See Jerome G. Morris and Bernard N. Metzgers, eds., Symbolic Interactionism: A Reader In Social Psychology (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1978) for full origin of the movement; see also Don Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), pp. 339-353.

94 The Unadjusted Girl, p. 86.

95 Georg Simmel is credited with the first exploration of social reality as forms of social interaction; he characterized social roles (without using the term) and developed the concept of social distance. Refer to Peter Berger, "Society As Drama," in An Invitation to Sociology (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1963) for a contemporary interpretation of social roles and social distance. See also P. A. Lawrence, Georg Simmel: Sociologist and European (New York: Harper & Rowe, 1976), Introduction, pp. 1-40.

96 Louis Kapp Howe, Pink Collar Workers: Inside the World of Women's Work (New York: Avon Books, 1977); see also "Checking Out Waitresses," Cosmopolitan (July, 1981), pp. 221-225 for current testimony by waitresses that the connotation of promiscuity and a low social status is still attached to waitressing.

97 William Henry Chafe, The American Woman, p. 50; see also Mary R. Ryan, "The Projection of a New Womanhood: Movie Moderns In the '20's," in Our American Sisters for more statistical information on the nature of women's work in the 1920's.

98 The Saleslady, p. 188.

99 Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (New York: Woodstock Press, 1973), p. 171.

100 Ruth Cavan, "Review of The Saleslady," American Journal of Sociology 35 (January, 1930), p. 676.

101 Rothman, pp 52-56.

102 For an historiographical review of the 1920's period see Henry F. May, "Shifting Perspectives of the 1920's", Mississippi Valley Review (43) p. 404; Estelle B. Freedman, "The New Woman: Changing Views of Women In the 1920's," Journal of American History 61 (September, 1974), pp. 372-393.

103 Lois Scharf, "Even Spinsters Need Not Apply," To Work and To Wed: Female Employment, Feminism and the Great Depression (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980), pp. 66-85.

104 Alice Kessler-Harris, in "Women's Wage Work as Myth and History," in Labor History 19 (Spring, 1978) makes a good argument for using new sources (like the writings of Frances Donovan) to determine what the "work culture of women" has really been. Following in the tradition of historians like Herbert Gutman (Work, Culture and Society, 1977), Kessler-Harris claims that more investigation must be done on how

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workers themselves felt about their work, reacted to it, and reshaped it. In such a way comparisons and contrasts can be established between male and female work experiences.

105 Mary Furner, in Advocacy and Objectivity (1975) uses the academic freedom cases of the 1890's to explore a period of university censorship. She cites Albion Small's conservative advice to more outspoken radicals, in the late 1890's as an indication of the subtle pressures of the new professionalism. Although this extreme censorship eased by the 1920's, historians of sociology like Frederick Matthew's Quest for An American Sociology (1977) admit the subtle pressures to maintain apolitical positions in the sociology department of the 1920's.

106 David Matza, Becoming Deviant (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 25.

107 The Taxi-Dance Hall, p. 104.

108 Ibid., p. 28.

109 Carey, p. 110.

110 Thomas, The Unadjusted Girl, p.

111 The School Ma'am, p. 152.

112 Ibid.

113 For an exploration of the repressiveness of the single woman or widow stereotype, see Carol J. Burnett, "Women In Widowhood," Signs 2 (1977), pp. 856-868; Dorothy Deegan, The Stereotype of the Single Woman in American Novels (New York: Octagon Books, 1969).

114 See Thomas Meisenhelder, "Sociology and the New Journalism," Journal of Popular Culture (Summer, 1977); see also Eli Zaretsky, Introduction to a revised edition of The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (Manuscript form).

115 Florian Znaniecki, On Humanistic Sociology: Selected Papers, Edited with an introduction by Robert Bierstadt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 147.

116 Carey, p. 112.

IV. ON "NATIVE GROUNDS": PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATION AND
THE CONTEXT OF DISCOVERY

"Here I have written simply as a human being, and
the truth I have tried to tell concerns the sea
change in oneself that comes from immersion in
another and savage culture."

Author's note, Laura Bohannan
Return to Laughter

"We take it as one of the main causes of impover-
ishment of sociological monographs that their
authors have not written 'simply as a human being.'
The divorce of the personal from the so-called
scientific has not been scientific at all."

Colin Bell, Doing Sociological
Research

In this final chapter Frances Donovan and her work are placed in one further context: the tradition of participant-observation in the social sciences. Donovan's marginality in terms of her unique status and methodology throw into relief the problematic relationship between the observer and the observed--an issue that only recently has been of major concern to sociologists and anthropologists alike.¹ Since the early days of the Chicago School under Robert E. Park, and of anthropology at Columbia with Franz Boas, ideas and ideals of "value neutrality" and objectivity have worked against a full admission of the human and idiosyncratic role of the investigator. Prevailing research methodologies--quantitative analysis, broad survey techniques and even implicit taboos against mixing field notes and diary entries--have tended to render "personal questions" regarding the researcher non-scientific and therefore inappropriate.

Yet Frances Donovan's relatively unknown identity and work in Chicago sociology inevitably raises fundamentally personal questions: Why did she disguise herself to do her studies? What kind of sociology did she think she was doing? Most importantly, what effect did these research experiences have on her? In the past, such a line of inquiry has been dismissed as irrelevant to "legitimate" scholarship done by

"serious" scholars. However, there is presently a growing interest in the ethnographer's role. One sociologist even claims a personal question should be asked of all researchers, namely: "What does the involvement of the investigator mean, not just for the discipline and its methodological standing, but for the investigator himself?"² This chapter, using Frances Donovan as a focal point, explores the investigator--as a human instrument "affecting" research and being affected by it, in turn.

More than twenty years ago, the noted sociologist C. Wright Mills addressed this question. He warned that good sociology requires a connection between individual experience and theoretical construct, what he called "the private troubles of the milieu" and the "public issues of social structure." More than forty years before that, Frances Donovan made this connection by weaving herself into her sociological narrative and addressing issues of female work and sexuality that were crucial to her own life. However, to some extent her methodology was tolerated only because she was on the fringe of academic respectability. Labeling her 1929 work, The Saleslady, "impressionistic," the Chicagoans reserved their full praise for more conventional and "objective" studies. With Mills acting as a lonely dissenter, the social sciences traditionally have neglected the "context of discovery" both on a cultural and personal level. An insistence that data be viewed in relation to the researcher can most importantly reveal the effects of immersion into

other cultural worlds--effects on the researcher that can be powerful and transformative. In the past few have considered that research can potentially reveal as much about the observer as the observed.

The controversy created by the publication of Bronislaw Malinowski's Diary In the Strict Sense of the Term (1967) is a prime illustration of the way in which the complexities of the relationship between public accounts and private experience have been ignored in the social sciences. Published posthumously, Malinowski's Diary, covering his fieldwork in the Trobriands of more than fifty years before, between 1914 and 1918, sent shock waves through the anthropology community. Many were appalled by what seemed to be the diametrically opposed sides of Malinowski's personality: the brilliant, "value free" descriptions of a noted anthropologist clashed sharply with the bigoted, neurotic obsessions of the man.

As the father of British social anthropology, Malinowski was the "consummate fieldworker" to three generations of colleagues. His studies on New Guinea tribes had served as ethnographic models for decades. But as his fellow anthropologist Clifford Geertz remarks, Diary was disconcerting because Malinowski "had told the truth in a public place."³ An anthropologist's real feelings were customarily reserved for conversation with intimates only. But here was the man behind the field worker's mask revealing himself as "a crabbed, self-preoccupied, hypocondriacal narcissist who referred to his subject as "the bloody . . . insolent . . .

disgusting . . . niggers."⁴ Malinowski's admirers were forced to understand that as he kept his field notes and personal feelings separate, so too did he separate his cognitive worlds: there was the one of intense, oedipal passion (evidenced through letters to lovers) that kept him aloof from his daily interactions with natives who were "utterly devoid of interest or importance, something so remote from me as the life of a dog"⁵--and there was his world of science, where anthropological data was gathered meticulously and "objectively."

As Geertz is quick to point out, personal biases do not necessarily contaminate the data. Actually in Malinowski's case, it could have been the result of his innate feelings being so effectively combatted, that his descriptions are finally a "mysterious transformation wrought by science." Ironically his classic works: The Argonauts... (19²⁷), Sex and Repression In Savage Society (19²⁷) and The Sexual Life of the Savages... (19²⁹), describe natives that Geertz calls "the most intelligent, dignified and conscientious in the whole of anthropological literature."⁶ The point here is not that Malinowski's private prejudices necessarily cast aspersions on his findings. It is rather that the response to these diaries points out that ethnography remains a less than understood process when the contrast of private sentiments and public observations can be appalling to an audience of fellow ethnographers--an audience that has insisted on ignoring the personal aspects of doing research.

In 1917 Frances Donovan was playing out her unique role as an urban ethnographer/waitress just about the same time Malinowski was recording his passions in one place and his scientific findings in another. Judging by Donovan's final publications, it seems likely that she kept only one set of notes. Her sociological accounts are full of her own fear, disgust, exhilaration and final admiration for her subjects--elements that rendered her work impressionistic and non-scientific, and elements that Malinowski reserved for his diary entries. Of course, it is inappropriate to compare Malinowski's theoretically sophisticated and exhaustive research with Donovan's more modest contribution to the social sciences. On the other hand, her "impressionistic" studies offer one insight that Malinowski's published studies do not: that participant-observation is a two-way process, a mirror that reflects on the observer as well as the observed.

When considering the late nineteenth and early twentieth century origins of the American ethnographic tradition, anthropology and sociology can be mentioned in the same breath. This is especially true at the University of Chicago where Albion Small from 1892 on headed a joint "Department of Social Sciences and Anthropology." The anthropologist Edward Sapir and Ralph Linton served on this faculty in the 1920's, and it was to remain a joint department until Fay Cooper Cole came to chair a separate anthropology department in 1929. A chairman, however, was not the only property

shared by these two disciplines at Chicago. While Franz Boas was at Columbia training the first American anthropologists to do fieldwork amongst American Indians, the Chicagoans of the 1920's were also "pitching their tents among the dwellings of the natives",⁷ in this case, hobos, gangs, waitresses, and other marginal types of the city streets.

The early Chicagoans and Boas-trained anthropologists were wedded by philosophy and technique. Although well-versed in German and French sociological theory, W. I. Thomas before 1920 set a tone in the department that stressed gathering empirical evidence. With Charles Booth's publication of seventeen volumes of Labour and Life of the People in 1902-3, there was at least a British precedent for social inquiry relying on in-depth, first-hand observation.⁸ Thomas often stated that he really thought of himself as an anthropologist.⁹ His own work that came closest to fieldwork was The Polish Peasant In Europe and America. Written together with the Polish emigre, Florian Znaniecki, it took years of acquiring oral histories, interviews and personal documents. When Robert E. Park joined the department in 1914, he also displayed a penchant for alternating a life of thought and action. In the field as a young muckraking reporter, he had learned the value of personal observation. As Booker T. Washington's assistant, Park grew to understand the black experience by living among blacks. As early as his 1915 essay on the city, he claimed that the Chicagoans were "using the same methods as Boas."¹⁰ According to his former

colleague and biographer, Winifred Raushenbush, "Park's heart was always with anthropology."¹¹ As late as 1942, when Park was still stating a preference for social anthropology, both his daughter was a trained anthropologist as well as her renowned husband, Robert Redfield. Furthermore, at the heart of the sociological and anthropological inquiry was an assumption, not necessarily shared by political scientists or economists, namely that a social discovery was grounded in a personal discovery of distinctive microcosms or social worlds, ones that investigators had to enter themselves in order to understand and analyze. Entering and understanding another world meant gathering information from the participants of those worlds.

Frances Donovan, affiliated with the department from 1915 through the 1930's, knew what participant-observation was, even if no one was calling it that yet.¹² There were also other conditions at Chicago created out of social and intellectual strains that made an intimate study of other social worlds very appealing. For example, Georg Simmel's conceptualization of "the stranger" provided Park with a symbol to express "the ever present dialectic between self and community, with its human penalties and its human possibilities."¹³ As noted earlier in this inquiry, Park, as a graduate student in Berlin, had listened to Simmel's public lectures and was particularly struck by what Simmel described as the fascinating status of those who lived on the edge of different cultures. Simmel regarded "the miser, the cynic,

the poor man and the aristocrat" as part of a "complex behavior pattern" that could only be understood from the "point of view of the subjects."¹⁴ As is evident in Park's work, Simmel convinced him that a stranger's status offered a special vantage point, a special "objectivity": "He is not radically committed to the unique ingredients and peculiar tendencies of the group, and therefore approaches them with the specific attitude of objectivity And objectivity does not simply involve passivity and detachment; it is a particular structure composed of distance and nearness, indifference and involvement In the relationship to him, distance means that he, who is close by, is far and strangeness meant that he, who also is far, is actually near."¹⁵

Simmel and the later Chicagoans were intrigued by the stranger status in others, but they never explicitly addressed those elements in themselves. However, as the sociologist Richard H. Brown notes, ideal "sociological distance" has evolved into a stance that stresses farness over nearness: "Distance, defamiliarization, dispassionate engagement, seeing the reality behind the mask, appreciating the intrinsic qualities of the mask itself, disinterested interest, idle curiosity (Veblen)--all these terms have been used to describe an optimal perspective for social reality."¹⁶ Unfortunately, according to some critics, sociologists and anthropologists have "learned to disattend their own part of the social relation of the social inquiry We recover

only the object of its knowledge as if that knowledge stood all by itself and of itself. Sociology does not provide for seeing that there are always two terms to this relation."¹⁷

In his classic contribution to the sociology of the discipline, Alvin Gouldner claims that the "crisis in western sociology" is precisely this lack of reflexivity.¹⁸ He referred to the social scientist's need for ideological consciousness and acknowledgement and "neutrality" does nothing to alter abhorrent socio-political systems; to the contrary, it often perpetuates them. Where Gouldner and other sociologists of the late 1960's and early 1970's called for the discipline's political consciousness, Frances Donovan's work raises another aspect of sociological reflexivity. Reading her accounts of working women which make obvious her unabashed involvement with her subject matter, brings to the forefront another "crisis" of sociology: a past inability to consider the personal motivation behind a desire to "come as a stranger" to another culture, and, secondly, the potential for change or growth that this "stranger status" offers.

In recent commentaries on the nature of participant observation, there is a common assumption that "a feeling of personal or social discomfort (or both) have been a prelude quite often to anthropological and sociological curiosity";¹⁹ furthermore that "the lure of the strange and far has a peculiar appeal for those who are dissatisfied with

themselves or do not feel at home in their own society."²⁰ Several of the early Chicagoans, as we have seen, possessed a sense of their own cultural or intellectual alienation from mainstream America. Critical perspectives on their own particular cultures led to a curiosity about others. The question of the Chicagoans' own sense of marginality was initially raised here when considering Frances Donovan's. Her veiled autobiographical statements alluding to her rebelliousness and unpublished satires on bourgeois female leisure in Montana indicate Donovan's dissatisfactions. They also provide her with motives for investigating dramatically new work roles to contrast with her actual roles of teaching and widowhood.

An examination of personal motives behind public accounts in anthropology for instance, reveals the parallels between Hortense Powdermaker and Frances Donovan. Powdermaker's Stranger and Friend (1966) is a retrospective account of her various fieldwork experiences and is one of the few personal chronicles in anthropology. Like Donovan, Powdermaker, too, depicted her youth as a preparation for role distance: "Long before I heard of anthropology, I was being conditioned for the role of stepping in and out of society. It was a part of my growing up process to question the traditional values and norms of the family. . . ." ²¹

Another anthropologist, Muriel Dimen-Schein, explains that finding merits in other cultural norms allowed her the satisfying sense of debunking what was "an unsatisfying

adolescence in the suburban conformist culture of the 1950's."²² In addition the sociologist Maurice Stein, admits that he was very influenced by what he called "the historical content of the Chicago School," and observes that he came to sociology to make sense of his own experiences, ones that produced in him an "ambivalent relation to lower class and middle class culture."²³ Raised as a second generation Jew starting life in a ghetto "described by Louis Wirth," Stein later was exposed to the drastic differences of a military culture and the deep South--comparative studies which later became the "object" of his sociological critique, Eclipse Of Community.

In addition to a possible predisposition to cultural distance, it is the potential for growth and transformation within the participant observation experience that requires elucidation. Such an idea rarely has been discussed because, as one social scientist states, "it undermines the stance of moral neutrality to believe that a researcher is changed by field experience."²⁴ Regardless of how antithetical such an idea of self-growth may be in social science theory, however, it always has been a very appealing one to Americans in general. Since the popularity of Benjamin Franklin's autobiography in which he described his multiple roles that lead to power and success, Americans have indicated their fascination with the possibility of a "changing self."²⁵ "A democratic ideology has instilled in us the idea that we are not only capable of being changed by experience," says Rosalie

Wax, "but that we should and even must change and develop ourselves."²⁶

Other cultures often have been puzzled by what they perceive as restlessness, discontent, or neurotic self-questioning in the American personality. Whether tied to capitalist promises or upward mobility or progressive notions that the future should always be better than the past, there nevertheless exists in many Americans a culturally instilled desire for self-transformation. At the very least, it is a belief that new experience can change us, or make us "better." It therefore makes little sense to discount this factor when considering the processes of interaction in fieldwork. Only recently have social scientists been able to own up to a personal as well as public quest for knowledge. As Hazel Hitson Wiedman notes,

No matter how intellectual and objective we try to be; no matter how we try to rationalize our interest in studying other peoples in other places--our motivations for becoming professional anthropologists are not solely to contribute to a growing body of knowledge of man. They are primarily I am sure, to contribute to a growing knowledge of ourselves, in a particular social context.²⁷

If most Chicagoans were reluctant to address the question of their fieldwork as an exercise in self-knowledge, Frances Donovan was not. As this inquirer attempts to prove, Donovan's obvious private as well as public motivations for entering other worlds raises the question of others less than obvious motivations.

At this point it may be useful to contrast Donovan's life and work with that of the anthropologist Ruth Benedict. Despite the obvious difference in their reputations, they are joined together as women and early twentieth century participant-observers. Aside from Margaret Mead's brief commentary on Benedict's life, no one has explored her personal relationship to her work.²⁸ However, as with Frances Donovan's marginal status in the Chicago School, bigger issues are raised by Benedict's career. Parallels between Donovan's and Benedict's research interests emphasize the value and importance of viewing social science research as the "process and product of interaction between the questioner and the questioned. . . ."²⁹

Ruth Benedict's masterpiece was Patterns of Culture, published in 1934. Having gone through more than a dozen printings and having been translated into over fourteen languages, Patterns played an important role in establishing the culture and personality school of anthropology. By contrasting three groups studied by other anthropologists, Benedict determined that individual behavior was culturally determined and enforced. What was deviant and punished in one culture was encouraged as a virtue in another. In Patterns, Benedict became famous for her phrase that "culture is personality writ large." Extending Benedict's premise and paralleling Donovan's and Benedict's circumstances, it is possible to see their anthropology and sociology as in some respects their own personalities writ large.

By immersing themselves in others' lives, Frances Donovan and Ruth Benedict exposed themes of their own lives. Furthermore, as women, this immersion served a special function: whether African culture or the culture of a restaurant, each different social context became a laboratory of alternative choices for ways to live--choices that were so narrowly defined for women in early twentieth century American that some of the more imaginative females were driven to explore other roles in other worlds. Given only brief biographical sketches of each woman, it is evident that both felt the constraints of man-made customs. Donovan's autobiographical fragment, short stories, and commentary on the repressive nature of school-teaching reflect her dissatisfactions with sex and work roles that were indeed stultifying for American women. As evidenced in her work, exposure to other social worlds dramatized for Donovan the relative nature of "norms" in regard to sexuality, independence, and attitudes toward work. Ruth Benedict, also struck others as a loner, a maverick and critic of her own culture: "The sense of living different lives, of meeting predetermined ways of life which were not intrinsically her own, of incompatibility between her own temperament and any particular version of American culture, never left her."³⁰ Benedict came to anthropology in mid-life. Estranged from her husband, she spent the rest of her years living alone. As a quiet person, she modestly proceeded to re-define the word "culture" for many Americans.

In 1925 Benedict wrote: "I want to find a really important undiscovered country."³¹ She accomplished this, but her successful quest for uncharted territory was more intellectual than geographical. Ruth Benedict looked for a world that could allow her to understand her place in it--a knowledge that eluded her in her native culture. The world she found was one of theory, and in the patterns she created from comparative studies of other cultures she realized that conformity and deviance were culturally determined, and therefore changeable. If they were relative, and changeable, her own sense of being different could be more acceptable and integrated. She could also take heart that racism and war if not necessarily universals, were worth fighting.

Both Frances Donovan and Ruth Benedict were both born into a late Victorian world of limited female expectations. However, both women were exceptional enough to insist on attending college, thus straying from the predominant pattern of marriage and expectations of motherhood by the age of twenty. As we have seen, Donovan's family refused her financial support for a university education. She therefore went to Ypsilanti Normal College from 1898 to 1902. However, in a time when there were no anthropology or sociology courses in the curriculum, Donovan and Benedict studied literature. Perhaps it provided the only alternative worlds open to these two maverick women: ones of the imagination. They then took nearly the only course open to women with

their intellectual leanings--they became high school English teachers.

Given their independence and maverick spirits, it is difficult to imagine how the prospect of teaching high school English for a lifetime would have been appealing to either woman. Donovan temporarily escaped this fate by marrying an architect in 1907, thus closing off the possibilities of a teaching career (since most married women were not allowed in the classroom). Benedict also escaped teaching by marrying a biochemist in 1914. Although little is known of William Donovan's personality before he died, Stanley Benedict was evidently renowned in his field. However, Benedict's colleague Margaret Mead claims that he became increasingly introverted by the time Ruth established herself as an anthropologist. Her eventual divorce from him was also an act that set her apart from most others of the period.

There is a good chance that both women spent the early years of their marriages contemplating motherhood, and for whatever reasons, adjusting to a life without children. Mead says that Benedict had always wanted a family, and there is no evidence that Donovan did not. Whether these women's lives would have taken the same course if they had borne children is an unanswerable question. The historical fact that careers for women were left to those who remained single or childless is not so much proof that careers only "compensated" for the absence of motherhood. It is rather

a commentary on a repressive culture that made parental and professional responsibilities incompatible for women.

Assertive and extroverted, Frances Donovan followed the custom of many other bright and educated married women who would have gone mad with only domestic duties to challenge them. She became a volunteer in local community projects. Benedict, however, was by nature quiet and a loner. Early in her marriage she spent much of her time writing prose and poetry. Actually, before her entrance into anthropology, Benedict had been engaged in a long-term writing project. Interested in the question of what made women's creativity so unique, she had been working on a comparative analysis of Mary Wollstonecraft, Olive Schreiner and Margaret Fuller. Mead suggests that Benedict took an anthropology class out of curiosity and even boredom. In Donovan's case, knowing that her husband was seriously ill, she presumably attended the University of Chicago with the design of acquiring a more legitimate degree in English, in preparation for her necessary return to the only profession she had ever known.

Coincidentally, Donovan attended her first class with W. I. Thomas in the winter of 1915 at the age of 33--the same age as Ruth Benedict when she took her first class in anthropology with Franz Boas at Columbia in the early 1920's. Despite their different missions, both disciplines offered the excitement of being part of a new intellectual movement with great social significance. Boas was busy training the first

American anthropologists to collect masses of vanishing materials from the members of dying American Indian cultures. To some extent the Chicagoans also were concerned with an old order that was passing, in this case a civilized bourgeois Victorian world. However, the Chicago School was to a greater extent intrigued by a transitional and new world order. If Benedict was at first caught up with the immediacy of recording rituals and social patterns that were threatened with extinction by modernizing forces, Donovan was embued with the excitement of doing the first urban ethnographies on what modernization had wrought--new sex roles, new work and family patterns, and new cultural expectations. What was exciting in both disciplines was also a serious challenge. Sociology and anthropology were compelled to address and make judgements on modern change and uncontrollable forces of new growth.

Unlike Frances Donovan, Ruth Benedict, with Boas as a mentor, went on to earn a Ph.D. in 1923. By this time Donovan, with no degree, had produced her first book. In the same year Benedict met the young graduate student, Margaret Mead, who in turn saw Benedict as an immediate role model. Mead's description of Benedict as she first knew her could fit Donovan as well. According to those around her, Benedict kept her private life so separate from her anthropology that friends like Mead hardly knew Benedict's husband or home existed: "She kept us all in separate rooms and moved from one to another with no one following to take

notes."³² Just as Benedict lived in two worlds that seemed to be mutually exclusive, so too did Donovan maintain a double life. Comparing testimony of Donovan's colleagues at Calumet High School and those from the 1920's and 1930's at Chicago, it is evident that Donovan never shared "her other life" with either group. Calumet colleagues testify that Donovan did not socialize with them and that they knew she had "university friends." Yet Chicago School acquaintances say that they were just that. They never knew the "Mrs. Donovan" well, only that she wrote studies that were read by Chicago graduate students.

Mead describes Benedict as having possessed a certain tragic doubleness, as if the different parts of her life were never quite reconcilable. She recalls that Benedict "in her own search for identity persistently wondered whether she would have fitted better into another period or another culture than she fitted into contemporary America."³³ Also feeling that she was an outsider, Frances Donovan did not have to go far afield of contemporary culture for her alternative models. It was actually within the Chicago urban scene that she sensed the most dramatic cultural differences. Neither bare breasted nor living in rain forests, working class women nevertheless signalled to Donovan that there were dramatically different ways of experiencing life than her own.

In this sense, both women possessed what Peter Berger calls the social scientist's "lack of respectability" that

comes from questioning a middle class view of the world.³⁴ Initially they defied their own cultural system by stepping outside prescribed female roles. They then challenged other cultural systems by stepping inside to analyze them--not just for the world, but for themselves.

Ruth Benedict and Frances Donovan shared other common ground. Benedict's major work, Patterns of Culture, and Donovan's three studies are primarily concerned with the question of social deviance. Both women entered the social sciences at a time when the culture-versus-nature controversy still raged. "Looking out" and "in" to recognize different "patterns" of culture, Ruth Benedict determined that deviance was relative to cultural norms. Frances Donovan similarly looked out of her middle class world and in her case, into that of waitresses and saleswomen. Here she saw the potential freedom of women's new work roles (previously deemed unrespectable), and also sensed the repressiveness of a bourgeois conformity that could have forced vibrant women like herself into the teaching profession. In School Ma'am, deviance ironically characterized the ultimately conforming teacher, grown neurotic and unlikable through cultural restraints.

In sum, Donovan and Benedict projected "their own self-images onto their fieldwork."³⁵ In attempting to define other cultures, they worked toward self-definition also. By experiencing alternative life-styles, Donovan could feel confirmed in her belief that there was more to life than

what existed in a high school classroom. Benedict in a similar way analyzed deviance in other cultures and thus better understood her own sense of marginality. Ironically, although Benedict is the famed anthropologist, it is Donovan who actually went out amongst her "natives." In this sense, Benedict was content to deal with other worlds vicariously--so much so that her classic study of Japanese character, The Sword and the Chrysanthemum (19), was done without going to Japan.³⁶ In the case of Benedict, it was not so important that she experienced these worlds first-hand. It was only essential that she divined the possibilities of other ways of life.

* * * * *

For women, a rejection of status quo culture historically has taken many forms. The period into which Frances Donovan and Ruth Benedict were born was marked by a kind of social analysis that preceded the formal growth to academic power of the social sciences. Before the advent of professional sociologists and anthropologists, social reformers had been a major source of cultural analysis. And late nineteenth century women, oftentimes exploiting the victorian premises of their "public pedestal of specialness,"³⁷ played a major role as protesters and gadflies, decrying poverty, prostitution and general social injustices. Fulfilling what they saw as their civic duties, they (at times inadvertently) rejected female roles that limited their activities to the

domestic sphere. A main thrust of their efforts was exposing the wretched working conditions of women and children. Dozens of studies produced under the auspices of, for instance, The Consumer League, The Women's Bureau, and the Russell Sage Foundation document what was really the first fieldwork done in America.³⁸ Women went into pickle factories, machine shops, laundries, and cotton mills to investigate the conditions of the workplace. In the course of these investigations women stepped into worlds they had never known before.

Christopher Lasch in The New Radicalism In America has credited this interest in the working class poor to "experiential deprivation"--a bourgeois intellectual yearning for a more vital and passionate engagement with life, compensating for an increasingly stale and vapid middle class one. This passion was romantically symbolized by the working class. However, Lasch's contention that Jane Addams' reform efforts were largely a response to an "instinctual revulsion of a lifetime of whist,"³⁹ has been criticized finally as reductionist. To explain Addams' social conscience and political activism only in terms of personal motive results in detracting from her serious commitment and accomplishments. Such is the risk that always is run when assigning private motive to public accounts. Perhaps because of how separate the public and private areas of life have been kept, mixing them is often taken as a pejorative. However, considering how one nineteenth century muckraking woman was affected by her

journey into another culture does not dismiss the best intentions or outcome of her work. To see the personal affect of research meant to enlighten or reform is not meant to diminish that "public" intention. To the contrary, as with Frances Donovan and Ruth Benedict, such an examination may in fact enrich it. For instance, looking at another woman's investigation of a pickle factory at the turn of the century, provides a further historical context for Donovan's and Benedict's studies of other social worlds-- and a further evidence for this chapter's thesis: that social investigation can be studied fruitfully from the perspective of the observer as well as the observed.

The Woman Who Toils (1903) by Mrs. John Van Vorst and Marie Van Vorst is an excellent example of the transformative nature of one kind of fieldwork experience.⁴⁰ Its authors were not formal social scientists. But as female predecessors to Benedict and Donovan, the Van Vorsts had as a mission a better world, in this case better working conditions. In the process of entering another culture of industrial work, they too reveal their personal involvement. Admittedly, most of these studies of which The Woman Who Toils is one, are products of surveys and brief on-site inspections that subsequently reveal little about the researcher. But there are a few exceptions in which the writer tells a tale of disguised participant observation, or at least uses the first person to describe the effect this investigation has had on her. The Woman Who Toils: Being

the Experiences of Two Gentlewomen as Factory Girls is written by two sisters-in-law who claim from the outset they were radicalized by first hand knowledge of "this unknown class whose oppression we deplore. . . ." Early on they describe in retrospect their initial naivete and deluded notions of a natural law of poverty. However, after shedding their middle class identity (which to their shock can be done simply by changing clothes,) they are able to "pass" as members of a drastically different culture. In what is a poignant revelation of class differences in an alleged egalitarian society, one sister records the items and estimated cost of the fine apparel she takes off, and the humble "costume" of a working girl she dons for her "disguise":

The clothes I laid aside on December 18, 1901 were as follows:

Hat	\$ 40
Sealskin coat	200
Black cloth dress	150
Silk underskirt	25
Kid gloves	2
Underwear	30
	<hr/>
	\$ 447.00

The clothes I put on were as follows:

Small felt hat	\$.25
Woolen gloves	.25
Flannel shirt-waist	1.95
Gray serge coat	3.00
Black skirt	2.00
Underwear	1.00
Tippet	1.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 9.45

Both sisters voice their dismay that a change in role and identity can be so easily accomplished with mere apparel:

"In the Parisian clothes I am accustomed to wear I present the familiar outline of any woman of the world. With the aid of coarse woolen garments . . . I am transformed into a working girl of the ordinary type."⁴¹ On a bitter cold morning in a Pittsburgh train station, Marie Van Vorst experienced a new and oppressive non-identity: "I get no farther than the depot when I observe that I am being treated as though I were ignorant and lacking experience. . . . I had divested myself of a certain authority along with my good clothes. . . ."⁴² Mrs. John Van Vorst is also aware that her world of social reference has altered drastically:

No sooner had I taken my place in my plain attire than my former personality slipped from me as absolutely as did the garments I had discarded. I was Bell Ballard. People from whose contact I had hitherto pulled my skirts away became my companions as I took my place shoulder to shoulder with the crowd of breadwinners.⁴³

The Van Vorsts' shock of transformation resulted from a disguised participant-observation, as did Frances Donovan's years later. Her account resembles the Van Vorsts' in her preoccupation with the differences wrought by a mere change of clothing. As Donovan slips into her waitress uniform, she is aware that she is entering another world: "There was something terrifying about the idea of life so totally new, so absolutely outside the realm of my experience. But I had made this bargain with myself."⁴⁴ In her new life as waitress and saleswoman she never overcame the fact that she was identified so easily with the uniform she wore: "I had been

chagrined at the success of my disguise which was no disguise at all. I had merely put on an apron and said that I was a waitress and immediately everyone accepted me as one."

Donovan's and the Van Vorst's realization that they were suddenly perceived as something they were not, recalls one of the most famous and literal transformations in non-fiction literature, John Howard Griffin's Black Like Me (1960). Interested in race issues even before the first freedom rides, Griffin decided to masquerade as a Black southerner to experience white prejudice first hand. With his shaven head and pigment darkened from skin treatments, he recalls as he looked into the mirror that "the transformation was total and shocking."⁴⁵ I was imprisoned in the flesh of an utter stranger, an unsympathetic one with whom I felt no kinship . . . I learned within a very few hours that no one was judging me by my qualities as a human individual and everyone was judging me by my pigment. As soon as white men or women saw me, they automatically assumed I possessed a whole set of false characteristics."⁴⁶

This startling immersion is not merely reserved for the participant observer who attempts to pass as a member of the group being studied. Griffin's and Donovan's cases are merely exaggerated instances of the immersion process that all participant-observers undergo. In her edited collection of retrospectives on fieldwork, Women In the Field, Peggy Golde describes this immersion as "a giving over of oneself to a differently organized reality, that leads the women here

to attribute to this experience pervasive and compelling consequence."⁴⁷

For the Van Vorsts and John Howard Griffin, disguised participant-observation led to a bitter revelation of what it was like to be a member of an underclass. For Donovan the "pervasive and compelling consequences" were that she, by her own admission, was never to be the same protected middle class female again, nor could she disregard the complex issues of women's work. Early in her waitress account she described herself swooning with the shock of entering a world she had never known before, a world of crude language, blatant sexual tension, and dangerously independent women. Despite the brevity of her stint as a waitress, she nevertheless believed that she had changed profoundly. Living life so "intensely," she implies that she could never be content with a mere school teacher role and existence again. Now that she had seen so much, nothing could be shocking or outside the realm of possibility: After I had completed my career as a waitress," she said, "I found much that was new but nothing that could not be interpreted in terms of [my] experience. . . ."⁴⁸

It is finally worth noting that Frances Donovan was an English teacher. She loved to write fiction and obviously enjoyed passing into other worlds of literature. This raises another important issue about the early participant-observation in the social sciences. Literary connections abound. For instance, an anonymous work, Four Years In the Underbrush

published in 1916, documents the experience of one researcher who went into New York City as an author to flesh out the main character, "Polly Preston" for her newest piece of fiction. Planning to experience the life of a working girl for only a short period, she stayed four years, "holding over twenty-five positions in "the underbrush" of the underclass of unskilled working women. Living out the life of what was supposed to be that of her main character, she describes herself as appalled and consequently radicalized by the disgraceful conditions she witnessed. Her language is that of a Marxist revolutionary, filled with self-disgust at being part of a class of "human cooties" living in "idle luxury" while industrialization robbed workers of their humanity.

The important point here is that the author's curiosity about life--a belief in the manifold possibilities and varieties of experience--led her from the world of the abstract imagination into the world of concrete experience. The creative instinct nourished through entertaining different "patterns" of unfamiliar experience, motivated the anonymous author to experience working class life for herself. Despite the oppressiveness and outrage of work in a restaurant or pickle factory, there is also the excitement and validation of living life intensely, instead of once removed as a writer of fiction might feel--or a school teacher. As a social investigator, one could become one's own character.

As noted in this inquiry, connections between literature and the social sciences existed early in the century. Robert E. Park commented in 1915 that the French novelist Emile Zola had so far provided the best description of city life.⁴⁹ Both W. I. Thomas and Park, as I have said, had backgrounds in literature. (Thomas had even held a teaching position in Literature at Oberlin College.) Donovan wrote short stories while she did her sociology, and many sociology graduate students moved in literary circles, on the fringe of the Chicago Bohemian world.⁵⁰ In some ways, the effort to establish a connection between the artist and the social scientist would have been an anathema in the 1920's to both anthropologists and sociologists. Struggling to acquire "scientific credentials," they insisted on their role as "objective" investigators who stood outside their material and "self". Whereas in literature an author was at the center of his/her material, a social scientist was in some ways perceived only as a "contaminant" of his/her work⁵¹--so much so, that according to one sociologist, "any reflection on one's involvement became an embarrassment."⁵²

However, the sociologist David Reisman has commented that "a good many social scientists are novelists manques, just as good novelists [are] wedded to a documentary supposed realism."⁵³ William F. Whyte, whose Streetcorner Society (1943) is a classic in the Chicago participant-observation tradition, describes in a 1955 appendix the literary impulses that originally led him to sociology:

My plays and stories were all fictionalized accounts of events and situations I had experienced or observed myself. When I attempted to go beyond my experience and tackle a novel on a political theme, the result was a complete bust. . . . It was when I reflected upon my experience that I became uneasy and dissatisfied. My home life had been very happy and intellectually stimulating--but without adventure. I had never had to struggle over anything. I knew lots of nice people, but almost all of them came from good, solid middle class backgrounds like my own. In college, of course, I was associating with middle-class students and middle-class professors. I knew nothing about life in the factories, fields, or mines--except what I had gotten out of books. So I came to feel that I was a pretty dull fellow. At times this sense of dullness became so oppressive that I simply could not think of any stories to write. I began to feel that, if I were really going to write anything worthwhile, I would somehow have to get beyond the narrow social borders of my existence up to that time.⁵⁴

Yearning for different experiences for one's fiction seems closely tied to a social scientist's general critical distance from his culture--the distance, or "stranger status" derived from general discontentments that compel him/her to seek new experiences and other social worlds. In anthropology as well as sociology there were those with a "literary" temperament. Ruth Benedict swapped poetry with Edward Sapir. Alfred Kroeber loved creative writing as did Margaret Mead (who initially considered a career as a poet until she discovered her mediocre talent in undergraduate school).

Ironically, it is finally a piece of fiction that is still considered one of the best "real" descriptions of a fieldworker's personal experience: Laura Bohannon's Return To Laughter: An Anthropological Novel (1954). Bohannon felt compelled to use the pseudonym Elenore Bowen Smith in

order to reveal the stresses and tensions that she had to keep separate from her final anthropological reporting. Paradoxically, in fiction she feels released to tell the truth:

Here I have written simply as a human being, and the truth I have tried to tell concerns the sea change in oneself that comes from immersion in another and savage society.⁵⁵

Whereas Bronislaw Malinowski kept his thoughts in diary form, Bohannon felt compelled to choose the art form of "an anthropological novel," as the only means of integrating her private (and less than detached) feelings, and her public account of the fieldwork experience. By creating fieldwork "scenes," she made the complexities and frustrations of communication with natives and the self-doubt of her enterprise rich and thoroughly understandable, instead of secret and neurotic and a "shame" to the anthropological community.

Whether the social scientist chooses a diary form, anthropological novel, or an "impressionistic" study, there is evidence that participant-observation causes a "sea-change." If a "stranger status" leads the ethnographer into the field, the field work experience only enhances further the ethnographer's estrangement from his/her own middle class culture: "Like people in some societies after a rite of passage, the ethnologist has a new self after his field experience."⁵⁶ This new self in Frances Donovan's case was one of pride and independence. By immersing herself in other working women's cultures, she discovered that her own identity lay far outside

the classroom. Surely The School Ma'am (1939) was only written through her confirmed stranger status acquired years before in a restaurant (1917) and a department store (1927). Donovan, like Ruth Benedict and many of her Chicago School colleagues transformed herself into "a stranger who can never go home, i.e., never find a point of rest in society. If [she] has any home it is in the anthropological community which emerges as a kind of half-way station between cultures. . . . One might conceive of the anthropological community as a place where strangers meet."⁵⁷

As a stranger among strangers in the sociological community at Chicago, Frances Donovan used her special status to make discoveries about other women and herself. Her life and work are therefore a unique reminder of an exciting period in the social sciences. Believing in their new explanatory power, the Chicago sociologists inspired Frances Donovan to believe in her own.

NOTES

¹ Recent studies that have addressed themselves to the role of the researcher in research include:
 Rosalie Wax, Doing Fieldwork: Warnings and Advice (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971)
 Peggy Golde, Women In the Field: Anthropological Experiences (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970);
 Severyn T. Bruyn, The Human Perspective: The Methodology of Participant Observation (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966);
 Paul Davidson Reynolds, Ethical Dilemmas and Social Science Research (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1979);
 Colin Bell and Howard Newby, eds., Doing Sociological Research (New York: The Free Press, 1977);
 Phillip E. Hammond, ed., Sociologists At Work (New York: Basic Books, 1964);
 Arthur J. Vidich, J. Bensman and M. Stein, eds., Reflections on Community Studies (New York: Harper & Row, 1964);
 Buford H. Junker, Fieldwork: An Introduction To The Social Sciences (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

² Michael Clarke, "Survival In the Field, Implications of Personal Experience in Fieldwork," Theory and Society 2 (1975), p. 97.

³ Clifford Geertz, "From the Native's Point of View" Reprint, Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences 28, 1974, p. 223.

⁴ Clifford Geertz, "Review of Diary In the Strict Sense of the Term" in New York Review of Books 9, September 14, 1967, p. 9. For other responses to Malinowski's published diaries see reviews by Paul Bohannan, Science 156:1076, May 26, 1967; Marvin Harris, Natural History 76:72, August 1967; Patrick Gallagher, New Republic 156:24, June 17, 1967.

⁵ Geertz, ibid.

⁶ Ibid., p. 10.

⁷ Rosalie Wax, Doing Fieldwork, p. 41.

⁸ There is evidence that at least Robert Park was quite familiar with Charles Booth's work (See R. E. Park's "The City As a Social Laboratory," in Chicago: An Experiment in Social Science Research, ed. T. V. Smith, and L. D. White [Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1929], p. 46). Ironically, Booth's work, based on years of living amongst the poor of London, had little impact on the formulation of academic sociology, largely due to his maverick status. With no academic credentials and too much affiliation with reform

Booth's theory and methodology were largely ignored. See On the City: Physical Pattern and Social Structure, ed. with an introduction by Harold W. Pfantz, pp. 3-47.

⁹ Steven Diner, "Department and Discipline: The Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago, 1892-1920," Minerva 13 (Winter, 1975), p. 527.

¹⁰ Robert E. Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment," The City by Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, eds. (1915; rpt. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 3.

¹¹ Winifred Raushenbush, p. 145.

¹² Nels Anderson, The Hobo, 1961 Phoenix edition, p. xiii.

¹³ Frederick Matthews, Quest For An American Sociology: Robert E. Park and The Chicago School (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1977), p. 45.

¹⁴ Georg Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, Translated, Edited, and with an introduction by Kurt H. Wolff, (The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1950) Pt V, Ch. 3, "The Stranger," pp. 402-404.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Richard H. Brown, A Poetic for Sociology (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 53.

¹⁷ Dorothy E. Smith, "Women's Perspective as a Radical Critique of Sociology," Sociological Inquiry 44, p. 11.

¹⁸ Alvin Gouldner, The Coming Crisis in Western Sociology (New York: Basic Books, 1970).

¹⁹ Florence Powdermaker, Stranger and Friend: The Way of An Anthropologist, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1967), p. 20.

²⁰ Clyde Kluckhohn, Mirror for Men (New York: Fawcett World Library, 1957), p. 11. See also Anne Roe, "A Psychological Study of Eminent Psychologists and Anthropologists, and a Comparison with Biological and Physical Scientists," Psychological Monographs. (American Psychological Association), N. 352, 1953, pp. 1-55.

²¹ Powdermaker, p. 20.

²² Muriel Dimen-Schien, The Anthropological Imagination (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1977), p. xiii.

23 Maurice Stein, "Eclipse of Community" in Reflections on Community Studies, p. 207-232.

24 Rosalie Wax, p. 4.

25 John William Ward, "Who Was Benjamin Franklin?" American Scholar 32, pp 541-53.

26 Wax, p. 49.

27 Hazel Hitson Weidman, "On Ambivalence In the Field," Women In the Field.

28 See Margaret Mead, ed. An Anthropologist At Work: Selected Writings of Ruth Benedict (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959); See also Judith Modell, "Looking At Them and Changing Ourselves: Ruth Benedict, Anthropology and American Culture," Paper Presented at the Berkshires Conference of Women Historians, Vassar College, June 1981. Modell, an anthropologist, is working on the first major biographical treatment of Benedict.

29 Peggy Golde, p. 2.

30 Margaret Mead, ed., An Anthropologist At Work, preface, p. 83.

31 Ibid., p. 201.

32 Ibid., p. 3.

33 Margaret Mead, Preface to 1959 edition to Patterns of Culture, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, p. viii.

34 Peter Berger, An Invitation to Sociology (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1963), p. 14.

35 A. N. J. de Hollander, "Social Description: the Problem of Reliability and Validity" Anthropologists In the Field, D. G. Jongmans, P. C. W. Gutkind, (eds.), New York: Humanities Press Publishers, 1967.

36 See Richard H. Minear, "The War-time Studies of Japanese Character," The Japan Interpreter 13 (Summer, 1980) for a review of influential western studies that defined Japan for fellow westerners. The Sword and the Chrysanthemum is of course a major interpretation.

37 Peter Gabriel Filene, Him/Herself: Sex Roles in Modern America (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1974), p. 8.

38 Examples of studies of women's working conditions done by women include:
 Annie Marie Maclean, Wage Earning Women (1910);
 Louise C. Odencrantz, Italian Women in Industry (1919);
 Lorinda Perry, The Millinery Trade in Boston and Philadelphia (1916);
 anonymous, Behind the Scenes in Candy Factories (1928);
 anonymous, Behind the Scenes In a Hotel (1922);
 anonymous, Women as Munition Makers (1917);
 Alice Henry, The Trade Union Women (1915);
 Sue Ainslie Clark, Making Both Ends Meet (1911).

39 As quoted in Christopher Lasch, The New Radicalism In America, p. 25.

40 Marie and Mrs. John Van Vorst, The Woman Who Toils (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1903),

41 Ibid., p. 11.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid., p. 174.

44 Donovan, The Woman Who Waits, p. 18.

45 John Howard Griffin, Black Like Me (1960; rpt. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977), p. 181.

46 Ibid., p. 180.

47 Golde, p. 13.

48 Donovan, The Woman Who Waits, p. 226.

49 Robert E. Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment, The City by Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, eds. (1915; rpt. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 3.

50 James T. Farrell, "Some Observations on Literature and Sociology," in Reflections at Fifty and Other Essays (New York: Vanguard, 1947), p. 84.

51 Michael Clarke, p. 99.

52 Ibid.

53 David Riesman, Introduction to Return to Laughter: An Anthropological Novel (1954; rpt. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1964), p. 1.

⁵⁴ William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), p. 280.

⁵⁵ Elenore Smith Bowen, Return to Laughter: An Anthropological Novel (1954; rpt. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1964), p. 1.

⁵⁶ Charles A. Valentine, Culture and Poverty (Chicago: Univ Chicago Press, 1968), p. 148.

⁵⁷ Dennison Nash, "The Ethnologist As Stranger: An Essay In the Sociology of Knowledge," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 19 (1963), p. 164.

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