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# Sociology at the University of Kansas, 1889–1983: An Historical Sketch

Alan Sica, *University of Kansas*

Sociology at the University of Kansas began in 1889, making it one of the oldest departments in the country. This paper sketches its first 94 years, with special attention given to courses offered, faculty development, and the expansion of its graduate program. Suggestions for further research are made regarding sociology not only at this university, but others as well.

Sociology at the University of Kansas began on Monday, February 3, 1890, at 5 p.m., when Frank Wilson Blackmar initiated a handful of students to “Elements of Sociology,” a course which bears the same title today and which enrolls hundreds each semester. Blackmar was “Professor of History and Sociology,” heading a department of “History and Sociology,” arguably the first in the nation, and therefore the world, to be so named (Sica, 1980). Around 1915, when Albion Small solicited letters from colleagues for his analysis of the discipline’s “first fifty years,” Blackmar responded at length, including this remark: “So far as my knowledge goes, this was the first time that the word ‘sociology’ was used in connection with the name of a university department in the United States” (Small, 1949:202). Small replied, “Professor Blackmar seems to be correct on this point. No evidence of priority in this respect of the University of Kansas is known to the writer of this paper” (Small, 1949). Although some have since claimed that the University of Chicago began the American academic tradition in sociology (e.g., Faris, 1970:11; Lewis and Smith, 1980:xii), this is factually untrue. It does nothing to diminish the stature of the Chicago department to recognize that Blackmar anticipated, not imitated, their venture, and that sociology was already blooming at other Midwestern schools before Small initiated his great experiment.

The point of this historical sketch is not to stir passions over “chronological supremacy,” which Small wisely suggested be left “in a sort of neutral zone” (1949:201). The goal is rather to offer a useful summary of sociological work at Kansas during its first 94 years. Though monographs could profitably be written on Blackmar and some of his colleagues, a shorter approach divides the department’s identity into four areas, treating each one in cursory form: (1) the founding period as Blackmar’s achievement, (2) faculty development, (3) course development, and (4) the (quantitative) growth of graduate study.

## **The Blackmar Period**

Sociologists habitually mute individual accomplishment and innovation in favor

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Mrs. Carroll D. Clark, Professor Emeritus Marston McCluggage, Professors E. Jackson Baur and Charles K. Warriner, John Nugent and the staff of the University Archives, University of Kansas, each aided me in preparing this article. I wish to thank them for their help and free them from my interpretations of the record.

of larger social forces; yet, the record of Frank Blackmar's professional life resists reduction to such generalizing. He was remarkable by any standard and as central to sociology's progress at Kansas as Small was at Chicago, if not more so. The two were intimates, seeming to share a vision of what the discipline could become given energetic leadership—something they apparently both took from Herbert B. Adams, described by Small as “the main dynamo” at Johns Hopkins University. Long ago, Frank Tolman argued that until 1876, when Adams and Richard Ely first offered courses at Hopkins in “the social science group” (as it was known at Chicago much later), there were no courses in American schools which remotely deserved the name “social science” (Tolman, 1902:797). The German practice of awarding doctorates in the social sciences was adapted to American conditions by Adams, and Hopkins quickly became the leader in this new approach to higher education. When Small was sent to Hopkins from Colby College in 1888 to pursue these new currents, he “found a company of graduate students in the Department of History and Politics in number and character combined probably never surpassed in an American university” (Small, 1949: 185). Among those who participated in “Seminary Room” debate at Hopkins, Small recalled 26 future academic and business notables, including “F. W. Blackmar, professor of sociology and economics, University of Kansas.” Blackmar is the only man in Small's list identified as a sociologist, a list compiled in 1916, 28 years after he had first met Blackmar in Baltimore as a fellow graduate student.

The University of Kansas regents, perhaps swayed by Populist Party sentiment, decided they wanted someone to teach sociology, political economy, and so on, and asked Adams to recommend a candidate. Adams replied:

The best man I can suggest for your purposes is Mr. F. W. Blackmar, our senior fellow in History and Politics. . . . He is a man of fine character and ability with lots of hard sense and good tact, withal a good speaker and writer. I have employed him upon the most important of all the government monographs, the Relation of Federal and State Aid to Higher Education, a work covering the financial history of education in thirty-eight states. His report has just been accepted in Washington and will do Blackmar great honor. In fact he can get almost anything he wants after that report is published. You will be lucky if you catch him early and you will have to give him all the law allows. I shall recommend Blackmar to the vacancy at Bryn Mawr, where Woodrow Wilson used to be, if I am asked to nominate. [Giddings got the job (Small, 1949:202).] Blackmar is . . . a popular lecturer to workingmen. I have answered three applications for professors, but have given you the best man” (Blackmar File, KU Archives).

This glowing appraisal was reprinted in the university paper and proved over the years to be more than polite hyperbole. Blackmar's dissertation was published in 1890, won excellent reviews, and became the cornerstone for later research in the field. His next book, *Spanish Institutions in the Southwest*, appeared quickly, and instantly became a classic. It is still in print. Blackmar analyzed Roman social structure, its impact on early modern Spain, and the subsequent transplanting of related forms of social organization to the American Southwest. The book was reviewed by newspapers in New Orleans, Boston, New York, Louisville, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Charleston; in *The Nation*; and at length in Kansas City papers. The reviews were uniformly positive, and Black-

mar suddenly had two national reputations—one in education and the other as a social historian.

Blackmar's lectures to lay audiences in Topeka, Kansas City and elsewhere—on “The Origin of Money,” “The Indian Education Problem,” “Money and Its Circulation,” “Socialism,” “Monopolies,” “Examples of Successful Profit Sharing,” “Temperance,” and so on—drew hundreds of adults, many with advanced degrees (1891 University catalogue:38–39); received careful, lengthy coverage in newspapers; and by 1892, had established him in Kansas and Missouri as a major voice on social and educational matters. Almost incidentally, these lectures evolved into the University Extension service, and because of his crucial role in developing this early form of adult education, he was invited to speak at the University Extension Congress at the Chicago World's Fair in 1894 with other international notables (Blackmar, n.d.; Clark, 1965:97). The university's current off-campus programs owe much of their early success to Blackmar. Then, as now, these benefitted the social sciences in the eyes of legislators who funded the university. In 1908, at 54, he still delivered over 50 lectures a year to the off-campus public. This extraordinary physical and mental output, in light of the transportation of that period, may explain why Blackmar's finest scholarship appears to ebb after *Spanish Institutions*, his other books amounting either to texts or popular histories (Clark, 1965:99). This extracurricular effort expressed Blackmar's faith in Ward's “social teleis,” an anti-Spencerian program for social action, in which universal scientific education figured importantly. The Kansas laity was eager for instruction, judging from the size of his classes (Clark, 1965:95–99), for he was by all accounts an excellent speaker and teacher: “Prof. Frank W. Blackmar met at five o'clock yesterday [c. 1892] the largest optional class of students in the history of the University . . . considering the unpopular hour, the attendance speaks well for the popularity and efficient instruction of Prof. Blackmar” (Blackmar, n.d.).

Blackmar later wrote much of the Juvenile Code for Kansas, became the first dean of the graduate school in 1896, was the ninth president of the ASA (then ASS), in 1919, published 19 books (including texts), and wrote four unpublished volumes and 92 pamphlets and articles. He did this while building a department which produced today's economics, anthropology, social work, and sociology departments. Perhaps needless to say, he was also tall, dark, and handsome.

Soon after arriving at KU, Blackmar published a 69-page handbook and propaganda tract, *The Study of History and Sociology*, where he admitted his pleasure at being in a “young, growing institution,” with “an advantage in outlining policy over older and wealthier institutions without obstructions which essentially arise on account of traditional usage” (1980b:6). As a former professor of mathematics and a published author, and with Adams' recommendation, it is unlikely that Blackmar was forced to take a position in remote Kansas. Rather, he saw a setting unconstrained by the fetters of tradition or political harassment in which to advance Hopkins' social science eclecticism. Toward this end, he continued Adams' practice of convening weekly meetings of scholars, from which *Seminary Notes*, edited by Blackmar and two junior faculty, was produced. *Seminary Notes* was the record of research papers read to all students enrolled in sociology and history courses, as well as to other

interested parties, some of whom came many miles by train to make each Friday evening session. The first issue appeared in May, 1891, 10 cents for 24 pages) and included synopses of the papers "The Shelby Expedition to Mexico," "Wages and Wage-Earners," "Limitations of Legislation," "Irrigation," and "The Afro-American Outlook," as well as others. Two volumes were produced (totalling nearly 400 double-columned pages) between May, 1891, and May, 1893, but apparently none thereafter. Such a document in these early days of the discipline probably achieved its goal, which was "to increase the interest in the study of historical science in the University and throughout the State" (Blackmar et. al., 2:7 [May, 1893]:172).

In proselytizing his new field, Blackmar explained that: . . . sociology has, in a special sense, a specific work to do on its own account which is an important aid to history. It examines the universal elements and changes in different societies; it searches for the universal factors of society-building, the universal types of society forms, and the active functions of the social organism. The chief mark of distinction is that sociology treats of universals, while history treats of individuals (1890b:33).

He explains that "a great amount of historical material must be used in sociology, in addition to statistics," but with special caution since "no other branch is so useful, and yet none other so misleading in its effects" (Blackmar, 1890b:34). (The first statistics course was offered in 1891.) "Elements of Sociology" ("Lectures on the evolution of social institutions from the primitive unit, the family; including a discussion of the laws and conditions which tend to organize society") appeared for the first time in the 1889–90 catalogue. Other sociology courses which soon followed included "Charities and Corrections" (1891), "The Status of Women in the United States" (1891)—the syllabus for which lists a gigantic amount of historical and comparative reading—"Questions in Practical Sociology" (1893), and many other courses in political economics and history, some with an obvious sociological bent. Though Blackmar did not say so in public documents that I have been able to find, his statement above and the way he organized the curriculum indicate he was clearly aware of the unresolved *Metho-denstreit* between historians and social scientists, and he allowed the tension to continue in his own program.

Although Blackmar added several men to his department during the decade, he alone taught sociology courses between 1890 and fall, 1902. At his peak, he offered a master's degree in the field (though others taught economics and history, all of which were combined in German fashion) by teaching the following: "Elements of Sociology," "Social Pathology," "Socialization and Social Control," "Social Statistics," "General Anthropology," "Ethnology," "Criminology and Penology," "American and European Charities," and "Social and Political Theories," the last four being graduate courses (1901–02 Univ. Catalogue). It is little wonder he wrote textbooks in several areas, the hallmark of the generalist now long gone. For all his positive qualities as a professional, in the end, his pride and self-regard undid him. It seems he was removed as chair of the department in 1925 when the Park and Burgess text was chosen by his colleagues over his own (Clark, n.d.:5). He retired in 1926 and died March 30, 1931, having put in 37 years at KU and thousands of miles on the road as a sociological pioneer.

### The Growth of the Faculty

The first man hired by Blackmar to teach courses that were clearly sociological was Arthur J. Boynton (B.A. Harvard; M.A., Columbia, 1902), who taught in 1902 "Socialization and Social Control" and "Social and Economic Statistics." He stayed until his untimely death in 1928, while heading the economics department. In 1909, Maurice F. Parmelee arrived (M.A., Yale; Ph.D., Columbia, 1909) and taught "American Ethnology," "Social Psychology," "Criminology," "Socialization and Social Control," "Psychological Sociology," "Anthropology," and "Ethnology." He stayed only a year, allegedly because his interest in nudism bothered Blackmar, but also perhaps because he was overworked. To take his place came a major voice in the department for many years, Victor E. Helleberg (B.A., Yale, 1883; B.L., Cincinnati, 1885) who had just come from graduate study at the University of Chicago and was full of George H. Mead. Helleberg is the first member of what Lewis and Smith called "The Kansas Connection" (1980:235–36). According to Carroll Clark's testimony, he was a "disciple of Mead. The term 'disciple' is not too strong because Helleberg was the kind of teacher who, though vastly stimulating, had a tendency to draw students around him almost in a cult" (Lewis and Smith, 1980:236). Helleberg mimeographed most of Mead's articles for his KU students and published at his own expense a Meadian work, *The Social Self: The Star in the Human Comedy, an Evolutionary Social Psychology Sketch* (1941), but he never finished his Ph.D. at Chicago.

The next new sociology instructor, by contrast, became an institution in the discipline, and was as ambitious and upwardly mobile as Helleberg was not: Ernest W. Burgess. With a B.A. from Kingfisher College (1908) and a new Ph.D., Burgess came to Lawrence in 1913 and taught "Social Pathology," "Remedial and Collective Agencies," "Anthropology," "Ethnology," and "Rural Sociology." But the most important element of Burgess' two-year stay at KU was his work on two of the five ethnographies in the "Social Surveys Series" directed by Blackmar. The first, *Belleville Social Survey* by Burgess and J. J. Sippy, M.D., "with an introduction by F. W. Blackmar, Director of the Survey," was published in 1915 as "a study of social conditions in Belleville, Kansas, made for the purpose of basing a plan for community welfare upon a knowledge of community problems." Twenty-eight Belleville residents took part in "surveying" industry, recreation, schools, churches, delinquency, dependency, and social structure of the town, and Burgess assembled the 70-page report. Two years later, after Burgess had returned to Chicago, his *Lawrence Social Survey* was published, more ambitious at 120 pages and much more professional in scope and research quality. One wonders how much effect this first professional fieldwork had on the future power in the Chicago sociology department. He was only 29 when he came to Lawrence—Blackmar was Dean of the Graduate School and 30 years his senior. The similarity between these early works and the urban ethnographies that made Chicago's reputation later on cannot be missed, so it is possible that "Chicago sociology" received a major impulse while Burgess was in Kansas.

In 1912, sociology was separated from economics and stood alone as a department for the first time. Summer school courses were offered, graduate de-

degrees granted, and some distinguished visiting professors came to Kansas, notably Richard T. Ely in 1903 from Wisconsin and Edwin H. Sutherland in 1916. In 1915, the sixth sociologist was hired—another element in the “Kansas Connection”—Walter B. Bodenhafer (M.A., Kansas, 1915), who taught “Social Pathology,” “Remedial and Corrective Agencies,” and other courses usually relegated to new faculty. He is known today as the first graduate student at Chicago to use Mead’s work in a dissertation, published in the *AJS* (Bodenhafer, 1921). It is likely he was sent to Chicago for his doctorate at the encouragement of Helleberg. This practice of sending the best graduate students to Chicago for the Ph.Ds became so institutionalized at Kansas that its own doctoral program, officially begun in 1896, suffered.

Since 1889, 84 sociologists have held full-time positions at KU. Among those who stayed for some time were Walter Robinson Smith (Ph.D., Chicago, 1907), appointed professor in 1919, the first man hired at full rank since Blackmar’s arrival 30 years before; Stuart A. Queen (Ph.D., Chicago, 1919) came as professor in 1921 and published the text *Social Pathology* in 1925, near the middle of his stay at KU, with Delbart Mann, another staff member; Seba Eldridge (Ph.D., Columbia, 1925) taught at KU from 1921 until his death in 1953 while editing the Thomas Y. Crowell Social Science Series and publishing many books of his own. Perhaps the man who best typified Kansas sociology in the post-Blackmar period was Carroll D. Clark. He was raised in Kansas (for an interesting account, see Clark, 1970), took his first two degrees at KU, made the ritual trip to Chicago for his doctorate (1931), and chaired the department from 1931 until 1962, with time out for duty in World War II. He was extremely active in social research for the benefit of the state and locale, published a distinguished series of books and articles, and built the department into one of the largest and most respected in the Midwest.

Among those who came during Clark’s period at the helm was Mabel A. Elliott (Ph.D., Northwestern, 1929), the first woman on the staff, who left in 1947 with the rank of Associate Professor. Another Northwestern Ph.D. (1935), Noel P. Gist, taught at KU from 1929 to 1931 and again between 1932 and 1937. Mapheus Smith (Ph.D., Vanderbilt, 1931) served on the faculty from 1930 to 1946. Another widely known man, Loren Eiseley, anthropologist and philosopher, began his academic career under Clark in 1937 (after receiving his Ph.D. from Pennsylvania) and taught anthropology courses until sometime during World War II, probably 1943. A very important woman locally, Esther Twente, who began the KU School of Social Work, started as a sociologist in 1937, retiring in 1966. Hilden Gibson (Ph.D., political science, Stanford, 1940), taught from 1939 until 1955, and Marston McCluggage, the first Kansas Ph.D. to find a position at his *alma mater*, taught from 1938 until 1977, the year before Clark’s death.

This takes us roughly up to the World War II, after which sociology expanded nationally and at Kansas, as well, such that the department numbered seven full-time members in 1944, nine in 1950, 10 in 1955, 13 in 1965, 16 in 1968, 20 in 1970, 16 in 1975, and 18 today. In 1962, the chairmanship passed from Clark to Charles K. Warriner (Ph.D., Chicago, 1953); in 1970, to E. Jackson Baur (Ph.D., Chicago, 1942); to Murray Wax for one year; and, after an

acting chairman, to Scott G. McNall (Ph.D., Oregon, 1965) in 1977, the seventh man to hold the position in a regular capacity.

What of a general nature can be said about faculty development at Kansas? The most obvious feature is the high quality Ph.D.s attracted to Kansas during its pre-World War II period: Chicago, Yale, Columbia, Northwestern, Stanford, and so on. Women played a small role in the department's history until very recently. There are now four women in the department, but only Esther Twente (made Professor of Social Work in 1947) and Elaine Burgess (at KU 1967–68) were promoted to full professor. Blacks were not on the faculty until the mid-1970s, and then very briefly. Neither of these "omissions" is unique to Kansas, of course. Though Blackmar discouraged women (around 1920) from pursuing doctorates, since then, women have constituted a large portion of the graduate population (see section 4). I have found no evidence of overt sexism or racism on the part of the faculty. Carroll Clark and others occasionally experienced political problems in the state, especially in the 1930s, for being perceived by editors and legislators as politically "pink." Thus, it is unlikely the department was a conservative stronghold. Also, in the early 1950s, Seba Eldridge was attacked by George E. Sokosky, a right-wing columnist with a national audience, for having written approvingly of "democratic collectivization" in a letter to the *New York Times*. A flurry of letters to Eldridge from supporters and haters resulted, but the entire affair calls for separate treatment. But for all that the facts remain: the department has been almost exclusively male, white, Protestant, and staffed by doctorates from elite universities, preponderantly the University of Chicago. How different this is from other major institutions, and what it means, can only be ascertained when other histories are written.

### **Course Development**

Part of this area was treated above, specifically regarding Blackmar's teaching responsibilities during 1902, his last year as the sole sociology instructor. Nine courses were all his, and he taught them to undergraduate and graduate students alike. His thoroughness is revealed by the syllabus for the "Status of Woman" course he taught only once, in 1894. "This outline is intended to be suggestive only, and may be modified to suit the convenience of classes and clubs. The work may be extended over one or two years as the case may require. Indeed, there is work enough outlined for three years." The outline includes five major sections, treating women in the U.S., Europe, the Orient, the Middle Ages, and in ancient life. The first and most important section is subdivided into 10 areas, then further reduced to 39 others, including the industrial condition of women, the elevation of working women in cities, women in the professions, the property rights of women, the political status of women, social questions: marriage and divorce, temperance, scientific charity, the education of women, and women in literature. The reading list is comprised of 32 volumes, (including one in French and one in German) plus works by J. S. Mill, Lecky, Ward, Lewis Henry Morgan, Spencer, the Goncourt brothers, and Woodrow Wilson (*The State*). Given Blackmar's zeal, it is not surprising the course lasted such a short time; it was not restored to the curriculum until the 1970s. It is apparent that

students then were expected to read vast quantities of material in three languages, and, in keeping with Blackmar's training at Hopkins, historical and comparative sources figured strongly in most of his courses, supplementing the "empirical" research then available.

While it is simple to list course titles offered during the department's history, it is harder to know their substance. In the early years, course descriptions in annual catalogues were quite brief, but after 1901, they suddenly grew in bulk, sometimes even supplying reading lists. Among the fullest descriptions ever published were those in the 1903–04 catalogue. "Social Pathology" was "a general study of pauperism, crime, charities and correction, and social problems . . . Description of tenement houses, social settlements, the condition of the poor in large cities, jails, reformatories, hospitals for the insane, penitentiaries, etc. is given. Each student is required to visit at least two social institutions, and report on the same." "Social and Economic Statistics" received a 15-line description. For "Social and Political Theories," Blackmar had assigned for reading "The laws of Moses as exemplified in the Hebrew commonwealth; Plato's *Republic*; Aristotle's *Theory of Government*; St. Augustine's *City of God*; Dante's *de monarchia*; Machiavelli's *Prince*; Campanella's *City of the Sun*; More's *Utopia* and Bacon's *Atlantis*," for the first half—in the second part, attention would shift to "modern socialistic theories, including French and German socialists and recent development in social democracy."

By and large, once a course appeared in the catalogue, it stayed for many years, but a few came and went very quickly (notably "Eugenics" in 1912–13—"A study of the agencies under social control that may improve or impair racial qualities, either mentally, morally, or physically. . ."—and "Somatology" in 1903–04, left undescribed). Other courses were kept on the books, but over time lost their original flavor. All told, in the 80 years between 1889 and 1969, the department listed 132 courses with substantially different contents. This does not include cosmetic changes, nor does it take into account certain anthropology courses given to the new anthropology department in the early 1960s. A chronological history of course development is as follows:

Course Title	Year First Offered	Graduate Course	Still Taught 1982–83
1. Elements of Sociology	1889		X
2. Charities & Corrections	1891		
3. Status of Woman in the U.S.			
4. Statistics			X
5. Status of Woman	1892		X
6. Questions in Practical Sociology	1893		
7. Sociology: Dynamic & Descriptive			
8. Political & Social Institutions		X	
9. Anthropology	1896	X	
10. Principles & Theories of Sociology		X	
11. Social Pathology		X	

Course Title	Year First Offered	Graduate Course	Still Taught 1982-83
12. Special Studies in American & European Charities		X	
13. Principles of Sociology	1897		X
14. Advanced Course in Sociology, including Racial Statistics			
15. Socialization & Social Control	1899	X	
16. Ethnology			
17. Criminology & Penology		X	
18. Social Theories & Social Problems (End of Blackmar teaching alone.)			
19. Social & Economics Statistics	1902		
20. Social & Political Theories		X	
21. The Family	1903		X
22. American Ethnology		X	
23. Prehistoric Archaeology of the American Race		X	
24. Somatology		X	
1a (Elements of Sociology divided into two semesters)			
11a (Social Pathology divided into two semesters)			
25. Psychological Sociology			X
26. Applied Sociology	1906		
27. Remedial & Corrective Agencies			
28. Socialism			X
29. Preparation for Public Service		X	
30. Criminology	1909		X
31. Contemporary Society in the U.S.	1910		X
32. Rural Sociology	1911		
33. Eugenics	1912	X	
34. Development of Social Theory		X	X
35. Introduction to Social Theory	1913		
36. Preparation for Institutional & Social Service	1914	X	
37. Public Opinion			
38. Social Surveys (E. W. Burgess)			
39. Municipal Sociology (E. W. Burgess)			
40. Seminar of Social Investigation	1915	X	
41. Immigration and Race Problems in the U.S. (dropped in 1921)	1916		
42. Vital Statistics			
43. Research Problems in Criminology	1918	X	
44. Community Organization			

Course Title	Year First Offered	Graduate Course	Still Taught 1982-83
45. Urban Sociology	1919		X
46. Social Evolution			
47. Sociology & the Law		X	X
48. Social Engineering	1920		
49. Social Case Work	1921		
50. Social Factors in Politics			
51. Development of Social Work	1923		
52. Cultural Anthropology	1926		
53. Psychiatric Aspects of Social Work			
54. Population Problems	1927		
55. Sociological Aspects of Leadership	1931	X	
56. Social Control	1934		
57. Principles of Collectivism	1935		
58. Evolution of Culture			
59. Public Welfare & Its Administration	1936		
60. Advanced General Sociology	1937		X
61. Personality Problems & Social Relations			
62. Social Conflict		X	
63. Advanced Criminology			
64. Collective Behavior (First Honors course offered)			X
65. The American Indian (Loren Eiseley)	1938		
65. Intro. to Community Organization Primitive Society (Eiseley) Peoples & Cultures of the Pacific (Eiseley) Methods of Archaeology & Anthropology (Eiseley)		X	
66. Current Public Issues	1939		
67. Major Social Movements			
68. Crime Prevention & Probation Intro. to Physical Anthro. (Eiseley)	1941	X	
69. Total War & Modern Society			
70. Social Reconstruction of the Postwar World			
71. America at War			
72. Minority Groups & Race Relations			
73. Culture & Personality			
11a Social Pathology renamed Social Disorganization	1946		
74. Society & the Individual		X	
75. Seminar in the Community		X	
76. Social Movements & Social Controls			

Course Title	Year First Offered	Graduate Course	Still Taught 1982-83
77. Modern Social Practices	1948		
78. Techniques of Opinion Measurement	1948		
79. Dynamics of Social Organization		X	
80. Marriage & Family Relationships			
81. Prehistoric Man (taught by a sociologist)			
82. Methods of Ethnology			
83. Methods of Social Research, I & II		X	X
84. Population & Ecology	1951		
85. Juvenile Delinquency			
86. Seminar in Family Relationships		X	
87. Marriage Counselling		X	
88. Industrial Sociology	1952		X
89. The Small Community	1953		
90. Intro. to Community Organization			
91. Engagement & Marriage	1954		
92. Sociology of the Family	1955		X
93. Family Life Organization			
94. Religion & Society	1956		X
95. Sociological Aspects of Medicine	1957		X
96. Sociology of Deviant Behavior	1959		X
97. Opinion Surveying			
98. Groups & Associations	1960		X
99. Social Stratification			X
100. Sociology of the Mass Media			
101. World Population Problems			X
102. Demography			
103. Seminar on Social Change		X	
104. Seminar in Role Theory		X	
105. Dynamics of Social Systems		X	
106. Cross-Cultural Study of the Family	1961		
107. Intro. to the Sociology of Asia	1962		
108. Comparative Societies	1964		X
109. History of Sociology			X
110. Intro. to Social Research			X
111. Sociology of Asian Religions			
112. Developing Societies of Asia			
113. Applied Social Anthropology			
114. Theory & Method in Human Ecology		X	X
115. Seminar in Causation of Crime & Delinquency		X	X
116. Population Analysis	1965	X	
117. Logic of Sociological Inquiry	1966	X	X
118. Analytical Methods in Sociology		X	X

Course Title	Year First Offered	Graduate Course	Still Taught 1982-83
119. Sociometric Methods in Sociology		X	X
120. Philippine Social Structures			
121. Theories of Social Problems		X	
122. Seminar in Comparative Socialization		X	
123. Seminar on Sociological Theorists		X	X
124. Socialization	1968-69		
125. Occupations & Professions			
126. Latin American Social Structure			X
127. Sociology of Development	1968-69		X
128. Comparative Quantitative Sociology			
129. Sociology of Education		X	X
130. French Social Thought		X	
131. Advanced Organizational Sociology		X	X
132. Seminar on Sociological Thought and Model Construction		X	X

Thirty-four new courses (26 percent) were added between 1960 and 1968 (9 percent of the time span), and this explosive pace has continued. Since 1968-69, dozens of courses have been added (with only a few deleted), such as sociologies of sport, literature and the arts, power, politics, racism, ethnic minorities, nonethnic minorities, science, mental illness, war and peace, knowledge, language, the New South, human sexuality, sex roles, aging, the economy, work, violence, and culture. Many other courses, some fairly exotic—unusual groups, industrial revolution and capitalist development, environment and society, cybernetics, transnational power—also found places in the timetable. The following table displays the extent of this growth over roughly five-year intervals:

Year	Undergraduate Courses	Graduate Courses	Total Offered
1889	1	—	1
1895	2	—	2
1900	6	4	10
1905	10	3	13
1910	10	5	15
1915	15	6	21
1920	22	7	29
1925	19	3	22
1930	22	3	25
1935	24	4	28
1940	31	4	35
1946	24	7	31
1950	29	9	38
1955	36	13	39

Year	Undergraduate Courses	Graduate Courses	Total Offered
1960	31	14	45
1965	47	11	58
1968	51	29	80
1974	65	33	98
1981	86	24	110

Obviously, not all courses printed in the catalogues were offered each year (though they more often were during the department's earliest years), but even taking that into consideration, the increase over the last 20 years has been marked (over 200 percent) and not likely to be seen again in this century.

An important question arises as to how many students actually took the courses and, relatedly, how many majors the department awarded. Compiling data for all 94 years was not possible, but one helpful source, a student at the time, provided these figures for the 1920s:

Year	B.A. in Sociology		M.A. in Sociology	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
1920	22	19	8	3
1921	17	2	2	1
1922	14	3	3	1
1923	19	4	2	0
1924	25	10	2	2
1925	19	5	0	0
1926	19	5	7	3
1927	12	4	1	0
1928	25	7	1	0
1929	13	3	2	0

\*Two black women in each class.

Sources: Mrs. Carroll C. Clark; Bessie Wilder, 1949: 184-92.

Whereas required courses for sociology majors today are few, it was once otherwise. In 1923, either "Social Pathology," "Rural Sociology," and "Psychological Sociology" or "Urban, Community Organization" and "Social Evolution and Culture" were required, plus "Elements of Sociology," five hours of political science, five hours of economics, and other sociology courses. In 1937, the major was more structured, with students having to take one course from each of four thematic areas (Social Systems, Community, Social Psychology, and Anthropology), each composed of three sociology or anthropology courses. This style of well-meant coercion for majors was maintained until 1964.

One sees, then, two forms of frenetic intellectual activity: the generalist's vs. the specialist's. Blackmar's almost comic attempt to cover everything historical and sociological by himself, is counterposed to the phenomenal growth and renewed intellectual imperialism evidenced by new courses introduced over the

last two decades. In 1895, one man thought he should cover the waterfront, as a moral duty, in the name of social science. Now, nearly a score of workers, freed from Blackmar's moral-pedagogical burden, make even broader claims for the discipline, with each responsible for a moderate part of the whole. What has not changed is the effort put into research and publishing, which, in turn, results in proliferation of new courses. If our faith in "social teleosis" has atrophied, the struggle to systematize social knowledge has not; of that, at least, Blackmar would probably approve.

### The Growth of Graduate Study

The University of Chicago sociology department rightly claims "primacy" if not "priority" in the discipline's history, principally because of its outstanding graduate program, which made available to schools like Kansas so many of their earliest faculty. Graduate study in the discipline at KU has a perplexing history. On one hand, it can be dated from 1893; yet, on the other, it produced but a few doctorates well into the 1930s. If it is asked whether Kansas was an important early center for advanced study in sociology, the answer must be "yes and no," as we shall see.

The 1893-94 catalogue announced 11 "lines" (of study) in which one might pursue a Ph.D., including "Political Economy, Sociology, American and European History," which was *one* line. In the first year (1891-92) that majors were listed (instead of the classical curricula: "Latin Scientific," "General Scientific," "Modern Literature," "Classical: General Language," and "English-Latin"), history and sociology boasted four seniors and 11 juniors, including Bessie Hand, the first woman to pursue sociology at KU. (Data for this and other years are in the Table on p. 619). The first sociology graduate student was William Wallace Brown in 1892-93, though he did not receive an M.A. from the department. The number of graduate students, residents and nonresident, steadily grew between 1892 and 1898 (see Table), finally making up 19 percent of all resident graduate students at the university in 1897.

For a better understanding of the graduate program's actual content, we turn again to Blackmar. In 1920, he oversaw the publication of *Titles to Theses* as part of his duties as dean of the graduate school. He wrote that the graduate school, organized in 1896-97 "began its regular work in 1907-08," but granted 89 advanced degrees *before* 1896. "Nearly all of the graduate work up to date was done in *absentia* and consisted largely of courses in reading outlined by instructors and examination thereon" (pp. 3, 8). But after discussing in detail the nature of changes introduced into advanced study between 1890 and 1920, he pointed to the stupendous gap between the numbers of masters degrees and doctorates awarded. Between 1896 and 1919, 644 students received an M.A. and 66 more received an M.S., whereas a mere 9 received a Ph.D. Blackmar explained: "As very few doctor's degrees have been conferred, the tendency has been to magnify the importance of the master's degree and many of the theses that have been written for the master's degree would do credit to candidates for the doctor's degree" (*ibid.*, 9). Although it was not possible to check all 44 theses and one dissertation approved by the department between 1897 and 1919, a few examined strongly support Blackmar's claim. For instance, in

1915, Caroline V. Greer submitted "The Americanization of the Children of the People of Little Italy in Kansas City, Mo.," a crisply written, 127-page work. It includes an analysis of Italian life in the home country, with special emphasis on the causes for migration to the U.S. and elsewhere; a demographic breakdown of Italian-Americans in Kansas City; and a very insightful and sympathetic ethnography of the Italian-American community and its contacts with the dominant culture and other ethnic minorities. The thesis is still germane and shows a remarkable combination of historical and secondary research, coupled with fieldwork. Other theses include the first one, Willis Banker's "The Genesis of Religion" (1897), George Barcus' "The People's Party" (1902), Lizzie Goodnight's "The Negroes of Lawrence" (1903), Lizzie Smith's "Marriage and Divorce" (1906), Charles Barnett's "The Necessity for Restricting Immigration" (1907), Birdie Greenough's "The Development and Influence of the English Poor Law Prior to 1601" (1909), Lulu Smith's "A Study of the Korean People" (1911), and "A Theory of World Organization" by Ralph Nelson (1916). The only doctorate of the period was Stanton Olinger's "A Survey of the Fraternity Situation, Kansas University" (1916).

*Earliest Sociology Majors at the University of Kansas*

Year	Majors*/ All		% Women	% All Soc. Stds.	Majors All		% Women	% All Soc. Stds.
	Seniors				Juniors			
1891-92	4 / 24	17	0	0	11 / 46	24	1	9
1892-93	10 / 41	24	1	10	9 / 36	25	2	22
1893-94	10 / 43	23	3	30	15 / 50	30	2	13

\*At this point in the history of the university, single majors were the exception. A more typical configuration was a major in "history, political economy, and sociology," or even "geometry, French, and sociology." Whenever sociology appeared it was counted as a major, which accounts in part for the high percentages of total majors.

*Earliest Sociology Graduate Students at the University of Kansas*

Year	Soc. Grad. Stds. (Resi- dent)		% Women	% All Soc. Stds. (Grad. Non- Res.)	Soc. Grad. Stds. (Res.)		% Women	% All Soc. Grad. Stds.
	All Grad. Stds.				Grad. Stds.			
1892-93	0 / 7	0	0	0	1 / 13	0	0	0
1893-94	1 / 6	17	0	0	3 / 9	33	3	100
1894-95	0							
1895-96	1 / 17	6	0	0	2 / 6	33	0	0
1896-97	5 / 20	25	1	20	1 / 6	17	0	0
1897-98	7 / 37	19	1	14	1 / 2	50	0	0

Returning to Blackmar's remark and the astonishing lack of doctoral degrees (the next in sociology were George Kleihege's in 1932, Charles Rogler's in 1936, and Marston McCluggage's in 1941) one is struck by two questions: why was the department so hesitant to encourage students to pursue doctorates in Lawrence—rather than in Chicago—and why, in contradiction to this, were so many

apparently able students willing to write overly demanding masters theses? The second question is more puzzling than the first, and this modesty in conferring doctorates continued until fairly recently, as evidenced by a statement which appeared in the university catalogue for more than ten years: "Candidates for the Ph.D. are required to complete one year of graduate work at some other university having a strong graduate curriculum in sociology before beginning their last year of residence in this department" (1951-52 catalogue: 212). Unless this was a standard requirement in most graduate programs of sociology at the time, it seems very peculiar, almost designed to discourage students from reaching the terminal degree stage at Kansas.

Yet, the department has carried on continuous, very active graduate education ever since Blackmar established a formal graduate school, as recorded in these figures:

Year	M.A. Theses Approved	Ph.D. Dissertations Approved
1897-1910	11	
1911-1920	41	1
1921-1930	24	
1931-1940	18	2
1941-1950	14	1
1951-1958	19	3
	<u>127</u>	<u>7</u>

Source: Wilder, 1949; 1961

It will be interesting to see, when histories of other Midwestern universities are written, how this imbalance between masters and doctorate degrees compares with the Kansas practice. It is clear that able faculty where available, judging from their degrees and publications, as was interest among students (quite a few of whom won their Ph.D.'s elsewhere). Carroll Clark refers obliquely to "the restrictive policy [regarding doctorates] set by the Department after 1921 when Eldridge joined the staff, or maybe it was set when Queen joined in 1922-23" (Clark, 1964:3), but the inspiration for this restriction remains unclear.

In the interest of brevity, a table, "Sociology Graduate Students, 1898-1940" was compiled from annual catalogues to supplement the three previous tables in this section. There are a few readily observable trends in graduate enrollment—which, it should be emphasized, does not always equate with degrees granted. A huge drop occurred in the university's ratio of sociology graduate students to all graduate students—from 33 percent in 1898 to 1 percent in 1939-40. Judging from masters degrees submitted, the first heydays occurred between 1911 and 1920—the muckraking period. It is interesting to note that while the percentage of women graduate students in the university dropped from 44 percent to 26 percent between 1923 and 1940, in sociology, women stabilized at around 40 percent, a level which continues today. The department now has in residence about 35 graduate students, with many more *in absentia*, and, during the last decade or so, has granted many more Ph.D.s than were awarded during its first 70 years (12 between 1970 and 1973, more than 35 since). The Kansas case seems to illustrate a truism in the field: no matter how distinguished a department's faculty in terms of publications and other standard indicators, in order

to gain a truly national reputation, it must "produce" doctorates in quantity. If Kansas until the 1970s has stood in the shadow of other large state universities, it is in no small part due to the "restrictive policy" set in 1921 or 1922. The quality and quantity of graduate students in the Kansas sociology program continue to grow in the face of "social forces" that would curtail both.

*Sociology Graduate Students, 1898–1940, at the University of Kansas*

Year	Soc. Grad. Stds.	/	All Grad. Stds.	%	Women Soc. Grad. Stds.	% All Soc. Grad. Stds.
1898–99	14	/	42	33	3	21
1899–00	9	/	57	16	3	33
1900–01	19	/	82	23	7	37
1901–02	32	/	63	51	12	38
1902–03	19	/	63	30	7	37
1903–04*	8	/	56	14	2	25
1904–05	4	/	78	5	3	75
1905–06	9	/	90	10	6	67
1906–07	13	/	89	15	3	23
1907–08	8	/	102	8	0	0
1908–09	14	/	103	14	6	43
1909–10	13	/	131	10	4	31
1910–11	20	/	155	13	3	15
1911–12	8	/	122	7	0	0
Summer sch.	3	/	45	7	1	33
1912–13	17	/	120	14	5	29
Summer sch.	7	/	74	9	3	43
1913–14	13	/	127	10	4	31
1914–15	18	/	143	13	5	28
1915–16	9	/	151	6	1	11
1916–17	9	/	137	7	2	22
1917–18	9	/	87	10	4	44
1918–19	10	/	110	9	6	60
Summer sch.	3	/	139	2	1	33
1919–20	8	/	120	7	1	13
Summer sch.	10	/	115	9	3	30

\*The first year that graduate students could list only one field of concentration, which accounts for the dramatic percentage drop in sociology graduate students. There were at this time 18 areas for graduate concentration.

*Sociology Graduate Students, 1898–1940, at the University of Kansas*

Year	Soc. GSs	/	All GSs	%	Women Soc. GSs	% All Soc. GSs	All Male GSs	All Female GSs	% Female
1920–21	7	/	117	6	3	43	—	—	—

1921-22	8 / 162	5	5	63	—	—	—
1922-23	10 / 154	6	3	30	—	—	—
1923-24	8 / 236	3	3	38	133	103	44
1924-25	18 / 263	7	10	56	138	125	48
1925-26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1926-27	9 / 303	3	1	11	169	134	44
1927-28	14 / 319	4	5	36	182	137	43
1928-29	18 / 343	5	10	56	204	139	41
1929-30	12 / 329	4	4	33	196	133	40
1930-31	15 / 396	4	8	53	230	166	42
1931-32	17 / 443	4	6	35	288	155	35
1932-33	11 / 472	2	2	18	303	169	36
1933-34	10 / 400	3	3	30	246	154	39
1934-35	10 / 322	3	5	50	205	117	36
1935-36	15 / 353	4	5	33	228	125	35
1936-37	8 / 418	2	3	38	282	136	33
1937-38	11 / 378	3	4	36	260	118	31
1938-39	11 / 444	2	5	45	318	126	28
1939-40	7 / 473	1	3	43	350	123	26

Source: Annual University of Kansas catalogues. After 1940 the "Roll of Students," usually published in the rear of the catalogue, giving name, subject area, undergraduate degrees, and hometown, was no longer published.

*Concluding note.* This trot through the department's past is skeletal intellectual history without the human details that make it all matter—more the *Annales* approach, taken to an extreme, than German-style history of *Geist*. A fuller treatment would have to include biographical details about instructors and their students, plus something more difficult to capture: an analysis of the interaction between socio-political and cultural life in Kansas and in the U.S., and socio-logical instruction within the university. This sketch is a prologue to that larger, more satisfying work.

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