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Mari Sandoz' Sociological Imagination: *Capital City* as an Ideal Type

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines Mari Sandoz' (1939) novel *Capital City* from the perspective of sociology.¹ I outline Sandoz' data collection methods and consider her use of ideal-type analysis and sociological imagination. From the perspective of literary critics it may be, as Helen Stauffer (1982: 131) judged, that *Capital City* "is not a successful novel." It is not my purpose, however, to contest the merit of Sandoz' work on literary grounds. Rather, I invoke the viewpoint of the sociologist and note the criteria on which I conclude that *Capital City* is a complex and well-executed sociological study.

Capital City was Sandoz' third major project, following *Old Jules* and *Slogum House*. She began work on *Capital City* (initially conceived as a satiric stage play and tentatively titled *State Capital*) when her ethnographic research with the Cheyennes was interrupted in the fall of 1938 by her mother's illness and subsequent death. She wrote to her publisher:

Because Mother's uncertain health and my unfinished research prevented my departure for Montana until too late for camping out for my Cheyenne interviews, I'm left with the winter rather unoccupied. I might play, except that a growing uneasiness about some of the social trends in the middlewest, particularly in the capital towns, won't let me. So I decided upon a play, a satire, if I could manage it, to be called "State Capital" and started to go through my files

of notes. Two weeks of this and the accumulation of material and the growing importance of the theme convinced me that I should put this into a novel,—covering a short space of time, say two or three months, and immediately contemporary. This would not be any special state capital and yet might be any one or all those that have little commerce, produce nothing much—just live off the capitol and the adjacent university. In other words, parasites, as Washington is the arch parasite, of all the world, so far as I know just now.²

Capital City was a new form for Sandoz—“an interesting experiment in writing” as Stauffer (1983: 130) put it—in which the city itself was cast as a principal dramatic actor.

Sandoz worked on *Capital City* while living in Lincoln, Nebraska, a city that exemplified the characteristics of what she conceived as a parasitic social form: the typical state capital. She created Franklin, a realistic capital city in the midwestern state of Kanewa. For Sandoz, Franklin achieved a reality all its own, and she confided to her publisher in the midst of her writing in April, 1939:

The book promises to be pretty good, and certainly unlike anything that I've ever seen. It has grown so convincing to me I can hardly believe that it isn't the story of a real community, with items about its larger happenings in my evening paper. Not even the *Old Jules* took on such actuality for me.³

Each day, Sandoz' evening newspaper was replete with Depression era news: labor strife, dispossessed farmers, bank failures, political deals, the social whirl of the well-to-do, and the growing fascist menace in Europe. These events—and the realities of private anguish that rarely claim journalists' notice—were welded into the fabric of *Capital City* and the story of Franklin. During an evening's respite from her work in January, 1939, Sandoz attended a Lincoln recital by visiting pianist Jose Iturbe, but even here Franklin pursued her thoughts. On the concert program she wrote a memorandum to herself, “Keep to the conflict between city and man. Point it up.”⁴ Space does not permit a detailed summary of the plot and character development in *Capital City*, but useful synopses are found elsewhere.⁵ Here, I focus on *Capital City* as an exemplar of sociological writing *per se*. From this perspective, attention turns to Sandoz' social scientific orientation, data collection methods, analytic procedures (particularly her use of ideal

types), and her sociological imagination.

SOCIOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

The ideation of *Capital City* had a long gestation. Sandoz reported that "it took up much of my idle thinking for years, ever since I sat through a Frontier History course under John Hicks" at the University of Nebraska in the early 1930's. But even before Hicks' course, she continued, "the trans-Mississippi midwestern state capital disturbed me."⁶ She had already taken a sociology course in 1925 (Stauffer 1982: 62) which Sandoz later described as "a very provocative course in social progress under Dr. Hertzler."⁷ Sandoz' concerns about fascism took serious root with her 1930-31 reading of Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.⁸ Sandoz studied and wrote at a time when disciplinary boundaries were, fortunately, less sharply drawn than now.

Sandoz was no doubt conversant with contemporary developments in sociology through her reading of an interdisciplinary journal, *Social Science*. She reported in 1938, "I read the magazine regularly."⁹ Significantly, this journal carried several articles directly relevant to her work in *Capital City*. James Barnett (1938: 34) wrote on the relationship between novels and society, observing that novels offer sociologists "a source of knowledge of human relationships." Paul Anderson (1937), Herman Hausheer (1937), and William Bernard (1938) analyzed the consumers' cooperative movement. C.C. Regier (1936), with whom Sandoz corresponded on historical interests,¹⁰ wrote on social problems related to democracy and economic organization. Work on *Capital City* began against a backdrop of properly sociological concerns.

DATA COLLECTION

Sandoz collected empirical data for *Capital City* by using techniques common to sociology. Specifically, she engaged in participant observation, library research, and the collection and analysis of relevant popular culture materials such as newspapers. These research methods place Sandoz well within the qualitative research tradition in sociology.¹¹

Participant Observation: Sandoz was a participant observer in

the social milieu that she described in *Capital City*. In *Old Jules*, she had already demonstrated her acumen as a first-hand observer of social institutions, including family, law, education, economy, and polity. Before writing *Capital City*, she resided for several years in Lincoln and was an especially sharp observer of the hidden injuries of class inequality (For an account of the Lincoln years, see Stauffer 1982: 41-132). Following her sociology course with Hertzler, Sandoz independently conducted an ambitious study of interpersonal interactions in public places, completing 380 interviews with men she encouraged to "pick her up" on the streets of Lincoln.¹² She also reported making "weekly trips to the state prison for a year and a half studying the inmates" and she had already begun her long series of ethnographic interviews with Native Americans.¹³ Sandoz' Lincoln friendship network came to include knowledgeable informants, including Ernest Witte (Director of the Graduate School of Social Work at the University of Nebraska, and State Administrator of the Nebraska Emergency Relief Administration) and James Reinhardt, a University of Nebraska sociologist.¹⁴ She also reported having insider knowledge from "reliable sources in Washington."¹⁵ Finally, Sandoz drew on her own childhood experiences as source material for *Capital City*.¹⁶ She was well placed to begin a critical social study in Nebraska.

Library Research: Sandoz took to the university library where she sought technical studies of social conditions and governmental processes. Her bibliographic notes document her specific interest in graduate theses written by political science students at the University of Nebraska. She also reported collecting materials from the state-by-state anthologies produced by the WPA Writers' Project and from "the historians on the capital cities from Oklahoma to North Dakota, from Iowa to Colorado."¹⁷ She looked to reports written by social scientists for data on population and social conditions in Lincoln and Nebraska. A University of Nebraska sociologist, Hattie Plum Williams, contributed to two of these reports (Williams 1933; and U.S. Work Projects Administration 1936, I: 1-76).¹⁸ For citations of materials in Sandoz' known research bibliography for *Capital City*, see *Appendix A*.

Popular Culture and Community Life History Documents: Sandoz made major use of contemporary cultural materials, especially newspapers and other serials. Newspapers are "life history documents of a community," and Sandoz used them to advantage. She read a

wide range of daily papers as well as labor newspapers, bank newsletters, and *Nebraska Farmer*.¹⁹ A list of serial sources consulted by Sandoz is provided in *Appendix B*. She also obtained informational brochures from Chambers of Commerce.²⁰ Maps and even a few picture postcards of state capital cities were kept for reference. In addition, she gleaned relevant data from radio broadcasts. These data sources are all examples of what Mary Jo Deegan (forthcoming) terms “media constructed rituals.” As such, they are formulaic constructions generating institutionally-filtered data about the social reality that Sandoz studied. Simultaneously, they contributed materially to the form and content of that society. Sandoz’ careful attention to these varied, “institutionally reflexive” (Goffman 1977/1987) data sources was sociologically astute.

ANALYSIS AND IDEAL TYPES

Other ethnographers might find themselves bivouaced in exotic locales reviewing notes and drafting field reports. Sandoz camped in her Lincoln apartment. She described her work setting and data sifting procedures in a wonderfully specific letter to her publisher in early December 1938:

Yes, I’m deep in the material. My dining table, a long one to accommodate maps, is spread across the living room and covered with little bunches of notes clipped to blue name tags—my characters, with name, description, background and their purpose in the book. In a file on a chair are the major incidents in folders, with dozens of notes for each one. And on the floor are stacks of the Topeka, Des Moines, Pierre, etc., daily papers with little bunches of clippings all around them, gleaned, ready for the files. On the radiator is a stack of chamber of commerce calendars from which I’m mapping a ten week progression of events: state fair time through election week.

On the wall is a map of the state of Kanewa (accent on the first syllable, good midland American), which, if I don’t undershoot my goose too far, shall seem, at least for the moment, more real to my readers than their own home state. Beside this is a map of Franklin, the capital city, complete from Grand Vista Country Club out of Boulder Heights, to

Silver City, the Coney Island on the West, on old Mud lake in the Polish bottoms, (both long ago glorified by new names by the chamber of commerce). Besides these is a sketch, much amended, of the state capitol building, a sort of hybrid North Dakota-Nebraska Louisiana spire, a sugar stick for which, with the university, the State Hospital and the Penitentiary, the characters of my city have gradually given up all the initiative of their fathers and become parasites.²¹

The first fruits of Sandoz' labors were idealized representations of the temporal and spatial dimensions of community life in Franklin. Constructing a day-by-day chronology of recurrent seasonal events and drawing detailed maps of spatial organization are traditional ethnographic procedures through which researchers summarize two of the fundamental axes of community life: space and time.²² Sandoz' sketch maps of Franklin (see *Appendix C*) demonstrate her solid grasp of the underlying forces and principal patterns of twentieth-century urban form.²³ As Sandoz organized her data, she established her foundation for what is now called ideal-type analysis.

Ideal Types: Capital City is a literary exemplar of sociological ideal type analysis. An *ideal type* is a sophisticated sociological construct devised for the analysis of social action. Briefly, ideal types are abstract generalizations of social phenomena. Max Weber, a major figure in sociology and the founder of interpretive sociology, has been virtually canonized for his analysis of "bureaucracy" as an ideal type (Weber 1922/1968, III: 956-1005). For Weber, no extant bureaucracy was actually described by his abstract generalizations. Neither was his ideal type simply an "average" of existing cases melded together. Nor does an ideal type exhaust empirical reality. As Lockwood (1964: 312) put it, "Any given phenomenon (e.g. capitalism) permits of a multiplicity of ideal types depending on which elements are brought into focus." Ideal types are created to permit logical analysis of social phenomena. Again, as Lockwood (1964: 312) states it, an ideal type

is a freely created mental construct by means of which an attempt is made to "order" reality by isolating, accentuating, and articulating the elements of a recurrent social phenomenon (e.g. bureaucracy) into an internally consistent system of relationships.

Two criteria guide formation of ideal types. First, each ideal type must be *objectively possible* "in the sense that concrete phenomena approx-

imate more or less to the theoretically conceived pure type.” Second, an ideal type must be *subjectively meaningful* “in the sense that the type of social action is understandable in terms of individual motivation” (Lockwood 1964: 312).

Sandoz brilliantly conceptualized a contemporary social system in a way that meets the requirements and analytic purposes of Weberian ideal-type analysis. She purposefully developed her characters and events as representative types: “I carefully made everybody and every incident types of the trans-Mississippi region.”²⁴ These types were then utilized to analyze a theoretically-conceptualized social system. After publication, Sandoz wrote,

Some day *Capital City* may be recognized for what I meant it—a microscopic study of the macrocosm that is the modern-world. Every person in it . . . represents one particular aspect of the “system” under the lens. *Capital City* is my study of an organized society letting itself slip into fascism.²⁴

Sandoz’ characters are ideal typical representatives of institutionalized social patterns, i.e., family, religion, economy, education, politics, etc.

Through the actions of her characters, Sandoz outlined logical consequences of moral bankruptcy, class oppression, and racial antagonism in an economically depressed capitalist society. All else equal, her analysis pointed to a fascist outcome. Elsewhere (Hill 1987c), I have detailed Sandoz’ use of institutional typifications to conduct the logical equivalent of *thought experiments* (or *Gedankenexperiment*), a scientific technique given wide currency by the physicist, Ernst Mach (1897/1973: 451). He concluded that experimental exercises in the mind are “on a higher intellectual level” than actual physical experiments. This recognized scientific procedure permits sociologists who construct ideal types to explore alternative social futures by varying plausible assumptions about social institutions and human agency.

As ideal types, Sandoz’ characters more than meet the criteria of objective possibility and subjective meaningfulness. As *Capital City* went into production, Sandoz’ publishers became concerned about potential libel actions, so plausible and realistic were her characterizations. Telegrams and letters flew between Lincoln and the publishers in Boston during late summer 1939.²⁶ Sandoz’ sources, her newspaper clippings, were requested for legal review. Among other questions, an attorney asked, “Could any jury in Nebraska reasonably decide

that in *Capital City* the author is speaking of Lincoln, Nebraska?" To protect the publishers, Sandoz was pointedly reminded that she would bear all costs "in the event that a claim of libel is sustained in the court."²⁷

Sandoz replied that Franklin was wholly a creature of her own mind. She quipped that Nebraskans would see themselves in the book only because "few Nebraskans can conceive any other capital city as important as Lincoln." As to her characters, she said,

It would be nice if actual individuals could be found to illustrate such ideas. Unfortunately in life they are too complex, too confused with other human urges.²⁸

She noted further, "I did not intend the clippings I sent you as evidence for the specific incidents in the book so much as evidence that the things are common to the region." Her motivation in characterization was precisely that of ideal type construction, an attempt to order reality by "isolating, accentuating, and articulating" selected elements of social phenomena.

Libel, Fiction, and Sociological Veracity: The potential libel question was settled when Sandoz agreed to insert the following statement in *Capital City*:

A few men and women who have played some part in the history of our times are mentioned by name in this novel. These apart, all characters are fictitious and all scenes are imaginary.²⁹

The potential for libel actions resulted in Sandoz adopting the position that her work was wholly fiction, an imaginary creation. Taken literally, this distorts both the solid empirical foundation and the tightly-argued theoretical veracity of *Capital City*.

In Sandoz' case, to claim that *Capital City* is a work of fiction is not to say that it is empirically unfaithful or theoretically fanciful. Nor does interpretation of *Capital City* as allegory (Rippey 1981) loosen its legitimate claim to scientific truth. As Clifford (1986: 98) put it, "Ethnographic writing is allegorical at the level of both its content (what it says about cultures and their history) and of its form (what is implied by its mode of textualization)." Recognition that "ethnographic texts are inescapably allegorical" (Clifford 1986: 99) brings *Capital City* even closer to sociology, and suggests a much more definite link between literature and sociology as knowledge-producing

projects.³⁰ Sandoz researched her topic thoroughly and intended the work as a study of a living social system. Ethnographers in other disciplines have often resorted to “poetic license” in their published reports (to protect informants, disguise research settings, and collapse disparate episodes into ideal-typical accounts), yet these are considered science rather than fiction. Such distinctions as there may be between Sandoz’ research and characterizations in *Capital City*, on the one hand, and the practices of formally-anointed ethnographers, on the other, are to my mind matters of degree and emphasis rather than differences in kind.

SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION

Beyond the specifics of data collection techniques and the sharpness of her ideal-type analysis, Sandoz exhibited more broadly what is now called *sociological imagination*. C. Wright Mills (1959) exhorted American sociologists to write from a new vision of sociology when he published his influential treatise, *The Sociological Imagination*. Discounted by scientific sociologists of the 1960’s and 1970’s, Mills’ work presently enjoys renewed critical appreciation (see, for example, Scimecca 1976; Teitler 1979; Eldridge 1983; Horowitz 1983; and Tillman 1984).³¹ Anthony Giddens (1982), a leading British theorist, forcefully emphasizes the need for sociologists to adopt Mills’ proposal. Following Mills, Giddens advises that clear-headed, sociologically imaginative work has three characteristics: (1) it is grounded in the *historical* specificity of social patterns, (2) it is cognizant of the *anthropological* record of human diversity and invention, and (3) it *critiques* the present pattern of society. On the last point, Giddens argued,

In criticising the idea that sociology is like a natural science, I have insisted that no social processes are governed by unalterable laws. As human beings, we are not condemned to be swept along by forces that have the inevitability of laws of nature. But this means we must be conscious of the *alternative futures* that are potentially open to us. In its third sense, the sociological imagination fuses with the tasks of sociology in contributing to *the critique of existing forms of society*. (Giddens 1982: 26)

I suggest here that Sandoz, without Mills to guide her, incorporated

the major characteristics of sociological imagination in her work. *Capital City* is historically rigorous, anthropologically sensitive, and logically critical of society as she found it.

History: Sandoz' abilities as an historian were clearly proved in *Old Jules* (Sandoz 1935) and to *Capital City* she brought the same meticulous temporal sensitivity. Her work as an employee of the Nebraska State Historical Society further indicates her historical grounding and purpose. When a correspondent accused her of bias in *Capital City*, Sandoz read him a detailed version of the proverbial riot act, directing his attention to specific historical facts and inviting him to make a careful study of the *Congressional Record*. She refused his implied label of partisan ideologue. "In all this," she wrote, "I am a historian, a bystanding observer."³²

Sandoz valued historical accuracy. She criticized John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* (to which she feared some critics might erroneously compare *Capital City*) for its "sensationalized" treatment of historical events. She wrote, "I'd prefer it [*Grapes of Wrath*] with the poetic, pseudo-social-historical portions deleted." She found *Grapes of Wrath* "worthy and timely," but concluded that "the general effect is misleading."³³

Anthropology: Sandoz' appreciation of cultural variety was already evident in her brief descriptions of native American life in *Old Jules*. In *Capital City*, this sensitivity enriched her typifications of racial and ethnic minorities. A Polish correspondent wrote to Sandoz praising *Capital City* as "the only intelligent book which shows a deep understanding of and sympathy for the Polak in the contemporary American scene."³⁴ Sandoz' later historical and anthropological works (which she once characterized as her "sociological" studies) are logical extensions of her skills, interests, and sensitivities.

Social Criticism: The third element in Mills' formulation of sociological imagination is criticism of existing social patterns. Importantly, critique is the motivation for sociological research and analysis. The philosophical foundation for such criticism is the assumption that people are not bound by inflexible casual laws, but may act collectively to shape the future and direct it toward any one of several possible alternative futures. Sandoz held that a novel of significance is, "at least, an implied criticism of society"³⁵ and that the novelist, like a social worker, labors for "the perfection of society."³⁶

In 1939, Sandoz saw her too complacent neighbors drifting toward fascism, and she wrote critically to arouse her fellow citizens to the possibility of this outcome so that it might be averted by timely and intelligent social action. She wrote, "You people in the East are probably not aware of the real danger of a growing fascist set-up in the middlewest."³⁷ She did not undertake her project lightly, and early in the writing of *Capital City* she discovered in herself "a few isolated cases of mild jitters at what I may be doing."³⁸ For Sandoz, *Capital City* was an urgent project: "I suspect that for my time this is the most important thing I have done or could do."³⁹ About red-baiting by a critical Omahan, she wrote, "my kind of person is much more dangerous . . . than a whole nest of communists." She noted, "The Sandoz family has been fighting for the underdog for over 700 years," and concluded, "Surely I would be less than true to my heritage if I held my pen now."⁴⁰ Pen to paper, Sandoz did not duck the sociological obligation to become an empirically-grounded and logically-disciplined critic.

After publication of *Capital City*, Sandoz saw growing evidence that her basic thesis was correct. In 1940, she wrote,

Almost every day the papers reveal more truth in the basic premises of *Capital City*, with rifle ranges for Silver shirts in Oklahoma, the National Association of Manufacturers setting up spy rings to check up on the freedom of speech of teachers, newspaper men and preachers.⁴¹

She wrote to alert society, but by 1940 the global community of nation-states was already plunging into the darkness of World War II. In July 1940, Sandoz mused, "About *Capital City*, all I can say [is] that it came four, five years too late to save the world, even if I had made its message powerful enough."⁴² American society changed during the 1940's, and the foundations of the 1950's "cold war" were set in place. The modern relevance of Sandoz' social critique must be weighed in light of subsequent developments in technology, the global nuclear threat, the multi-national corporate economy, and the institutionalization of surveillance bureaucracies such as the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.⁴³ Issues fundamental to the preservation of democracy have changed dramatically since 1939, and so have the techniques and characteristics of fascist oppression, as Bertram Gross (1980) demonstrates in his analysis of modern life, *Friendly Fascism: The*

New Face of Power in America.

The specifics of Sandoz' social world are significantly altered now, but her criticism looked toward the future we share today. She wrote in 1938, choosing words reminiscent of her father, Old Jules, that young people are

the Nebraska of the future, and in their keeping lies the heritage of a vision followed by their fathers the wide world across, a vision of a land free of intolerance and oppression and want. Let them guard this heritage well.⁴⁴

The need to remain alert, to advance social criticism based on thoughtful and reflexive research, is the continuing sociological message of *Capital City*. This is a Nebraska heritage to honor and celebrate.

CONCLUSION

Mari Sandoz' (1939) novel *Capital City* is a recognized allegorical experiment. Beyond this achievement, however, I conclude that *Capital City* is also a first-rate effort at ideal-type analysis and sociological ethnography. Further, Sandoz exhibited the essential elements of sociological imagination throughout the work. As a discipline, sociology has too often shrunk from the obligation to provide meaningful social criticism (Hill 1984). Thus, *Capital City* is especially important today as an exemplar of one scholar's willingness to take an unflinching and critical look at American life.

NOTES

¹Special thanks are due Mary Jo Deegan for her support, insight, and encouragement; to Al Roberts for drawing my attention to James Clifford's recent work on ethnographic allegory; to Joseph Svoboda for his friendly and helpful assistance in the Special Collections Department of Love Library at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln; and to Pat and Scott Wendt of Bluestem Books, Lincoln, who provided autographed first editions of *Old Jules* and *Capital City*, adding materially to my reading enjoyment of these remarkable studies.

²Sandoz to Weeks, 19 October 1938, Box 5, Sandoz Collection, Special Collections Department, Love Library, University of Nebraska-Lincoln (hereafter cited as the Sandoz Collection).

³Sandoz to Weeks, 24 April 1939, Box 6, Sandoz Collection.

⁴Lincoln Symphony Orchestra, concert program, 10 January 1939, Box 53, Sandoz Collection.

⁵Among others, see Stauffer 1982; Rippey 1981; and Greenwell 1977. Hill (1987c) details the institutional framework of *Capital City* and explores the utility of *Capital City* as a pedagogical device for introducing undergraduates to sociological issues and concepts. For three semesters, during my graduate studies, I taught Introduction to Sociology at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, using *Capital City* as a foundation for the course. My syllabus for the course is found in Hill (1987b).

⁶Sandoz to Mahoney, 16 November 1939, Box 6, Sandoz Collection.

⁷Sandoz to Mencken, 24 June 1931, Box 1, Sandoz Collection.

⁸Sandoz to Chambrun, 22 May 1941, Box 7, Sandoz Collection. Sandoz was by no means alone in her concerns. For example, she clipped a newspaper account in January 1939 which described philosopher Will Durant's warning lecture to Omahans about the possibility of fascism in the U.S. (Box 53, Sandoz Collection).

⁹Sandoz to Regier, 1 November 1938, Box 5, Sandoz Collection.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹See, for example, Filsted 1970; Glaser and Strauss 1967; and Reinhartz 1984.

¹²Sandoz to editorial offices of *Liberty*, 16 August 1930, Sandoz Collection. Years later, questions and observations about interpersonal interaction in public places were vigorously pursued in the sociological literature by symbolic interactionists and ethnomethodologists. Erving Goffman's several books on social interaction are especially relevant.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴Sandoz to Witte, 29 December 1938, Box 5; Sandoz to Weeks, 10 January 1939, Box 6, Sandoz Collection. Sandoz asked that publicity copies of *Capital City* be sent to four people: Ernest Witte, Carleton Wells, John Hicks, and Senator George W. Norris (the latter with whom she said she "planned the electrification of Nebraska and the spread of farm factory centers on Mrs. Norris' tablecloth at dinner." (Sandoz to Ogden, 30 October 1939, Box 6, Sandoz Collection). Sandoz' inscription in Reinhardt's personal copy of *Capital City* read, "For James Melvin Reinhardt, because the warmth of his humanity glows so richly in his fine face." (Source: Presentation copy of *Capital City*, Sandoz Collection).

¹⁵Sandoz to Weeks, 28 September 1939, Box 5, Sandoz Collection.

¹⁶Sandoz to Szymanski, 17 December 1940, Box 7, Sandoz Collection.

¹⁷Sandoz to Mahoney, 16 November 1939, Box 6, Sandoz Collection.

¹⁸For a detailed account of Hattie Plum Williams' research and preparation of her 1933 report on the Cost of Administration of Criminal Justice in Lincoln, Nebraska, see Hill (Forthcoming).

¹⁹Of particular sociological interest, Sandoz followed accounts of James Reinhardt's public debate on the adequacy of Nebraska relief programs, and notice of Joyce Hertzler's reports to the Y.W.C.W. on social work research projects. Both Reinhardt and Hertzler were University of Nebraska sociologists. See clippings from the *Lincoln Star*, 19 January 1939, Box 53, Sandoz Collection.

²⁰Examples are found in Box 54, Sandoz Collection. Sandoz' requests for materials from Cheyenne, Topeka, Pierre, Jefferson City, Des Moines, and Bismark are found in Box 5, Sandoz Collection.

²¹Sandoz to Weeks, 3 December 1938, Box 5, Sandoz Collection.

²²An early draft of the chronology is found in Box 54, Sandoz Collection.

²³For explications of relevant theories of urban form, see Hoyt 1939; Firey 1947; and Strauss (1961).

²⁴Sandoz to Weeks, 10 August 1939, Box 6, Sandoz Collection.

²⁵Sandoz to Belk, 20 January 1940, Box 8, Sandoz Collection.

²⁶Sandoz to Weeks, 10 August 1939; Weeks to Sandoz, 15 August 1939; McIntyre to Sandoz, 18 August 1939; Weeks to Sandoz, 8 September 1939; Sandoz to Weeks, 11 September 1939, Box 6, Sandoz Collection.

²⁷Unsigned letter to Weeks, 8 September 1939, Box 6, Sandoz Collection.

²⁸Sandoz to Weeks, 11 September 1939, Box 6, Sandoz Collection. Sandoz had no high opinion of Lincoln or its citizens. She moved to Denver during the summer, 1940. A brief return visit to Lincoln that autumn left a bitter taste. She wrote,

Lincoln is pretty wormy, all right. I wasn't in town any length of time until a complete stranger stopped me to tell me she didn't like the way I did my hair. Only a damned, smug Lincolnite would imagine his or her opinion significant enough to thrust it upon a complete stranger. I was glad to get out of town. (Sandoz to Thiesson, 24 September 1940, Box 7, Sandoz Collection).

²⁹Sandoz to Weeks, 11 September 1939, Box 6, Sandoz Collection.

³⁰Several sociological pioneers often blurred the presumed distinctions between literature and sociology, including Harriet Martineau, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Simone de Beauvoir, Elsie Clews Parsons, Mary Elizabeth Roberts Smith Coolidge, and W.E.B. DuBois. Martineau, who wrote the first "methods" test in sociology, *How to Observe Morals and Manners*, in 1838, was a British writer whose popular short novels, collectively titled *Illustrations of Political Economy*, taught lessons in sociological theory. For an exposition of Martineau's sociological

epistemology, see Hill (1989). Wolf Lepenis (1988) argues that sociology originated to bridge the gap created by nineteenth century conflict between literary and scientific intellectuals. In my own view, I see no necessary incompatibility between literature and science, C.P. Snow and his "two cultures" notwithstanding.

³¹For a worked analysis of a modern social issue (surrogate parenting) using Mills' framework, see Hill (1987a).

³²Sandoz to Johnson, 21 December 1939, Box 6, Sandoz Collection.

³³Sandoz to Weeks, undated, *circa* 1939, Box 6, Sandoz Collection.

³⁴Szymanski to Sandoz, 15 November 1940, Box 7, Sandoz Collection.

³⁵From an address by Sandoz to the University Association of Social Workers, reported in the *Lincoln Star*, clipping dated 8 December 1939, Box 49, Sandoz Collection.

³⁶Omaha *World Herald*, clipping dated 8 December 1939, Box 49, Sandoz Collection.

³⁷Sandoz to Weeks, 10 August 1939, Sandoz Collection.

³⁸Sandoz to Ford, 1 December 1938, Box 5, Sandoz Collection

³⁹Sandoz to Weeks, 10 August 1939, Box 6, Sandoz Collection.

⁴⁰Sandoz to Thorp, 5 April 1940, Box 7, Sandoz Collection.

⁴¹Sandoz to Donegan, 5 April 1940, Box 7, Sandoz Collection.

⁴²Sandoz to Zulauf, 8 July 1940, Box 6, Sandoz Collection.

⁴³For a cogent analysis of these trends, see Giddens (1985).

⁴⁴Sandoz to unknown addressee, presumably a school teacher, *circa* 1938, Box 5, Sandoz Collection.

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Considerable material relating to *Capital City* survives in the Mari Sandoz Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Nebraska-Lincoln. Useful materials include Sandoz' personal correspondence during the period she worked on *Capital City*, files of source materials for the novel, clippings of critical reviews of *Capital City*, and copies of graduate theses on Sandoz' work.

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APPENDIX A:

Sandoz' Social Science Bibliography for Capital City

Sandoz made significant use of several data sources during her work on *Capital City*. Bibliographic notes remaining in the Sandoz Collection (Special Collections Department, Love Library, University of Nebraska-Lincoln) of materials relating to *Capital City* indicate her clear interest in social scientific sources as well as journalistic materials. Additional bibliographic notes may be lost. Notes from her library work (some annotated with library call numbers) document her interest in the following journal articles, graduate theses, and social scientific reports focused specifically on Lincoln and Nebraska (Source: Sandoz Collection, Boxes 53-54).

Journal Articles

During this period, Sandoz wrote that she was a regular reader of the professional journal *Social Science*. Articles in that journal relevant to her interests are discussed in the text above and listed in the references section of this paper. Sandoz cited the following articles in her working bibliographic notes.

- Senning, John P. 1937. Nebraska and its One-House Legislature. *Social Education* 1(6): 395-397. (Senning was a University of Nebraska professor).
- Strode, Josephine, 1938. Rural Social Workers do Everything. *Survey graphic*. 74(10): 308-309. (Sandoz indicated her intent to buy the entire issue of *Survey Graphic* in which this article appeared, but the article by Strode is the one most germane to Sandoz' project and is selected here for special note.)

Graduate Theses

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APPENDIX B:

Sandoz' Serial and Newspaper Sources for Capital City

Clippings and bibliographic notes document Sandoz' interest in materials from the following sources during the writing of *Capital City*. (Source: Sandoz Collection, Boxes 53-54).

Popular Journals

American Mercury
Harpers Magazine
New Masses
New Yorker
Newsweek
Time

Newsletters

Newsletter (Consumer Cooperative Association, Lincoln)

Property (Newsletter of First Trust Company, Lincoln)

Daily, Weekly, and/or Sunday Newspapers

Bismark *Capital, Tribune, Weekly Tribune*

Cheyenne *Eagle, Tribune Leader, Wyoming Tribune*

Denver *Rocky Mountain Herald*

Des Moines *Register*

Indianapolis *News*

Jefferson City *Capital News*

Kansas City *Star*

Lincoln *Star*

Madison *Democrat*

Omaha *World Herald*

Pierre *Capital-Journal, Daily Capital Journal*

St. Paul *Dispatch, Pioneer Press*

Topeka *Capital, Plain Dealer, Daily Capital*

Other Newspapers

Cooperative Consumer

Farmer-Labor Press

Nebraska Beacon

Nebraska Farmer

New York Herald Tribune Books

Northwest Organizer

