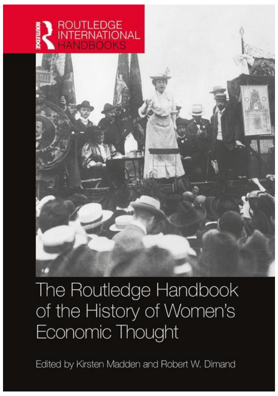

The Routledge Handbook of the History of Women's Economic Thought

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Women economists of promise?

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WOMEN ECONOMISTS OF PROMISE?

Six Hart, Schaffner and Marx Prize winners in the early twentieth century[1]

Kirsten Madden

Fifty-three monographs with publication dates between 1907 and 1932 received the Hart, Schaffner, and Marx Prize in the U.S.A. In the opinion of a 1929 book reviewer:

> The cult of competitions is widespread today, but few of the winning plays, poems, and plans for peace, prosperity or prohibition have won much approval. In one field, however, a competition has thoroughly justified its existence, for the Hart, Schaffner and Marx Prize Essays have consistently, during the last twenty years, been valuable contributions to economic literature, and many of their authors have subsequently stepped to the very front of the academic field.[2]

The Hart, Schaffner, and Marx Prize provided financial incentives to encourage study of economics. First prize included a $1,000 award, second prize a $500 award. The annual award committee consisted of three to five members, typically filled by the following men: J. Laurence Laughlin of the University of Chicago, J.B. Clark and Wesley C. Mitchell, both of Columbia University, Edwin F. Gay, in association with Harvard University and the *New York Evening Post*, Theodore E. Burton of Washington D.C., Henry C. Adams of the University of Michigan, and Horace White of New York City.

Frank Knight, Edwin Nourse, Harold Moulton, and Edgar Furniss are a few of the men who won either first or second prize, and Simon Kuznets received honorable mention. Major journals such as the *American Economic Review* announced the prize winners each year. An award-winning series with the Hart, Schaffner, and Marx label provided publication exposure for the award recipients. The award-winning books often received academic journal reviews.

Eleven percent of the 53 Hart, Marx, and Schaffner award winners were women.[3] The first woman to receive the award was Yetta Scheftel in 1915; the final woman to receive the award was Alma Herbst in 1930. Table 13.1 lists the six women prize winners by name and university affiliation for each prize winner's doctoral studies, thesis title, year receiving the award, and prize recognition level.

All but one woman earned her Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, the institutional home of prize committee chairman, J.L. Laughlin. A prize committee member was the thesis director

Table 13.1 Women winning the Hart, Schaffner and Marx Prize[i] in the U.S.A.[ii]

Name & university affiliation (doctorate)	*Thesis title*	*Award year*	*Recognition level*
Yetta Scheftel (Univ. of Chicago)	The taxation of land value; a study of certain discriminatory taxes on land	1915	1st prize
Hazel Kyrk (Univ. of Chicago)	A theory of consumption	1921	1st prize
Mollie Ray Carroll (Univ. of Chicago)	Labor and politics; the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward legislation and politics	1922	Honorable mention
Helen Fisher Hohman (Univ. of Chicago)	The development of social insurance and minimum wage legislation in Great Britain; a study of British social legislation in relation to a minimum standard of living	1928	1st prize
Caroline Ware (Radcliffe College)	The early New England cotton manufacture; a study in industrial beginnings	1929	1st prize
Alma Herbst (Univ. of Chicago)	The Negro in the slaughtering and meat-packing industry in Chicago	1930	2nd prize

[i] All six of these women received a Hart, Schaffner and Marx Class A award, which "included any American without restriction." Class B awards targeted undergraduate research.

[ii] Women received awards for their economic thought in Great Britain as well. At the London School of Economics (LSE), four women received the LSE Hutchinson Silver Medal before 1940: Eileen Power (1923); Dorothy Swaine Thomas (1924); Eveline Mabel Burns (1926); and Margaret James (1926–27).

for the other woman, Caroline Ware. Initial investigation into the men prize winners shows more variation in PhD-granting affiliation than that for the women, though other personal connections between the men winners and the prize awarding committee members certainly might have existed. Nonetheless, receiving merit-based awards may have implications for productivity and for career path trajectory.

The literature analyzing economics awards hypothesizes numerous potential career effects. Awards may change pre-award issuance behavior of the pool of people who believe they are potential award recipients. For instance, an award might induce potential recipients to undertake actions desired by the award giver or an award might more broadly stimulate productivity in pursuit of the reward. Receipt of awards may change the post-award issuance behaviors of award recipients, particularly productivity. Some recipients might increase productivity, perhaps in connection to a rise in self-esteem; other recipients' efforts may stagnate (a resting on laurels phenomenon), reflected in lower post-award productivity. There are also social ramifications of publicized awards. Assuming the award is perceived as merit-based, when publicized, the award might serve as a signaling device across a community for desirable researcher characteristics such as intellectual innovation or discipline. The award winner could be the recipient of disciplinary status effects.[4] It seems reasonable to posit that the Hart, Schaffner, and Marx award winners' productivity and disciplinary status might have been affected.

Though six women did earn the Hart, Schaffner, and Marx award for their economic thought in the early twentieth century, substantial gender discrimination substantially impeded women's career progress in economics specifically and in academia generally.[5] Women adapted to the discriminatory barriers in constructing and disseminating economics knowledge, seeking "reasonable lives despite the obstacles their own socialization and the larger society placed in their paths."[6] Three recognized adaptation strategies include "superperformance," "subordination," and "separatism." Superperforming women were "pathbreaking pioneers, outperforming their male colleagues on most measures of professional success and commitment," their stellar career outcomes likely the combined result of "individual drive and genius and circumstance."[7] Women who maintained careers in economics also adapted via subordination, settling into low- or no-status positions as teachers or administrators for high schools, normal schools, and teaching colleges, or relegated to lower-status, low-pay, and unstable positions in colleges and universities. Separatists (some of whom also warrant recognition as innovators) moved to women's colleges, focused on niche publications in areas ignored by mainstream economists, moved into economics-related academic departments (such as home economics and social work), took careers in government, or focused on social service.[8] An extreme separatist response might include dropping out of economics altogether. For the women who pursued careers associated with academic economics, it was likely that those women economists who were heterosexual opted for career over marriage and childbearing.

Given the discriminatory barriers, it is remarkable that over 250 women earning Ph.D.s in the U.S.A., the U.K., and Germany wrote theses on economics topics before 1941.[9] The women receiving the Hart, Schaffner and Marx Prize had remarkable intellectual ability and/or a networking connection with the established men economists issuing the award. How did their careers fare? How did economists specifically, and academia generally, receive their work?

Yetta Scheftel (circa 1893–?)

There is minimal biographical record about Dr. Yetta Scheftel.[10] She completed her undergraduate A.B. at Northwestern University in 1906. Her 1907 thesis, "Persistence of Poverty," earned for Scheftel an M.A. degree in sociology from the University of Chicago. There is a record that she attended the University of Berlin from 1908–09. Scheftel enrolled again in graduate school with the University of Chicago in 1912 and 1913.[11] Scheftel appears on the "Fellows" and the "Graduate Students" list for 1913–14 with the Department of Political Economy at the University of Chicago.

Scheftel was a paid staff member of the Illinois Survey from roughly 1913 to 1916, charged with "making an exhaustive study of the settlement of the Military Tract in Illinois"[12] for use in The Centennial History of Illinois.[13] She completed her portion of this study by 1915–16 under the direction of Clarence W. Alvord. Scheftel's historical products include a published book review in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* in 1915.

While Scheftel undertook her historical academic ventures, she worked on a research monograph which she acknowledges was inspired by Professor Robert F. Hoxie of the University of Chicago. Hoxie died in 1916.[14] Scheftel did not complete her Ph.D.[15] Her monograph, *The Taxation of Land Value: A Study of Certain Discriminatory Taxes on Land*, received first prize in the Hart, Schaffner, and Marx Company of Chicago's Political Economy essay contest for 1915.

A range of periodicals publicized Scheftel's awards, including newspapers such as *The Evening Missourian* of Columbia (p. 3, Wed. Dec. 1, 1915) and *The New York Times*, academic journals such as *The American Economic Review* and *The American Political Science Review*, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics publication, *The Monthly Labor Review*.

The *New York Times* "Notable Book in Brief Review" headline mis-states Scheftel's gender: "**Mr**. Yetta Scheftel's Prize Essay on the Taxation of Land Value . . . ." The *Times* article of March 25, 1917 might have reported Scheftel's thesis due to its political relevance in the state:

> New York is to be the next battle ground of the single tax crusade. It is right to call it a crusade, for its motive is as much social reform as fiscal fitness. The battle will be fought in New York because the strategists of the campaign have selected it to break the force of defeats elsewhere.

A number of journals published reviews of *The Taxation of Land Value*. The *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* review judges that:

> Miss Scheftel has prepared a judicious, well-balanced treatment of land-value taxation in those countries where the scheme has been chiefly tried. The history of Australasian land taxes, German taxes on value increment, English land-value duties, and municipal land taxes in Canada is carefully outlined. Study is also given to the fiscal, economic and social effects of such taxes.[16]

The rest of the book review is descriptive except for a comment that the bibliography is "valuable." *The American Political Science Review* describes Scheftel's book as "the newest and in many respects the best study of what is commonly known as the single tax" with "careful discussions of the tax upon land values as a source of revenue and as an instrument of social reform respectively . . . excellent bibliography."[17]

A June 1917 book review provides a deeper analytical review of Scheftel (1916), identifying weaknesses as well as strengths. In his *American Economic Review* assessment, Arthur N. Young of Princeton University wrote that this thesis "well may be said to be the first attempt 'to present fully the experience with the system of the countries which have introduced'" a land tax. Young highlights Scheftel's "careful and complete account of the complicated land taxes of Australasia, Germany and Great Britain" but Young states that another researcher provides more exhaustive coverage of taxes in Western Canada than Scheftel. Though "[h]er work shows careful and painstaking research," Scheftel's critical analysis perhaps "attempted too much." Young identifies a few areas of "loose" treatment of economic theory. Though Young agrees with other reviewers concerning the excellence of Scheftel's bibliography, he describes as "inadequate" the four-page index.

Scheftel enrolled in Rush Medical College of the University of Chicago from 1916 to 1920, earning a medical degree in 1921.[18] According to a 1940 U.S. Census record, a Yetta Scheftel of Chicago was a physician in private practice.

Scheftel (1916) is the last academic reference in the social sciences that Yetta published. She had a promising academic career. The promise Scheftel showed in academic capability is apparent in the fact that her dissertation is cited and briefly discussed in four journals published 40 to 60 years *after* her work, in 1957, 1959, 1961, and 1977. In the journal article, "How College Textbooks Treat Land Value Taxation," footnote 11 documents that:

> Recognition of the stimulating effect of a land value tax policy can be found in the literature of nearly half a century ago. See, for example, Yetta Scheftel . . . Her investigation showed that "the land tax" had been found to increase the amount of building, decrease the amount of vacant land and stimulate business.

Hazel Kyrk (1886–1957)[19]

Self-supporting by age 17, Hazel Kyrk worked for the household of economist Leon Carroll Marshall while working toward an undergraduate degree at Ohio Wesleyan University. The personal connection with Marshall might have influenced Kyrk's choice to study economics. Though Kyrk's intellectual capacity and tenacity were likely the driving forces shaping her biography, Marshall's patronage probably helped her obtain an academic position in the 1920s at the University of Chicago with such appointments sparse for academic women.

Kyrk earned her bachelor's degree in 1910. Intermingling academic employment, wartime work in Britain with James Alfred Field, and pursuing higher education, Kyrk completed her Ph.D. from the economics department in 1920. She worked for short spurts in a variety of institutions of higher education, including a stint at Oberlin College. Evidence from the Oberlin College archives suggests that negative reception by male students toward a woman professor drove her decision to depart from Oberlin.[20]

Hired in 1925 by the University of Chicago, by 1930 Kyrk obtained a joint appointment in the Economics and Home Economics departments. Kyrk became full professor in 1941 and retired from her joint appointment in 1952. This mature phase of her professional career was stable and conducive to Kyrk making major academic contributions. She mentored over 30 graduate students, including Margaret Reid who herself became an academic leader. In service, Kyrk worked for a variety of federal agencies such as the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Office of Price Stabilization, and the Bureau of Home Economics. Her intellectual contributions through government include partial responsibility for a statistical forerunner to base year pricing for the U.S. consumer price index. Kyrk's major intellectual contributions rest in her interdisciplinary, institutionalist treatment of the consumer as well as being a pioneer in home economics where she retired as a recognized "leader in the field" (Beller and Kiss 2008, p. 16). Summarizing Kyrk's work life, Beller and Kiss write "by the standards of today, Kyrk had a solid career; in the context of her times, it was a remarkable career" (p. 16).

The literature on Hazel Kyrk documents little with regard to her personal life. There is no evidence of non-work-related personal relationships, except that Kyrk raised a foster daughter (Lobdell 2000, p. 253).

Kyrk's thesis received two distinct assessments in two economics journals. The *Quarterly Journal of Economics* review classifies Kyrk's thesis as institutional economics—falling within the scope of "social psychology" where factors such as "instincts, folkways, and social classes" drive consumer behavior (p. 344). The reviewer, Z. Clark Dickinson, did not favor the institutionalist school. According to Dickinson, Kyrk undertook a detailed pursuit of only one path of inquiry in consumption economics (want creation), but for Dickinson there are five paths of useful inquiry. Though Kyrk "touched on all" five topics, she did so "quite inadequately" because of her antagonism toward the approach to consumption based on marginal utility. Dickinson suggests that reliance upon an instinct-driven theory generates circular reasoning. Though Dickinson is highly critical of Kyrk's approach to consumption economics, he describes her work as "clearly and pleasingly written" with plenty of evidence, "a sound groundwork of economic principles and of level-headed, original thinking."

In 1926, the second review appeared in *The Economic Journal*. This review opens by stating that Kyrk's work "is both a plea for a complete study of the economics of consumption, and an important contribution to it" (p. 241). MacGregor, the reviewer, clearly sympathizes with Kyrk's analytical framework, describing it as "[t]rue to the best modern psychology." With Kyrk charting "some new paths" in her exploration of the consumption "hinterland," MacGregor excuses the book's "diffuseness" because "so much is brought under review." The review closes that the prize-winning publication has "well-deserved approval of such examiners as J. B. Clark, J. L. Laughlin, and Wesley Mitchell," the Hart, Marx and Schaffner award committee.

After her thesis, Kyrk published six books as sole author. Two of these books are narrow in their subject appeal, one covering the baking industry from 1849 through 1923 and the second analyzing household expenditures and cost of living for Iowa farms. The single-authored books which received academic attention via journal review are *Economic Problems of the Family* (1929) and its major revision, *The Family in the American Economy* (1953). Kyrk also participated in the creation of three co-authored books in consumption and in family economics.

There are at least 16 reviews of Kyrk's books across academic disciplines. Four of Kyrk's books received journal review, though only two reviews after her thesis appeared in economics journals (*Industrial and Labor Relations Review* and the Italian journal, *Giornale degli Economisti e Annali di Economia*). Kyrk's book, *Economic Problems of the Family* received three interdisciplinary reviews. Nine reviewers assessed *The Family in the American Economy* in interdisciplinary journals across economics, sociology, social work, and demography. The final book reviewed was a co-authored publication with Day Monroe and Ursula B. Stone.

Kyrk published 12 single-authored journal articles from 1929 through 1950 and one co-authored article; these were published across eight distinct interdisciplinary journals. The journal subject matters range from farm economics to educational sociology to marketing to home economics. The majority of these articles are in two general areas: consumption and family economics. In 1950, Kyrk also published one article in the *American Economic Review Papers and Proceedings* about income distribution as a potential economic welfare measure. There is a record that Kyrk participated in the conference of the American Economic Association in 1939.

Hazel Kyrk published over 60 book reviews in academic journals between 1925 and 1957. The *Journal of Political Economy* published at least 15 of these, most of which concerned consumption. Kyrk was also a frequent reviewer for the *Social Service Review* and for the *American Journal of Sociology*. The book reviews tended to address consumption, household economics, the cost of living or the standard of living.

Kyrk's institutionalist economics insights make a splash in economics circles with the publication of her thesis. Kyrk benefited early in her career from recognized intellectual capability and from a personal connection with an established male economist. Throughout her career, she was a prolific publisher in interdisciplinary venues. Kyrk's intellectual paradigm (institutionalism) was in a field that fell out of fashion in economics, though she was a leader in the trend of consumption economics in the first half of the twentieth century. Her interdisciplinary approach also fell out of fashion in economics over the twentieth century. She had noteworthy influence on a fleet of graduate students coming out of the University of Chicago. She made important contributions to U.S. federal government tracking of economic statistics. Given the constraints on women's advances in academia, Kyrk's career trajectory was of the superperforming category; in comparison to men with Ph.D.s in the twentieth century, Kyrk's career might be described as solid and relatively unremarkable.

Mollie Ray Carroll (1890–1994[21])

Mollie Ray Carroll earned three degrees at the University of Chicago. With 363 other undergraduate degree recipients, Carroll completed her first Chicago degree, a Ph.B, in 1911. Her undergraduate extra-curricular activities included serving as vice president of the Young Women's Christian League (YWCL) of the University of Chicago. In 1913 she was secretary of the Lawrence, Kansas YWCA, after which she must have returned to Chicago, completing her master's degree in 1915.

Carroll held two positions of employment after earning her master's degree. From 1917–18 she was a special agent and assistant inspector under Grace Abbott for the Child Labor Division of the U.S. Children's Bureau. Carroll described her professional responsibilities as a Greenwood, South Carolina child labor inspector:

> My job has been very interesting too. Sent down here to aid in the enforcement of the Federal Child Labor Law, now some eight months old, I find the district which I cover every month to be comprised, industrially, chiefly of cotton mills. My task is mainly the ascertaining of the ages of the children, seeing them and their parents, and looking up records of age. I have handled more family Bibles than I knew could exist in one section of the country.[22]

From 1918–20 Carroll was a staff lecturer at the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. This School was associated with the settlement house movement of the early twentieth century, combining social work education and job experience. Social workers resided in settlement houses and the houses provided food, shelter, and education for the income-poor.

Carroll earned her Ph.D. from the University of Chicago Sociology Department in 1920. Her Ph.D. thesis, *Labor and Politics: The Attitude of the American Federation of Labor Toward Legislation and Politics*, received a Hart, Schaffner and Marx "honorable mention" in 1922.

Carroll's thesis received no reviews from economics journals. The two interdisciplinary reviews that do exist are lackluster. Primarily descriptive in nature, *The Journal of Negro History* review identifies that the thesis mostly omits coverage of race in its discussion of the American Federation of Labor. Addressing topics emphasized by the book, this review questions the adequacy of Carroll's coverage. Whereas adequacy of coverage is questioned in the first review, "concise" is the descriptive term used in the second review. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* review identifies historical and contemporary political events left out of Carroll's thesis. This second review describes the "concise" thesis as "well-planned." An allusion to partiality in coverage is suggested via the descriptive phrase, "sympathetic survey" of American Federation of Labor political policy. Nonetheless, the second review concludes that the book is "a helpful handbook" for the specialist and an easy, illuminating read for the generalist.

A *New York Times* book review[23] also conveys a lackluster reception for Carroll's thesis beyond the Hart, Schaffner and Marx award committee members. Though she "packed a good deal of information in her book gleaned from the official organs of the American Federation of Labor," the *Times* reviewer writes of Carroll's thesis that "its title is too big for its contents. Labor and politics are both vast subjects; to tie them up makes them almost fearsome. Yet Miss Carroll's book is not fearsome in any respect."

In 1920 Carroll became associate professor at a women's school, Goucher College in Maryland. In 1922 she was professor and chair of the Goucher College Department of Economics and Sociology. Carroll was a Guggenheim Memorial Foundation fellow in 1927–28 and spent a couple years in Germany researching the German unemployment insurance system. The 1931 *American Economic Review* book review of Carroll's German unemployment insurance monograph identifies the timeliness of the book and that it is a "careful" study presenting "invaluable, disinterested testimony."

By 1932, Carroll had left her Goucher College position and worked at the University of Chicago Settlement. A few career-oriented factoids are available. While working for Goucher College, she gave professional talks in both South Carolina and Georgia in Spring 1925. Carroll was actively involved with the League of Women Voters for decades. She served as a national vice president of the League, participated in at least one League convention leading a discussion about problems associated with women in industry (1926), and wrote about economics for the League. Carroll may have returned to the University of Chicago and its Graduate School of Social Service Administration (an administrative outgrowth of the earlier Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy) in 1926 to teach two summer courses titled, "The Field of Social Work" and "Child Welfare Problems." In Spring 1930, she was one of more than 1,250 economists who signed "The Economists' Tariff Protest of 1930" opposing the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill.

By 1935–36, Carroll was the Executive Head Resident of the University of Chicago Settlement and an associate professor of social economy with her alma mater. During this year, she also was secretary for the board of directors of the Chicago Douglas Smith Fund and was director of research for the New York City Workers' Education Bureau. Carroll published twice with the Workers' Education Bureau Press on the topics of trade unions and worker education.

By 1941, Carroll was a research adviser[24] with the Labor Standards Division in the United States Department of Labor. In 1946, she was Senior Technical Adviser of the Training Division for the Social Security Board. In 1950, she served as a labor economist with the Social Security Administration.

In 1965 a "Dr. Mollie Ray Carroll of Fairfax, Va" provided critical testimony for a U.S. Senate Immigration and Naturalization Subcommittee to the Judiciary Committee. Carroll testified with the opinion that:

> while America has been built by the vision and energy of immigrants, including your ancestors and mine, the so-called melting pot has often not melted. Masses of poorly screened immigrants have too often become undigested lumps of frustrated, undiluted foreign ideology and habits, pawns of some of the world's worst elements.[25]

It is unclear when or why this xenophobia developed.

From 1923 to 1939, Carroll published four books (including her thesis), one of which came in two editions. All four books received published academic review across interdisciplinary journals. Her thesis and the book on German unemployment insurance that she published as a result of her Guggenheim fellowship are the more substantial academic contributions. The 1930 text of *Our Wants and How They Are Satisfied* is under 70 pages long, providing a common sense explanation of economic principles for the National League of Women Voters. Hazel Kyrk's two-paragraph review describes the contents and purpose. The *Southern Economic Journal* review of *What is Collective Bargaining?* identifies Carroll's unique position on collective bargaining. The reviewer concludes that though "[m]any readers will accuse Miss Carroll of being too idealistic and too far from the day-to-day struggle for existence," her book does rise to its purpose to encourage reasoned communication. Beyond the four books that received journal review, Carroll published a few more tracts printed by the National League of Women Voters in the mid-1920s.

Carroll published 21 times in interdisciplinary periodicals through the 1920s and the 1930s. Her major publication outlet links to her Ph.D. thesis topic: Carroll published nine articles between 1925 and 1938 in the *American Federationist*, the "official magazine of the American Federation of Labor." She published three times each in *American Labor Legislation Review*, in *Social Forces*, and in the *Journal of Adult Education*, twice in *Social Service Review*, and one article about German social statistics appears in the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*.

Carroll was one of five in an American Economic Association round table panel covering unemployment and public works. Her contribution on German public works appears after J.B. Clark's comments in the 1930 papers and proceedings issue of the *American Economic Review*.

Carroll published over 35 book reviews in academic journals between 1919 and 1936, with roughly half published in *Social Service Review*. A few of the remaining reviews appear in established economics journals such as the *Journal of Political Economy* and the *American Economic Review*. The rest are interdisciplinary publications with broad range, extending across sociology, religion, ethics, history, and statistics. Eight of the books reviewed from 1929 forward have German titles, suggesting Carroll continued using the German- language skills acquired during her time in that country to facilitate international exchange of knowledge. Only five book reviews appear before 1930. Most of her 1930s' book review titles revolve around employment and unemployment relief.

Carroll's professional life iterated between U.S. federal government and academic spheres. She clearly maintained networking ties to the University of Chicago at least 15 years after earning her terminal degree. Though her 1920 Ph.D. thesis was worthy of honorable mention, it took a full decade for Carroll to receive passing attention for her research on a second subject, German insurance, from the American Economic Association, and even then this was only in the form of conference participation and book reviews.

The electronic records about Mollie Ray Carroll suggest that she was an active academic contributor until the mid-1930s. Her academic contributions were numerous and diverse in scope, though perhaps not the quality or type of work to receive disciplinary recognition. After the mid-1930s, her academic contributions cease. She worked briefly for the federal government before earning her Ph.D.—her initial federal employment possibly the result of social networking through Edith Abbott of the University of Chicago and her sister Grace Abbott. Carroll returned to federal employment in later life. It is unclear whether Carroll's return to federal bureaucracy was due to personal desire or whether she was pushed away from academia. Throughout her career, Carroll made contributions in the field of labor. Beyond dedication of her thesis to her parents, no records of substance turn up about her personal life.

Helen Fisher Hohman (1894–1972)[26]

Helen Fisher Hohman completed an undergraduate degree at the University of Illinois in 1916. Married in 1919, her spouse, economist Elmo P. Hohman, was also an Illinois alum. By 1919, Helen graduated from a two-year program at the New York School of Social Work and worked as an economics department assistant with teaching responsibilities for a year at Vassar College, an appointment which lasted until 1920. While Elmo worked on a second degree at Harvard University, Helen and Elmo had teaching appointments at Simmons College for the 1921–22 school year.

Hohman's split attention across the fields of social work and economics led her to write a piece about the importance of both professions. In a 1922 alumni magazine publication, Hohman describes her diaspora: "economists dub me a sentimental reformer, and the social workers pity me as a useless juggler of the metaphysics of supply and demand. Therefore I welcome this opportunity to recommend myself to both parties." Perceiving herself with two professional homelands and foretelling her migration to economics, Hohman concludes to her social work audience:

> As social workers we can never save the world by case work alone, as economists we cannot fully comprehend our problem; but as cooperators and coordinators, to use familiar terms, we can enrich our contribution to the great tasks to which we are committed. So I believe that they also serve, who only teach and study economics.[27]

In the mid-1920s, Hohman pursued graduate study in economics. During her graduate work, she published an article with the *Journal of Political Economy* on cost of living adjustments to wages. By 1928, she earned a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago with the completion of her thesis, "The Trade Board Acts and the Social Insurance Acts in Relation to a Minimum Standard of Living in Great Britain: A Study in Attitudes toward Poverty and Methods of Dealing with It, 1880–1926."

The *American Economic Review* announced that Hohman's dissertation received first prize in the 1928 Hart, Schaffner and Marx competition and acknowledged that an honorable mention went to Simon S. Kuznets for his "Secular Movements in Production and Prices." The 1928 version of Hohman's dissertation research received no reviews in journals. Hohman's 1933 publication of this doctoral study, titled *The Development of Social Insurance and Minimum Wage Legislation in Great Britain: A Study of British Social Legislation in Relation to a Minimum Standard of Living*, did receive attention from five interdisciplinary journals (including sociology, history and political science), though it was only reviewed by one major economics journal, the *Journal of Political Economy*. In contrast, Kuznets' "honorable mention" received eight journal reviews in 1930 and in 1931, including the *American Economic Review, The Economic Journal*, and *Journal of Political Economy*.

Given that the Hart, Schaffner & Marx Prize committee rated Hohman's research monograph as the worthier research product, it is unclear why Kuznets received multiple reviews in major economics journals and Hohman's work was not received until 1933 and then only by one major economics journal. Like Kuznets' book, Hohman's 1926 journal publication is technical. In contrast, the *Journal of Political Economy* review of Hohman (1933) identifies that her award-winning thesis "method of treatment is historical rather than analytical" and criticizes the work for undertaking no international comparison of social insurance. Perhaps thesis methodology had some effect on disciplinary reception of the two scholars' works. Some of the journal attention Kuznets receives is critical. An open question is whether receiving critical disciplinary attention has more positive career impact than receiving no professional attention.

After earning her doctorate, Hohman compiled and edited "Essays on Population and other papers by James Alfred Field" at the University of Chicago, which was published in 1931. This publication received four reviews in interdisciplinary journals.

In 1932 Helen gave birth to a daughter, Elinor. Her husband, Elmo, served as an economics professor with Northwestern University from the early 1930s through the 1950s. Evidence from Northwestern University archives suggests that, although Helen signed book reviews in economics journals in association with Northwestern, her official teaching duties in economics were limited to lecturing, to summer courses, and to teach for her husband in his absence; she held no permanent academic rank with Northwestern. For example, in two archived *Daily Northwestern* newspaper articles about Helen, she is identified as the wife of Elmo—she is not identified individually with university rank. It is only after publishing her book on Swedish social insurance that she is identified as "Dr. Helen Hohman."

Social insurance was the central topic of Hohman's post-graduate publications. Her research in social insurance spanned countries in North America and Europe. She served as a consultant for the U.S. federal government's Bureau of Research and Statistics of the Social Security Board, when she studied the Swedish social insurance program. *Old Age in Sweden* identifies that Helen Hohman traveled in Europe during the summer of 1937. Her summer activities included direct observation of the Swedish social insurance program and review of Swedish documents. She also consulted with Social Insurance Section staff in the International Labor Office in Geneva. Hohman thanks both Gunnar Myrdal and Bertil Ohlin in the acknowledgments, two male economists with noteworthy contributions that continue to receive attention in the early twenty-first century.

Three reviewers assessed *Old Age in Sweden*. The *Journal of Political Economy* review provides both a descriptive account and a positive assessment, concluding that Hohman's work is "a comprehensive and accurate source of information on the Swedish experience." In 1940, the *American Economic Review* published a Hohman article about American public assistance.

Hohman's publishing career after 1940 appears to rest on the intellectual capital she developed in her formative research years. These later social insurance publications emphasize Great Britain, Sweden, and cost of living adjustments. Only one publication branches out from her earlier emphases, though as a handbook for professional social service provisioners, it is not an academic heavyweight. Hohman published over 40 book reviews, of which 26 appear in major economics journals.

At the age of 53 in a February 2, 1947 radio broadcast titled "Is America Going Feminine?" Helen Hohman was one of four speakers. The concept "feminine" was presented derisively in the broadcast. The broadcast included two conservative male speakers who tied women's social role to effective child rearing. Helen's minimal commentary was moderate and reactive to the extremely vocal, conservative views expressed by the men. Perhaps she was reflecting on her own life circumstances in the following commentary:

> Most women in the United States are married. Most women have children. And it is the woman with a family and the unbroken family that we are concerned about today. I think that the very fact that so much of her life, of her former activities, have been taken out of the home means that now she has leisure that she never had before. She has smaller families. A woman who has six children doesn't have any problem of leisure. Good or bad, that is the fact. Therefore, the modern woman cannot find within the home, after the children have passed infancy, things to do that take all of her interest and all of her capacities.

She continues:

> I think that there are some women who find their total expression within the home. Others, probably most, need some contacts outside of the home, some kind of sociability, some common purpose, working for things that are not just their own families, their own husbands, their own children.

Her daughter and two grandchildren survived Helen Hohman. It seems reasonable to conjecture that when her daughter grew out of infancy, Hohman chose to interlace academic pursuits around her familial role. Hohman seems to have chosen part-time research economist with lifetime academic service at Northwestern University. Her research caught passing attention from two major economics journals. That Hohman coupled serious pursuit of academics on an erratic basis while married to an economist and raising a child is noteworthy given the time period and gender-centric social constraints.

Caroline Ware (1899–1990)[28]

Caroline Ware's intellectual accomplishments span academic disciplines, institutions, and countries. Her contributions in history overshadow her work in economics, and she had substantial research programs in community development, women's issues, race relations, and worker's education. Running parallel with this active research agenda, Ware held appointments at four institutions of higher learning between 1925 and 1961, where teaching was also an important responsibility. Her academic appointments were at Vassar College, Sarah Lawrence College, the American University Graduate School, and the School of Social Work at Howard University.

Lee and Warren (2000) identify many public agencies for which Ware labored. These include the National Recovery Administration's Consumer Advisory Board and consumer groups associated with the National Emergency Council, the National Defense Advisory Board, President Truman's Council of Economic Advisors, and President Kennedy's Consumer Advisory Council.

According to the American Association of University Women, Ware "led AAUW in the fight to establish a consumer agency in the federal government and testified on behalf of AAUW on consumer interests and fair-housing issues."[29] Ware also published in 1962 for the United States President's Commission on the Status of Women, and the YWCA republished this work in 1963.

Experience in Puerto Rico in the late 1940s spurred Ware's contributions in community development. According to Lee and Samuels, from 1962–1976 Ware "was a technical advisor in community development and cultural affairs for the United Nations" and traveled in Latin America. She published a number of tracts in Spanish on this subject matter from 1953 to 1963.

Ware's Radcliffe Ph.D. in 1925 kickstarted her energized career. She received the $1,000 Hart, Schaffner, and Marx first prize in 1929 for *The Early New England Cotton Manufacture: A Study in Industrial Beginnings*. Interestingly, Professor Edwin F. Gay of Harvard University both directed her thesis and was one of four members on the award committee. Ware credits both Gay and the "critical cooperation" of her husband, Gardiner C. Means in the preface to her thesis.

Book reviews credit Ware's efforts to unearth historical documents for her thesis. Visiting historical societies in New England, she "found boxes and boxes filled with a jumble of half-rotted letters, accounts, letter-books and production-sheets." After "[t]hree days of sorting and arranging" Ware constructed an "amazingly full" record of the first cotton-spinning firm in the Northeastern United States. In her quest for randomly preserved records in "family attics or deserted barns" she consulted a town clerk, a banker, and then a judge who led her to a cotton-spinning entrepreneur's descendant. This descendant "remembered having some old books in the attic belonging to some ancestor" which included a variety of business records such as sales accounts and expense receipts (Ware, 1926, p. 5). Ware also compiled records from personal mill visits, accompanied by "letters of introduction to persons in authority" (p. 6). Ware's quest for original source material turned up piecemeal documents, each of which Ware fitted "into the fragmentary picture to change the shading or to strengthen a line" (p. 6). The meticulous thesis research uncovering historical documents and piecing them together is one basis for Ware's influence with the history discipline.

Ware's award-winning thesis received three journal reviews, including one by Delmar Leighton in the *American Economic Review*. Leighton identifies that Ware worked a large amount of historical material to construct a 70-year history of cotton manufacturing in New England. Ware provides "value . . . for historical students" in her source data and a 16-page bibliography (p. 316). Ware's thesis illuminates understanding of finance, marketing, and labor force management in a capital-intense industry start-up and makes an "able attempt" to assess community development effects of the industry. Using one-half of the review, Leighton takes Ware to task for emphasizing "exploitation" in her thesis.

The New England Quarterly review also uses most of its space to clarify Ware's exposition in her chapter about "exploitation and reform." This second review explains why Ware's chapter on exploitation is a "one-sided" treatment: she over-emphasized a boarding-house method of labor hiring and under-emphasized a family-hiring method (pp. 561–62). This second reviewer is gracious about her error, concluding: "The student of economic history will be grateful to Miss Ware for this study in industrial beginnings; if he regrets that she had slighted certain aspects of the story . . . his regret is merely that these topics did not fall entirely within the scope of her volume" (p. 562).

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review coverage of Ware's thesis begins quite positively. Ware's thesis "measures up well with the best [Hart, Schaffner and Marx awarded] monographs" and "is a substantial and worth while contribution to the history" of the U.S. industrial revolution. Two criticisms concern the "dry detailed treatment" typical of academic work and a wish that there were more breadth in coverage to related economic issues such as international trade (p. 572).

Over her career, Ware published at least 12 journal articles. Two of these articles appear in economics journals. Her 1926 *Quarterly Journal of Economics* publication related to her thesis topic. In 1949, Ware published an article in *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* about her work on university programs for workers' education.

Ware participated in research resulting in at least 20 monographs. These monographs mostly span her interdisciplinary career from 1931 until 1966, with one co-authored work in 1981. Roughly two-thirds of these publications were authored by Ware alone, the remainder with co-authors. The subject matter of Ware's monographs exhibit breadth of knowledge. The topics of her single-authored monographs in economics ranged from the consumer to worker education to women's issues to community development. Her work about community development in Latin America was published in English, Spanish, and Portuguese.

Records suggest Ware published nine reviews of others' publications, none of which appeared in economics journals. In contrast, Ware received at least 24 academic reviews of books that she penned alone or with co-authors. The reviews appear across disciplines and journal topics. The work that received the most immediate attention of reviewers is Ware's *The Cultural Approach to History* (1940). This book received at least 12 interdisciplinary reviews, though none in economics. Economists' reviews of Ware's broad-reaching intellectual contributions were limited to her thesis (reviewed in *American Economic Review*), to *Labor Education in Universities* (reviewed in *Journal of Political Economy* and in *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*), and to *The Modern Economy in Action*, co-authored with her husband (reviewed in the *American Economic Review*).

Ware married economist Gardiner C. Means in 1927, separated by his death in 1988. According to Lee and Samuels (2000, p. 462), Caroline Ware

> married Means . . . with the very clear intention of combining a career with marriage and children (although for physical reasons the marriage remained childless). She long believed that women did not have to choose between children and career. Indicative of her desire to combine marriage and a career, Ware retained her maiden name, a very unusual, but not unheard of, practice then. Apropros of this, she later reported that she then had more status than her husband and did not want to set aside her own name; and that when her husband achieved more status than she, she did not want to ride on his coat-tails. Their relationship was complex, although she reported that they lived in mutually supportive harmony for 60 years.

Preserving the marriage did involve at least one major career-impacting decision by Caroline. She resigned from her Vassar teaching position when Means moved to Washington in 1933 to work for the federal government, and afterwards found "university history departments reluctant to hire women."[30]

Alma Herbst (1892–1968)

A Delta Delta Delta sorority member and president of a Columbus, Ohio branch of the YWCA in her undergraduate years, Alma Herbst earned an A.B. degree from the Ohio State University in 1914. From 1914 to 1916, she was industrial secretary for the YWCA in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. From 1918–1923 she was with the New York National Board of the YWCA. Herbst also worked with the Bryn Mawr summer school for women from 1922 to 1923. She must have shifted into academic studies thereafter; from 1926 to 1928 she was a research assistant at the University of Chicago.

Herbst earned a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1930. Her dissertation, *The Negro in the Slaughtering and Meat-Packing Industry in Chicago*, won second prize in the 1930 Hart, Schaffner and Marx competition, and like the other women award winners, was in Class A, including any American without restriction. The preface to her award-winning dissertation credits Professor Harry A. Millis of the University of Chicago "for his generous criticisms and helpful suggestions during every stage of the work."

Herbst's thesis received at least three book reviews shortly after publication. As a University of Chicago Press publication, the *Social Service Review*'s interest in reviewing Herbst's thesis was perhaps due to institutional, geographic, and topical overlap between the thesis and the journal. *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* likely reviewed the thesis due to its subject matter. Both reviews are positive about the thesis. For example, reviewer "M.R.C."[31] of the *Social Service Review* describes the thesis as objective, based on "much valuable factual material," and states that Herbst handles "vexing questions . . . with courage and scientific caution." The *Mississippi* reviewer describes Herbst's approach as "clean-cut" and "interesting" with "[a]bundant statistical tables and charts." Both reviews relay that Herbst collected her own observations for this study. The *Mississippi* review suggests that "a bit more in the way of case studies and negro folk-opinion might have added somewhat to the interest and value of the treatment."

A third book review by Alain Locke (1932) provides a perspective shift about the validity of the book in a broader socio-historic context. A leading figure in the Harlem Renaissance, Locke's review of Herbst provides insight into the book's reception by a contemporary African American intellect. Locke commends the book for its objectivity and its accuracy. He empathizes with "the average reader, pardonably weary with graphs and statistics." Most importantly, Locke's review contextualizes Herbst's thesis in the socio-political context of race, labor, and industry, and socioeconomic discord in early 1900s' Chicago. Locke encourages Herbst's audience to "[r]ead this book not merely as a study of the Negro in the 'Meat-Packing Industry,' but as the story of America's black pawns of labor."

At least 13 publications reference Herbst's thesis, 12 of which date between 1972 and 2015. These references elicit material from Herbst's thesis to address a variety of labor- and race-related topics including promotion, labor termination, labor productivity, and employee loyalty toward a firm during labor strife.

Her Ohio State University appointment began as assistant from 1929 to 1930. In December 1930, the *American Economic Review* announced that Herbst "advanced from assistant to instructor of economics at Ohio State University."[32] She was promoted to assistant professor in 1933, associate professor in 1938, and was full professor in 1943 until her retirement in 1962. Herbst's Ohio State University career centered on teaching in labor and industrial relations and service to her university and her local community.

Though her award-winning dissertation continues to receive attention in the early twenty-first century, Herbst has no discernible track record of research productivity beyond her 1930 thesis and one book review in 1942. The only publication she listed in official

Ohio State University employment records is her Ph.D. thesis.[33] Though her thesis received accolades, her academic publishing career appears effectively to have both begun and ended with the dissertation.

Herbst overlapped her academic focus in labor with many of her local service activities. In 1932 she instructed adult education classes in economics principles at the Columbus Central YWCA. She was acting director of the Bryn Mawr summer school for workers in industry for the summer of 1934. Herbst ran the first survey of Ohio State University student working conditions in 1939. In 1946, she was a faculty adviser to the University Industrial Relations Club. Herbst was a member of a Committee on Teaching in Industrial Relations in 1949. She was partially responsible for "the first Midwestern Conference" held in Columbus, Ohio bringing together 27 people from ten midwestern colleges and universities in the U.S. This conference focus was on teaching and curriculum planning in labor-related and industrial relations subjects.[34] In 1947, Herbst was one of a nine-member board reviewing minimum wage scales of local hotels and restaurants.[35]

In Ohio State University online thesis records, Herbst appears as the thesis adviser to one master's level student and to another doctoral level student. Both thesis dates are 1961 and both have labor-related titles. Curiously, no other thesis adviser records turn up in searches of Herbst's name, though this could be due to spotty library online recordkeeping in naming thesis advisers. She clearly had more than two graduate students as reported by the Board of Trustees announcing her death:

> [T]estimony to Professor Herbst's constructive professionalism was the caliber of graduate students who took graduate degrees under her guidance and embarked on eminent professional careers. A number of the outstanding specialists in labor and industrial relations in the nation today were students of Professor Herbst and profited from her stimulating mind and critical and constructive evaluation of their work.[36]

Parnes (2001) recounts a story of initial favoritism and a later falling out in his work relationship with Herbst at the Ohio State University. According to Parnes, the interpersonal conflict between the two was initiated by Herbst in the 1940s. The story revolves around the establishment of a "school for trade unionists at Ohio State," something desired by Herbst. Though Parnes and Herbst shared similar broad views on this program, they differed in their preferences over its details. The result was a severing of their personal interaction, a break which, according to Parnes, was triggered by Herbst making a negative comment toward Parnes. The account suggests that there were at least three male faculty members in the Commerce program at Ohio State who had negative interactions with or held negative opinions about Herbst (Parnes 2001, pp. 47–48).

Herbst realized her mature research promise by overlapping scholarship with teaching and with community and university service. Along with Ohio State colleague Ruth Spitz, Herbst is noted as having made "progress" with "an analytical study of the Ohio Federation of Labor and the Ohio CIO Council in an effort to examine the changing role of the Ohio labor federations in the fields of citizenship and community participation."[37] Reflecting on research productivity in her 1943–44 annual report to the university, she wrote:

> My research has centered about present critical and rapidly changing labor problems both in the U.S. and foreign countries. Time has been taken to put materials in form for *possible* publication—*but studies thus have been made indispensable for teaching*.

In her 1946–47 annual report, she writes that her "own research projects cover those most needed to produce new teaching materials—Collective bargaining; Conciliation and Mediation . . . ; Labor and Internationalism." Herbst also "wrote a monograph published and copyrighted by the Ohio Chamber of Commerce, [titled] 'Governmental Agencies for Settlement of Industrial Disputes'." In community relations she reported maintaining "constant contacts with both trade union and employer groups." She wrote of serving employers and employees by "drawing up and negotiating their trade agreements" as well as having "been called in as a mediator."

Alma Herbst retired from the Ohio State University in 1962 with 33 years of service and was professor emerita by 1968. In 1961 and 1965 and again in Winter 1967–68, the name "Alma Herbst" appears in the journal *Educational Horizons*. In her retirement year, Herbst received a $1,000 prize for distinguished teaching at the university. Herbst commented on her award:

> My most rewarding teaching experience has been the unique privilege of association and comradeship with students in the quest for truth . . . there comes a realization of the sacred worth of personality and the uniqueness of irreplaceable talent. All are fellow members of the human race. As the core of life emerges so also are relationships in the home, on the job, and in the larger community established. To the teacher it is rewarding to recognize the dedication of former students to responsible areas of the government, in international affairs, in academic life, in labor-management relations, in business, in politics, in the home, and in service activities. The bond of a continuing free way of life is sealed in mutual gratitude and love long after the formal 'Commencement' date.

Herbst died in her home of a heart attack in 1968. Re-enforcing one of her annual report notes that she was not married, her listed survivors included only a brother, nieces and nephews. The Board of Trustees' announcement of Herbst's death included this statement about her undergraduate teaching: "her classes were distinguished by a realistic, knowledgeable, and eminently practical exploration of complex facets of labor problems and industrial relations. She attracted and interested many students to her field of specialization at the undergraduate level."

In 1994, the Ohio State University economics department established an Alma Herbst Memorial Lecture Fund in labor economics with support from Dr. Virgil C. Crisafulli and Martha Bair Crisafulli. Crisafulli earned an M.A. in 1940 and a Ph.D. in 1954, both degrees from the Ohio State University. Both theses focused on labor economics. It seems reasonable to conjecture that Crisafulli was a student of Herbst.

Perhaps Herbst's Ph.D. thesis award facilitated an appointment from the institution which granted her undergraduate degree. A 40-year relationship between a mid-twentieth-century woman economist and a major university's economics department is a substantial accomplishment. If Herbst's goal was a teaching position at her alma mater, then it seems that her personal aspirations were realized. The academic research promise embodied in Herbst's thesis, which continues to be recognized 85 years since publication, was not realized in any other attention-grabbing venues. It seems Herbst prioritized teaching and local community service. Not much should be made of a documented interpersonal conflict that might have existed with certain colleagues, as another doctorate and his wife valued Herbst's academic career enough to endow a lecture fund in her honor. An emerging picture of Herbst's professional accomplishments is that of a solidly institutionalized academic who emphasized teaching, personal and localized arenas as the receiving grounds for her professional efforts.

Assessing the career outcomes of six women economist-award winners (based on available information)

Six women received accolades for their Ph.D. theses from the Hart, Schaffner and Marx committee in the first few decades of the twentieth century. There is limited theoretical and empirical support that awards might increase recipient productivity and disciplinary reception in economics. Nonetheless, an early career award is certainly not a strong predictor of lifetime outcomes, particularly for academicians experiencing discriminatory barriers. Given the limited opportunities available to women in economics throughout the twentieth century, analyzing how a group of early twentieth-century women award winners fared in career and life is instructive.

Available information suggests that Caroline Ware and Hazel Kyrk had strong academic career outcomes. Caroline Ware made substantial lasting methodological academic contributions, though in the discipline of history, not economics. Kyrk pioneered the initiation of a new academic discipline. The careers of Alma Herbst and Mollie Ray Carroll played out admirably given gender discrimination, but otherwise do not stand out. Helen Hohman intermingled child rearing with part-time academic pursuits. Yetta Scheftel is an example of an early twentieth-century woman who dropped out of economics to pursue a different profession.

Commonly accepted twentieth-century indicators of "superperformance" in academic economics include publications and book reviews of one's own monographs in major economics journals[38] and appointments with major universities and prestigious private colleges. Considering only these indicators as reflected in Table 13.2, the economics outcomes of the careers of Kyrk, Hohman, and Ware stand out among the women award winners. The award-winning theses of all three were each reviewed in at least one major economics journal. Hohman had two publications and Ware had one publication in major economics journals. The post-graduate research monographs of Hohman and Ware each received book reviews in major economics journals. Kyrk had a career-long appointment with the economics departments of a major U.S. university. In contrast, Carroll had only one book review of her research by a major economics journal and one conference participation. Herbst had a lifelong appointment with the economics department of a major public university but is otherwise invisible.

However, as Table 13.2 suggests, based on exposure through major economics journals, none of the award winners' careers stand out. The highest frequency of exposure is three, not particularly noteworthy for a lifelong career. Though the women have negligible exposure as authors in major economics journals, a few were prolific book reviewers of other economists' works. For example, Hohman reviewed 29 books by other economists in major economics journals and Kyrk reviewed 15.

Table 13.2 Some career productivity criteria

Name	*Major economics journal thesis review*	*Permanent academic appointment*	*Major economics journal review, non-thesis*	*Major economics journal publication*	*Book reviews by her in a major economics journal*
Scheftel	1	No			
Kyrk	2	Yes (Chicago)			15
Carroll	0	Yes (Goucher)	1		5
Hohman	1	No (Northwestern lecturer)	2	2	29
Ware	1	Yes (4 schools)	3	1	
Herbst	0	Yes (Ohio State)			

Of the five women who persevered in academia, none contributed substantially to the major twentieth-century trends in economic thought: neoclassical economics or macroeconomics theory or econometric methodology. The research of all five women does include applications of empirical economics. Kyrk was involved in the construction of a statistical forerunner to the consumer price index, and Hohman contributed on cost of living adjustments to wages. Ware's and Herbst's theses stand out in their collection of unique primary source data. Carroll provided insights on German social statistics to an American academic audience. Generally speaking though, the five women were socio-political economists who did not fit the narrowing disciplinary norms that developed.

A definition of "superperformer" women economists is "pathbreaking pioneers, outperforming their male colleagues on most measures of professional success and commitment."[39] If their male colleagues' average performance is the comparative yardstick, it does not seem that even Kyrk, Hohman, and Ware had stellar economics careers. From this comparative yardstick, it might be more reasonable to classify the three women as "status quo" academic economists who made contributions to the discipline that received passing recognition.

It is reasonable, though, to question the appropriateness of the typical male economist as the comparative standard: in his correspondence with Hazel Kyrk, Marshall identified a gender-segregated academic labor market that was more difficult for women economists; it seems reasonable to conjecture that unequal treatment based on gender existed in publication venues. Furthermore, academic disciplines were not distinct in the first half of the twentieth century. The remainder of this assessment considers the women economists more broadly.

Two clearly created high-quality, innovative interdisciplinary contributions during their careers: Caroline Ware in historical method, workers' education, and community development in Latin America; and Hazel Kyrk in her institutionalist approach to consumption and by leading in the creation of a new discipline concerning family economics. Helen Hohman's contribution in social insurance, Alma Herbst's thesis on race in the Chicago meat-packing industry, and Mollie Ray Carroll's mid-career research on German unemployment insurance were each insightful contributions but do not reflect a career of realized intellectual promise.

The five women pursued interdisciplinary interests, though at different levels. Carroll, Hohman, and Herbst show a taste for interdisciplinary inquiry: Carroll's breadth of interest in her book review subject matter; Hohman in early attempts to cross social work and economics; and Herbst in taking on the issue of race in labor economics during the early twentieth century. Far more interdisciplinary are the lifelong contributions of Ware (in history, economics and development, and worker's education) and Kyrk (economics, consumption, and family). Ware and Kyrk are appropriately classified as "superperfomer separatists": both were "pathbreaking pioneers," individually driven and energized with sparks of genius. Both were also separatist-innovators, responsible for breaking new ground in academic thought. The separatist nature of their groundbreaking contributions did not leave career trails that attracted the attention or the respect of the typical twentieth-century male economist.

Networking is apparent in some of the careers of these five women economists. Institutional networking beyond their degree-granting and career-long university connections appear more limited for Hohman and Herbst relative to the other three. Ware stands out for her institutional web of interconnections: four relatively long-term academic appointments, federal government service including contributions to two US presidential councils, and extended work with the United Nations. Kyrk and Carroll also had career-long institutional connections with federal government agencies. Four of the five women traveled abroad: Kyrk to England during World War I, Carroll and Hohman to Europe during the interwar period, and extensive travel by Ware with the United Nations, particularly in Latin America. The international travel must have expanded the minds and influenced the intellectual creativity of each.

Supportive people-networking links are obvious in the careers of Kyrk, Ware, and Hohman, suggestive in Carroll's case, and mostly non-apparent for Herbst. Kyrk received early career support from Leon Carroll Marshall and traveled with James Alfred Field, as well as benefitting from federal agency networking links with women such as Ursula Batchelder Stone and Day Monroe (a graduate student of Kyrk's). Kyrk's deep mentoring of many graduate students was also likely important in her network expansion over time. Hohman had four noteworthy connections with leading male economists: husband Elmo Hohman, James Alfred Field, and two Swedish economists. There is no evidence of networking between Hohman and other women economists. Ware likely benefited early on from her thesis adviser, Edwin Gay's connection to the Hart, Schaffner and Marx committee, as well as lifelong interactive influence with her economist-spouse, Gardiner Means. Ware also had a host of co-authored publications, indicating strong networking capacity in research. The only obvious network for Carroll is in her early connections to the women of the Chicago program, including Grace Abbott who headed the first federal agency employing Carroll. Kyrk had substantial influence on graduate students, and it seems likely that Herbst and Ware had some mentees who diffused variations of their mentors' thinking and methods.

Available information on the personal lives of all six women is limited. Two (Hohman and Ware) were married to male economists. Because both couples maintained academic pursuits for both partners and lifelong marriages, it seems reasonable to posit that the women, particularly Ware, received more benefit than difficulty from their marriages. Two (Kyrk and Hohman) carried responsibility for a dependent child. Responsibility for a dependant may divert attention away from career, though there might have been unintended positive effects if human capital developed through parenting transferred into interpersonal skills in their careers. There is no information on important social circles, friendships, and intimate relationships for Kyrk, Carroll, Herbst or Scheftel.

There is variation in the career outcomes of the six women award winners listed in Table 13.3. Because Scheftel dropped out of economics altogether, her career might tentatively constitute an extreme case of "separatism." Carroll's career manifested separatist classification by teaching in a women's college and when she shifted permanently into federal bureaucratic employment. Hohman made two noteworthy research contributions in economics beyond her thesis but because her career seems to have taken secondary status to family, can be considered "subordinate" from an academic career perspective. With an active localized, decades-long academic appointment at a major state university but no discernible non-localized research productivity, Herbst is "status quo." Kyrk and Ware stand out as superperforming-separatists—both made contributions within economics, but are known for their contributions outside the discipline. In all but one case, these six *her*stories suggest that, with early disciplinary recognition, the award-winning women economists navigated gender discrimination in academia, leaving a paper trail of careers that created knowledge in specific spheres of inquiry.

Table 13.3 Career outcomes assessment for six women economics award winners

Name	*Overall career assessment (based on available information)*
Yetta Scheftel	Extreme "separatist" (economics drop-out)
Hazel Kyrk	Superperformer and separatist
Mollie Ray Carroll	Separatist
Helen Hohman	Subordinate
Caroline Ware	Superperformer and separatist
Alma Herbst	Status quo

Notes

1 Thanks for editorial support from Millersville University undergraduate research assistant, Sammie Bigham.
2 *Minnesota History*, June 1929, volume 10, number 2, p. 178.
3 Though assessing the first decade of economists' careers rather than one monograph, compare the John Bates Clark Medal winners: from 1947–1999, 0 women received this award out of 26 award recipients (0%); from 1947–2015, 3 women received this award out of 37 award recipients (8.11%).
4 See Frey and Neckermann (2010) and Chan et al. (2013).
5 See Madden, Kirsten, "Anecdotes of Discrimination: Barriers to Women's Participation in Economic Thought During the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," Chapter 9 this volume.
6 Forget, 1995, p. 26 who cites Glazer, Penina Migdal, and Miriam Slater (1987) *Unequal Colleagues: The Entrance of Women into the Professions, 1890–1940*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
7 Ibid., p. 34.
8 Ibid., pp. 34–36.
9 These theses are scattered throughout the references in Madden, Seiz, and Pujol (2004).
10 Except where otherwise noted, biographical details for all six women in this chapter are from documents turned up through Google searches. Full sets of references for biographical details are available upon request.
11 Correspondence with University of Chicago Special Collections, ask@lib.uchicago.edu, 2/5/2016.
12 Described as such by Solon J. Buck in "Historical Activities in the Old Northwest and Eastern Canada, 1913–1914," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 1 (1) (June 1914): 57–94.
13 The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Illinois History and Lincoln Manuscript Collections houses the completed eight-chapter manuscript.
14 Preface by Lucie B. Hoxie and Nathan Fine in *Trade Unionism in the United States*, Robert Franklin Hoxie, New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1921.
15 Correspondence with University of Chicago Special Collections, ask@lib.uchicago.edu, 2/5/2016.
16 See the review by "F.T.S." in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 72 (July 1917): 240.
17 No author attributed, in "Minor Notices" section of *The American Political Science Review*, 11 (3) (August 1917): 597.
18 Correspondence with University of Chicago Special Collections, ask@lib.uchicago.edu, 2/5/2016.
19 The biographical account of Kyrk draws from three secondary sources. Beller and Kiss (2008) presents detailed biographical information; Lobdell (2000) provides a few additional biographical details; and van Velsen (2003) primarily provides analysis of Kyrk's intellectual contributions.
20 Beller and Kiss 2008, p. 5.
21 Year of death from *Goucher Library News*, Vol. 38, No. 3, June 1994, p. 7.
22 "The Letter Box," in *The University of Chicago Magazine*, Vol X, No. 1, November, 1917 (Chicago: The Alumni Council), p. 309.
23 Rose C. Feld 1923. "Two Centuries of the Labor Feud . . ." *The New York Times*, Feb. 4, p. BR8.
24 "Says War Nations Cut Hours of Work," *The New York Times*, Feb. 19, 1941, p. 26.
25 "National Quotas for Immigration to End," *CQ Almanac*, 1965, https://library.cqpress.com/cqalmanac/document.php?id=cqal65–1259481 (10/15/2015 access date).
26 Northwestern University emailed a digital copy of one folder of information preserved from Elmo Hohman and of three items preserved in Helen Fisher Hohman's archive. The biographical facts in this account draw from the Northwestern University archives and from Google searches.
27 "She Also Serves Who Teaches Economics," *Alumni Magazine*, which is the Bulletin of New York School of Social Work, July 1922, pp. 26–27.
28 Lee and Samuel's entry to Dimand et al. (2000) *A Biographical Dictionary of Women Economists*, pp. 460–64, is the source for Ware's biographical profile. Anne Firor Scott (2006) also provides biographical information in *Pauli Murray and Caroline Ware: Forty Years of Letters in Black and White,* as summarized in "Caroline Farrar Ware. Brief life of a multifaceted public citizen: 1899–1990," *Harvard Magazine* online, 2009, http://harvardmagazine.com/2009/05/caroline-farrar-ware (10/19/2015 access date).
29 American Association of University Women website, www.aauw.org/2012/08/14/from-the-archives-caroline-ware/ (10/19/2015 access date).
30 Anne Firor Scott, "Caroline Farrar Ware. Brief life of a multifaceted public citizen: 1899–1990," *Harvard Magazine* online, 2009 http://harvardmagazine.com/2009/05/caroline-farrar-ware (11/5/2015 access date).

31 Mollie Ray Carroll?
32 In the "Notes" of *American Economic Review*, 20 (4) (Dec., 1930): 798–811.
33 The Ohio State University Archival Office (archives@osu.edu) responded to a December 22, 2016 email inquiry and provided the few documents they have in association with the employment of Alma Herbst.
34 Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 3 (2) (Jan., 1950): 309.
35 *Lantern* (of The Ohio State University), June 26, 1947, p. 8.
36 From OSU official archived records obtained via email correspondence with librarian Halle R. Mare, 12/22/2015.
37 In the "News and Notes" section of the January 1955 issue of *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*.
38 "Major" economics journals in the twentieth century include the *American Economic Review, Journal of Political Economy, Quarterly Journal of Economics*, and *The Economic Journal*.
39 Forget, 1995, p. 34

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