15 'A Tramp's Depot', from J. Flynt, 'The Tramp and the Railroads', *Century Magazine*, 58 (June 1899).

of their time looking for work – the hobos. Much later, Anderson corrected this oversight in *The Hobo*, one of the key ethnographic monographs on the subject of the early twentieth century.[41] It is marked by an uneasy tension between formal academic and moralistic tendencies and a deep sympathy for the objects of his enquiry – the hobos. Anderson's ethnographic monograph, like the others produced by Chicago students, has to be understood in relation to the grand theories of W. I. Thomas, Robert Park and Ernest Burgess. While their students were busy discovering life in the neighbourhoods of Chicago, these three were inventing the diagrams and hypotheses that sought to explain the many and varied observations of their students. The development of the Chicago School is widely regarded as the key moment in the origins of American sociology, and of social science in general. Anderson's work on tramps and hobos needs to be understood within the overarching framework of Chicago School urban theory.[42]

16 'Telling Ghost-Stories', from J. Flynt, 'Tramping with Tramps', *Century Magazine*, 47 (November 1893).

Start Here ↘

The University of Chicago had barely come into existence (1892) when the first American department of sociology was founded. In its early years it was led by William Issac Thomas, who developed the idea of systematic study of social groups through empirical investigation. He focused on the concept of 'social disorganization', 'the decrease of the influence of existing social rules of behaviour upon individual members of the group'.[43] It was this idea that most strongly influenced the direction of study for the department's most famous member, Robert Park, and others who were to follow him.

Park had an unusual career for an academic. He had worked as a journalist for the *Minneapolis Journal*, where he developed a perspective on city life that resulted from his investigative reporting on the urban underworld of opium dens, gambling houses and alcoholic haunts.[44] It is probably not entirely irrelevant to his later work that he claimed to have 'covered more ground, tramping about in cities in different parts of the world, than any

17 Robert E. Park.

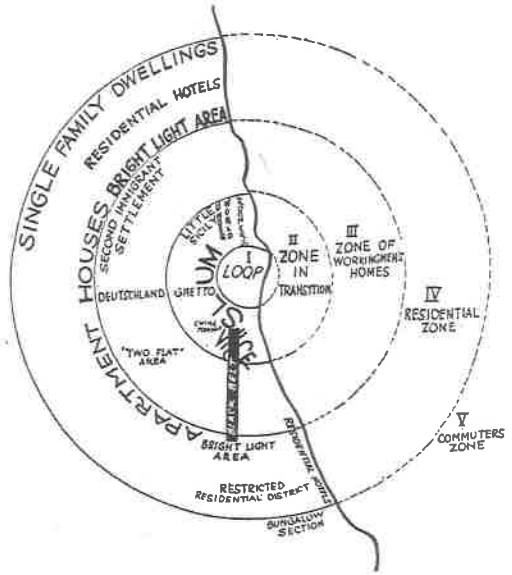
other living man'.[45] Following his stint of journalism he moved to Germany where he was was taught by Georg Simmel (among others), eventually receiving a PhD from Heidelberg. On his return to the United States he worked for Booker T. Washington at his institute on race relations in Tuskagee. It was in 1911 that W. I. Thomas saw Park at a conference on race and encouraged him to join the department at Chicago, where he stayed for twenty years (illus. 17).

A key concept that Park formulated while in Chicago was that of 'moral order'. How, Park asked, do people preserve a positive conception of themselves in an urban milieu where relationships were shallow and based on money rather than habitual association? The city, to Park, was a mosaic of little worlds each with its own moral code, which could support a diverse array of different forms of behaviour:

> The processes of segregation establish moral distances which make the city a mosaic of little worlds which touch but do not interpenetrate. This makes it possible for individuals to pass quickly and easily from one moral milieu to another, and encourages the fascinating but dangerous experiment of living at the same time in several different contiguous, but otherwise widely separated, worlds.[46]

It was the description of these moral worlds that formed the bedrock of the ethnographic monographs that Park was to supervise, including Anderson's study of Hobohemia.

Park's work was foundational for the Chicago School, but it must be seen alongside that of Ernest Burgess and, in particular, the idea of 'human ecology'. Consider Burgess's well-known concentric ring diagram of the city (illus. 18). The model is a form of knowledge that reproduces in diagrammatic form a number of hypotheses about city life and structure. The underlying belief that structures this model is encapsulated by the term 'human ecology' and follows the basic rule that humans are like plants insofar as they behave in 'natural' ways. This 'natural' behaviour is evidenced primarily by competition for space – a competition that results inevitably in the strongest people getting the best places, a process referred to as 'ecological succession'. As a result of this competition the city gets divided up into distinct sub-areas determined by market forces and inhabited by similar people (natural areas). Over time these areas break down as people are assimilated by movements up the social hierarchy and outwards towards the suburbs. This results in a series of concentric rings around the city. By developing human ecology the Chicago School was



18 Ernest Burgess's Concentric Ring Model of 'Urban Areas', from Robert E. Park, 'The Growth of the City' (1925).

making an apparently chaotic city legible and understandable, finding regularity in confusion by applying the metaphor of nature. Using nature to explain the city has several implications. 'Nature' in Western thought implies something that is beyond human control – that just is. The nature/ecology metaphor removes the processes of the city from the realm of history and human agency. No-one is to blame and nothing can be done. The city, when seen through the prism of this diagram and its implications, is not merely an artefact, it is an organism. Its growth, fundamentally and as a whole, is natural, uncontrolled and undesigned by any accountable agents.

This model is probably familiar to the vast majority of British children who have taken geography at school. It is also used almost universally in the United States, at least at college level. Most textbooks on urban geography feature it at some point or another. I have taught in a small Welsh town with two main roads and some 3,000 people. Every year we would set our incoming students an exercise that involves getting a feel for the place by using the knowledge they have gained from school and from sources in the local area. Every now and then some of them would *try* and understand the town (Lampeter) by applying the concentric ring model. The model, of course, is almost universally criticized at all levels for reasons that are almost as familiar as the model itself.[47]

Hobos and tramps do not appear as such on Burgess's concentric ring model. They are, however, mentioned in the text of 'The Growth of the City'.

> In the expansion of the city a process of distribution takes place which sifts and sorts and relocates individuals and groups by residence and occupation. The resulting differentiation of the cosmopolitan American city into areas typically all form one pattern with only interesting minor modifications. Within the central business district or on an adjoining street is the 'main stem' of 'hobohemia', the teeming Rialto of the homeless migratory man of the Middle West.[48]

Within the Chicago School's discussions of moral order was a clear preoccupation with the worrying effects of mobility, particularly in Hobohemia. A characteristic assertion of the Chicago School sociologists was that the city, unlike the country, was characterized by mobility. 'The City', Nels Anderson wrote,

> is more mobile, mobility being a characteristic of its life just as stability is characteristic of rural life. Main Street and Broadway are at cultural extremes, differing in the tempo of life, yet each is the natural product of a situation. Main Street repeats itself day after day and resents disturbance. Broadway is bored with repetition. Main Street is hemmed in by the elements of nature more intimately than Broadway. The environment of Broadway is cultural, being man-made and mechanised; and being mechanised, the urban environment has a mobility of its own quite distinct from the movement of people.[49]

Mobility, to the Chicago School, was always a socio-spatial phenomenon denoting movement through geographical space *and* social space. This is best encapsulated by the general hypothesis visualized in the concentric ring model, that as people moved up the social scale they moved out from the Central Business District until they reached the suburbs. In 'The Growth of the City' Burgess makes mobility a central part of his ecological model of city form. He contrasts mobility with movement. While movement is 'a fixed and unchanging order of motion, designed to control a constant situation, as in routine movement',[50] mobility is a change of routine movement in response to new stimuli and situations. So while movement appears to be a relatively mundane and everyday activity, such as commuting, mobility is more exceptional – moving house or having adventures. The activities that Burgess labels *mobility* have implications for progress or regression, opportunity and threat. Burgess saw mobility as a central stimulus to the successful growth of both the individual and the city, but warned that when the mobility of individuals becomes detached from and unorganized by the whole (city, society) it becomes dangerous and pathological – a narcissistic vice. It is, of course, the 'zone in transition' that is most marked by this unattached mobility.

> The mobility of city life, with its increase in the number and intensity of stimulations, tends inevitably to confuse and to demoralize the person. For an essential element in the mores and in personal morality is constancy, consistency of the type that is natural in the social control of the primary group. Where mobility is the greatest, and where in consequence primary controls break down completely, as in the zone of deterioration in the modern city, there develop areas of demoralization, of promiscuity, and of vice.[51]

Burgess was clearly fascinated with the consequences of mobility on the city, as he believed that areas of high mobility were characterized by multiple pathologies such as prostitution, gangs, crime, poverty, wife desertion and alcoholism. He recounts how train rides per capita in

Chicago had risen from 164 in 1890 to 320 in 1910. Someone standing on the corner of State and Madison (areas of extremely high land values that lay alongside the area most frequented by tramps and hobos), he believed, would be passed by 31,000 people per hour on average over a day.

Mobility was also connected to the overwhelming concern with deviance, or social disorganization, as W. I. Thomas had termed it. Mobility, not for the first time, was theorized in opposition to place. Morally, mobility was a double-edged sword to Anderson. On the one hand there could be no urban civilization without mobility and, on the other, mobility threatened to undo place to such a degree that the city was threatened by chaos.

> The mobility of the city detaches and undomesticates the urban man. By it he is released from his primary group associations, the family or the neighborhood. With this independence comes a loss of loyalty. Urban man gains freedom, but the individualism he achieves is often at the cost of his locus.[52]

Mobility between and within cities produced new types of people and particular urban 'pathologies'. Given the twin interests of urban growth and social pathology, it is not surprising that the figure of the tramp/hobo looms large in the Chicago School's writings. In addition to Anderson's book and field notes there is the – often overlooked – short essay written by Park called 'The Mind of the Hobo: Reflections upon the Relation between Mentality and Locomotion'. In this essay Park considers the rôles of both place and mobility in constructing what he calls 'human mentality'. The well-known debt of the Chicago School to Darwinian evolutionary theory is evident in the essay, as Park considers the correlation between mobility and higher forms of life. Animals are distinguished from plants, he asserts, by their mobility. The rootedness of many people is represented as a kind of vestigial feature linking people to vegetables.

> This is evident in the invincible attachment of mankind to localities and places; in man's, and particularly woman's, inveterate and irrational ambition to have a home – some cave or hut or tenement – in which to live and vegetate; some secure hole or corner from which to come forth in the morning and return to at night.[53]

Insofar as humans continue to vegetate by remaining attached to place, Park suggests, people 'will never realize that other characteristic ambition of mankind, namely, to move freely and untrammelled over the surface of mundane things, and to live, like pure spirit, in his mind and in his imagination alone'.[54]

Park linked the human fact of motion to the other human characteristic(s) of intelligence and imagination. 'Mind', he argues, 'is an incident of locomotion'. It is only through the ability to change location – to be mobile – that humans were enabled to develop the ability to think abstractly. Park enlarges this argument still further by asserting that it is in 'locomotion' that forms of organization between and among individual people develops. Thus mobility, in addition to being responsible for abstract thought, is implicated in the development of the social. The social, to Park, is made up of individuals capable of locomotion.

Where, then, does the tramp and the hobo enter this equation? Clearly Park was familiar with the vast armies of tramps and hobos passing though Chicago who in many ways embodied the 'locomotion' he believed constituted both mind and society. Why then, he asked, were these itinerants not more philosophical? His answer revolved around the idea of directedness and destination. While the hobo was certainly mobile, he was not going anywhere in particular. His life was marked, Park thought, by a lack of vocation, direction and destination. His mobility was for its own sake. Park invoked the semi-medical diagnosis of wanderlust to label this type of mobility:

> Wanderlust, which is the most elementary expression of the romantic temperament and the romantic interest in life, has assumed for him, as for so many others, the character of a vice. He has gained his freedom, but he has lost his direction.[55]

> ... Society is, to be sure, made up of independent, locomoting individuals. It is the fact of locomotion, as I have said, that defines the very nature of society. But in order that there may be permanence and progress in society the individuals who compose it must be located [...] in order to maintain communication, for it is only through communication that the moving equilibrium which we call society can be maintained.[56]

So, despite the claims he makes for mobility, Park finally returns to place and locality for a sense of continuity and progress. The problem with the tramp's mobility, in Park's terms, was that he never stopped. Because of this the tramp was doomed to live an aimless life on the margins of society without the benefits of organization and association.

Park's ideas concerning the connection between mobility and mentality appear to be derived from the grandfather of the Chicago School, W. I. Thomas. Park quotes at length from Thomas's *Source Book of Social Origins*

in his classic paper 'The City'. Park noted how Jewish people were associated with both intellectualism and radicalism, and connected this to their mobility.

> The 'Wandering Jew' acquires abstract terms with which to describe the various scenes which he visits. His knowledge of the world is based upon identities and differences, that is to say, on analysis and classification. Reared in intimate association with the bustle and business of the market place, constantly intent on the shrewd and fascinating game of buying and selling, in which he employs the most interesting of abstractions, money, he has neither opportunity nor inclination to cultivate that intimate attachment to places and persons which is characteristic of the immobile person.[57]

Throughout the work of Park, Burgess and Anderson there is a clear concern for the negative effects of mobility on city life. While directed mobility was clearly an important factor in the production of everything from city form to society itself, mobility in its extreme forms was linked to the idea of pathology and vice. It was therefore important for an investigator of hobo life such as Anderson to consider the life of the tramp and the hobo in terms of the pathological potential of mobility.

OTHER WAYS OF KNOWING

The formal sociologists of the Chicago School were not alone in producing sociological knowledge of the tramp. Just down the track, in Hobohemia's underworld, other forms of knowledge were being produced by the infamous hobo, agitator, doctor and anarchist, Ben Reitman (illus. 19). Academia is characterized by a distribution of power that tends to lead to the marginalization and exclusion of work that challenges established forms of academic knowledge. This may be doubly true when the excluded work is itself about, by and on the behalf of excluded groups in wider society. As David Sibley puts it:

> There are certain parallels between the exclusion of minorities, the 'imperfect people' who disturb the homogenised and purified topographies of mainstream social space, and the exclusion of ideas which seem to constitute a challenge to established hierarchies of knowledge and, thus, to power structures in academia. In both cases, there is a distaste for mixing expressed in the virtues of pure spaces and pure knowledge. In both cases, it is power – over geographical space or over the territory marked out by groups within an academic discipline – which is under threat.[58]

19 Ben Reitman in 1912.

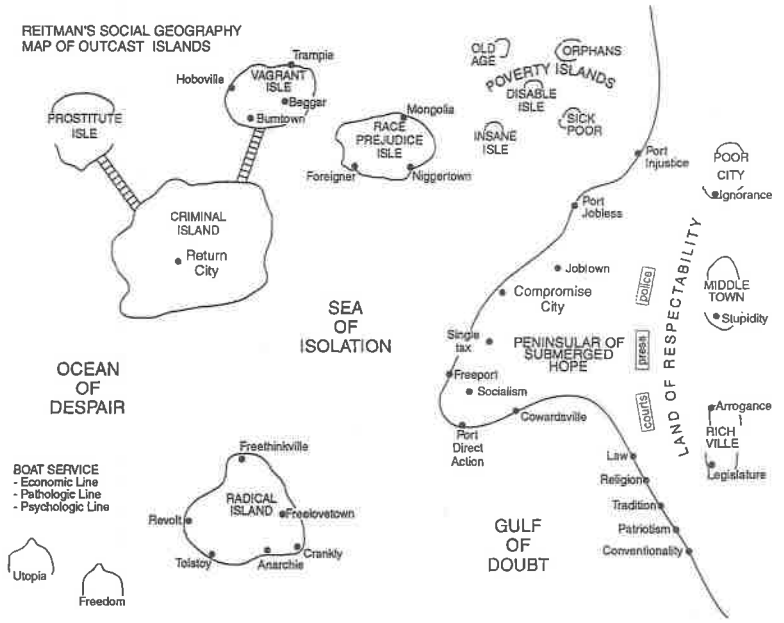
Sibley documents this with reference to the work of Jane Addams and W.E.B. Dubois, who worked at the same time and on the same issues as the Chicago School of Sociology. Theirs' was not the only excluded knowledge in Chicago at the time. Dr Ben L. Reitman was a contemporary of the Chicago School, who lived the life of an agitator, activist and independent scholar. Reitman existed as an uneasy bridge between formal knowledge with all its moral judgements, demarcated boundaries and purified spaces and the messy and often invisible world of Chicago's streets. Reitman produced knowledge that frequently led him into conflict with science, medicine and sociology as he transgressed the boundaries of acceptable thought and action.

On 17 November 1910 in the Pacific Hall on West Broadway, New York, Reitman orchestrated an event he called 'Outcast Night'. Anarchist intellectuals, who included Emma Goldman, witnessed a discussion

featuring various types of social outcasts, among them hobos, prostitutes, 'homosexuals' and criminals. The hall was crowded and the event had attracted the press. The audience were treated to a number of appearances by various 'outcasts', from Hippolyte Havel, the Outcast Psychologist (speaking on why the outcast is the most important member of society), to Arthur Bullard, the Outcast Moralist (speaking on the religion of the outcast), and Sadakichi Hartman, the Outcast Poet (reading his unpublished sex drama, 'Mohammed'). At the end of the evening Reitman took the opportunity to reveal his 'social geography' – a talk based on a large map (entitled 'Reitman's Social Geography') of an imaginary peninsular and islands painted on a piece of canvas. The text of the lecture has disappeared, but the map is filed carefully in Reitman's archives at the University of Illinois at Chicago.[59] Here is a map of an imaginary space in which many of the exclusions and differences of contemporary social and cultural geography are depicted.

Reitman was one of the more curious figures of turn-of-the-century America's public life. He led the life of a radical and, in his time, had upset almost everyone he had come into contact with.[60] For many years he had been a hobo, travelling with others from coast to coast looking for seasonal employment. On several occasions he had been crowned King of the Hobos. He had formed hobo colleges in Chicago, seeking to educate his fellow travellers in philosophy, religion and politics. For a while he was the lover of Emma Goldman, the American anarchist who was later deported to Russia. He was jailed several times for his anarchist activities, which included promoting free love and birth control. Later he trained as a doctor and opened clinics for Chicago's down-and-outs. He was particularly concerned with the treatment of venereal diseases. Towards the end of his life, campaigns against syphilis took up an increasingly large part of his energies. His map of the outcast islands is given added meaning in the context of his life.

'Social geography' is not a phrase that tripped off the tongues of many people around 1910. Indeed the sub-discipline was hardly in existence until the 1960s at best.[61] Reitman's map depicts a large number of excluded social groups, including prostitutes, the poor, the sick, the disabled, the insane, the homeless, disadvantaged races, the old, the parentless and the politically radical (illus. 20). All these groups live on islands disconnected from the mainland apart from possible ferry services. In the bottom left-hand corner are two symbols for ideals marked 'freedom' and 'utopia'. In many ways this depiction of 'social geography' is quite visionary, differing from contemporary views of society in important ways. The map presents many



20 Sketch by the author after Ben Reitman, *Outcast Islands*, c. 1910.

of the ideas of social exclusion prevalent in the social science of the 1990s.

Exclusion, of course, invokes the idea that someone somewhere is doing some excluding. It is an active expression. This is quite different from the idea that social geography is simply the 'mapping' of society or the result of natural forces, ideas central to the Chicago School and others.[62] Sure enough, Reitman's map indicates the rôle of the press, the police and the courts in populating his outcast islands. If newspaper reports are to be believed, he condemned and cursed almost every branch of respectable society involved in the construction and protection of the 'Land of Respectability'. The map stands in sharp contrast to the diagrams of Burgess and his colleagues. One wonders what would happen if Reitman's islands, rather than Burgess's rings, were part of the secondary school geography curriculum.

On the far right of the map are three cities/towns that form a fairly classic triumvirate of class-based identities: Poor City (working class), Middle Town (middle class) and Richville (upper class). These are marked respectively by the attributes of ignorance, stupidity and arrogance. Together they make up the 'Land of Respectability'. The remainder of the mainland forms the 'Peninsular of Submerged Hope' and is separated

from 'The Land of Respectability' by a three-part barrier made up of the police, the press and the courts. The Peninsular includes a number of failed reforms and reforming movements, including socialism, single tax, direct action and compromise. All of these were being promoted in the United States during Reitman's career. All, the map would suggest, had failed to make a difference. The hope invested in each of them was metaphorically submerged. Finally, the map shows several ports and entry points on the mainland's coastline. The ports appear to be both departure points and possible entry points. Port Direct Action, Port Injustice and Port Jobless all point towards ways in which formerly respectable people could be banished to the outcast islands. Unemployment, involvement in direct action and injustice at the hands of the establishment all provide routes out of respectability. On the lower half of the coast there are a number of piers or jetties that might provide ways back in to the Land of Respectability. These include formal and informal mechanisms of inclusion and assimilation, including law, religion, tradition, patriotism and conventionality.

The outcast islands represent an array of groups excluded (by choice or accident) from the mainland. The location of the islands appears to be significant in relation to the various ports along the shore of the peninsular. Nearest to the mainland is a group of islands labelled Old Age, Orphans, Sick Poor, Disable Isle and Insane Isle. Collectively these are called the Poverty Islands. The nearest port to them is Port Injustice, suggesting that Reitman believed that various forms of injustice created the outcast. This can be compared with Radical Island (at the bottom of the map), which appears to be most closely linked to Port Direct Action, perhaps pointing to the way various groups become outcasts due to their activist rôles. Included on Radical Isle are anarchists, free-love advocates and Tolstoy. (As a self-confessed anarchist-sociologist, this was probably Reitman's isle too.) It is interesting that the inhabitants of Radical Isle are outcasts, while advocates of socialism and the single tax are placed on a Peninsular of Submerged Hope, among strategies and struggles that have failed or become submerged. Reitman was always keen to dissociate himself from socialism and Communism. The other islands are home to non-white racial groups, criminals, vagrants and prostitutes, all made outcast by injustice and joblessness. The links made on this map between criminality, vagrancy and prostitution, including bridges returning vagrants and prostitutes to Criminal Island, are interesting. Vagrant Island includes four towns that reflect the by now familiar triumvirate of bum(town), tramp(ie) and hobo(ville) in addition to 'Beggar'. The links with

prostitution are particularly noteworthy, as vagrancy and prostitution are often connected in the imaginations of social commentators (see chapter Four).

In the bottom left-hand corner of the map are two curiously shaped symbols denoting utopia and freedom, located as far away from the Land of Respectability as possible but not too far from Radical Isle. Also, three ferry services linking the mainland and islands are marked. These transitional lines of communication seem to indicate the ways of becoming outcast – economically, pathologically and psychologically. In 1910 'pathological' meant deviant, to indulge in inappropriate activities (prostitution, vagrancy, sex outside of marriage); 'psychological' pointed towards literal insanity and other lesser mental infirmities; 'economic' indicated the processes of employment and unemployment most often overlooked by social reformers and formal social scientists at the time.

Although we do not have the text of Reitman's Outcast Night lecture, we do have an extensive collection of papers that indicate the thinking underpinning the map. Indeed, this was not the only time that Reitman referred to his work as 'geography'. On 21 July 1939 he gave a lecture – 'The Geography of the Underworld and Mental Topography of the Educator' – at the University of Chicago to a group of educators. (This lecture was linked to one of the tours of the underworld Reitman frequently led for the benefit of scholars at the University.) In his lecture Reitman angrily remarked on the lack of connection between the actuality (as he saw it) of the 'Geography of the Underworld' and the ideas of educators in formal education (their 'Moral Topography'). He portrays the 'Geography of the Underworld' as one of destitution, unemployment, vice and disease. He reels off statistics ranging from 12 million unemployed to two million gamblers, arguing that 'one out of every ten of the pupils that you will try to educate will go into the world to kill, steal, lie, cheat, and peddle their bodies in order to secure food, shelter and other things.'[63] He goes on to berate the audience for having failed to make the conditions of their pupils any better. 'For all the good that you do', he asserts, 'the majority of your students would be just as well as if they had never come into contact with you.'[64] Reitman was never one to make half a criticism though, and in his conclusion he accuses the teachers of being in some way responsible for an unfair and exploitative society. He does this by pointing out how many people were being robbed, not by petty criminals, but by America's banks and businesses. 'Where do you suppose the bankers and the brokers and the business men and the exploiters of labor get their first idea of trimming the public? Why, from you lovely teachers of course – the ideals you

taught them helped them to be better stealers and crooks.'[65] In addition, he suggests that the teachers in his audience inculcated a sense of patriotism in their students that bred war and warmongers and diverted both attention and money from dealing with the issues of exclusion. He ended with the plea that they change the ideals and values – the Moral Topography – they introduce to their students:

> You teachers taught your students to be stupid patriots, exploiters, successful and superior. Now teach your students to have genuine high ideals – to be co-operative, democratic and to build a world without jails, hospitals, relief organisations, where every man and woman has an opportunity to earn an honest living.[66]

In this lecture it is clear that Reitman was pointing towards a mismatch between the 'Moral Topography' of the teachers and the geography of the world many of their students were about to enter. While it was his view that the former revolved around idealized families, the idea that education was sure to solve problems in and of itself and patriotic ideas of nationhood and citizenship, the latter was a world of exploitation, exclusion and destitution that remained unchallenged by the morality and education of the teachers.

Both the map of the Outcast Islands and the facts of Reitman's life indicate a number of similarities with current social and cultural thought. Most importantly, Reitman was concerned with marginalization and difference. While it may be argued that the formal sociology of the Chicago School (for instance) was concerned with these themes, it is also clear that Reitman looked on them rather differently. While Chicago sociologists produced colourful and evocative accounts of the lives of 'deviants' such as hobos, gangs and taxi-dance-hall girls, these ethnographic monographs were subsumed within overarching theories of arrival and assimilation based on ecological root metaphors.[67] The assumption was that the various subcultures in the city would and should assimilate to dominant mores and moralities. So the suburbs in Burgess's model of the city were the inevitable end-point for all deviant groups. The Land of Respectability, on the other hand, is a place marked by arrogance, ignorance and stupidity – not a social space to aspire to, nor one that inevitably assimilates all difference. The Land of Respectability is a space that consistently excludes and rejects, creating islands of outcasts.

The identities and voices of marginalized people were important to Reitman. Recall that the lecture on social geography was part of a programme of outcasts presenting their views on society to an interested audience. As well as being a hobo for many years, Reitman spent much of his life getting marginal voices heard in a number of places, including at his own Hobo College. His work was also notable for the number of different groups he sought to work with, for and on. The map of Outcast Islands indicates a plethora of groups from prostitutes to the disabled, from the insane to the homeless.

Finally, Reitman's geography is notable for the attention paid to the forces that lead to and maintain exclusion and, inversely, encourage assimilation. Injustice, unemployment and political activism are all seen as forces leading to outcast status, while law, religion, patriotism and tradition all encourage assimilation. In addition, Reitman's map points to the defensive barriers of the media, the police and legal system placed around the Land of Respectability. Clearly, the processes of inclusion and exclusion are multiple and non-deterministic, but they are sharply and pointedly defined.[68]

As with law and classification tables, diagrams and other forms of visualisation in the social sciences are important ways of constructing knowledge about people and their practices. Reitman's map is indicative of how different his knowledge was from that of Burgess and other Chicago School theorists. In its emphasis on marginality, its concern for the voices of 'others' and its consistent indication of the multiple forces of inclusion and exclusion, Reitman's map, in the context of the rest of his work, prefigures some of the distinguishing features of social and cultural thought in the 1990s. His comments on the 'Moral Topography' of the educator were indicative of his uneasy relationship with formal social and scientific enquiry. In addition, the evidence of Reitman's relationship with formal social enquiry underlines the very different moral geographies of Reitman and his established contemporaries.

A number of letters Reitman wrote make it quite clear that his relationships with formal and acceptable academic knowledge were uneasy. He was, on occasion, certainly excluded from the halls of formal academia and science. In several letters he comments that he has a less than comfortable relationship with the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago. In a letter to Harvey Locke, a sociologist at Indiana University, on the subject of homosexuality, he explained that 'I see Burgess and Blume and the rest of the sociologists occasionally. I am not quite anathema but I always make them uncomfortable when I ask them to let me lecture to their students.'[69] In another letter, to Victor Evjan, he recounts an occasion when he was literally excluded from an Urban Problems class he had previously been invited to speak at: