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THE THEORY OF SOCIALIZATION
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THEORY OF SOCIALIZATION

A SYLLABUS OF SOCIOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

FOR THE USE OF

COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY CLASSES

BY

FRANKLIN HENRY GIDDINGS, M.A.
PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK
AUTHOR OF "THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY"

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To

The Memory of H. Y. Scott

Principal of the Great Barrington, Mass., High School, 1873-1877

Teacher, Friend, and Comrade in Philosophy
"When I compare the modern with the ancient world, I am assured as to the future of man. I am far from denying that legislation and political changes have been the direct means of great good, but every good change in legislation or in government has been preceded or brought about by an increase of intelligence, of reasonableness, or of brotherly kindness on the part of the people at large. . . . Congeniality or similarity of manners is what has drawn social lines ever since man began to consort with his fellows. . . . Birds of a feather have flocked together since civilization began, and probably will do so till it perishes." — E. L. Godkin, Social Classes in the Republic.
PREFACE

My volume on "The Principles of Sociology" is described in the preface as an attempt to combine the principles of sociology in a coherent theory. In plan and method the book is on the whole concrete rather than abstract. Consequently, the theoretical propositions that it contains are scattered through many pages of descriptive and historical matter, and are nowhere brought together in a didactic series. It is therefore possible that not every reader of the volume has perceived the coherence of its theory, and that classes using the book as a text have experienced a degree of difficulty in arranging its theoretical propositions in a consecutive order.

The theory assumes that certain adaptations of the individual to the physical world, certain economic experiences, ideas, and activities, and certain ethical experiences, ideas, and tendencies, precede social life (see "The Principles of Sociology," pp. 41–45, 100–103, 239).

The theory itself, as distinguished from these presuppositions, comprises the following propositions,
namely: first, certain affirmations about the modes of aggregation which bring individuals that are more or less alike into contact and acquaintance; second, certain propositions about the more important modes of resemblance which may be observed in any aggregation of individuals; third, propositions about a consciousness of similarity or of kind, which, it is alleged, is the true cause of social phenomena; fourth, propositions about the reactions of association and of the consciousness of kind upon individual motives, conduct, and character; fifth, propositions about the organization of the consciousness of kind into a social mind, and about its expression in social purpose and control; sixth, propositions about the laws of social choice; seventh, propositions about the establishment of definite social relations and institutions by the social mind; and, eighth, propositions about the persistence of social choices and institutions.

Of these propositions the ones about the modes of resemblance and the consciousness of kind are of chief importance. They contain or involve the entire theory.

Three modes of resemblance or of kind are recognized. They are (1) kinship, in its various degrees of family, nationality, race, and color (see "The Principles of Sociology," pp. 18, 89, 90, 230–239,

Kinship or homogeneity of blood is shown to be the basis of conservatism (see “The Principles of Sociology,” pp. 319–321).

Mental and moral resemblance is explained as consisting in a like responsiveness of two or more individuals to the same stimulus or stimuli (see “The Principles of Sociology,” pp. 134, 135, 388); and mental and moral likeness as thus understood is shown to be the basis of practical coöperation (see “The Principles of Sociology,” pp. 171, 172, 196).

Potential resemblance is shown to be the basis of much that is best and most beautiful in companionship; the basis also of social idealism and of the more spiritual phases of progress (see “The Principles of Sociology,” pp. 108–111, 322, 323, 345, 355, 356, 359, 360).

The consciousness of these different modes of resemblance is shown to comprise both perception and feeling. On the intellectual side the consciousness of kind is the apprehension of resemblance. On the emotional side it is sympathy, liking, affection,
and a desire for recognition, which develops into the love of approbation and the passion of ambition (see "The Principles of Sociology," pp. 18, 19, 106–109, 122–124, 127, 128).

In the following pages these propositions, and many lesser affirmations which are connecting links in the theory, are abstractly stated in brief, explicit terms, and are arranged in a consecutive order. It is my hope that this arrangement will be helpful to teachers and students of sociology, and will contribute to a better understanding of sociological theory.

Many of the illustrative examples are new, as are also the preliminary propositions about the processes of appreciation, utilization, and characterization.

New York, February, 1897.
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THE THEORY OF SOCIALIZATION

CHAPTER I

THE MODES OF PURPOSEIVE ACTIVITY

The Conception of Socialization

I. The Theory of Socialization is the most important part of the Theory of Sociology.

Dr. Georg Simmel seems to have been the first writer to use the word "socialization" in a definition of sociology. In his opinion, "the investigation of the forces, forms, and development of socialization, of coöperation, of association of individuals, should be the single object of sociology as a special science."¹ This definition is substantially equivalent to the conception of sociology as the fundamental social science.² By socialization, however, Dr. Simmel apparently means chiefly the formation of social groups and the development of the

forms of association. In the following pages, socialization is conceived as the development of a social nature or character—a social state of mind—in the individuals who associate. Socialization, as thus conceived, is furthermore regarded as an effect of association, and of the formation of social groups, and as a cause of the developed forms of association.

II. Socialization is one of four great processes which, together, make up the practical activities of life.

Appreciation

III. The first business of life for every conscious individual is to get used to the world that he lives in.

The infant begins to get used to the world when it draws its first breath. It then gradually gets used to the taste of food, to the touch of objects in contact with the skin, to light, and to sound. Later on, as it begins to take an interest in various colors and sounds, it tries to get them repeated over and over again. For a long time its attention is chiefly occupied with efforts to obtain from external things the greatest possible amount of knowledge and pleasure.

IV. Getting used to the world by attempting to obtain the utmost knowledge and feeling from external things is the process of appreciation.

1 It was this thought that was emphasized in my first published contribution to sociological theory, "The Sociological Character of Political Economy," Publications of the American Economic Association, Vol. III., No. 1, March, 1888.
Utilization

V. The second great practical business of life is the attempt to adapt the external world to ourselves.

As the child learns to appreciate things, he discovers that by putting forth effort he often can get possession of pleasure-giving things that would not otherwise come to him or stay with him; or that he can sometimes put things together in new arrangements that afford him pleasure, when otherwise they would yield him no pleasure, or might even cause him pain. The adult man spends a major part of his time and strength in such efforts.

VI. The deliberate and systematic adaptation of the external world to ourselves we call utilization.

Characterization

VII. The third great practical business of life is the attempt to adapt ourselves to the external world.

While trying to adapt the external world to himself, the child makes further discoveries. He learns that often he is obliged to change the plan by which he begins to try to utilize things; that he has to adopt a different course of action from the one that he thought would answer his purpose. Presently he learns further that it will not do to yield to every disappointment or to be too easily discouraged. Yet later on he begins to understand that if he wishes to succeed in his purpose he must control his temper, instead of giving way to an infantile rage at every stick or implement which proves to be intractable or awkward in his hands.
Here, then, are three further facts of great importance in our daily lives. First, the accommodation of ourselves to the external world, a process which is the opposite of the process of utilization. Second, the persistent putting forth of power, in spite of discouragement. Third, self-control. All these processes together bring about changes in ourselves. They develop character.

VIII. In its entirety the process of adapting ourselves to the external world may be called characterization.

Socialization

IX. The fourth great practical business of life is the attempt to adapt ourselves to one another.

At the moment when the child begins to get used to the world, he begins also to get acquainted with the people that live in the world with himself. Beginning with mother and nurse, father, brother, and sister, he presently becomes acquainted with family friends and relatives, and then, at length, with schoolmates and teachers. Upon leaving school, he has before him the enormous task of getting acquainted with a vast number of persons, in business and professional life, in politics, and in a hundred other spheres of activity. While getting acquainted, he begins to notice differences and resemblances among people, and in close connection with these observations to establish likes and dislikes, antipathies and friendships. He then discovers that he enjoys meeting and associating with the persons that he likes, and that when he and they have the same tasks to do, it is agreeable and helpful to work together.
X. The process of getting acquainted with one another, establishing sympathies and friendships, learning to enjoy association and to coöperate with one another in our work, we may call socialization. Socialization begins as early as appreciation, but we do not greatly occupy our minds with it, or enter upon a serious effort to develop it, in the purpose to derive the utmost pleasure and profit from it, until after we have made some progress in appreciation, in utilization, and in characterization.

The Psychological, Economic, Moral, and Social Sciences

XI. Each of these four great practical processes of life is analyzed and formulated by a distinct science.

XII. The process of appreciation is analyzed and formulated by psychology.

Psychology, however, as a concrete science, includes more than the abstract theory of appreciation.

XIII. The process of utilization is analyzed and formulated by economics.

XIV. The process of characterization is analyzed and formulated by ethics.

XV. The process of socialization is analyzed and formulated by sociology.
Sociology includes more, however, than the abstract theory of socialization, as psychology includes more than the theory of appreciation. Sociology is a concrete, descriptive, and historical science of societies and of social evolution. It is traversed by certain abstract sciences which formulate its theoretical or explanatory propositions. These are economics, ethics, and σωμικής, σωμικής, social), or abstract politics. Sociology is the theory of socialization. See the diagram and explanation, "The Principles of Sociology," pp. 48–51.
CHAPTER II

AGGREGATION

The Physical Basis of Society

XVI. Before socialization can begin there must be an aggregation of individuals capable of establishing mutual acquaintance and association.

The chief conditions of aggregation are found in the physical environment. The causes of aggregation are found in genetic and congregate modes of grouping. A sociologically important complication of aggregation is the demotic composition. The degree of homogeneity or of heterogeneity of the population determines the process of socialization. See "The Principles of Sociology," pp. 79–100.

The extent and modes of aggregation and the activity of a population are phenomena that conform to the laws of physical evolution. See "The Principles of Sociology," pp. 363–375.
CHAPTER III

ASSOCIATION

Conflict and its Motives

XVII. Unless there is some degree of homogeneity (similarity) among aggregated individuals, there cannot be a beginning of socialization; all relations must be antagonistic.

This is because all active relations are modes of conflict. Conflict is primary—i.e. an original conflict, so violent that it ends in the destruction, death, or sub-ordination of one of the conflicting bodies or creatures; or secondary—i.e. a relatively mild contention induced or produced by a primary conflict, and resulting only in a rearrangement of parts, or in a modification of structure or of nature, or in a change of motion or of activity. The conflict of creatures that prey upon one another is primary; and where creatures are so unlike in kind and so unequal in strength that one can live upon the other, their normal relations are hostile. Therefore it is only among creatures of the same kind, and of approximately equal strength, that primary conflict is relatively infrequent. Consequently, it is only among such that socialization can occur. Socialization is a secondary conflict consequent upon the primary conflicts of a population with the species on
ASSOCIATION

which it preys and with various enemies of its own spe-

Among individuals that are much alike but very
unequal, primary conflict continues through the opera-
tion of the motives of appreciation, utilization, and
characterization.

A partial analysis of these motives is as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Chief Motive or Motives.} &\quad \text{Chief Method or Methods.} \\
\{ & \\
\text{Appreciation} & \{ \text{Imitation} \\
\text{Admiration} & \{ \text{Attack} & \text{Impression} \\
\text{Curiosity} & \{ \text{Imitation} & \text{Invention} \\
\text{Utilization} & \{ \text{Invention} \\
\text{Appetite} & \{ \text{Accommodation} \\
\text{Characterization} & \{ \text{Persistence} & \text{Self-control} \\
\text{Integral} & \\
\text{Self-satisfaction} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

The word "imitation" in the foregoing analysis con-
notes all the meanings attached to it by Baldwin ("Mental
Evolution in the Child and in the Race") and by Tarde
("Les lois de l'imitation"). The word "attack" con-
notes the exertion of muscular force against an object or
living creature, as well as the correlated feelings and
ideas. The word "impression" denotes the mental as
distinguished from the physical power of one individual
over another. Possibly it is essentially hypnotic in its
nature. The word "invention" includes the meanings
attached to it by Tarde ("Les lois de l'imitation" and
"La logique sociale"), as well as those that are more
familiar. The term "integral self-satisfaction" is in-
tended to denote a conception of the ethical motive.
which differs from the utilitarian conception as the latter is commonly presented. The utilitarianism that identifies the ethical motive with particular pleasures, or with a degree of pleasure (as, for example, in the "greatest happiness" notion), confounds ethics with economics. The ethical motive is the satisfaction of the entire self rather than the pleasure resulting from the activity of any particular organ; the rational self no less than the sensational and emotional self; the sympathetic no less than the egoistic self; the aspiring, ideal-creating self, the self of to-morrow and of the long future, no less than the self of to-day. Integral self-satisfaction often requires the sacrifice of particular and immediate pleasures, or even the sacrifice of all individual happiness except that of fidelity to a principle, an ideal, or a conception of duty.

*The Modes of Resemblance*

XVIII. The similarities of kind that are found in aggregates of conscious individuals are of various modes or sub-kinds, and within each mode they are of various degrees. The important modes of likeness are three; namely:

1. *Kinship.*

The degrees of kinship are: family, nationality, race, color. In statistics of population the degrees of kinship that are given are: the native born of native parents, the native born of foreign parents, the foreign born, the colored.

Degree of kinship may be denoted by $k$, and the several degrees by $k'$, $k''$, $k'''$, and $k''''.

Mou
2. Mental and Moral Similarity.

In the last analysis, mental and moral similarity is the like responsiveness of different individuals to the same stimulus or stimuli.

For example, if two children are pleasurably excited by the color red, they are so far mentally alike. If a hundred men are moved by rumors of war to sell their securities on the stock exchange, they are so far mentally alike. If a thousand men are moved by a political abuse to attempt to accomplish a needed reform, they are so far mentally and morally alike.

A like responsiveness to the same stimulus is discovered in three easily distinguishable stages of development:

(1) Initial responsiveness; i.e. a first interest, which may or may not last.

(2) A persistent responsiveness, which becomes organically established; i.e. an acquired habit or manner.

(3) A rational responsiveness, which involves the complex activity of all the powers of mind and will, and the varied adaptation of means to end, and which differs in different individuals according to their mental and moral power. Complete similarity in mental and moral responsiveness involves a substantial equality of mental and moral power.

Degree of mental and moral similarity may be denoted by $m$, and the several degrees by $m', m'', m'''$, and $m''''$.

3. Potential Likeness.

This is the capacity of somewhat differing individuals to become more alike under exposure to the same conditions and to each other's influence. It is capacity for assimilation and for a common approach to a type or to an ideal.
Potential likeness may be designated by \( v \).

Kinship has importance for the individual or for the community chiefly in relation to the past, mental and moral similarity chiefly in relation to the present, and potential resemblance chiefly in relation to the future.

*The Consciousness of Kind*

**XIX.** If in an aggregation of individuals there is in each individual a sufficient development of intelligence to enable him to perceive differences and resemblances, his attention will at first be occupied chiefly with differences between himself and others.


**XX.** If, however, there is as much mental and moral similarity as is normally found in individuals of the same species, yet more if there is as much as is normally found among individuals of the same racial stock, there will presently be a general perception of these general resemblances.


**XXI.** Also, since by hypothesis the individuals of the aggregation respond in like ways to the same stimuli, and since in all conscious individuals the psychological processes in course of time establish habitual relations between stimulus and action
and between action and feeling, these like individuals will feel alike under like conditions. Moreover, the actions of one, perceived by another, will, through the various processes of psychological association, awaken in the one perceiving some degree of the feeling that is experienced by the one acting. That is, there will be sympathy between like individuals.


XXII. From the same premises it follows that there normally must be a stronger degree of liking for one another between like individuals than between those who are very unlike.

Potential resemblance, however, may be quite as important as actual resemblance, as a basis of liking or affection. That strong affection often springs up between individuals that apparently are most unlike is a familiar observation. In these cases, we say that the unlike friends or lovers "supplement" one another, each giving to the other something that the other lacks. If we pushed our explanation a step further, we should discover that when two persons do actually give something to one another and take something from one another, they thereby become alike. Individuals who can thus give much to one another are in a high degree capable of assimilation; they have a high degree of potential resemblance. That such potential resemblance, and not difference, is the cause of affection in
the cases described, is readily proven. A missionary's love for those whom he would convert cools rapidly when he discovers that they cannot be converted. Love between a man and wife who are mentally and morally very unlike commonly turns into indifference or hatred if their differences prove to be irreconcilable.

XXIII. Finally, the individual who perceives that another individual resembles himself in race and in mental and moral qualities, who feels sympathy with him and a degree of liking for him, must inevitably feel a desire for recognition by him, and for sympathy and liking from him.

The desire for recognition is the source of vanity and pride, of the love of praise, of the desire for esteem and for honor, and of ambition.

XXIV. The state of consciousness in which a perception of resemblance, sympathy, and liking, and a desire for recognition, are combined, may be called the consciousness of kind.

The consciousness of kind may be diagrammatically represented thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consciousness of Kind</th>
<th>Perception of resemblance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sympathy, including liking or affection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Desire for recognition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

XXV. The consciousness of kind is a social as distinguished from all non-social or anti-social states of mind.
ASSOCIATION


XXVI. The consciousness of kind is the simplest or the elementary social state of the mind. In other words, the simplest known or conceivable social state of the mind is a sympathetic apprehension by the self of its own image in the not-self.


XXVII. The consciousness of kind is necessarily an ever-changing state of mind, and varies in degree with variations in its conditions. It loses intensity as it expands, and it becomes intense as it becomes exclusive.


XXVIII. Using the word "sympathy" as a collective term for all the feelings that are included in the consciousness of kind, the law of sympathy is: The degree of sympathy decreases as the generality of resemblance increases.

Thus, for example, there is normally a greater degree of sympathy among members of a family than among all members of a nation, and a greater degree of sympathy among men of a common nationality than among all men of the same race or color.
In like manner, there is greater sympathy among Protestants than among Protestants and Roman Catholics taken together, and more sympathy among Protestant and Roman Catholic Christians taken together, than among all Christians and all devotees of all other religions taken together.

XXIX. The degree of sympathy is a variable of all the modes of likeness combined, and not of any one mode alone. Expressed mathematically it is: \[ S = \phi(k, m, v). \]

In this formula the symbol \( \phi \) expresses that relation between \( S \) (sympathy) and \( k, m, v \), which accounts for every variation of \( S \).

The actually observed variation of \( S \) is a progressive diminution of sympathy as we pass from \( k' \) to \( (k' + k'') \) and from \( (k' + k'') \) to \( (k' + k'' + k''') \), and so on, and in like manner pass from \( m' \) to \( (m' + m'') \) and from \( (m' + m'') \) to \( (m' + m'' + m''' \), and so on. Therefore, \( \phi \) is an algebraic function expressed in terms of diminishing resemblances, and symbolizing a progressive diminution of sympathy.

Now resemblance is a variable that approaches but never reaches the limit identity, as the fraction \( \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{16} \) and so on, approaches but never reaches the limit 1. Sympathy, diminishing as resemblance diminishes, in like manner approaches but never reaches the limit 0. The fraction given above is the numerical variable that most rapidly approaches the limit 1, and in the succession of fractions \( \frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{8}, \text{etc.} \), we have the most rapid approach to the never-reached limit 0. Sympathy diminishes with great rapidity as we pass from the closely related to the remotely related. Graphically represented, the hyperbolic curve has a sharp descent thus:
It is therefore probable that the succession of fractions \( \frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3}, \frac{1}{4}, \text{ etc.} \), very closely represents the diminution of sympathy with diminishing resemblance. If so, our complete formula is as follows:  

\[
S = k' + \frac{(k' + k'')}{2} + \frac{(k' + k'' + k''')}{4} + \frac{(k' + k'' + k''' + k'''')}{8} \\
+ m' + \frac{(m' + m'')}{2} + \frac{(m' + m'' + m''')}{4} \\
+ \frac{(m' + m'' + m''' + m'''')}{8} + \nu.
\]

The Socializing Forces

XXX. The consciousness of kind is the chief socializing force. It modifies and restrains all of the individualistic forces.

1 For further explanation, and an example of the use of the formula in ascertaining the heterogeneity of the population of the United States, see the Appendix.
THE THEORY OF SOCIALIZATION

A socializing force is any power or influence that acts toward social ends, that creates association, that creates a social nature and perfects social organization. It may arise outside of society or within it. See "The Principles of Sociology," Preface to third edition, p. xv.

XXXI. The consciousness of kind modifies appetite and desire.

Few if any of our appetites and desires are what they would have been if each individual had lived by himself in contact only with the physical world and lower forms of life. When a strange food is first tasted, it is usually on the recommendation of one in whom we have confidence, and whose tastes in many other respects we know to be like our own. To a great extent we cultivate certain appetites and repress others merely because our associates do so. Most of the consumers of tobacco "learn" to like it. Our clothing is chosen with as much reference to our "class" or "set" as to our comfort. In general, the standard of living is largely determined by the consciousness of kind.

XXXII. The consciousness of kind modifies the ideas and the desires that enter into the consciousness of integral self-satisfaction.

Fortitude in bearing pain and disappointment, courage in facing danger, and persistence of purpose are greatly strengthened by fellow-feeling and the desire for esteem and praise. Besides thus fortifying the original moral motives, the consciousness of kind contributes a new one, the very names of which are significant of its origin; to wit, kindness, affection, love.

XXXIII. The consciousness of kind modifies impression.

Impression produces two very different effects: (1) fear, which may become terror and terminate in paralysis; (2) fascination and pleasure. The one mode of impression is the cause of submission, surrender, and the abject obedience of fear. The other mode of impression is the cause of loyalty, fealty, and the voluntary attachment to a leader.

The effect of the consciousness of kind upon the fear-inspiring mode of impression is reflected in the saying that "familiarity breeds contempt." The sense of difference, and its accompanying sense of mystery, is a large element in fear. These disappear with the discovery of resemblances. Rulers and dignitaries who wish to inspire fear invariably surround themselves with an air of mystery and foster the public delusion that they are not as other men are.

The effect of the consciousness of kind upon the fascination-producing mode of impression is to intensify devotion. The more "in touch" our leader is with us, that is to say, the more like us he is in every respect except his superior sagacity and power, the more blind and unswerving is our allegiance.

XXXIV. The consciousness of kind modifies imitation.

We do not imitate one example as readily as we imitate another. Other things being equal, we imitate
the example that is set by an originative mind in our own class or circle. The Bowery boy who wants to be good and great does not imitate any uptown exemplar of adolescent sweetness and light; he imitates "Chimney Fadden." The "practical" politician does not imitate Lincoln and Sumner; he imitates the "Boss." "Rapid" young men in business do not imitate Amos Lawrence and Stephen Girard; they imitate "plungers" and "Napoleons of finance." Impressionists do not imitate Da Vinci, and realists do not draw their inspiration from Cervantes and Dumas.

Thus, as I have elsewhere contended, imitation is not the distinctive social phenomenon. See "The Principles of Sociology," pp. 16, 17. As a social factor, it is largely determined and directed by the consciousness of kind.

XXXV. The individual motives as thus modified by the consciousness of kind become socializing forces.

With the foregoing analysis compare the account of social forces given by Ward, "Dynamic Sociology" and "The Psychic Factors of Civilization," and by Patten, "The Theory of Social Forces."

Coöperation

XXXVI. In every aggregation of individuals in which there are many differences but also some positive resemblances and some consciousness of kind, there is communication, the first step towards further socialization.

XXXVII. If communication is indefinitely continued, association is established and assimilation begins.


XXXVIII. Conflict, nevertheless, continues until, through the elimination of the extremely different and unequal members of the group, such approximation to equality and such diminution of difference is brought about as to produce the equilibrium of toleration.


XXXIX. When likeness, a consciousness of kind, and toleration exist, there can be coöperation and mutual aid; but coöperation cannot precede the consciousness of kind.

This is because coöperation presupposes:

(1) A common interest in a common object or end, which, as we have seen, is a like responsiveness to the same stimulus.

(2) A perception by each that all are responding in like ways to the same stimulus, and this perception is a consciousness of kind.

(3) Communication, one motive of which is the consciousness of kind.

(4) Some degree of confidence in one another, which presupposes a consciousness of kind.

Whenever it is proposed to organize an association for any purpose, the consciousness of kind manifests itself in the first step that is taken, namely, the can-
vassing of a tentative list of possible members. The test applied to each proposed individual is the question, "Is he interested, or will he become interested, in this undertaking, and will he cooperate harmoniously with the other members?"

Cooperation develops under the influence of the motives and modes of action that have been described above through various stages of coordination (i.e. through imitation, through leadership, and through rational comprehension); it develops also through various degrees of intimacy and of definiteness; it is more or less voluntary in form, and it is more or less enduring, according to the elements of likeness and of difference, and to the strength of the consciousness of kind, from which it arises. See "The Principles of Sociology," pp. 114–116 and 386–394.

XL. When there exist a sufficient degree of similarity and a sufficiently developed consciousness of kind to establish cooperation, association becomes pleasurable.


Personality and Social Classes

XLI. Associated individuals modify each other's natures, and association, if continued, creates the unified personality, with its powers of psychical determination and its desire for a cumulative happiness.

XLII. Different individuals are, however, modified by association in very unequal degrees.


XLIII. A population is therefore always differentiated into classes, exhibiting different degrees of vitality, of mental and moral power, and of socialization.

Association, controlled by the consciousness of kind, governs the combinations of heredity and of circumstance in the life of each individual, and so creates the inequalities of vitality which appear in three great vitality classes, namely, the high vitality class, which has a high birth rate and a low death rate; the medium vitality class, which has a low birth rate and a low death rate; and the low vitality class, which has a high birth rate and a high death rate.

Association, in like manner, governs the combinations of heredity and of circumstance, which produce three conspicuous grades of personality, namely, the geniuses and talented; the normally endowed; the defective.

Association, yet further, through its control of both heredity and education, moulds some individuals into a perfect adaptation to social life, and in a less degree socializes others. It thus creates four great social classes, namely, the social, composed of those in whom the consciousness of kind is highly developed, and whose dispositions and abilities impel them to make positive contributions to the sum of helpful relations; the non-social, in whom the consciousness of kind is normal but undeveloped, and who therefore cling to a narrow individualism; the pseudo-social (congenital
and habitual paupers), in whom the consciousness of kind is degenerate, and who therefore simulate the qualities of the social, posing as victims of misfortune; the anti-social (instinctive and habitual criminals), in whom the consciousness of kind is approaching extinction, and who detest society and all its ways. See "The Principles of Sociology," pp. 124–128.
CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL MIND AND SOCIAL CONTROL

The Social Mind

XLIV. On its conscious or subjective side, the simultaneous like responsiveness of like minds to the same stimulus, is the social mind, in its generic and simplest mode.

There is no social ego, no mysterious transcendental being, which manifests the phenomena of the social mind. The term “the social mind” is merely a convenient name for a concert of the feeling, the thought, and the will of associated individuals. See “The Principles of Sociology,” pp. 132–134, and Preface to the third edition, pp. xv, xvi.

XLV. In its further development the social mind is a reciprocal consciousness of kind.

The consciousness of kind is reciprocal when it exists not only in the mind of A when he is in the presence of B, C, and D, but also, at the same time, in the minds of B, C, and D.
The Social Forces

XLVI. The reciprocal consciousness of kind is a social force.

A social force is one that originates in association. See "The Principles of Sociology," Preface to the third edition, p. xv.

From all the preceding reasoning, it follows that the reciprocal consciousness of kind is a unification of the feeling, thought, and purpose of two or more associating individuals. This unified volume of feeling and thought, expressing itself in a common attitude or action, is a force superior to any individual force.

XLVII. An intended social force is always a reciprocal consciousness of kind.

According to the preceding reasoning, an intent or purpose simultaneously held by two or more individuals is a mode of resemblance. A purpose that many individuals simultaneously form becomes a common purpose when each individual becomes aware of its existence in all of his associates, and not otherwise. This discovery by each is obviously a reciprocal consciousness of kind.

XLVIII. The reciprocal consciousness of kind further modifies the motives of characterization.

It develops self-sacrifice by bringing to bear upon it the intoxication of praise elicited by a feat undertaken at first out of exuberance or bravado or sympathy, but in its consequences socially useful. It thus creates altruism.
XLIX. The reciprocal consciousness of kind further modifies impression, by further mitigating intimidation and fear, or by further heightening the influence of the sympathetic leader.

L. Therefore a reciprocal consciousness of kind of increasing volume, accompanying an increasing resemblance, tends to convert coercion and submission into domination and fealty, and to convert domination and fealty into influence and agreement.

LI. Therefore when in a social group there is a general resemblance, as of race or of nationality, with which, however, there coexists great personal inequality; and a general consciousness of kind which, however, is limited by a strong sense of personal differences, the relation of superior and inferior is one of intimidation and submission or of domination and fealty, and the character of the association is coercive or authoritative. When there are only slight personal differences and the reciprocal consciousness of kind is strong and specific, the form of social organization is contractual.

The word "contractual" is here used in the broad meaning given to it by De Greef. See his "Introduction à la sociologie."

LII. Therefore the order of sequence in social relations is not 1, liberty; 2, equality; 3, fraternity;
but 1, likeness; 2, equality (in some or many particulars); 3, fraternity; 4, liberty.

LIII. The reciprocal consciousness of kind, acting upon common possessions, interests, and ideas, converts their images, symbols, and names, into social emblems and shibboleths, and converts many social emblems and shibboleths into social idols.

See Tarde, "La logique sociale," and Le Bon, "The Crowd."

Examples of social emblems are the totemic devices of savages, armorial bearings, religious symbols, and the flags and banners of states. Among shibboleths are the words "family," "home," "class," "altars," "the gods," "the fathers," "country," "native land," "the king," "the army," "the party," "our cause," "the right," "liberty," "fraternity." Such objects and names are not converted into emblems and shibboleths merely by meaning the same things to many individuals, or even by being thought of by many individuals at the same moment. They become emblems and shibboleths only when each individual is conscious that at a given moment they mean to his associates what they mean to him and arouse in them the same feelings that they arouse in him. That is to say, they are products of a reciprocal consciousness of kind.

Social emblems and shibboleths become social idols when, with an increasing volume of feeling in the consciousness of kind, they become objects of superstition or of profound reverence, veneration, or devotion.
LIV. Social emblems and shibboleths combine the thoughts and passions of individuals into a social control.

The emblem or shibboleth not only calls the attention of an individual who sees or hears it to the object or fact which it symbolizes, and awakens in him certain feelings; it also fixes his attention upon the feelings which it arouses and the conduct which it incites in other individuals. The feelings and conduct of others, of which he is thus made aware, at once begin to act upon himself as an influence which merges with the original effect of the emblem or shibboleth. It intensifies or diminishes the initial power of the symbol over his mind, and quickens or restrains his responsive action. Thus, through the agency of the social symbol, the entire volume of thought and feeling which it incites in the community becomes a controlling power over each individual.

LV. In its simplest mode the social control is effected through impression, sympathy, and imitation.


LVI. In its further development the reciprocal consciousness of kind becomes the social self-consciousness.

This term, like the term "the social mind," has no transcendental or metaphysical meaning. It is merely a convenient name for the highly complex phenomenon of a comparison by many individuals of one another's
self-conscious states. In a true social self-consciousness, each individual makes the feeling or the opinion of his associates an object of his thought at the same instant that he makes his own feeling or thought such an object; in this comparison he discovers that his feeling or thought is in agreement with the feeling or thought of all others, and he then acts in a full consciousness that he and his associates have come to like conclusions and will act in like ways. See “The Principles of Sociology,” p. 137.

LVII. The social self-consciousness is developed by discussion and is expressed in public opinion.


LVIII. The public opinion of many generations is conserved in tradition.


LIX. The social self-consciousness combines tradition and new thought in products that are known as standards, codes, policies, ideals, tastes, faiths, creeds, and “isms.”


LX. The social self-consciousness combines these intellectual products of the social mind with various moods of desire into social values. It also converts social idols into rationally conceived social values.

The Laws of Social Choice

LXI. Social values determine rational social choice.


LXII. The social mind decides rationally only when the crowd or the assembly alternately convenes and disperses, so that each individual mind comes under varying influences, and new ideas interpose themselves between suggestion and act, preventing impulsive conduct or mere imitation.


LXIII. The laws of social choice are:

1. The law of preference among ends to be achieved, as follows: In all social choice, the most influential ideal is that of personal force, or of virtue in the original sense; the second in influence is the hedonistic or utilitarian ideal; the third is integrity; the least influential is the ideal of self-realization; but if mental and moral evolution continues, the higher ideals become increasingly influential.

2. The law of combination and of means, as follows: A population which has only a few interests, which, however, are harmoniously combined, is conservative in its choices. A population which
has varied interests, which are as yet inharmoniously combined, is radical in its choices. Only the population that has many, varied, and harmoniously combined interests, is consistently progressive in its choices.


By a process of derivation, the ideal of personal force becomes the ideal of social or national power (Rome). The hedonistic ideal becomes the ideal of national prosperity (England and the United States). The ideal of integrity becomes that of social or national righteousness (Israel, Geneva, the Covenanters, the Puritan Commonwealth, the New England Colonies). The ideal of self-realization becomes that of civic or national supremacy in art, science, or literature (Florence, Venice, Siena, Bologna, Paris). A distinctly thought-out combination of all these ideals is the characteristic ideal of France,—glory.
CHAPTER V

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Institutions

LXIV. For the conservation and perfection of social relations, and for the realization of ideals, the social mind creates institutions.


An institution is a social relation or form of organization that is socially authorized and sanctioned. The institutions of social grouping and purposive association are combined in two great forms of social organization, which may respectively be called the social composition and the social constitution.

The social composition is a combination and recombination of small groups into larger and yet larger groups, in which each group is so far complete and self-sufficing that it could, if necessary, lead an independent life for a time, e.g. family, horde, tribe, folk; or family, village, township, commonwealth, nation. The social constitution is the organization of society on the principle of specialization or division of labor. It includes all associations or societies for carrying on definite activities in politics, industry, religion, and education. See “The Principles of Sociology,” pp. 73, 153–196.
THE THEORY OF SOCIALIZATION

Authority and Liberty

LXV. Social control manifesting itself in the authoritative organization of society as the state, and acting through the organs of government, is sovereignty.


LXVI. Institutions, whether political or other, in their relation to the individual are coercive, if in their membership there is great diversity of kind and great inequality.

This principle has always been clearly exemplified in ecclesiastical polity. The congregational polity has never been successful in a heterogeneous population, which can be organized only in an authoritative system. In like manner, political democracy invariably evolves the tyrant or the boss if the population becomes extremely heterogeneous. In American cities the old forms of deliberative government have broken down with the influx of foreign immigration, and we have adopted the theory that cities are business corporations, for which even by-laws and ordinances should be made by state legislatures, and in which administration should be the one-man power of an elected dictator. In short, without the highly developed consciousness of kind of a relatively homogeneous population, there can be no successful experiment of democracy.

LXVII. Institutions can be liberal, conceding the utmost freedom to the individual, if in the
population there is fraternity, and back of fraternity an approximate mental and moral equality.

LXVIII. Mental and moral likeness and fraternity can be secured only if certain similarities of external condition and certain modes of equality of condition can be maintained.

The modes of equality that enter into the modern democratic ideal, and that, on grounds of sociological theory, are necessary to the success of the democratic experiment, are the following:

1. Political equality; universal and equal suffrage.
2. Equality before the law; neither wealth nor privilege, nor vice nor ignorance, to control legislation or to receive consideration in the courts.
3. Equality of opportunity to serve the public according to the measure of ability; men of equal ability to have absolutely equal chances of appointment to office under impartial civil service rules, irrespective of party service or allegiance.
5. Equality of sanitary conditions; all streets to be equally cleaned and cared for, tenement houses to be made decent and wholesome.
6. Equality of opportunity to enjoy certain means of recreation and culture; in public parks, libraries, museums, and galleries of art.
7. Equality of elementary educational opportunities, through a well-administered public-school system.
8. Equality of fair play; especially in all bargaining between employer and employee, and in the relations of workingmen to one another.
9. Equality of courtesy; rich and poor to be treated with equal politeness.
10. Equality of good will to all men.

LXIX. Institutions react for good or ill upon all social functions, and especially upon the supreme social function, the development of personality.

CHAPTER VI

THE SURVIVAL OF INSTITUTIONS

Natural Selection in Society

LXX. Not all objects of social choice are long-enduring. Many social rules and forms that were once sanctioned by the social mind have become only a memory; thousands of laws and institutions have become extinct. Existing social values and arrangements are survivals.


LXXI. Social products sometimes disappear through the extinction of races, communities, or classes. Usually, however, the relations, forms, laws, and institutions that perish fail through the indifference and defection of those individuals who have undertaken to maintain them.

A political, industrial, religious, or other association commonly ceases to exist through a decrease of its membership. A law becomes a dead letter because the community ceases to care or think about it.
LXXII. Conversely, the social forms, laws, and institutions that survive, persist through their power to hold the interest and the allegiance of individuals who are able to enforce or to support them. In the long run all such power to interest and to hold allegiance springs from utility.

It is when the law or the institution ceases to benefit that its power over men fails, and it ceases to exist.

LXXIII. As thus brought about, the survival and the extinction of forms, laws, and institutions is a true natural selection.

Natural selection is commonly thought of as a survival of individuals through some superiority of organization. This, however, is an inadequate conception of the process that actually goes on. In the struggle for existence, an organism perishes if its food-getting, food-assimilating, or other vital organs fail to perform their functions, or perform them in mal-adjustment to environment and conditions. A race, in like manner, perishes if the reproductive organs fail in function. Conversely, any superiority of function, whether due to a beneficial variation in organization or to any other cause, ensures survival.

Natural selection, therefore, is survival through a superior adaptation and performance of function, in a competition in which non-adaptation or non-performance of function is fatal. And this is exactly what happens among social forms, laws, and institutions. The failure to benefit, to interest, and to hold allegiance, is a failure of function, and the selection that
results among laws and institutions from successes and failures of function is therefore a true natural selection.

The Law of Survival

LXXIV. The successful performance of functions by institutions, as by vital organs, depends upon an increasing nicety of adaptation to an ever-compli- cating environment.

"The environment" is an ever-changing group of relations. Like the thing or organism environed, it is undergoing ceaseless evolution, and is becoming more and more diversified through differentiation. See "The Principles of Sociology," p. 413.

LXXV. Accordingly the law of the survival of social interests and relations,—forms, laws, and institutions,—is as follows:

Those social valuations and relations persist which are component parts of a total of values and relations that is becoming ever more complex through the inclusion of new interests and new relations, and at the same time more thoroughly harmonious and coherent.


LXXVI. Thus social causation is a process of psychical activity conditioned by physical processes and cosmic law.

APPENDIX

DEGREE OF KINSHIP IN THE POPULATION OF THE
UNITED STATES

The formula for degree of social sympathy given on page 17 could be filled out with numerical values for the United States, and we could get an approximately accurate table of degrees of resemblance, and therefore of social solidarity, if our Federal Census material were properly compiled and promptly published.

For the values of $k$ (kinship), we have the statistics of the native born of native parents, the native born of foreign parents, the foreign born, and the colored.

The values of $m$ (mental and moral resemblance) might be obtained by combining religious, political, and industrial statistics. For example, one phase of mental and moral resemblance is shown in religious beliefs. An approximate value of $m$, therefore, might be obtained by making the number of Protestants equal $m'$; the number of Protestants plus the number of Roman Catholics equal $m''$; the number of Protestants, plus the number of Roman Catholics, plus the number of nominal Christians, equal $m'''$; and the number of Protestants, plus the number of Roman Catholics, plus the number of nominal Christians, plus the number of all who belong to non-Christian faiths, equal $m''''$. This approximate value could then be corrected by a similar use of political statistics. Finally, a last correction could be made by means of the statistics of occupations, in which the categories would be: the percentage of the population employed in agriculture; the percentage employed in trade and transportation; the percentage
employed in manufacturing and mining; and the percentage employed in professional and personal services.

The value of $v$ (potential resemblance) is given in the statistics of occupation. The chief assimilating influence in a population is contact and acquaintance; therefore, trade and transportation, manufacturing and mining, and professional and personal services are the occupations that ensure assimilation.

At present, however, it is impossible to fill out the formula with these values, because the Tenth Census omitted the statistics of religions, and the Eleventh Census statistics of occupations have not been published. All that can be done, therefore, to illustrate this method of determining degrees of resemblance, is to present tables and maps showing degrees of resemblance in the single point of kinship, in the United States.

The five columns of Table I. have been obtained as follows:

The column "Native White of Foreign Parents" is obtained from the Compendium of the Eleventh Census, Part I., page lxxxviii, column 3.

The column "Foreign Born" is obtained from the same table, column 2.

In the same volume of the Compendium, page 1, is given (column 1) the percentage of whites to the total population; by subtracting it from 100 per cent the percentage of "All Colored" is obtained.

The column "Native White of Native Parents" is obtained by subtracting the sum of the other three elements (i.e. native born of foreign parents, foreign born, and all colored) from 100 per cent.

The Index Number =

$$\frac{\text{The native born of native parents}}{1} + \frac{\text{The native born of native parents + the}}{2} \frac{\text{The native born of foreign parents}}{\text{The native born of native parents + the foreign born + the foreign parents + the foreign born + all colored}}$$
### APPENDIX

#### TABLE I.

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<td>19.68</td>
<td>25.76</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>124.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Virginia</td>
<td>37.56</td>
<td>5.38</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>170.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>25.75</td>
<td>43.09</td>
<td>30.78</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>97.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyoming</td>
<td>49.15</td>
<td>23.92</td>
<td>24.57</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>122.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Table II. the States are grouped according to low, medium, and high index numbers. It will be observed that the States which are distinguished for a rather pronounced "Americanism" in politics and legislation are chiefly found, as might be expected, in the third column.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX BELOW 110</th>
<th>110-129</th>
<th>130 AND OVER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>Arkansas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>Colorado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>Delaware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>Indiana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>Iowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>Kansas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Maine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>Missouri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>Nebraska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>Oregon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>Wyoming</td>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the reasoning of "The Principles of Sociology," pp. 95, 96, 324, 325, we should look for progress and social leadership to those communities where the population is neither perfectly homogeneous nor excessively heterogeneous. From this point of view, Table III., showing the relative positions of the Northern States that have index numbers between
105 and 125, is interesting. The relations indicated by Table III. and column 2 of Table II. are well shown in Map II.

**TABLE III.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>105</th>
<th>106</th>
<th>107</th>
<th>108</th>
<th>109</th>
<th>110</th>
<th>111</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>112</th>
<th>113</th>
<th>114</th>
<th>115</th>
<th>116</th>
<th>117</th>
<th>118</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>119</th>
<th>120</th>
<th>121</th>
<th>122</th>
<th>123</th>
<th>124</th>
<th>125</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
MAP II.