THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

A b s t r a c t

of

SOCIOLOGY IN AMERICA: A STUDY OF ITS INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT UNTIL 1900

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This thesis attempts to provide a comprehensive review of the teaching of sociology in universities and colleges in the United States in the nineteenth century. The primary sources are the catalogues and various other publications, such as presidential reports and alumni yearbooks, of 683 institutions from their foundings until the end of the academic year 1900-01. Evidence of the teaching of courses in sociology, or in some closely related study such as social science or social problems, was found in 227 of the total number of institutions.

After some introductory observations on the extensive inclusion of sociology in American university curricula, the first chapter goes on to describe the nature of the sources used and to comment upon previous studies of a similar type, none of which have provided the sort of complete historical documentation of the rise of sociology teaching as the present study sets out to do. This specific development is set in the general context of higher education in the nineteenth century which saw a decline of older methods based upon the recitation system in favour of a more liberal attitude to teaching and research. The Land Grant College Act of 1862, with its particular encouragement of scientific training, and the influence of German ideals in higher education are singled out as movements of great importance for the changing conception of higher education.

The second chapter contains a discussion of some of the first attempts at sociological writing in the United States,

mostly before the Civil War. The largely Aristotelian and conservative views of the Southern writers are contrasted with those of the utopian social thinkers of the North. Here, as throughout the thesis, emphasis is placed upon the relationship between the attempts at sociological theory and the social context in which they arose.

Chapter III describes in some detail the beginnings of sociology teaching in universities and colleges from the 1860's, with some reference to instruction in social matters before this time. For the first years after its introduction attention is paid to each institution which offered sociology; for the later years particular institutions are singled out for special comment where noteworthy new departures were made.

Chapter IV describes the regional development of sociology teaching from its beginnings in Eastern institutions. Graphic illustration of its spread is provided in a chronological series of maps. The second part of the chapter relates the development of sociology to contemporary movements in theology, particularly the ideas of Social Christianity and the Social Gospel. The extreme involvement of sociologists in these movements, and the encouragement given to sociology in certain denominations which were also prominent in the Social Gospel, are used as facts to support the contention that the outlooks upon society of sociologists and Social Gospel theologians were not only parallel but often so closely interwoven as to be inseparable.

Chapter V goes into greater detail concerning the nature of the sociology being taught by describing various representative courses, with much illustrative material drawn from catalogue summaries of such courses. In the second part of the chapter some of the most popular textbooks for sociology courses are described.

Chapter VI is concerned with those who taught sociology; four cases of opposition on the part of university authorities to certain aspects of the teaching of sociology are discussed. The education of sociology teachers is outlined with special reference to the influence which German higher education exercized over many of the most prominent American sociologists.

Chapter VII documents the rise of sociology as a subject for graduate study in American universities and colleges, and includes lists of doctorates submitted in sociology and in sociological topics up to 1900. The subsequent careers of graduate students in sociology are briefly summarized.

In the concluding chapter emphasis is placed upon the essentially American nature of sociology in the United States, its peculiar importance lying in its early and generally enthusiastic inclusion in the curricula of institutions of higher learning. Some contrasts are made in this respect with its position in Europe in the same period. Its popularity as a university subject is contrasted with the ill-developed nature of sociological theory in America at the time; some attempt is made to characterize such theory.

A series of appendices is included to provide full documentation of the colleges and universities under review, a complete catalogue of courses in sociology, a bibliography of textbooks recommended in course descriptions together with writers cited without reference to particular works in such descriptions, chronological lists of the founding of departments of sociology and social science, a list of appointments in sociology and social science, and a catalogue of teachers of courses in sociology, outlining the institutions at which they taught, up to 1901.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The history of sociology begins in Europe. In their theoretical acumen as sociologists, the most prominent of the Americans such as Giddings, Sumner and Ward were no real match for the Europeans, Comte, Durkheim, Weber and many others. The subsequent development of ideas in sociology owes incomparably more even to writers who were not primarily sociologists at all, Marx and Freud, than it does to the American pioneers. Even among the Americans the one whose influence has been most pronounced in recent years, George Herbert Mead, regarded himself as a philosopher and psychologist. Thus the major importance of America in the early years of sociology has to be sought elsewhere, and it lies in the extent to which the subject was promoted in the universities and colleges of the nineteenth century. The possibility of establishing sociology as a distinct discipline was quickly fostered in America. The question of why this should have been the case has received little attention in the very considerable body of writing devoted to the history of sociology in America. The present study is intended to be a contribution to the historical study of the discipline, but it is to be regarded at the same time as a study in the sociology of sociology. This implies that way of looking at the world embodied in a discipline of

sociology did not come to flourish by accident, and that certain conditions of nineteenth century American society were fertile grounds for its impressive growth. There was no comparable movement in any other country of the world. Clearly, to provide a definitive explanation of this fact is not something which can be achieved adequately within the space of the following pages. What will be accomplished, however, will be a comprehensive documentation of the extent to which sociology was incorporated into the curricula of American universities and colleges from the first such offerings until the end of the century. Some possible explanations for the singularly rapid march of sociology into the curricula will be offered throughout the course of the investigation, but primarily the aim is to provide a more complete outline of sociology teaching in nineteenth century America.

The spirit of modern sociology, particularly in the United States, has been greatly affected by the opening quotation, from Whitehead, in Merton's Social Theory and Social Structure: "A science which hesitates to forget its founders is lost."[1] The popularity of this dictum stems from the variety of meanings which can be derived from it. So far as the present study is concerned, however, Whitehead's remark must be challenged. This is so because the concern of a sociologist with the origins of his own discipline can lead him to understand not only how

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1. Merton, R.K., Social Theory and Social Structure, Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1957, p. 3.

his discipline began but to some extent why it began also. Answers to the latter question would contribute significantly to the sociology of knowledge. The specific theoretical points made by early sociologists may have little usefulness for the present day, but an enquiry into the context in which these points were made obviously has timeless relevance. Uncertainty over the precise status of sociology as a scientific discipline, and a continuing profession of faith in its scientific worthiness, have characterised American sociology in all ages. Nothing is lost, therefore, in the attempt to understand the birth of sociology since many of the basic problems confronting nineteenth and twentieth century sociologists are the same. The answers put forward may have been of great variety, and the study of nineteenth century sociology leads the reader into another world where the problems of society are dissimilar in detail, but similar in form to those of the present day. The 'climate of opinion' was different, and at times the expression of sociological views, as in the pre-Civil War Southern States, was distinctly alien to the modern world. This should not lead the contemporary reader to dismiss such works, since beneath the trappings of the advocacy of a particular form of society there are presuppositions about the nature of society in general just as there must be in modern sociological thinking. To understand these presuppositions requires a knowledge of the Weltanschauung of an age, for as Carl Becker has pointed out: "Whether arguments

command assent or not depends less upon the logic that conveys them than upon the climate of opinion in which they are sustained."[2] A thoroughgoing history of sociology in America in the last century, therefore, would involve consideration of many contributory factors. The primary aim of this study is to provide a comprehensive set of empirical facts relating to the development of sociology as an academic discipline.

The first attempt at a comprehensive stock-taking of the teaching of sociology courses in American universities was carried out under the auspices of the Graduate Sociological League of the University of Chicago by F.A. Tolman. This was reported in a series of papers in the American Journal of Sociology between 1901 and 1903.[3] These contain some interesting comments on the state of the discipline in 1901, but for the most part consist of a classified list of courses at universities in that year alone. Thus there is no documentation of the actual growth of sociology over the years and even for the year 1901 the information is scarcely half complete compared with the findings reported in the present study. In

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2. Becker, C.L., The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1932, p. 5.

3. The Study of Sociology in Institutions of Learning in the United States, American Journal of Sociology, VII. 1901-02, pp. 797-838; VIII. 1902-03, pp. 85-121, pp. 251-272, and pp. 531-558.

1909 L.L. Bernard published a report sponsored by Albion Small under the auspices of the American Journal of Sociology.[4] This is very detailed, but most of the data, once again, relates to the year of the survey itself. The method of collection was by questionnaire sent to 400 universities, colleges and theological seminaries, and to 129 state normal schools. From these only 250 replies were received, and Bernard added details for 167 other institutions by evidence from their catalogues. Thus the total of institutions covered was very far short of the total number in the United States. An attempt to follow up Bernard's study was undertaken by the American Sociological Society two years later.[5] Again there was a mixture of data from questionnaires and from catalogues, and the study is not developmental. This attempted reliance on questionnaire methods with supplementary details from the catalogues of non-respondent institutions has been the most usual method of procedure in other studies of this kind.[6] The following study attempts to improve knowledge of the amount of sociology teaching in the nineteenth century in

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4. Bernard, L.L., The Teaching of Sociology in the United States, American Journal of Sociology, XV. 1909-10, 164-213.

5. Chapin, F.S., Report on Questionnaire of Committee on Teaching, ibid., XVI. 1910-11, 774-793.

6. See, for example, Clow, F.R., Sociology in Normal Schools, ibid., XVI. 1910-11, 235-265; Sanderson, D., The Teaching of Rural Sociology: Particularly in the Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, ibid., XXII. 1917, 433-460; and, Bernard, L.L., The Teaching of Sociology in Southern Colleges and Universities, ibid., XXIII. 1918, 491-515.

historical perspective. For this, the basic sources of information have been the catalogues of the institutions listed in Appendix A. These comprise permanent institutions, that is those in existence in 1901, granting at least bachelor's degrees. They fall into the following categories: 1. general universities and colleges, 2. women's colleges, 3. negro colleges (male and female), 4. theological seminaries, 5. agricultural colleges, 6. technological colleges. Thus two categories have been omitted: military colleges (of which there were less than ten), and normal schools (or colleges of education). The total number of institutions included in the study is 683. This number is not the actual total of the institutions which fall into the six categories above. The World Almanac and Encyclopedia for 1901 lists 412 'principal universities and colleges' of the United States for that year. Of those 412 there are 33 colleges the catalogues of which were not available for inclusion in this study.

The catalogues examined were those held by the Library of Congress, and in most cases that Library has complete files for each institution. Thus the information extracted for the 683 institutions is as complete as possible. Each separate catalogue was examined for the following information: 1. presence or absence of courses in sociology or some closely related subject (social science, social philosophy of a sociological orientation, courses in 'charities', and so on); 2. presence or absence of departments of sociology (or closely related title); 3. presence or absence of faculty members and

their ranks in sociology (or closely related title);
4. presence or absence of graduate students in sociology, and their thesis work. In all cases, where possible, catalogues for each institution were systematically examined from the date of the founding of the university or college. Supplementary information, which will be referred to in the course of the study, was derived from presidential reports, autobiographies, histories of the universities, and various other sources. A word should be said concerning the reliability of university catalogues as sources of information: the changing nature of the course descriptions in those catalogues would seem to indicate that the catalogues were used to describe genuine course contents. In some cases the descriptions remain the same over a number of years (even when the instructor of the course had changed), leading to the suspicion that the descriptions might have had little direct relevance to the course as actually taught. There is not enough other evidence, however, to make definite statements about this latter problem. On the whole, nevertheless, it would seem that the catalogues give genuine summary accounts of what was in fact taught in the courses which they described. A more detailed indication of what such courses contained is provided by the listings of textbooks and authors referred to in their connection (see chapter V and Appendices E and F). Not all catalogues list textbooks or authors, but a sufficient number do so for meaningful inference to be drawn concerning

the sort of sociology which was being taught during the period. The termination year of this study, that is the end of the academic year 1900-01, is quite arbitrary. The end of the century merely provides a convenient stopping point and covers the period of the consolidation of sociology as an academic subject. By this year there were 227 institutions of the type included in the study which were offering sociology courses of one sort or another, a number which included all of the generally recognized major universities and colleges.

Normal schools were omitted from the present study since all previous investigations have indicated that there was little teaching of sociology in them by the century's end. There were a few isolated instances, particularly in the States of the Mid-West. Minnesota appears to have been the first State in which 'social science' was placed on the curriculum of its normal schools, in 1895.[7] The State Normal School at Valley City, North Dakota, apparently introduced it in 1892, and that at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1896.[8] Teachers' College of Columbia University benefitted from the variety of courses offered at the University itself. So far as high

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7. See, Clow, F.R., loc.cit.

8. See, Bernard, L.L., The Teaching of Sociology in the United States, loc.cit.

schools were concerned sociology was not taught until 1911.[9] In that year the high schools at Hammond, Indiana, and Jacksonville, Illinois, (both, once again, Mid-Western institutions) offered the subject to their pupils.[10] Only six years later, however, it was reported that 67 secondary school courses in sociology were being offered throughout the country.[11]

There are no studies of other disciplines comparable to the present one within the broad category of the social sciences. In some respects, however, parallel information on some aspects of the growth of allied subjects is provided in O'Connor's study of the rise of economics,[12] and in Bernard Crick's similar treatment of political science.[13] Neither of these studies, however, set out to provide detailed information on such matters as the number of courses available over the years. The following tables give some indication of how

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9. In 1894 Ira Howerth asked leading sociologists whether any part of sociology should be taught in high school; of his forty respondents, only six thought that it should be taught. Howerth, I.W., Present Condition of Sociology in the United States, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, V. no. 2, 1894, pp. 112-121.

10. See, Tryon, R.M., The Social Sciences as School Subjects, Report of the Commission on the Social Sciences, Part XI (American Historical Association), New York, etc., Charles Scribners's Sons, 1935.

11. See, Freese, T., The Teaching of Social Problem Courses in High Schools, unpublished Master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1917.

12. O'Connor, M.J.L., The Origins of Academic Economics in the United States, New York, Columbia University Press, 1944.

13. Crick, B., The American Science of Politics, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF GRADUATE COURSES AND OF TEACHERS IN SELECTED DISCIPLINES AT ELEVEN UNIVERSITIES IN 1893/94

	Semitic Lang's		Classics		Romance Lang's		Social.Sci. Anthropology, Ethnology		Physics		Chemistry		Biology	
	Teachers	Courses	T.	C.	T.	C.	T.	C.	T.	C.	T.	C.	T.	C.
Bryn Mawr	1	11	2	5	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	4	2	5
Chicago	10	58	6	25	4	23	6	18	1	2	5	20	8	24
Clark	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	1	3	?	5	3	6
Columbia	2	13	5	12	4	16	2	3	2	3	4	13	8	14
Cornell	-	-	5	9	3	7	1	2	6	11	4	10	6	15
Harvard	4	17	8	20	5	10	1	1	3	9	4	9	7	12
Johns Hopkins	3	16	3	12	2	9	3	3	2	4	2	4	4	12
Michigan	2	13	5	20	2	10	1	4	2	6	6	22	6	15
Pennsylvania	3	16	2	4	1	5	1	1	2	8	3	8	6	10
Princeton	1	1	6	11	2	11	-	-	2	15	2	4	6	6
Yale	2	14	13	30	3	14	1	3	3	5	4	12	6	10
Totals	28	159	55	148	27	108	18	39	25	67	35	101	62	129

TABLE II

NUMBER OF GRADUATE COURSES AND OF TEACHERS IN SELECTED DISCIPLINES AT ELEVEN UNIVERSITIES IN 1895/96

	Semitic Lang's		Classics		Romance Langs.		Social Sci. Anthropol. Ethnology		Physics		Chemistry		Biology	
	Teachers	Courses	T.	C.	T.	C.	T.	C.	T.	C.	T.	C.	T.	C.
Bryn Mawr	1	6	4	7	1	7	-	-	2	6	2	4	3	8
Chicago	13	63	12	52	4	21	9	34	3	18	5	16	11	33
Clark	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	12	-	-	1	8
Columbia	2	17	6	22	6	27	6	13	7	24	7	17	11	22
Cornell	-	-	11	23	4	16	1	5	7	16	7	27	9	31
Harvard	2	20	9	41	6	20	3	7	4	12	3	9	7	11
Johns Hopkins	3	18	3	11	7	20	-	-	5	13	3	5	2	9
Michigan	1	6	6	23	3	11	1	8	4	10	8	18	10	23
Pennsylvania	2	19	2	7	1	6	2	6	3	10	4	8	4	6
Princeton	1	1	6	12	2	14	-	-	3	21	3	5	6	6
Yale	6	27	15	47	4	13	2	4	3	5	5	8	8	16
Totals	31	177	74	245	36	155	25	78	42	147	47	128	72	173

14. Both these tables are derived from information in A Handbook for Graduate Students ... Compiled by a Committee of the Graduate Clul of Harvard, etc., Boston, Ginn & Company, 1893, and 1895. The category 'social science' is synonymous with sociology.

sociology compared in numbers of graduate courses and teachers with certain other disciplines at eleven leading institutions in 1893-94 and in 1895-96.

In the two year period between 1893 and 1895 at these eleven universities the number of courses offered at graduate level in sociology doubled, a record only surpassed by physics. The strong position of the classics, as indicated by these tables, casts some doubt on Shils's contention that American sociology "developed at a time of the decay of classical and humanistic studies, at a time when specialization on the one hand and public disregard on the other were undermining the central position which these studies had once enjoyed in the academic world".[15] The central position may have been under a process of change yielding to the scientific disciplines, but there was certainly no decay in the classics themselves as a university subject.

The quality of higher education in America in the nineteenth century was variable. This was inevitable given the immense size of the country, for the pattern consisted in the founding of colleges to serve particular regions. This was not entirely a matter of local pride. From early days Americans had demonstrated a passion for education, a passion strengthened by Jefferson who regarded his founding of the University of Virginia as being quite as important as his authorship of the Declaration of Independence.

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15. Shils, E.A., The Present State of American Sociology, Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1948, p. 1.

Institutions like the Cooper Union in New York, opened in 1859 through the generosity of the philanthropist Peter Cooper, and the large number of lyceums throughout the country, provided exceptionally good instruction in many topics, sometimes free and never at great expense to the audiences. Similarly the Chautauqua movement had an immense following from the time of its foundation by John Heyl Vincent and Lewis Miller at Fair Point on Chautauqua Lake, New York, in 1874. It was this movement which led to the great popularity of university extension courses pioneered at the University of Chicago by its first President William Rainey Harper who had himself been associated with Vincent's Chautauqua Lake tent from 1883 when he had been engaged to teach Hebrew there. The Chautauqua University Extension itself started in the summer of 1889, one of the objects being the "promotion of good citizenship by the popular study of social science, economics, history, literature, political ethics, and the science of government".[16] Hundreds of colleges were founded in the nineteenth century, some to wither, some to flourish. The distances involved in travelling from the South or the Mid-West to the older established universities of the East were often prohibitive. For a student from other

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16. Quoted from a pamphlet of September 15th, 1888, in Gould, J..., The Chautauqua Movement. An Episode in the Continuing American Revolution, State University of New York, 1961, p. 37. Vincent's own account of the idea of the Chautauqua is to be found in his article, Chautauqua: A Popular University, Contemporary Review, May, 1887.

regions it was quite possible for the amount of money spent in travelling eastwards to be more than the cost of tuition and board. Consequently it was necessary for the sons (and increasingly the daughters) of those who could not afford this expense to receive their college education locally. Naturally, immense pride was invested in these local colleges, but the matter of convenience should not be overlooked as a contributory factor in their foundings.

In addition to this there was the problem of educating young people in the light of particular religious beliefs: thus a great many colleges were specifically aligned with religious denominations. Both of these factors, locality and religion, made for relatively small institutions, often with less than one hundred students. There is surely a measure of misplaced nostalgia in Professor Morison's contention that "these slenderly endowed sectarian colleges educated the whole man and maintained a standard of excellence in the liberal arts that has seldom been attained in wealthy, tax-supported state universities".[17] In fact, with the proliferation of poorer colleges and the unavailability of well-trained teachers it could not be expected that the general standard of teaching would be high. The teachers themselves had grown up within the American college system and it was much later in the century that any appreciable number of intending

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17. Morison, S.E., The Oxford History of the American People, New York, Oxford University Press, 1965, p. 533.

academics spent graduate years in Europe. Within this college system in at least the first six or seven decades of the nineteenth century the method of teaching was by recitation leaving very little opportunity for individual initiative and thought. Indeed, the main emphasis of the teachers seems to have been on inhibiting this as much as possible:

> Rarely troubled by doubt, and always disposed to rely on the recognized authorities, their chief distinction was to know and to enforce all of the right answers rather than to know or to ask any of the right questions.[18]

It was a matter of passing on received knowledge to fit young men for their place in a disciplined society.

> Knowledge was thought of as a certain more or less fixed quantum of truth, and the primary function of education was to get as much as possible of this corpus of Christian truth into the heads of the undergraduates.[19]

Consequently there was a heavy reliance on the teaching of the classics and little on what might be termed progressive subjects, such as science. Mental discipline through the training of the faculties of the mind was the all-important goal.

In the final decades of the century, however, that is after the Civil War, the situation in higher education under-

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18. Becker, C.L., Cornell University: Founders and the Founding, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1944, p. 17.

19. Hofstadter, R., and C. DeWitt Hardy, The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States, New York, Columbia University Press, 1952, p. 14.

went a profound change brought about by two major factors: increased interest in higher education on the part of the Federal and State Governments, and the influence of German methods and ideals in such education. On July 2nd 1862 the Morrill Land Grant College Act became law. It had been first introduced into Congress in 1857, but vetoed by President Buchanan in 1859 before Lincoln finally set his seal upon it. The Act provided each State with a grant of 30,000 acres for each of its senators and representatives by the apportionment of the 1860 census. (It was organized in this way in order to gain the support of the Eastern states which, being more populous, had a greater number of congressmen; thus New York State stood to receive about one tenth of the entire grant which was approximately ten million acres.) The States were to invest the proceeds from the sale of the lands and to make provision for

> ... the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life...[20]

The Morrill Act was but the crystallization of a movement which had taken root long before (four million acres had already been

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20. Hofstadter, R., and W. Smith, American Higher Education. A Documentary History, Vol. II, University of Chicago Press, 1961, p. 568.

set aside for fifteen States for the endowment of State universities before 1857), but it gave a distinct stimulus to the rise of the state universities, which were non-sectarian. In practical terms the Morrill grants were something less than successful as Carl Becker has pointed out:

> So much land suddenly dumped on the market inevitably depressed the price, so that quotations fell as low as forty-three cents an acre. Indiana, a fairly typical case, sold its 390,000 scrip acres for an average price of fifty-three cents per acre, netting $206,700; a sum which, invested even at seven per cent (a possibility at that time) would provide an annual income of $14,469... In accepting the grant, therefore, any state was confronted with the not too agreeable fact that the obligations involved, if adequately met, might very well cost it more than the value of the land received.[21]

Nevertheless, over fifty institutions did benefit from the provisions of the Act, and later received greater support under the terms of the second Morrill Act of 1890.

One of the effects of the Morrill Act was the placing of new emphasis on scientific teaching, particularly on the essentially useful science of agricultural chemistry. But the more pronounced presence of science in the colleges helped to usher into them a newer concept of education: it was no longer possible to devote the whole of education to well-worn truths and classical tags for all occasions. Science meant questions and, above all, it meant research.

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21. Becker, C.L., op.cit., pp. 37-38. Becker further points out that $14,000 was only about one fifth of the income of the University of Michigan in 1867, or of M.I.T. in 1871.

The transition from the college to the university was largely a matter of the incorporation of research into the institutions of higher learning. For this new occupation to be acceptable attitudes had to shift towards a new conception of education. This was gained most notably from Germany. It has been estimated that in the first half of the nineteenth century less than 200 Americans were matriculated in German universities; in the decade 1880-90 alone, however, there were over 2000 such matriculations.[22] The attraction of Germany for good American students lay in the quality of German scholarship at this time, the freedoms associated with its university system, and the admirable training which that system gave to intending university teachers; in addition, the German universities possessed the finest academic libraries in the world. No other country could offer all these advantages, and the number of Americans choosing Great Britain or France for their further education was negligible compared with those going to Germany. They brought back with them a spirit of free enquiry to be used responsibly in teaching and in learning, most especially in graduate education which before the Civil War barely existed in America. A new generation of university leaders sprang up with ideals dedicated to the German methods, and by force of sound argument and personality they gradually transformed American higher education into a

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22. See, Thwing, C.W., The American and the German University, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1928.

system quite the equal of that from which they had benefitted. Graduate schools were encouraged at leading institutions,[23] and money, sometimes unwillingly it must be said, became available for scientific research. All this was not, however, without opposition; Tappan at Michigan, for instance, was severely attacked by the citizens of the State for trying to 'Prussianize' his charges, and eventually he was dismissed from the presidency of the University in 1863. Tappan, however, was a pioneer in the movement, and such a dismissal as late as 1900 for this reason at a leading institution would have been unthinkable.[24]

It was within this context of the revolutionary change from the conservative sectarian college to the ideal of the research-oriented, non-denominational university that sociology entered the academic scene in the United States. As will be seen in the following chapter, the discussion of society in distinctly sociological terms in America began long before sociology was accorded its academic recognition. Both Albion Small and J.L. Gillin have overemphasized the importance of the aftermath of the Civil War in determining

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23. Even as late as 1905, however, the Regents endorsed the establishment of the Graduate School at the University of Minnesota "only on condition that it was not to cost anything". Slosson, E.E., Great American Universities, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1910, p. 247.

24. Further discussion of the German impact on American education is contained in Chapters VI and VII of this study.

the rise of sociology.[25] There was throughout the nineteenth century a continuous concern with social matters in a manner not paralleled elsewhere. Americans were supremely conscious of their essentially new civilization. From Europe they were willing to learn (rather than to be taught), but it was to be a question of adapting old methods and ways of thought to a land with its indigenous problems. This preoccupation with a national identity in a society with few traditions of long standing was ideal soil for the development of ideas in social science, and for experiments in 'charity and corrections'. Over the century there was built up an unshakeable faith in the possibilities of science for the betterment of man's world. Progress was the word of the day, and no more in other spheres than in connection with society. Sometimes it was inevitable progress, sometimes planned progress that was just over the next hill. The influence of Herbert Spencer in American social science was beyond calculation, and he spoke to Americans in general in much more appealing tones than did Auguste Comte. The individualism of the former found ready listeners in a nation nurtured on puritanism, the myth of man against nature on the frontier, and democracy. Certainly Spencer's conservatism allowed sociology to enter the universities much faster than would have Comte's curious atheism

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25. See, Small, A.W., Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States (1865-1915), American Journal of Sociology, XXI. 1916; and, J.L. Gillin, The Development of Sociology in the United States, Proceedings of the American Sociological Society, XXI. 1926.

and political meritocracy. The governing bodies of the universities were generally conservative in outlook, and favoured cautious pragmatism rather than startling innovation.[26] Sociology accordingly came into the universities with few desires to make radical social changes. In the early stages it was often taught to final year students as a preparation for a wholesome American life; in this respect it merely supplanted former courses in moral philosophy, ethics, or civics, generally taught by the safest man on the campus, namely, the president of the institution. Socialism was often taught in connection with sociology, but always with a critical eye, giving the student sufficient knowledge of the topic to allow him to refute it. Andrew D. White, for instance, one of the great figures of nineteenth century higher education, advocated that "the student examine the reasons why the communistic solution of the labor question has failed, and why the coöperative solution has succeeded",[27] and this before any large-scale attempt had been made to test the 'communistic solution'. Any social scientists who did put forward views regarded as beyond the American pale were

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26. Parrington's statement carries weight in excess of its gentleness: "Provocative social thinking and the American university seem never to have got on well together." Parrington, V.L., Main Currents in American Thought, Vol. III, New York, Harcourt Brace & Co., 1927, p. 124.

27. White, A.D., Education in Political Science, An Adress ... Delivered in the Academy of Music, Baltimore, on the Third Anniversary of the Johns Hopkins University. February 22nd, 1879. Baltimore, Printed by John Murphy & Co., 1879, p. 16.

severely criticized and often required to resign their academic posts, as will be seen in a later chapter. Thus the very rapid increase in the amount of sociology taught in American universities continued only so long as the new science could prove its usefulness as a reasonable preparation for American life. Its early association with the ideas of social Christianity or the Social Gospel gave it a good chance of survival in what was undoubtedly a very religious-minded society. The possibility of its survival was also aided by a more mundane factor: sociology required no expensive equipment, no laboratories, and relatively few specialized books. Thus the financial outlay in incorporating it into university studies was very small. Added to this was the fact that teachers of various disciplines could easily turn their attention to the new topic; the shift of emphasis from political economy, or from the philosophy of history to sociology could be accomplished in but a short stride. Consequently the introduction of sociology courses seldom required, at first, that a college should employ a teacher specifically engaged for that instruction. It was only towards the end of the period with which this study is concerned that there grew up a body of men who had been specifically trained as sociologists. The fact was that only in America was such training available, and this largely at Chicago and Columbia which graduated the first true sociologists in the 1890's. The movement towards professionalization culminated in the

founding of the American Sociological Society, out of the American Economic Association, in 1905.[28] There had been earlier societies devoted to social science in America, but these had been either directly involved in matters relating to social welfare and amelioration, or to a more general concern with all the social sciences. Of the first type, there were the Association for the Advancement of Social Science (1862), the American Social Science Association (1865), and bodies such as The National Prison Association (1871), and The National Conference of Charities and Corrections (1874). (This became the National Conference of Social Work in 1917.) Of the second type the most prominent was the Philadelphia Social Science Association (1869), which became the American Academy of Political and Social Science in 1889.

The rise of academic sociology was paralleled by a similar amount of activity in social work and philanthropic endeavours. Much of the early sociology teaching in fact was concerned with the three D's (dependents, defectives and delinquents), most noticeably at the theological seminaries. The years after the Civil War saw a consolidation of welfare activities, from the Freedmen Bureau set up in 1865 for aiding Southern negroes, to the beginnings of Charity Organization Societies (the first being in Buffalo in 1877 modelled on the London C.O.S. established in 1869), and the rise of the social settlement movement

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28. The name was later changed to American Sociological Association on account of the unfortunate initials of the former title.

(modelled on Toynbee Hall, the first social settlement, opened in London in 1884). Finally, in 1898, the New York School of Philanthropy began the formal training of social workers. By 1900 the dissociation of sociology and social work was well begun. The precise nature of sociology, however, was still a matter of argument. Some saw it as a special science in a parallel position to other social sciences, others as the general coördinating social science. John Dewey, for instance, stated that "Sociology should be a sort of meeting place for the organized cooperation of these subjects, [Political economy, political science, history, and ethics] it supplying the general theory and principles and progress, they filling in the media axiomata and the special facts."[29] On one thing, however, most sociology teachers were agreed: sociology was entitled to call itself a science.[30]

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29. From a communication to Ira Howerth, quoted in Howerth, I.W., loc.cit., p. 116.

30. In Howerth's valuable survey of 1894 thirty of his forty respondents (all teachers of sociology) unequivocally claimed scientific status for sociology. John Bascom, however, added a note of sane caution: "It will do no harm to call it a science if we do not abate our effort to make it one." ibid., p. 115.

Chapter II

EARLY SOCIOLOGY IN NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICA

In this chapter a review will be made of some contributions to sociological, or more properly social thought in the United States before the time of the more formal recognition of sociology in the universities and colleges. It will not be possible to make an exhaustive or detailed survey of all writers whose works might fit into this category: the aim rather is to indicate the position of sociology in America up to the time of its acceptance as an academic subject.[1] Some of the writers held academic posts, and presumably disseminated their views on social matters amongst their students; others were men of greater obscurity. The tracing of any influence a particular thinker may have had upon later writers is a hazardous endeavour, and in the present context little attempt will be made so to do. The intention rather is to show that the nineteenth century produced a succession of social philosophers to whom the title of sociologist may be fairly applied. They can be called sociologists in terms of their

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1. General expositions of the views of many of the figures to be dealt with in this chapter may be found in Bernard, L.L. and J. Bernard, Origins of American Sociology, The Social Science Movement in the United States, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1943; and in Dorfman, J., The Economic Mind in American Civilization, 1606-1933, 5 Vols., London, George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1946-59; see especially Volumes II and III.

own century; they reflected upon the nature of society in ways more or less systematic. In terms of the present time they were 'proto-sociologists'. To understand these early writers, therefore, it is necessary to set them within their own century, and to realize the continuity of the profound interest in social thought which is a particular mark of that period in American intellectual history. Sociology arose in America out of specific, problematic social conditions, and therefore tended, at a very early stage, to be pragmatic in tone. America had everything to gain, and little to lose; the presence of Europe, and especially industrial Europe, was a constant spur to the Americans to avoid the kinds of social problems which the Old World was experiencing. This was true whether one was a Southerner or a Northerner. In the South one was exhorted to uphold slavery as the perfect answer to the dark satanic mills of a society in which free labour was exploited for the greater profits of a handful of capitalists; in the North the warnings of what could happen to an industrial society were heeded as a call to enlightened amelioration of the condition of the poor, and, not infrequently, as a call for the establishment of perfect communities or utopias. North and South: the distinction was quite clear, and it is in terms of these regions, which imply so much more than merely geographical locations, that the various contributions of the early sociologists will be examined.

A. The South

In the Southern States of the Union there was a distinguished tradition of political liberalism which was frequently expressed in a manner bordering on the sociological. One historian of American sociology even goes so far as to say that Jefferson was "our first great American sociologist, ranking in this respect above his great contemporary Franklin, and standing as the chief representative of this subject matter for a period of fifty years".[2] To speak of Jefferson as 'the sponsor of a theory of society'[3] imposes upon him a retrospective judgment which could as easily be applied to a great many prominent figures of nineteenth century America, and an equally good case could be made out for saying that Emerson or even Thoreau, for example, became the 'chief representatives' of sociology well before the elapse of Bernard's fifty year period. It seems more fruitful to regard those writers who defined themselves as sociologists or social scientists as the earliest contributors to the new discipline, and to see the thought of Jefferson as a predisposing orientation within the interests of which a more distinctly sociological frame of reference could develop. Thus Jefferson's social ideas, rather than 'theory of society', found many followers in his

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2. Bernard, L.L., The Historic Pattern of Sociology in the South, Social Forces, XVI. 1937, p. 5.

3. ibid., p. 4.

own region, and the climate of opinion which he helped more than anyone to form was such that reflections upon society were regarded as a serious and worthy pursuit for men of letters. The social sciences, at this time usually under the title of political economy, made early appearances in the college curricula in the South, most notably at the College of William and Mary where Jefferson himself had been a student, at the University of Virginia which he founded, and at the College of South Carolina which was fortunate to include Francis Lieber on its staff for many years. There is plenty of evidence also in the Southern periodicals of the earlier part of the century pointing to the interest in social science.[4] The interest in sociology specifically, however, came somewhat later and was directly concerned in the slavery issue. What needs to be said, nevertheless, is that the tradition of social thought in the South provided a necessary background for the systematic, and occasionally extremely sophisticated rationalizations of the social system of the South which were regarded as sociology. From about 1830 the tenor of Southern thought, political, economic and social, began to change toward the justification of slavery as a positive good. Gradually

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4. To take one example: The Southern Review published in Charleston, South Carolina, from February 1828 to February 1832 contained long reviews of works on political economy (by Thomas Cooper, Sismondi, Daniel Raymond and Say) in seven of the sixteen numbers published. Such journals were general literary magazines containing articles on a great variety of topics: thus the amount of space given to political economy is significant.

it became more and more respectable to see the ownership of slaves as a God given charge, as opposed to the older idea of civilizing the black races to a point where they no longer needed to be slaves after they had learned, by the white man's example, what civilization meant. In other words, an old paternalism, of the Jefferson variety, was being transmuted into a new paternalism, led on the political front by John Calhoun. Important figures in this transition were the writers of sociology and racial anthropology. The defence of the Southern system became more and more virulent (spurred on by the Northern abolitionists); but at the same time there were those who quite sincerely believed in rational terms that the subjection of one race to another was natural, in accordance with the will of God, and everlasting. It was frequently claimed that slavery was an excellent social system since it provided leisure time for those who were masters, and this therefore gave them the opportunity for reflection and the cultivation of civilized interests and arts. It is easy enough to show that in this the apologists deluded themselves, but at the same time it is true that the most impressive work of a sociological kind in the early part of the nineteenth century in the United States came from the South. The reason for this, to a great extent, lies in the fact that the South was relatively more stable than the North - a continuing tradition of a way of life in a sense gave men a longer perspective for their formulations. The North con-

tained an ever changing and ever shifting population with much more European immigration and a more pronounced Westward movement. In the case of the slave system, however, which was plantation based, thought about society crystallized around a distinct centre. The unfortunate thing is that this happened to be slavery, so that when the Civil War did come and pass to the disadvantage of the South, their sociology largely passed with it. So many years later it is now possible to see that the Southerners were talking about a social system, and it is possible to evaluate their contributions not so much as parts of the great slavery debate but as genuine attempts to understand society. Naturally this took the form of special pleading in many cases, indeed of propaganda at times; but underlying this there was a distinctly sociological outlook.

One of the first academic men of the South to show a particular interest in the social sciences was George Tucker (1775-1861) who was born in Bermuda, but went to the College of William and Mary in 1795 where he studied law.[5] He practised law for many years and served in Congress from 1819 to 1825. In the latter year he was invited to the new University of Virginia, having attracted the attention of James Madison (who succeeded Jefferson as Rector of the University from 1826 to 1834) by the publication in 1822 of a

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5. See the article on Tucker by L.C. Helderman: A Social Scientist of the Old South, The Journal of Southern History, II. 1936, pp. 148-174.

small volume on political economy. He became Professor of Moral Philosophy responsible for the teaching of English, philosophy and economics, and stayed at the University until his retirement to Philadelphia in 1845. His publications were in many fields, but he was most devoted to history,[6] and political economy, and did much to establish these new disciplines during his tenure at Virginia. He is included in this selective survey of Southern thinkers as a representative of the Jeffersonian tradition which was so soon to concede its predominence to the writers who found the ideas of Calhoun more to their taste. Tucker's only major disagreement with Jefferson's thought was in his disposition to see cities as not necessarily evil, and he dismissed as unproven Jefferson's feeling that the quality of rural life is more wholesome. Slavery he thought would die a natural death as its economic viability came to be understood as delusive. At the same time, however, he argued against the abolitionists of the North who were beginning to be voluble towards the end of his life. With great insight he pointed out that the strident voices of the abolitionists would force the Southerners into a defensive position, and it does indeed seem as if this was the case. Slavery, after all, was in fact declining in the early years of the century and the 'positive good' arguments only arose at the time of the start

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6. He wrote a four volume history of the United States, as well as a sympathetic biography of Jefferson.

of the Northern onslaught.

Tucker took what was then a relatively novel view of the writing of history: "... to make us acquainted with the progress of society and the arts of civilization; with the advancement and decline of religion, literature, laws, manners and commerce."[7] Thus he put a new emphasis on matters which were neither political nor military. In all his diverse interests, however, the one which is perhaps of the most significance for a sociologist is his criticism of Malthus. As an economist he was basically of the laissez-faire persuasion, but he regarded Malthus's attacks on amelioration of social conditions and perfectability of man as misguided. He pointed out that large populations had distinct advantages, for example in military matters and for the most effective development of natural resources by the division of labour. He later changed his views on the population problem considerably and came to feel that man's instinctive desires and consequent population increase would elevate land rents, lower wages and reduce the standard of living; with this the development of improvements in production techniques would not keep pace, although he did see hope in the application of science to agriculture. On the other hand, he predicted a declining rate for the population of America, partly due to the postponement of the age at which women marry, and also to a growing

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7. Quoted, from an address given in 1835, in Helderman, loc.cit., pp. 168-69.

sense of the advantages of comfort without the burden of large families.[8]

Tucker's chair of Moral Philosophy at Virginia was offered to Thomas Roderick Dew (1802-1846) who declined to accept the appointment, and eventually William H. McGuffey, a Presbyterian minister, was appointed.[9] McGuffey also showed interest in social matters (he offered one of the very first courses of a sociological nature, 'The Philosophy of Social Relations and Ethics of Society', from 1845 to 1857) but he did not have the intellectual and contemplative outlook of Tucker. The substitution of McGuffey for Tucker, as Leonard Helderman has pointed out, provides a good indication of the decline of Jeffersonian intellectualism in favour of "piety and utility".[10] Thomas Dew, at that time President of the College of William and Mary, was certainly a better scholar, and one who also was interested in social science. His most impressive work in this field was of a legal-anthropological nature, being A Digest of the Laws,

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8. For an excellent review of the use which was made of Malthus by Southern writers see, Spengler, J.J., Population Theory in the Ante-Bellum South, The Journal of Southern History, II. 1936, pp. 360-389. Tucker's major publication on population was Progress of the United States in Population and Wealth in Fifty Years, as Exhibited by the Decennial Census (1790-1840), New York, 1843. A second edition appeared in 1855 with an appendix containing an abstract of the Census of 1850.

9. McGuffey, author of the school Readers, was at Virginia from 1845 to 1873 when Noah K. Davis was appointed to the chair.

10. Helderman, op.cit., especially p. 154.

Customs, Manners and Institutions of the Ancient and Modern Nations,[11] the subject matter of which he had delivered in lectures at William and Mary, and which was published posthumously.[12] The man responsible for getting this work published and for adding somewhat to the text was Henry Augustine Washington (1820-1858) who took over the chair of history at William and Mary three years after Dew's death, remaining until the year before his own death.[13]

Henry Washington was born in Virginia and educated at Princeton. He practised as a lawyer in Richmond, Virginia, before removing to Williamsburg and his professorial position. His parents were a great-nephew and a great-niece of George Washington, and he himself, in 1852, married a daughter of Judge Beverley Tucker, a distinguished jurist and Professor of Natural Philosophy and Political Economy at William and Mary.[14] Thus socially, Washington's background was assuredly that of a Southern aristocrat. The years of comparative leisure during the time of his legal practise were put to scholarly use, and he produced one article of outstanding merit

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11. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1853.

12. A private printing had been made earlier for the use of Dew's students at the College.

13. The incumbent of the chair between Dew and Washington was George Frederick Holmes who will be discussed below.

14. Biographical information on Washington is to be found in Tyler's Historical and Genealogical Quarterly, IV. 1922, p. 135; and in William and Mary College Quarterly, VIII. 1899, p. 75.

which provides the justification for his inclusion in this study. This was his 'The Social System of Virginia' which appeared in 1848.[15] Benjamin Blake Minor, a later editor of the Southern Literary Messenger which published the article (and, incidentally, one of the contenders for Tucker's Virginia chair in 1845) has written that this article "... changed his [Washington's] career. It led to his election to the Chair of History, etc., in William and Mary College".[16] With the factual reliability of Washington's analysis this chapter is not concerned: the important relevance of the paper lies in the form which this analysis is given. It is an attempt to explain the contemporary Virginian's 'social organization' (a phrase which Washington himself uses) in terms of the colonial structure of the State. His orientation is that of the philosophy of history which Francois Guizot had been developing, and he is in the George Tucker tradition: history must no longer be the mere recording of facts, dates, battles, the activities of kings and the other minutiae, but it must

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15. H.A.W., The Social System of Virginia, Southern Literary Messenger, XIV, January 1848, pp. 65-81. Washington's major scholarly effort was the editing of the papers of Thomas Jefferson: The Writings of Thomas Jefferson: being his Autobiography, correspondence, reports, messages, addresses, and other writings, official and private. Pub; by order of the Joint committee of Congress on the Library, from the original manuscripts deposited in the Department of State. With explanatory notes - by the editor, H.A. Washington, 9 Vols., Washington, Taylor and Maury, 1853-54. Another edition was published in Philadelphia by J.B. Lippincott & Co., 9 Vols., 1869-71.

16. Minor, B.B., The Southern Literary Messenger 1834-1864, New York and Washington, The Neale Publishing Company, 1905, p. 163.

penetrate to the 'latent facts' and provide interpretations of the existence of ordinary people. Modern civilization itself is marked by a peculiar intellectual development: "It is a spirit of strict reserve, rigid analysis and cautious deduction - a spirit which observes facts carefully, and admits generalization slowly."[17] This new spirit affects all creative endeavour, including the interpretation of history.

The centre of Washington's problem to be explained is this:

> ... all must admit that the Social System of Virginia is, in many respects, a peculiar system - unlike most of the social systems by which it is surrounded - a sort of anomaly in our times ... and, when closely inspected, looks very much like the remnant of an older civilization - a fragment of the feudal system floating about here on the bosom of the nineteenth century.[18]

What was the nature of that older civilization, and in what way has it affected the present? The first point, and most distinctive fact is that colonial Virginia contained two classes only, masters and slaves (Washington includes indentured servants under the same head as slaves since they were treated alike). There was thus no class of free labourers. The relation master/slave "was ... so general as to prevail over all other relations and constitute a controlling element in the social system of the colony".[19] The availability of cheap land (together with the colonial government policy of donating fifty

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17. The Social System of Virginia, loc.cit., p. 66.

18. ibid., p. 69.

19. ibid., p. 71

acres of land to a planter for each person whom he brought to the colony), and the love of the Anglo-Saxon for the life of the soil, made for a hierarchy of landed proprietors and serfs. These proprietors constituted the 'gentry' of Virginia, often descended from English nobility, and thus having a tradition of manners, wealth and power. "The consequence was that society in Virginia was, as far as circumstances would admit, a continuation of English society."[20] It was a 'landed aristocracy' to which power was indigenous, and which was strengthened by the systems of entail and primogeniture which were then in operation. Since the economy was agricultural "isolated country life was a controlling element in colonial society".[21] Thus Washington lists as the prominent features of the social system, 1. master/slave relationship, 2. existence of a ruling landed aristocracy, 3. isolated rural life. He then proceeds to show on the basis of these 'facts' with admirable lucidity why "Virginia has hitherto done little for the melioration of man's social condition", and why "she has made but inconsiderable progress in material greatness, and, notwithstanding her rich soil, her genial climate, and vast natural resources, has always been, and is to this day, poor, very poor", but, on the other hand, why "she has always been fertile in general ideas ... [and]

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20. ibid., p. 71.

21. ibid., p. 73.

... has abounded in great men and striking developments of character and passion".[22] Amelioration of man's social condition and development of the individual are the two elements which make up civilization which "when applied to a community, it awakens at once the notion of general prosperity, social progress, and increase in the means of subsistence, comfort and material well-being".[23] Progress implies the union and combined movement of the two elements, and for this to occur there operates a 'principle of association':

> ... man's moral and intellectual nature may be instructed by his social condition and his social condition elevated by his moral and mental progress, that these two elements, though they may separate for a time and impress their peculiar character upon the age or country over which they preside, must, by the laws of their own movement, ultimately come together and advance in company.[24]

In colonial Virginia, therefore, the situation was one in which there was a "preponderence of those elements which favored the development of man at the expense of society".[25] With isolated rural existence the whole household gathered around the head who lived like a feudal baron, supreme in his sphere. This tended to promote individualism, and politically, says Washington, it was the factor which distinguished Virginia from the Northern States: all government in the South being

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22. ibid., p. 73.
23. ibid., p. 73.
24. ibid., p. 75.
25. ibid., p. 75.

regarded as interference in natural rights. A planter autocrat could not recognize a common social standard which should be imposed by some supra-individual entity. Washington points out that the principles of civil, religious and political liberty all found their roots in Virginia (George Washington, Henry and Jefferson are cited as examples of the great men which such an individualistically oriented system had produced).

At the same time those factors favouring individual progress militated against social improvement. "The very notion of society implies the existence of a certain number of ideas and sentiments common to a majority of the members."[26] But with small, practically self-sufficient societies each with a distinct social organization, scattered though the colony in a loose federative structure, the 'principle of association' was ill-developed. Such a structure requires a very high degree of civilisation since it lacks a strong system of coercion. In this Virginia was lacking, and so did not favour social improvement. Here Washington starts to discuss the first feature of the society, the master/slave relationship. He sees this as a despotic (sic) caste, rather than a class, relationship. When such a system exists history shows that progress is at an end: "So certain is it that rivalry, competition and effort are everywhere the conditions of progress and improvement."[27] Exclusive power implies

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26. ibid., p. 77.

27. ibid., p. 78.

torpor and decay. There must be conflicts of ideas to prevent stagnation, and labour must have an incentive to produce (namely a material reward):

> ....free labor presents in its strongest possible form, the hope of reward as a motive to exertion; while slave labor rejects it altogether, and substitutes in its stead, the far inferior motive of the fear of punishment.[28]

The slave system destroys the incentive since it feeds, clothes and protects the labourers regardless of their exertions, and therefore "... the distribution of the products of labor between the laborer and the capitalist is nowhere more favorable to the laborer than in the Southern States of the union".[29]

Washington concludes his analysis by pointing out that strong family solidarity was engendered by the isolation of the planters, and that in such a situation the importance of women and the home achieved a central emphasis. Finally he expresses his conviction that Virginia's great strength lies in its individualism, provided that the other portion of civilization catches up and harmonizes with it:

> ... however imperfect its social organization may be, it possesses the materials for a fine society; for, after all, it is the noble people that make the noble government, rather than the converse.

and

> ... those memorable revolutions in religion, morals and government, as well as those important inventions and

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28. ibid., p. 78.

29. ibid., p. 79.

> discoveries in art and science, which have added so largely to the stock of human comfort and happiness, have resulted, not from social or political mechanism, or organization, but from isolated, and individual energy and devotion.[30]

So ends this remarkable article which is sociological history of a very high order of competence. Washington's concern with the Jefferson papers does not seem to have allowed him time to pursue many other interests, and his other publications are very few. Two other articles are perhaps worth mentioning, both of which appeared posthumously, having been delivered as lectures in Richmond in the Winter of 1855. These are 'The Races of Men'[31] and 'The Negro Races'.[32] In these two articles Washington argues against the views of the theorists who regarded coloured people as descended from a stock different from the white man.[33] He fervently believed, however, in the diversity of the races through historical experience, and took for granted the superiority of the white over the brown, and the brown over the black. He discusses the various possible theories of superiority such as geographical,

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30. ibid., p. 81.

31. Southern Literary Messenger, XXX. 1860, pp. 251-260.

32. ibid., XXXI. 1860, pp. 1-10. This article is unsigned, but there is no doubt of authorship since the writer states "In a previous article on the Races of Men I attempted to prove that those races constitute one unbroken series..." (p. 8).

33. As did, for example, Josiah C. Nott, a professor of anatomy at the University of Louisiana, and George Gliddon of Alabama. These two produced a famous racist tract arguing for negro inferiority on physical grounds in their Types of Mankind (1856).

social (which merely beg the question since the origin of the system remains undetermined) and racial causes. He is in no doubt that the latter is the primary cause. The order of nature is one of infinite gradations: "I do not believe that all men are by nature equal ... I think that all experience, all observation, all history contradict it."[34] All evidence suggests that the negro is incapable of civilization and improvement. The value of the negro is "to reclaim from nature, and to make them tributary to the wants of man, those regions from which climate excludes the white labourer."[35] The most enlightened civilization, says Washington, is that which allows all men to rise to their ordained level.

The small contribution which Washington made to early social science does not permit of any extravagant claim to be made in his behalf as a highly significant forerunner of sociology in America. His predecessor at William and Mary, however, George Frederick Holmes (1820-1897), has suffered a particularly unwarranted neglect as a sociological thinker.[36]

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34. The Races of Men, loc.cit., p. 260.

35. The Negro Races, loc.cit., p. 8.

36. But see the entries in the volumes by the Bernards and by Dorfman cited in footnote 1 of this chapter, and two articles by Harvey Wish, the historian who has done most to expound Southern social science in recent years: George Frederick Holmes and the Genesis of American Sociology, American Journal of Sociology, XLVI. 1941, 698-707; and: George Frederick Holmes and Southern Periodical Literature of the Mid-Nineteenth Century, The Journal of Southern History, VII. 1941, pp. 343-356.

One reason for this neglect is the fact that by far the greater part of Holmes's scholarly writings appeared in a number of journals, and as encyclopaedia articles.[37] It is, therefore, particularly ironic that at the outset of his career Holmes should have warned people against too much periodical writing: "Who in after generations, will be willing to wade through the perishable stuff which is amalgamated with the gold in his articles for the sake of extracting the loose grains of the precious ore?", "the practice of review-writing proves that men are more disposed to discuss hastily small portions of great subjects than to write matured

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37. The present author has prepared a bibliography of Holmes's works which comprise a large collection of school textbooks (in history and English together with a series of Readers), two printed lectures, a large number of articles for the Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature (prepared by J. McClintock and J. Strong, 12 Vols., New York, Harper and Brothers, 1867-87) which together contain some 180,000 words; and over one hundred periodical articles, many of them very lengthy, which appeared in the following journals: 1. British and Foreign Evangelical Review (London 1852-88). 2. De Bow's Review (New Orleans, 1846-64, 1866-70, 1879-80). 3. The Forum (London, New York, Leipzig?). 4. The Magnolia or Southern Appalachian (Charleston, S.C., 1840-43). 5. Methodist Quarterly Review (New York, 1818-1931). 6. North British Review (Edinburgh 1844-71). 7. Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (Louisville, Ky., 1847-?). 8. Southern Literary Messenger (Richmond, Va., 1834-64). 9. Southern Magazine (Baltimore 1868-70). 10. Southern Quarterly Review (New Orleans 1842, Charleston, 1842-55, Columbia, S.C. 1856-7). 11. Southern Review (Baltimore 1867-97). 12. United States Monthly Law Magazine (New York, ?). Also, posthumously, 13. William and Mary College Quarterly (Williamsburg, 1892-). Holmes was also a contributor to various Southern newspapers; and produced one of the early textbooks, unfortunately more or less in note form, in sociology: The Science of Society. Seventeen Lectures by G.F. Holmes L.L.D., Delivered to his class at the University of Virginia. Session 1882-83, Miller School Print, 1883. (Presumably a local printer in Charlottesville, Va.)

works which may comprehend the whole.[38]

Holmes was born in British Guiana, son of a lawyer in the colonial service. At the age of two he was taken to England and left in the care of his maternal grandfather in County Durham. He entered the University of Durham in 1836, apparently showing considerable ability as a student (he was awarded the prize scholarship in December 1836), but only remained at the University for one session. Having contracted a debt, he was dispatched to Canada by his guardian in order to teach him a lesson in 'wordly wisdom'. He arrived in Quebec on July 28th 1837 and gradually made his way to the South, settling in South Carolina where he soon became a member of a circle of prominent members of that State including John R. Thompson, W.G. Simms, the leading literary figure of the South, Francis Lieber, and William Preston who took him into his law office.[39] No great success as a lawyer, his friends realized that Holmes's true métier was that of a scholar. Various attempts were made to get him an academic post (at the College of South Carolina where Lieber, who had high regard for Holmes's ability, was teaching; and at the new University of Missouri). He married a daughter of John Floyd, twice Governor of Virginia, in 1844, and the following year finally secured an

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38. The Present Condition of Letters, Southern Literary Messenger, XI, March 1845, p. 174.

39. He was admitted to the Bar of South Carolina in 1842 by special Act of the State legislature since he was a British citizen, which he remained all his life.

appointment as Professor of Ancient Languages at Richmond College, Virginia. A brighter prospect soon presented itself, and he was appointed to the chair of History and Political Economy, as successor to Thomas Dew, at the College of William and Mary, in 1847. Holmes was delighted with this appointment, but all was far from well at the College, and he tendered his resignation on 22nd January 1848. He then became the first President of the University of Mississippi, but once again only remained for one year, owing to the fact that in a journey to the East to visit his family, who had remained in Virginia, he had a bad carriage accident and lost the sight of an eye. The next nine years Holmes spent at the family home of the Floyds, Burke's Garden in Tazewell County, Virginia, engaged in farming and, more importantly, in the production of a stream of periodical articles. So far as the latter are concerned this was the period of his life which was most fruitful. At last, in 1857, he was called to the University of Virginia to the new chair of History and General Literature (ten years previously he had enquired about the possibility of such a post, but unfortunately the University had not had the necessary funds to establish the chair at that time). This post he retained for the remainder of his life until 1897. He began by teaching history and literature, and in 1868 took over the teaching of political economy from McGuffey, continuing to teach the subject until Noah K. Davis was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy in 1873.

From 1882, however, Holmes once more took up the teaching of political economy and added to it 'The Science of Society'. In 1888 he gave up teaching history and concentrated entirely on the science of society for the rest of his time at the University. He died on November 4th 1897.[40]

The chief recognitions that have been accorded to Holmes in recent years have been firstly as the most cogent critic in America of the work of Comte,[41] with whom Holmes exchanged correspondence;[42] and secondly as one of the foremost defenders of slavery in the South.[43] Important as he was in these respects, however, they by no means exhaust the contribution which he made to early sociological thinking. He wrote articles on

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40. These biographical details were obtained from a variety of sources, including letters of Holmes at the Library of Congress, College of William and Mary, and the Research Department Library of Colonial Williamsburg Inc. Particularly useful first sources are the unsigned obituary 'Death of Professor Holmes', Alumni Bulletin of the University of Virginia, IV, No.3, November 1897, pp. 86-87; and, John Robinson, Sunderland Worthies, No.3, George Frederick Holmes, The Library Circular (Sunderland Public Library) no. 5, January 1900, pp. 69-75.

41. The Bernards, op.cit., concentrate almost entirely on this aspect of his work, together with The Science of Society. It has been discussed fully in the excellent volume by R.L. Hawkins: Auguste Comte and the United States (1816-1835), Vol. XI of the Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1936.

42. Holmes's first letter to Comte is dated March 22nd 1852, and Comte's last letter to Holmes March 23rd 1854. Each wrote seven letters; four by Comte are missing, the other three are in the second volume of the Holmes Papers at the Library of Congress. Holmes's seven are in the archives of the Société Positiviste, Paris. All the extant letters are reproduced in Hawkins, R.L., op.cit.

43. See Manierre, W.R., A Southern Response to Mrs Stowe. Two (footnote continued on next page)

a very wide variety of topics, but generally speaking his interest was in the problems of philosophy of which the disciplines of history and the science of society were parts. The men he most admired were Aristotle, from whom he derived his views on slavery and his general conception of society, and Francis Bacon, whose insistence on scientific rigour he fervently upheld, together with Bacon's conjoining of a scientific outlook with a belief in God. Liebnitz also, and Kant entered his pantheon; Comte very nearly did, but his rejection of revealed religion was not congenial to Holmes. It will not be possible to discuss Holmes's views in any great detail within the confines of this chapter, but he deserves considerable attention for the outstanding, sustained effort which he made for over fifty years as a champion of social science.

Holmes's first major intellectual efforts were written in 1842 before the age of twenty-two, and in some ways these remain the most interesting of his productions, since in these he laid the foundations for a life's work - the necessity for an empirical social science. At this stage, although the Cours de Philosophie Positive had been appearing in Paris (1830-

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letters of John R. Thompson, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXIX, 1961, pp. 83-92. And: Mckitrick, E.L. (editor), Slavery Defended, The Views of the Old South. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall Inc., 1963, pp. 99-111.

42), Holmes was unaware of the work of Comte.[44] The first piece, to be put before the public was an Address to the Orangeburg Athenaeum with the somewhat ambitious title 'Introduction to a Sketch of the Intellectual Progress of Mankind' delivered on June 1st 1842.[45] Holmes argues for a complete view of man's development, a

> philosophical history of the Intellectual, Social, Moral and Political Progress of Mankind from the earliest period of which we have authentic information down to the present time. Such a history should not content itself with exhibiting only the period of outward growth and development, it should not be a barren record of successive Intellectual operations or Political changes, but a Philosophical exposition of the mode in which each change arose and of the degree in which it was dependent on its predecessors... Such a work might demand, but it would amply repay the labours of a life of industry and be the most valuable addition to the Intellectual Treasury of Mankind received since the Novum Organon of Lord Bacon.[46]

Holmes modestly says he will only attempt a mere sketch of such an undertaking which has been attempted, in too fragmentary a way, by Michelet, Bulwer and Whewell. His acceptance of a positivistic orientation in social science is put forward early on in the address in a prerequisite principle for studying man's progress: "... the Laws which govern

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44. In a letter to Comte 30th October 1852 Holmes wrote that positivism has "... materially augmented in your hands the legitimate domain of science by adding to its empire the rich conquest of sociology, which I fully recognize as your greatest achievement: it is one which I had hoped to make my own prize until I first became acquainted with your great work in May, 1848." See Hawkins, R.L., op.cit. p. 121.

45. This was never published. The MS is in the Holmes Papers at the Library of Congress.

46. ibid., sheets 348-49.

the Intellect and Moral operations of man are as certain, fixed and immutable as those which guide the material processes of Nature and form the Physical Laws of the Universe."[47] The second principle is startlingly Spencerian: "that in the Intellectual World as in the Material or Mechanical no force once impressed is ever wholly lost or passes away from that which parts with it without displaying an equal energy and exercising an equal influence elsewhere."[48] This is the principle which gives to human life and history its essential continuity, a continuity of growth from fixed origins which Holmes compares to the various developments in the life of a tree. There is a progressive shedding of 'dross' or falsity of intellect in favour of the truth which, however, never arrives at perfection: "To some who have not directed their enquiries to this point it may seem strange that truth should be declared imperfect and liable to change. But all the truth that man can discern is true only relatively to himself and those circumstances directly contemplated when the inference of the truth was drawn."[49] Thus it was perfectly reasonable of the Greeks to think of Atlas carrying the earth, or of the Hindoos to see it as supported by an elephant: the point was that both peoples had noticed the stability of the earth and

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47. ibid., sheet 350.

48. ibid., sheet 350.

49. ibid., sheet 352.

put forward explanations adequate in their state of knowledge. The primary operative causes of the intellectual character of a nation are climate and religion, since they are not of themselves formed by man (although Holmes admits that the character of religion is tempered by man). Here Holmes is following Montesquieu, and he invokes Michelet to define what he means by progress - that is, the continuous effort of man to extricate himself from the bonds of nature. The best guide for discerning progress is the examination of the literature and the religion of a nation; but since literature is a 'running commentary', religion, which is "the inward consciousness and outward declaration of the highest and most vital belief"[50] provides the surest guide. Men like Luther and John Knox may appear to have been great innovators, but "Many of us have yet to learn that a great Revolution is not the work of one man but of a change in the feelings of whole nations; that a Great man himself is but the creature of the times catching the spirit of the coming change and communicating it to his fellows before they are aware of its approach."[51] The invariable tendency of mankind in the mass is toward improvement (cf. Burke), seen most characteristically in revolutionary movements (as in the overthrow of feudalism, the English Civil War, and the French Revolution).

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50. ibid., sheet 356.

51. ibid., sheet 358.

Holmes's first published article appeared the month after the Orangeburg address.[52] The starting point is the opinions of William Whewell, the British philosopher, expressed in his three volume History of the Inductive Sciences, published in London in 1837 and in his two volume Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences, published in London in 1840. Not unexpectedly, the article is very similar in content to the address, predicting a revolution in the 'whole domain of intellect' brought about by the new emphasis on investigation and the attack on traditional institutions. Just what the world stands on the brink of, Holmes wisely enough declines to say; but he is in no doubt that transcendental metaphysics and psychology (by which Holmes seems to mean the sensationalism of Locke) will surrender pre-eminence to inductive science:

> ... we shall ... restrict our speculations to the phenomena, and when these cannot be explained without such hypotheses as innate ideas, spiritual essences, etc., we should leave them, as for the time, inexplicable.[53]

All argument from metaphysics or generalization from isolated pieces of empiricism must be eschewed and, with Bacon, all reasoning from final causes abandoned:

> We have thus entered our solemn protest against this doctrine, which has impeded, will impede, and must,

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52. Whewell on the Inductive Sciences, Southern Quarterly Review, II, No.3, July 1842, pp. 193-231. This article is unsigned, but the style and content are unmistakably those of Holmes. Harvey Wish agrees: see his article in The Journal of Southern History referred to in footnote 36 of this chapter.

53. ibid., p. 218.

> from its nature, impede the march of all real science, and which, instead of furnishing us with certain and trustworthy inductions, will give us in their stead, only dogmatism and hypothesis, and will convert into philosophers the ladies in the boudoir, and the children in the nursery: from such calamity we pray most fervently to be delivered.[54]

Clearly in these first two productions Holmes was not saying anything specifically new. He follows the historians of the eighteenth century in their desire for a universal history; he follows Jules Michelet (1798-1874), who had by this time published his Précis d'histoire moderne (in 1827) and the first six volumes of his Histoire de France (1833-1843), in his desire (shared by George Tucker and Henry Washington) to regard history as the unfolding of all human existences and not the mere record of the actions of great men. He was aware of Vico,[55] and his view of science relied directly on Francis Bacon's Instauratio Magna and Novum Organum. The originality of the two essays, however, lies in the way these various sources were brought together to suggest the possibility that laws of social progress are discernible in exactly the same way as in the physical sciences, that is, by an inductive process of empiricism. Naturally Holmes did not prove his case; no more did Comte prove his. It has to

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54. ibid., p. 231.

55. In 1824 Michelet had translated the Principi di Scienza Nuova of 1725 which may have been the version with which Holmes was familiar; he knew some Italian, although possibly he acquired this language at a later date.

be remembered, however, that Holmes had received very little formal academic training, and that what knowledge of the intellectual issues of the past and present that he did acquire he gained for himself. He predicted the emergence of a synthetic philosophy (as opposed to the eclecticism of Victor Cousin which he partially admired, but roundly criticized) for the nineteenth century, and, when first he became aware of him, thought that Comte was the new successor to Bacon.

During the following six or seven years after the writing of the two papers discussed so far, Holmes concentrated his efforts mainly on classical and literary topics, writing regularly in the Southern Literary Messenger and in the Southern Quarterly Review (with which he became associated in an editorial capacity). Many of these articles, however, give further evidence of his interest in the continuity of history and in the social nature of human efforts in literature, science and other facets of creativity. By the late 1840's and early 1850's the articles show increasing concern with the foundations of human knowledge, and in particular with regard to the state of society. His inaugural address as President of the University of Mississippi in 1848 was mostly devoted to the necessity for a new metaphysics and a new logic as prior conditions for the investigation of the problems of the nineteenth century.[56]

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56. Inaugural Address, Delivered on the Occasion of the Opening of the University of Mississippi, November 6th 1848. Memphis, Franklin Book and Job Office, 1849.

Three months after this Holmes published an extract from a manuscript which he had prepared at least a year before.[57] This is significant since for the first time Holmes refers specifically to sociology. Advances in social science have not been keeping pace with the advances made in the physical sciences, and society is therefore crumbling:

> ... the Sphynx stands in our path, mumbling her dark oracles, propounding the great enigmas of life, the mysteries of social organization, which can only hope a response from the more profound study of Sociological science. That response we are unable to give, because we have neglected to prosecute with due diligence the sciences which explain the phenomena, and establish the laws of human society.[58]

Society is in a turmoil and "we must probe the wounds of society and discover medicaments".[59] "In Europe we hear at all times the low murmurs of approaching Revolution[60]... it is no longer the whizzing of the safety valve, but the straining

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57. On the Importance of the Social Sciences in the Present Day, Southern Literary Messenger, XV, February 1849, pp. 77-80. This article is signed H. There can be little doubt that it is by Holmes; a footnote on p. 79 states: "Similar opinions were published by me ... in the summer of 1842." This must refer to the article on Whewell discussed above.

58. ibid., p. 78.

59. ibid., p. 78.

60. The footnote on p. 79 ibid., states: "The MS, from which this extract is taken, was prepared six months before the news of the February Revolution in France reached this country - much of it was written three months before that time."

of the boiler, that reaches our ears from beyond the Atlantic[61] ... the miasma of social corruption is infectious; and it is our interest to study the prognostics of disease, and to guard against the production and extension of contiguous influences."[62] The study of history will provide knowledge of the causes of the social distress and 'social economics' will provide the laws of interpretation and the prescriptions for remedial action.

By 1850 Holmes had touched upon all of the topics that were to interest him for the rest of his life, and from this date he became increasingly involved in the justification of slavery, notably in his article 'Observations on a Passage in the Politics of Aristotle Relative to Slavery'.[63] Aristotle, says Holmes, claimed that slavery is natural and necessary. The article then goes on to show that slavery is indeed so. All societies have been divided, and always will be, into two classes - the dependent and those upon whom they depend.

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61. This striking metaphor from the steam age Holmes must have copied from a letter to him from Tom Taylor, with whom he went to school in County Durham and who became editor of Punch, 31st December 1842. Taylor writing from England was asking Holmes for information on America and in particular on the slavery question: "Is it only the whizzing of the safety valve or the bursting of the boilers that we hear from across the Atlantic?" Holmes Papers, College of William and Mary, MSS 70.1. Thus Holmes merely reversed the direction of the observation.

62. ibid., p. 79.

63. Southern Literary Messenger, XVI April 1850, pp. 193-205. An unsigned article, but definitely by Holmes: the MS of the article is in the Holmes Papers at the Library of Congress. Also D.F. Jamison writing to Holmes April 16th 1850 said he was looking forward to reading Holmes's article on Aristotle's views on slavery (Holmes Papers, Library of Congress).

> Circumstances and degrees of civilization, the comparative density and the proportions of the population, the amount and the distribution of capital, may vary the forms in which this dependence is exhibited, the names by which it is known, and the modes by which it is enforced. But, wherever it can be enforced, and by the usages of society is enforced, then the relation of master and servant subsists. If enforced by law, it is termed slavery - if enforced by custom, and the irresistible control of circumstances, it may be called merely service - but in its real essence it is no less continuous, involuntary, and unlimited dependence, consequently no less slavery.[64]

Furthermore, races have specific characteristics - thus negroes were ever born to be slaves, Caucasians to be masters.

The contrasts between the slave system and the free labour system, and the shortcomings of his age, occupied much of Holmes's thought up to the Civil War. What distinguishes his writing, however, from that of the more militant Southerners is its scholarly thoroughness and calm reflection.[65] In the

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64. Holmes Papers, Library of Congress, sheet 366.

65. Significant articles on these themes are: 1. Morell's Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century, Southern Literary Messenger, XVI, July 1850, pp. 385-96 (it is in this article that Holmes makes his first specific reference to Comte); 2. Latter-Day Pamphlets, Southern Quarterly Review, XVIII, (New Series II), November 1850, pp. 313-56; 3. Greeley on Reforms, Southern Literary Messenger, XVII, May 1851, pp. 257-80; 4. The Nineteenth Century, Southern Literary Messenger, XVII, August 1851, pp. 457-67 (an exeptionally eloquent outpouring against the intellectual anarchy of the age); 5. Fitzhugh's Sociology for the South, Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, IX, April 1855, pp. 180-201.; 6. Chastel on Charity, Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, X, January 1856, pp. 28-50; 7. Slavery and Freedom, Southern Quarterly Review, I (New series) April 1856, pp. 62-95; 8. Bledsoe on Liberty and Slavery, De Bow's Review, XXI, July 1856, pp. 132-47.

midst of these rather more specifically Southern articles, Holmes at this time produced his series of long and outstanding papers on positivism and Comte's philosophy.[66] This phase of Holmes's work has been thoroughly dealt with by Richmond Hawkins who regards Holmes as having been the most important of Comte's American critics.[67] Suffice it to say that Holmes's exposition of positivism is very much more than competent, although there are points at which he went astray. He failed to appreciate the relevance of the hierarchy of the sciences at first, but later rectified this misunderstanding; with his own somewhat traditional view of theology and metaphysics he misunderstood Comte's usage of these terms; he failed to appreciate the integral nature of the relationship

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66. The following appeared in the Methodist Quarterly Review (New York): Philosophy and Faith, XXXIII, April 1851, pp. 185-218; Faith and Science, XXXIV, January and April 1852, pp. 182-242; Instauration Nova, XXXIV, July 1852; The Bacon of the Nineteenth Century, XXXV, July 1853, pp. 329-54 and October 1853, pp. 489-513; The Positive Religion: or, Religion of Humanity, XXXVI, July 1854, pp. 329-59; Horace Binney Wallace, XXXVI, July 1854, pp. 447-53 (a reply to a letter of Wallace on pp. 132-43, ibid., criticizing Holmes's first article on positivism. Wallace is discussed later in this chapter). Also see: Auguste Comte and Positivism, North British Review, XXI, May 1854, pp. 247-95; The Spirit of Positivism, 1853 (MS in the Library of Congress; written for the Edinburgh Review, but never published). Later articles on Comte: Modern Philosophical Systems, De Bow's Review, I (Revived series), March 1866, pp. 225-38; Comte, Auguste, in McClintock, J., and J. Strong (editors) Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature, New York, Harper & Brothers, Vol. II, 1868, pp. 448-51; and Positivism, ibid., Vol. VIII, 1879, pp. 437-40. In addition Holmes makes passing reference to Comte and positivism in a number of other articles, and in The Science of Society, op.cit.,

67. Hawkins, R.L., op.cit.

between the positive philosophy and the religion of humanity, which he thought Comte added as a deus ex machina because of his feeling for Clothilde de Vaux. With the positive philosophy, and the necessity for a sociology, he was entirely in sympathy; but his Christianity revolted against Comte's denial of revealed religion and the atheistic substitute which he proposed. Especially coming from a man living in the comparative intellectual isolation of the South, Holmes's achievement in these papers is impressive. He was quick to perceive that Comte's real importance lay in his development of a positivistic orientation which was both a result of the times and a scientific quidline for the age. Writing ten years after Comte's death, when Holmes detected a renewed interest in his work, he stated:

> ... his revived influence is due more to the general spirit of his speculations, which he derived from his precursors and shared with his contemporaries, than either to the system of his philosophy, or to the multitudinous volumes in which it was promulgated. Henceforward, all will submit in some measure to the impulsion and domination of Positivism - but few will ever dream of reading the ten thick volumes in which the whole vast project was originally set forth by its illustrious author.[68]

In all these points Holmes was perfectly correct.[69]

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68. August Comte, MS p. 18, Holmes Papers Library of Congress. This is from the MS of the article on Comte which appeared in shortened form in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopedia, op.cit.

69. Holmes recognized that Comte owed an unpaid debt to Saint-Simon, and told him so in his letters. This was at the stage when Comte regarded Condorcet as "mon seul vrai précurseur" and Saint-Simon "extrêmement superficial, quoique ingénieux et seduisant". See Hawkins, R.L., op.cit. p. 115.

If the outcome of all Comte's labours, culminating in the religion of humanity, was to Holmes a disappointment, even more so was the work of Herbert Spencer. His review of Social Statics is an excellent attack on Spencer's individualism.[70] After some rather wild suggestions that Spencer derived all his ideas ultimately from Proudhon,[71] Holmes attacks what he feels to be an erroneous conception of equality, which "... would very soon result in the abnegation of justice altogether, and substitute in its place the reign of might".[72] He sees Spencer's work as an attempt to expose the true laws of perfect social organization, a worthless pursuit: "The doctrine of perfectibility was a dream of the last century; it is a folly in this."[73] Argument from tendencies, to postulate emergent or evolutionary theories, is dangerous and indeed unscientific; as such, Spencer's system

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70. Spencer's Social Statics, Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, X, April 1856, pp. 185-218. An unsigned article; it is included, however, in the incomplete bibliography of Holmes prepared during his lifetime by W.P. Trent, Chapter XV, Writings of the Faculty of the University 1825-1887, in Adams, H.B., Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia. Contributions to American Educational History, No. 2. U.S. Bureau of Education Circular of Information No. 1; Washington, Government Printing Office, 1888.

71. Charges of plagiarism or unacknowledged debt was a favourite device of Holmes. In one of the later articles on Comte he says that all his ideas are present in the work of Jerome Cardan (1501-76) the mathematician.

72. Spencer's Social Statics, loc.cit., p. 190.

73. ibid., p. 197.

collapses if one attacks the unwarranted a priori assumptions:

> Society is a much more complicated and delicate organism than it is conceived to be by Mr. Spencer. The faculties, capacities, and dispositions of men are too various and uncertain to admit of the deductive evolution of social science from abstract axioms, which are derived, not from observation, but from conjecture, or at best from that hasty citation of instances practised by the ancients; that enumeratio simplex which is so distinctly condemned by Bacon.[74]

The root of the whole problem, says Holmes, is Spencer's espousal of individualism: "We cannot reason from the man, and especially from a preconceived class of men, to the functions and operations of society and government. Social action is distinct and dissimilar from individual action, and its laws must be gathered by a careful induction."[75] Once more Holmes was prophetic in his judgment that Spencer's system was "... one of the bubbles of the time, filled with mephitic gas".[76]

Enough has now been said to suggest something of the quality and wide range of Holmes's work. After the Civil War he wrote a large number of school textbooks, the encyclopaedia articles, and yet more journal articles. The latter are on the usual variety of topics, including a series, of book proportions, in The Forum in 1874-75 on Civil Law and on Primitive Law. The perceptive comments on the nature of the nineteenth century continued (although with even less hope after the

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74. ibid., p. 214.

75. ibid., p. 215.

76. ibid., p. 217.

eclipse of slavery), and he produced the first general textbook on sociology in the United States,[77] in the same year as the appearance of Lester Ward's Dynamic Sociology (1883) which for too long has been regarded as the beginning of American sociology. The Science of Society, produced because Holmes did not consider that there was an adequate text in sociology,[78] is the one American textbook in sociology of the nineteenth century that could form a reasonable basis for a present-day introductory course. Neither Spencerian nor Comtian, it relies heavily on ethnological evidence in a general discussion of the nature of society and social institutions (including man's relation to his environment, the idea of progress and civilization, pre-historic man and archaeology, language, primitive economy, marriage and the family, education, the tribe, religion, government and international relations, custom and law, property and property rights, slavery and class).

Holmes's chief contribution to social thought was that of a discerning critic both of his century and of some of its most prominent philosophers. Catholic in his intellectual interests, he remained generally conservative politically. His was not, however, the conservatism of Spencer or Sumner. He recognized the importance of government for societal order,

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77. The Science of Society, op.cit.

78. See the note to the course on the Science of Society in the University of Virginia Catalogue of 1882-83, p. 27.

and although he preferred the idea of private charity, his idea of the role of government in social affairs was in many respects closer to that of Ward than that of Sumner and Spencer (whose laissez-faire bias he said would lead to 'laissez au diable'). He opposed socialism, Fourierism, and most of the other upstart -isms of the day (except paternalism). Without doubt the most erudite man of the South (except in scientific matters, which fact Comte was quick to recognize) his influence was largely localized in that region.[79] The Science of Society appears to have been quite unknown in the North, and in fact there is no evidence that it was ever used as a text at any institution other than the University of Virginia. The articles on positivism must have achieved a wider audience, however, since the Methodist Quarterly Review in which most of them appeared was a New York journal of very high quality and reputation. The Southern journals to which Holmes contributed the majority of his papers had small circulations and most of them struggled manfully against bankruptcy. His views on slavery prevented him from being widely acknowledged in the North.[80] It must have been an eternal

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79. His old University of Durham, however, bestowed upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L. in 1891.

80. In the Holmes Papers at the Library of Congress there is an eloquent letter, 25th March 1851, from D.D. Whedon of the Methodist Quarterly Review praising Holmes for his articles on positivism, but urging him to change his views on the slavery issue: if he does not then the Review can take no more of his work. In fact he continued to publish work in it, the last one 'Friar Bacon and Lord Bacon', appearing in Vol. XL, April 1858.

disappointment to Holmes that he never produced the definitive bases for sociology which he had set for himself in the Orangeburg address of 1842. That he did not is an indication of his awareness of the problems which this involved: many lesser men thought they had achieved this goal merely by stating that they had.

George Fitzhugh (1806-1881), an acquaintance of Holmes, achieved great renown in the South and notoriety in the North for his views on slavery which were put forward as sociology. His views on many issues were so close to those of Holmes that it does seem that they were obtained from his more brilliant contemporary.[81] Fitzhugh was born into an old and distinguished Virginia family which at the time was in poor financial straits. His education accordingly was sporadic

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81. There is a fairly sizeable literature on Fitzhugh provided by modern historians; see, especially, 1. Wish, H., George Fitzhugh, Conservative of the Old South, Southern Sketches No. 11, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 1938. Harvey Wish has expanded this brief sketch into: 2. George Fitzhugh. Propagandist of the Old South. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1943. 3. Leavelle, A.B., and T.I. Cook, George Fitzhugh and the Theory of American Conservatism, Journal of Politics, VII, 1945, pp. 145-68. 4. Wright, B.F., George Fitzhugh on the Failure of Liberty, The Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly, VI, 1925, pp. 219-41. The first recognition of Fitzhugh as a sociologist after his death is contained in Chenery, W.L., A Forgotten Sociologist, The Nation, LXXXIX, November 11th, 1909, p. 457. Fitzhugh's two books have recently been republished: Cannibals All! or Slaves Without Masters, edited by C. Vann Woodward, The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1960; and, in extracts, Sociology for the South and Cannibals All! appear in Ante-Bellum. Writings of George Fitzhugh and Hinton Rowan Helper on Slavery, edited by Harvey Wish, New York, Capricorn Books, 1960. Vann Woodward and Wish provide informative introductions in their respective volumes. At least three theses have also been written on Fitzhugh.

and he did not attend university. After his marriage in 1829 he spent most of his life at Port Royal, the home of his wife's family (Brockenburgh). He became a lawyer, and, like Holmes, made no great success of his profession. His first publication was a pamphlet of very limited circulation, Slavery Justified (1849). He received greater notice with his next effort What Shall be Done with the Free Negroes? (1851), and eventually achieved nationwide fame three years later with Sociology for the South.[82] This shares the distinction of having been the first book in the English language to contain 'sociology' in the title.[83] As a result of its publication he went North for the first time in his life in 1855, having been invited to lecture on slavery in New Haven in the 'People's Course of Lectures'.[84] Wendell Phillips, the outstanding abolitionist, was engaged to reply to Fitzhugh's arguments, which he did without bothering to hear him speak. In the same year Fitzhugh obtained an editorial position on the Richmond Enquirer, the editorials he wrote being incorporated into his second book Cannibals All! (1857). The Enquirer was regarded in the North as one of the foremost newspapers of the Southern cause, and Lincoln subscribed to it to obtain the views

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82. Sociology for the South, or the Failure of Free Societies, Richmond, Va., A. Morris, 1854.

83. The other was by Fitzhugh's compatriot Henry Hughes. His Treatise on Sociology will be discussed below.

84. This was a distinguished lecture series. Emerson and Henry Ward Beecher had been the two previous speakers.

of his adversaries (Lincoln's 'House Divided' speech arose directly from an editorial written by Fitzhugh). In 1856 he became a regular contributor to the militantly Southern De Bow's Review, and continued writing for it until J.D.B. De Bow's death in 1867.[85] Together with editorials for the Richmond Examiner (between 1854 and 1856) and a few pieces for Lippincott's Magazine (in 1869-70) these comprise Fitzhugh's major output. The last article known to have been written by Fitzhugh appeared nine years before his death, which passed practically unnoticed in poverty and ill-health, in the Southern Magazine (Baltimore) in September 1872.

The chief interest in Fitzhugh now lies in the fact that he was possibly the most well-known writer advocating slavery in the South along with James De Bow (that is, excluding the politicians). He is interesting in the context of this study for his espousal of sociology as a framework for his apologia. In a way Sociology for the South was a misnomer since in the Preface Fitzhugh points out that the very idea of a sociology springs out of societies which are in need of cure - that is, 'free' societies without slavery. The South, therefore, according to this view, was surely in no need of sociology. The first chapter contains a sustained attack on political economy with its doctrines of laissez-faire and 'Pas trop

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85. Fitzhugh wrote about 100 articles for De Bow's Review in this time. See the references in Rogers, F.R., Four Southern Magazines, Richmond, Va., 1902.

gouverner'. Adam Smith is vigorously castigated for thinking that societal welfare is best served by having each man pursue his own ends. Locke is similarly dismissed for believing in a social contract. Society precedes man, without which he is nothing: thus man has no rights, being subordinate to the interests of society. The very idea of a 'free society' is a contradiction in terms:

> We use the term free society for want of a better; but, like the term free government, it is an absurdity: those who are governed are not free - those who are free are not social.[86]

Fitzhugh saw slavery as a true kind of socialism:

> A Southern farm is a sort of joint stock concern, or social phalastery [sic], in which the master furnishes the capital and skill, and the slaves the labor, and divide the profits, not according to each one's input, but according to each one's wants and necessities.[87]

It is chiefly this alignment of socialism and slavery that puts Fitzhugh somewhat outside the orthodox Southern views on slavery.[88] In the usual manner Fitzhugh cites instances of the evils and corruptions of free labour systems (many of the references, incidentally, being those which Marx also was to use later in the first volume of Capital) drawing chiefly on European rather than North American sources. That the supply of labour

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86. Sociology for the South, op.cit., p. 33.

87. ibid., p. 48.

88. This is one of the chief points from which G.F. Holmes dissented in his many reviews of Fitzhugh's book, of which in general he approved. See, for example, Fitzhugh's Sociology for the South, Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, IX, April 1855, pp. 180-201.

is often in excess of the demand is enough for Fitzhugh to "... prove that free society is absurd and impracticable".[89] Under slavery all men are cared for; and it is, indeed, a duty of the white man to look after the negro since the latter is childlike and would soon be obliterated in a freely competitive system.

Fitzhugh was a polemicist and given to the expression of phrases which the abolitionists gleefully pounced upon, such as "... some were born with saddles on their backs, and others booted and spurred to ride them - and the riding does them good".[90] He had none of Holmes's scholarly appraisal and academic detachment. Nevertheless he had some prophetic notions. There is, for example, his idea of law as not something applicable for all time, but mutable in the light of circumstances. In this he foreshadowed the school of 'sociological jurisprudence' of Justice Holmes and Brandeis.[91] He had the same idea with regard to language, but carried it to absurdity in the suggestion that dictionaries should not be produced since they tend to ossify language. Despite his admiration for Carlyle, which so many Southerners shared, he entirely disagreed with the Englishman's stress on the role of the great man in history, proclaiming

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89. Sociology for the South, op.cit., p. 78.

90. ibid., p. 179.

91. See Fitzhugh's article Law Reports - Multiplicity of Law Books, De Bow's Review, XXVII, 1859.

instead, like George Frederick Holmes, the conservative view of the continuity of history. He had none of Holmes's insight, however, into the necessity for an empirical social science - merely a social science which would justify slavery was what he required. He made the suggestion (one of the very first) that the University of the South, for which De Bow was campaigning, should contain a professorship of sociology.[92] Another of his more striking ideas was that of 'antinomic pathology'.[93] This is concerned with the 'conflicting and concurrent forces' inherent in any social situation, derived on the one hand from traditional values, and on the other from intuition and feeling. The task of the social scientist is the preservation of a correct balance between the forces - thus, antinomic pathology is a kind of social medicine administered by the sociologist.[94]

More impressive as sociology is the work of Henry Hughes

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92. See Fitzhugh's article The Valleys of Virginia - The Rappahannock. De Bow's Review, XXIX, 1860. The University of the South was to be an institution devoted to the advancement of Southern culture.

93. See the article with that title in Southern Literary Messenger, 35, July 1863, pp. 415-19. This is unsigned, but D.K. Johnson gives the following note on the article: "Mr. J.H. Witty, Richmond, Va., informs me that he owns a copy of the July, 1863, issues, on which is written in ink, 'For Hon. J.A. Seddon with respects of George Fitzhugh. See within. 'Antinomic Pathology'." Johnson, D.K., Contributors and Contributions to the Southern Literary Messenger, Charlottesville, Va., The Historical Publishing Company, 1936.

94. The basic idea is derived not from Hegel, whom Fitzhugh does not seem to have read, but from Newtonian physics with its centrifugal and centripetal forces.

(1829-1862)[95] who produced his one book in the same year as that of Fitzhugh discussed above.[96] Hughes was born in Port Gibson, Mississippi, and received his higher education at Oakland College from which he graduated in 1847. He studied to become a lawyer in New Orleans (1849-51), and sometime after this he paid a visit to Europe where he met, and was greatly impressed by, Auguste Comte. Up to the Civil War he was engaged in law and farming in his home town, and in July 1861 joined the Port Gibson Riflemen as a private and quickly became Colonel in the 12th Mississippi Regiment of Volunteers, which took part in many of the famous engagements of the War. His promising military career was cut short when he contracted 'inflammatory rheumatism' in the Virginia Campaign, and he died October 3rd 1862 at the early age of 33.[97]

The Treatise on Sociology is said to have been begun before Hughes graduated from college in 1847,[98] and quite

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95. See, 1. Duncan, H.G. and W.L. Duncan, The Development of Sociology in the Old South, American Journal of Sociology, XXXIX, 1934, pp. 649-56; 2. Duncan, H.G. and W.L. Duncan, Henry Hughes, Sociologist of the Old South, Sociology and Social Research, XXI, 1936, pp. 244-58; 3. Bernard, L.L., Henry Hughes, First American Sociologist, Social Forces, XV, 1936/37, 154-74.

96. Hughes, H., Treatise on Sociology, Theoretical and Practical, Philadelphia, Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1854.

97. He received a funeral of some magnificance with his caparisoned war-horse leading the procession. See: The Life and Works of Col. Henry Hughes; a Funeral Sermon, preached in Methodist Episcopal Church, Port Gibson, Miss., October 26th, 1862, by Rev. W.D. Moore, Mobile, Farrow and Dennett, Printers, 1863.

98. See the Duncans' article No. 1 mentioned in footnote 95, and Moore's sermon, footnote 97.

possibly finished but not published before he became aware of Comte's sociology. Certainly the use of the word 'sociology' in various forms in the text occurs as if it were an afterthought added after he became acquainted with Comte's works.[99] Although this work is intended as a specific justification of the Southern social system, it is less polemical, and much more original as a piece of creative sociological writing, than that of Fitzhugh. In fact it is the most thorough attempt to systematize sociology and its area of enquiry that was produced in America until Ward's Dynamic Sociology appeared some thirty years later. Sociology is defined as "... the science of societary organization. It is, 1. Theoretical, and, 2. Practical".[100] The book is then divided under these broad headings, most of it being given over to the second part of the definition. It is the first part, however, which contains the most interest sociologically since from it emerges a tightly argued conception of society as a system in a manner approaching similar attempts made in the twentieth century. The primary end of society is the 'existence of all', the secondary end the 'progress of all'. In order to achieve these ends certain means are necessary which Hughes calls 'systems', which are organs or

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99. Apart from the title, 'sociology' is used in the table of contents for headings of Book VI, chapters XI and XII; in the opening sentence of the book (p. 47); within chapter XI, Book VI (p. 286), and in the concluding section on page 291.

100. Treatise on Sociology, op.cit., p. 47.

'contrivances'. The union of a set of systems is an organization which in this case is a society. Subsistence is served by the primary organ, the economic system; and security, by the political system. The function of these two systems, therefore, is to achieve the first ends of society. Both are equally necessary and constitute what Hughes calls the 'ingress of society'. The secondary systems are those which make for the progress of society - hence there are ingressive and progressive systems. The total number of systems, according to Hughes, is seven, the economic and political being "initial, fundamental, and necessary ... the others are secondary and subsequent".[101] The various systems with their ends or functions are as follows:

1. Economic system	subsistence	) Primary
2. Political system	security	)
3. Hygienic system	health	)
4. Philosophic system	education	)
5. Esthetic system	enjoyment	) Secondary
6. Ethical system	morality	)
7. Religious system	religion	)

Dependent upon how any society realizes these ends will be its state of failure or success. If the first two primary systems are deficient then there is an 'essential imperfection'. If there is non-realization of the secondary ends the failure is accordingly secondary since this does not affect the primary ends. Perfection comes about by progress, but all known societies have always had a mixture of partial realizations.

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101. ibid., p. 48.

Ends are achieved in actuality by power and order which are the elements of any system; further subdividing, the elements of order are association, adaptation and regulation; and power in men is either of a mental or a manual kind. In all societies there are these two elements of order and power, necessary for the realization of the societary ends. Association is 'rational gregation', and therefore precedes adaptation which is the making of a rule of action (or legislation), which is executed by regulation, "the actualization of the rule".[102] Power derives from order, and the three classes of mankind defined in terms of power, are 1. mentalists, 2. manual-mentalists, 3. manuals. Thus society to exist and to progress must have order, and this implies duty and 'subjection to the rule'. Duty is inescapable if society is to continue: mankind certainly has freedom of choice over this, but "If its choice is duty, that is liberty; if not, license".[103] Since order is essential in any system there have to be those who order and those whom they order. This can either be achieved in a free or in what Hughes calls a 'warranted' manner; but freedom stems from desire uncurbed by order, and desires are not sufficiently 'universal, apt, or regular' to form the proper bases for action. Thus 'warranteeism' is the method which works best for the realization of societal ends by channelling desire into dutiful action.

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102. ibid., p. 51.

103. ibid., p. 52.

Division of labour, or decomposition of power, is a fundamental law of adaptation. This concept is applied to the seven systems or organs, each of which, therefore, have corresponding 'municipalities' of sovereignty which in modern terms would be called social institutions. In any total system or society at least one of the primary organs must be warranted, and in perfect societies all will be. In 'practical societies', that is those which have existed or do exist, there has not been full warranteeism. Hughes's distinction between practical and perfect societies is analytical in a very modern manner, and there is very little of the utopian in his thought: he constructs a model to which actual or practical societies approximate. His nineteenth century background, however, is apparent in his insistence that "Every imperfect society ought to progress. This is its duty. Its ends ought to be perfectly realized. It must go on to perfection."[104] He goes on to enumerate the laws of progress (of which there are twenty-nine) which are generally rather weak; for example, that progress is the destruction of the bad and the construction of the good (the reader being left to decide what these ethical terms mean). He shows himself a good organicist in laying down that progress in one system must not be at the expense of another,[105] although nowhere in

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104. ibid., p. 69.

105. The Duncans have pointed out how similar is this notion to that of Ogburn's 'cultural lag'. Duncan, H.G. and W.L. Duncan, Henry Hughes, Sociologist of the Old South, loc.cit.

the book is it explicitly stated that the systems are interactive. The remainder of the volume is devoted to Practical Sociology (pp. 79-292) and is an illustration of the theory previously outlined. The term slavery is eschewed in favour of 'warranteeism'.

It is difficult to speculate on the sources of Hughes's ideas since he gives no references at all, and very few quotations. His examples are drawn almost entirely from the Southern states, with mentions of the Common Law of England, and the weregild system.[106] As a total analysis of sociology the work is deficient in that it concentrates almost entirely on the economic and political systems, and thus corroborates the impression put forward earlier that to call the work one of sociology as such was an after thought. Nevertheless, the way in which the economic and political matters are discussed justify Hughes's title of Treatise on Sociology. The style of writing is logical and terse, clearly the work of a man of considerable ability; his premature death was a distinct loss to early sociology since, unlike the writings of Fitzhugh and like those of Holmes, he could well have continued to develop his ideas without the backing of slavery. There are few other writings of Hughes apart from a few addresses and journal articles.[107] Apparently when he died he had

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106. Hughes's legal training is particularly noticeable in Books V and VI where the discussion of rights becomes very involved.

107. He produced A Report on the African Apprentice System, read at the Southern Commercial Convention held at
(footnote continued on next page)

written a book on the American negro which his funeral orator said was in the hands of the printer.[108] This does not seem to have materialized.[109] The Treatise on Sociology itself went practically unnoticed at the time of publication.[110]

Southern writers devoted more and more of their time in defensive outpourings against the attacks of the abolitionists as the conflict grew more irrepressible and finally culminated in the events of 1861. Southern paternalism was lauded in contrast to Northern competition, and slavery justified from every possible source.[111] The arguments of Southern social science were even expressed in poetic form by W.J. Grayson of Charleston, South Carolina, in approximately 1400 lines of excruciating verse,[112] while his namesake W.S. Grayson

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Vicksburg, May 10th 1859. Hughes was chairman of a committee looking into the Southern labour system which in this report recommended the re-opening of the African slave trade. Large parts of the report are copied directly from the Treatise on Sociology.

108. See Moore, W.D., op.cit., p. 23.

109. The Duncans, op.cit., p. 247, state that a large collection of Hughes's manuscripts was destroyed.

110. W.P. Meroney states that this and Fitzhugh's Sociology for the South were used as textbooks in sociology courses. He fails to specify where they were so used or how he came by the information. The idea is a pleasing one, but quite unproven. See, Meroney, W.P., The Use of Textbooks in the Introductory Course in Sociology, Journal of Educational Sociology, VII, 1933, pp. 54-67.

111. See, for example, the 900 page compendium edited by E.N. Elliot, Cotton is King, and Pro-Slavery Arguments, etc., Augusta, Ga., Pritchard, Abbott & Loomis, 1860.

112. The Hireling and the Slave, Charleston, John Russell, 1854. A second edition appeared in 1856.

of Mississippi put forward the decidedly pragmatic point of view that morality is social, right and wrong being decided in terms of the standard by which they are compared. Thus one could not refer to 'natural rights', only to rights founded upon reason or revelation. Slaveholding is not, therefore, morally wrong, although emotionally repugnant. One must not be ruled by emotion, however, since slavery is justified by reason (since slaves are happier than other members of their race not so enslaved), and by revelation.[113] Another interesting production was Social Relations in Our Southern States by Daniel Hundley (1832-1899) a lawyer born in Alabama who attended Harvard after the University of Virginia.[114] With no overt pretension of being a sociological work, written with some wit and a good anecdotal style, this book attempts to describe the South in terms of eight social classes ranging from the Southern Gentleman down to the negro Slave.

There was some published opposition in the South to the prevailing views; that is, apart from the testimonies of escaped slaves,[115] but little indeed that could be called

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113. See Grayson's articles, Civil Liberty, Southern Literary Messenger, XXXI, 1860, pp. 112-16; and, Is Slavery Right? or, Natural and Moral Philosophy Contradistinguished, ibid., XXXI, 1860, pp. 249-56.

114. Social Relations in Our Southern States, New York, Henry B. Price, 1860.

115. See, for example, Frederick Douglass's Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Boston, Published at the Anti-Slavery Office, 1846.

sociological. Hinton Rowan Helper's The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It[116] makes excellent use of the statistics provided by the Census reports to show how far behind the South was in economic production, and in everything else which Helper could think of.[117] Helper was himself a member of the class whom Hundley labelled 'poor-white trash', that is non-slaveowning, from the hills of North Carolina. He was almost as virulently anti-negro as he was anti the southern gentleman; all the problems of the South he regarded as due to the slave system. Helper's book achieved great fame in the North and was used very widely as a propaganda weapon which, indeed, it was intended to be.

The nature of sociology in the South was Aristotelian, traditionalistic, and paternalistic. Generally it was regarded as a discipline which would show the underlying correctness of a particular social system. But in the best of such writing, as in Holmes or Hughes, there was a greater objectivity and an expressed willingness to enter upon empirical investigation.[118] The Civil War terminated most of this incipient sociology, and

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116. New York, Burdick Brothers, 1857.

117. On Helper (1829-1909) see Gilbert, B.F., The Life and Writings of Hinton Rowan Helper, Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, LIII, 1955, pp. 58-75, and Harvey Wish's Introduction, pp. 22-39, to Ante-Bellum, op.cit.

118. It is unfair to suggest as do the Duncans in their 1936 article on Hughes that he was anti-empirical. One of the laws of progress, for instance, contains the statement: "statistics before legislation". Treatise on Sociology, op.cit., p. 72.

it was left to the North to develop the discipline in a different manner.

B. The North

The early writing of a sociological nature in the Northern States tended on the whole to be more utopian in outlook than that of the South. In the South the social thinkers were concerned to show the essential rightness of their own social organization, and any suggestions for its improvement were cautious in tone. There was, in the great majority of such writers, no sense of an underlying malaise; indeed, quite the opposite: for the Southerners the malaise was in the North and in Europe (they ignored what was happening in their own cities of any size, and needless to say, they saw the lot of the negro in a very special, paternalistic light). The 'failure of free societies' was a dictum well furnished by examples from all manner of sources. Within the free society to the North, the complaints at its injustices were hardly less numerous. Here sociology was largely a species of social protest, and it produced some very curious volumes. As is generally true of American sociology in the nineteenth century, the problems of society were seen fundamentally as economic failures. This led to a plethora of schemes for social reconstruction to be brought about by reforms in currency, in labour relations and in property. Often there were violent attacks on religious institutions, attacks which were sometimes

virulently atheistic: not a prevailing tendency of either Southern sociology or of later sociology as it was taught in the universities. The early Northern sociologists tended to be men of haphazard education, having few connections with persons in power or high social position. In this latter deprivation they were, once again, distinguished from their Southern opposites who formed the subject of the first part of this chapter. Tucker, Washington, Holmes, Fitzhugh, Hughes were all connected with leading Southern families; few of the men discussed below could claim such distinguished backgrounds. Southern sociology was an affirmation of a social system, whereas that of the North was a protest against existing conditions. If in the South the philosophical mainstay was Aristotle, aided by Burke, in the North it was Plato, abetted by Fourier. The links, however, were Comte, and the idea of a social science.

The influence of Charles Fourier (1772-1837) and Robert Owen (1771-1858) was very considerable on the proponents of social science in the North. Fourier particularly was regarded by many as the most seminal thinker of all time. One of the first Americans to expound his views was Albert Brisbane (1809-1890), a regular contributor to Horace Greeley's liberal paper the New York Tribune in which he had relayed Fourier's ideas of industrial organization to the American public. Brisbane was somewhat untypical of the Northern sociologists

in that he came from a wealthy family (his father was a New York landowner) and spent some time studying in Europe, coming into contact with Victor Cousin, Guizot, and Hegel, as well as with Fourier himself. There is little originality in Brisbane's work, but he is mentioned here for his tireless labours in the exposition of Fourier's ideas of association and industry as the true social science. Among his works in this vein are the lengthy Social Destiny of Man,[119] Association; or, A Concise Exposition of the Practical Part of Fourier's Social Science,[120] and the General Introduction to Social Science.[121] The Exhortation on the title page of Association gives the general flavour of Brisbane's concerns:

> Not through hatred, collision, and depressing competition; not through War, whether of Nation against Nation, Class against Class, or Labor against Capital; but through union, Harmony, and the reconciling of all interests, the giving scope to all noble Aspirations, is the Renovation of the world, the Elevation of the degraded and suffering Masses of Mankind, to be sought and effected.

Similarly infected with Fourierism was Henry Hamlin Van Amringe[122] who acknowledged his debt to Brisbane, among others

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119. Philadelphia, C.F. Stollmeyer, 1840.

120. New York, Greeley & McElrath, J.S. Redfield; Philadelphia, Burgess & Zieber; Boston, Redding & Co.; Albany, George Jones, (For the Friends of Association), 1843.

121. Part First - Introduction to Fourier's Theory of Social Organization by Albert Brisbane. Part Second - Social Destinies by Charles Fourier, New York, C.P. Somerby, 1876. The work by Fourier had been first published in 1808.

122. The present writer has not been able to uncover any biographical details of Van Amringe.

including William Godwin, in his Association and Christianity.[123] This work is noteworthy as an early contribution in the Social Gospel mold,[124] and as the lengthy title suggests it is a demonstration of the harmony of Fourierite socialism and true Christian morality. Fourier is hailed as the one writer to have provided the world with an analysis of scientific principles upon which society can be reorganized. All socialistic thinking, to Van Amringe, is a proper working out of the Christian doctrine of brotherly love, which has been twisted to the advantage of owners at the expense of producers by religious institutions. Strong words are used to describe the 'City of Antagonism' which is manifested in modern urban centres with their poverty, crime and starvation contrasting with their great wealth. All this can be rectified on the basis of scientific principles announced by Fourier. Van Amringe has some romantic and colourful notions of man joined to man dressed in shining white marching joyfully, singing hymns to the praise of God, on to the promised land of Associationism.[125] In powerful language he describes the bases of modern society: selfishness, bigotry and superstition.

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123. Association and Christianity, Exhibiting the Anti-Moral and Anti-Christian Character of the Churches and the Social Relations in Present Christendom, and Urging the Necessity of Industrial Association, Founded on Christian Brotherhood and Unity, Pittsburgh, J.W. Cook, 1845.

124. The relations between sociology and the Social Gospel in later years are discussed in Chapter V below.

125. See, ibid., p. 41.

> The poor live on the vices of the rich, and the rich amass treasure by appropriating to themselves the wealth created by the labor of the poor. There is a fierce antagonism between the two classes. Capital being better organized than labor, having its extensive partnerships, its boards of trade and exchange, its banks and other incorporations; having time, opportunity, learning and pecuniary resources; having possession of Courts, and of Legislatures, of Churches, and of Seminaries, has always had tremendous advantage in every conflict with labor. Labor unorganized, anarchical, uneducated, with inefficient associations, and under the disabilities of adverse social relations, has, in every country, experienced a mountain load upon its shoulders, crushing it down.[126]

Van Amringe had no particular church affiliation, although one admiring chapter is devoted to Swedenborg.[127]

A reaction to the collectivistic ideas of Fourier and Owen was manifested by Josiah Warren (1798-1874), musician by trade, printer, and utopian by inclination.[128] Warren was a member of Owen's colony at New Harmony, Indiana, 1825 to 1826, but quickly became disillusioned by the suppression of initiative and the erosion of individuality that seemed to him implicit in the communistic organization. A man of extremes, he completely reversed the doctrine and began to propound the 'Sovereignty of the Individual' and the economic principle of 'cost the limit of price'. In order to demonstrate the

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126. ibid., p. 13.

127. He stated: "I accord no more with the Swedenborg Church, than I do with the other denominations." ibid., p. 75.

128. See, Bailie, W., Josiah Warren, The First American Anarchist. A Sociological Study, Boston, Small, Maynard & Company, 1906.

feasibility of his ideas he set out to actualize them in practical experiments. The first of these was the equity store which he opened in Cincinnati (18th May, 1827). It was known as the 'time Store' on account of its principle of retailing: items were bought at cost price, plus an additional sum calculated on the basis of the time effort expended by the shopkeeper in his service to the customer. This store, after a dismally slow start, eventually became highly successful and it was run for two years. After various projects Warren established the village of Equity in Tuscarrawas County, Ohio, early in 1835. The area was found to be malarial and it was abandoned in 1837; he went back to New Harmony (by now a Fourierite phalanx) and opened another successful equity store there in 1842, which lasted until 1844. In 1847 the Clare-mont Phalanx (Fourierite) failed, and once more Warren moved in and renamed the village, Utopia. In 1848 he wrote of this:

> We build on Individuality. Any differences between us confirm our position. Differences, therefore, like the admissible discords in music, are a valuable part of our harmony.[129]

During this part of his varied career, but just before founding Utopia, Warren expounded his views in Equitable Commerce.[130]

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129. Quoted in Bailie, ibid., p. 54. It is interesting to note here and elsewhere in his writings how far Warren was influenced by his musical training in his social ideas.

130. Published in 1847, and 1849, and again, revised, with a preface by Stephen Pearl Andrews, as Equitable Commerce. A New Development of Principles as Substitutes for Laws and Governments, for the Harmonious Adjustment and Regulation of the Pecuniary, Intellectual, and Moral Intercourse of Mankind. Proposed as Elements of New Society. New York,
(footnote continued on next page)

In this, the problems to be solved are as follows:

I. The proper, legitimate and just reward of labor.

II. Security of person and property.

III. The greatest practicable amount of freedom to each individual.

IV. Economy in the production and uses of wealth.

V. To open the way for each individual to the possession of land, and all other natural wealth.

VI. To make the interests of all to co-operate with and assist each other, instead of clashing with and counteracting each other.

VII. To withdraw the elements of discord, of war, of distrust and repulsion, and to establish a prevailing spirit of peace, order, and social sympathy.[131]

The solutions lie in the sovereignty of the individual and cost-price notions, backed by a circulating medium founded on the cost of labour, and the adaptation of supply to meet demand.

In 1850 Warren moved to New York City where he met Stephen Pearl Andrews who was to become his most able lieutenant. Together they founded the village of Modern Times on Long Island, situated in the worst site they could have chosen: the soil was worthless, and the supply of lumber non-existent. Through Andrews the village got a great deal of publicity, notably in the New York Tribune, and it attracted an extra-

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Fowlers and Wells, 1852. This was republished, with only slight changes, as True Civilization: A Subject of Vital and Serious Interest to All People; but most immediately to the Men and Women of Labor and Sorrow. Princeton, Mass., Benjamin R. Tucker, 1875.

131. Equitable Commerce, edition of 1852, p. XI.

ordinary collection of social misfits (since it was founded on individuality, nothing could be done to stop them coming).[132] An interesting member of the village, which changed its name to Brentwood on account of all the adverse comments, was Henry Edger (1820-1888) who organized a Positivist Society there in 1854. Edger was Comte's most eager American convert to the religion of humanity, and a man of considerable intelligence.[133]

In the preface to the 1852 edition of Equitable Commerce Stephen Pearl Andrews (1812-1886) wrote of that work:

> I do not hesitate to affirm that there is more scientific truth, positively new to the world, and immensely important in its bearings upon the destiny of mankind, contained in it, than was ever before consigned to the same number of pages. I am conscious that I am guilty of no extravagance in predicting that such will be the estimate placed by posterity upon the discoveries of Mr. Warren.[134]

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132. These included a man advocating polygyny, a nudist, a woman who "with an ungainly form displayed herself in public in men's attire... Still another young woman had the diet mania so severely that after trying to live on beans without salt until reduced almost to a skeleton she died within a year." Bailie, W., op.cit., p. 61. Moncure Conway, visiting the village in 1858, said he did not know whether it was "to be reached by railroad or rainbow", in the Fortnightly Review, No. 4, July 1865, p. 421.

133. Comte called Edger's pedestrian little volume The Positivist Calendar (Modern Times 1856) "the most profound work on positivism that has ever been published" in a letter to its author, November 20th 1856, quoted p. 180, in Hawkins, R.E. Positivism in the United States (1853-1861), Harvard University Press, Published under the direction of the Department of French and other Romance Languages and Literatures, Vol. XV, 1938. Comte had great hopes for the colony on Long Island, thinking it would become the 'religious link between Paris and the New World'. In fact Edger made ten converts in five years; four of these were members of his own family. Comte's practice of 'cerebral hygiene' never allowed him to appreciate how his religion was really faring in the United States.

134. Equitable Commerce, edition of 1852, p. V.

In this, and in much else besides, was Andrews guilty of gross extravagance. The son of a revivalist Baptist minister, he was educated at Amherst College, and subsequently left the North for New Orleans where he became a lawyer of means and a slaveholder (he was later converted to abolitionism and became an active member of the Liberty Party).[135] Before he met Josiah Warren in New York, whither he had by that time removed, he was a great admirer of Fourier. He remained such, but as the quotation above shows, it was upon Warren that the ultimate accolade of approval was bestowed. Owen, Saint-Simon and Fourier he regarded as having done good work in the effort to solve social problems, but unlike Warren, they were utopians:

> ... To them is fairly due the birth of the idea, that the constitution of human society is, like every other department of nature, a fitting realm for scientific investigation.[136]

They had gone astray, however, by smothering the individual in a complexity of institutions by trying to "regulate men by legislation, instead of trusting to men to regulate themselves and their relations to each other by a knowledge of principles".[137] Thus he thought that the former trio had suggested ideas merely; to Warren was all credit due for having demonstrated the

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135. See, Wish, H., Stephen Pearl Andrews, American Pioneer Sociologist, Social Forces, XIX, 1941, pp. 477-82.

136. Equitable Commerce, edition of 1852, p. VI.

137. ibid., p. V.

scientific validity of his ideas.

The 'principles' of which Andrews writes were enunciated to the world in a series of lectures delivered before the New York Mechanics Institute during the winter of 1850-51.[138] In the preface to the published version of the lectures Andrews wrote:

> The propriety of the use of the term 'Science', in such a connection, may be questioned by some whom habit has accustomed to apply that term to a much lower range of investigation. If researches into the habits of beetles and tadpoles, and their localities and conditions of existence, are entitled to the dignified appellation of Science, certainly similar researches into the nature, the wants, the adaptations, and, so to speak, into the true or requisite moral and social habitat of the spiritual animal called Man, must be, if conducted according to the rigid methods of scientific induction from observed facts, equally entitled to that distinction.[139]

In an age of uncertainty, man must seek to discover the true bases of social harmony, for which all existing institutions must be called into question. Andrews's anarchic balance is kept ever busy, and most things are found wanting. From past ages, however, is extracted the supreme principle of the sovereignty of the individual which is expressed in different forms in Protestantism (by Luther), in Democracy (chiefly in the Declaration of Independence), and in French socialism. Andrews believed that the time had now come when this principle

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138. Published as The Science of Society - No. 1. The True Constitution of Government in the Sovereignty of the Individual as the Final Development of Protestantism, Democracy, and Socialism, New York, William J. Baner, 1851.

139. ibid., p. VI.

could be divorced of its historical manifestations and shown to be the one scientifically valid basis for man's existence. All institutions demanding conformity are doomed to failure since individuality is indestructible except by death. Only the individual knows the 'determining force of his own attractions', so he has to decide for himself what he should do, always assuming that he is responsible for the consequences of his own actions. Progress means the tendency to individualize; in religion this means the creation of sects: "With the multiplication of sects grows the spirit of toleration..."[140] In politics greater democracy means less government control since true democracy is identical with individual determination. Unity only grows out of diversity, and the recognition of individuality in all spheres will bring proper harmony into social relationships. The principles of equity and mutual co-operation open opportunity to all, and talent and industry are duly rewarded on a sound basis. In the fashion of Herbert Spencer, Andrews states that government must be reduced to "a board of overseers of roads and canals, and such other unimportant interests as experience shall prove, can not be so readily managed by irresponsible action".[141]

The Science of Society - No. 2. appeared two years later.[142]

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140. ibid., pp. 25-26.

141. ibid., p. 59.

142. The Science of Society - No. 2 Cost the Limit of Price. A Scientific Measure of Honesty in Trade, as One of the Fundamental Principles in the Solution of the Social Problem, New York, Fowlers and Wells, 1853. A British edition appeared as late as 1913 (London, C.W. Daniel).

This is largely an exposition of Warren's Equitable Commerce, concentrating on the doctrine of 'cost the limit of price'. As science, the principles are objectively true, and lead to the good life if only people will recognize their truth. The discipline of political economy, says Andrews, fails since it is only interested in abstract matters, quite forgetting the people involved; thus a subject is needed embracing "the interests of men growing out of their interrelations with each other",[143] that is, a social science which is to be based upon the sentiment of Love. This was a theme to which Andrews turned his attention in another work published in the same year.[144] Love, Marriage and Divorce contains an attack by Andrews upon Horace Greeley who had refused to publish any more of his work (in the Tribune) due to the ultra radical tone it was assuming. Greeley is said to have quite misunderstood Fourier "who was really about the most remarkable genius who has yet lived"[145] and Josiah Warren, the

> Euclid of Social Science... Every beneficent, successful and permanent Social Institution ever hereafter erected, must rest upon the principles which have been discovered and announced by him. There is no alternative...[146]

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143. ibid., p. 14.

144. Love, Marriage and Divorce, and the Sovereignty of the Individual. A Discussion by Henry James, Horace Greeley, and Stephen Pearl Andrews: including the Final Replies of Mr. Andrews, Rejected by the Tribune. New York, Stringer and Townsend, 1853.

145. ibid., p. 9.

146. ibid., p. 12.

In the first volume of The Science of Society Andrews had said that the only subjects for legislation in society were those of marriage and parental relations. Even this is called into question in this later work on the family. He asks the functional questions: is it necessary to have a family institution 1. to maintain sexual purity of intercourse, 2. to give proper care to children, and 3. to give support and protection to the weaker sex? He reduces the standard arguments to a tautology: "1. The Marriage Institution is sacred because it is Indispensable to the Preservation of Purity. 2. Purity is the Preservation of the Marriage Institution."[147] In the case of the rearing of children, this could just as well be done in 'unitary nurseries' staffed by nurses to allow the mothers to follow their own interests (thus displaying their sovereignty as individuals). As for the protection of the weaker sex:

> Shut up to the necessity of this continuous and exhausting endurance, wives have the same motive that slaves have for professing contentment, and smile deceitfully while the heart swells indignantly, and the tear trembles in the eye.[148]

No institution is too sacred for searching and objective examination:

> I regard marriage as being neither better nor worse than all other of the arbitrary and artificial institutions of Society - contrivances to regulate Nature instead of studying her laws. I ask for the complete

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147. ibid., p. 17.

148. ibid., p. 19.

> emancipation and self-ownership of Woman, simply as I ask the same for Man.[149]

For all his excesses and extremes there is something about Andrews's work that lifts it above other comparable contemporary writings. He has great intelligence and incisiveness, and clearly recognized the expedient nature of social institutions. His enthusiasm for Warren's ideas was misguided in that there was no more necessity for his principles than there was for those of anyone else. It was true, however, that Warren's equity shops really had worked. As time went on Andrews grew more and more eccentric, and in 1872 he produced one of the most extraordinary books of an extraordinary century expounding his views on the totality of knowledge in his general science of Universology.[150] This is an incredible amalgam of Comte, Fourier, Hegel, Kant, J.S. Mill, Pythagoras, Swedenborg (who receives the most references), and practically all other philosophers in over nine hundred well-filled pages. The 'discovery' of Universology is said to have occurred in 1865, expressing the principle of 'unity in variety'. It is an attempt to integrate all human knowledge

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149. ibid., p. 48.

150. The Basic Outline of Universology. An Introduction to the Newly Discovered Science of the Universe; its Elementary Principles; and the First Stages of their Development in the Special Sciences. Together with Preliminary Notices of Alwato (ahl-wah-to), the Newly Discovered Scientific Universal Language Resulting from the Principles of Universology. New York, Dion Thomas, 1872.

and starts by classifying the sciences, with acknowledgment to Comte, but including such 'sciences' as phrenology and spiritualism (Universology is also a religious doctrine, like Comte's positivism). Some seventy pages are devoted to the vocabulary of the new science, containing 147 'isms, 69 'oids (including, for example, concentrico-planoid 'relating to the onion-like arrangements of Planoids'), and 90 'ologies (for example, Logicismology[151]), and Universology itself is divided into Cosmology (or the world of matter), Pneumatology (world of spirit) and Anthropology (world of man, within which falls sociology). The whole collection of questionable generalizations and preposterous analogies, as well as the style of language and printing layout, suggests that Andrews was clearly in a state of mental unbalance at this time; with more sanity the volume could be regarded as a scientific equivalent to Walt Whitman's inclusive spirit in the literary world; but as it stands, it necessitates a prolonged search to find valuable ideas. These there are: for example, his notion of type, symbol and form being echoed in all departments of the universe, and thus affecting man's perception of it, is not so fanciful as his own presentation of it would appear if later researches of Durkheim, Granet, Dorothy Lee and so on in the fields of

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151. "The Science of the Logicismus or of that Domain of Being and of the Administration of Affairs in the Universe at large, or in Minor Spheres ... Contrasts with Arbitrismology", ibid., p. lxxxi.

language, art forms, time and space are considered. Andrews went on to develop a weird notion of 'vital power' as the directing source in the universe (at a time when spiritualism was fashionable). The effort involved in attempting to unravel his notions would appear to be quite out of proportion to their value.[152] One other fact about Andrews is worthy of mention: he suggested to Fitzhugh of Virginia, and George Frederick Holmes that they should collaborate on a textbook in sociology 'broad enough to cover North and South'. The venture came to nothing, which is hardly surprising considering the Southerners' aversion to anarchic thought.[153] Holmes in fact critically reviewed Andrews's Science of Society in the article 'Spencer's Social Statics' referred to previously.[154]

The readers of the Basic Outline of Universology were recommended by Andrews to take serious note of a certain volume "... perhaps the nearest approach to the actual discovery of Universology which has been made, apart from the discovery itself".[155] He was referring to James O'Connell's

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152. Some seemed to accept Universology since at the end of the book is a list of 133 subscribers mostly in New York, but including the 'Rector of the University of Madrid'. Other publications of Andrews, mostly before he published the volumes on the science of society, were various 'phonographic' exercize books (he introduced the Pitman shorthand system to America) and textbooks in the French and Chinese languages.

153. See, Wish, H., Stephen Pearl Andrews. American Pioneer Sociologist, loc.cit.

154. See this chapter, footnote 70.

155. Basic Outline of Universology, op.cit., p. 629.

materialistic work Vestiges of Civilization[156] which Professor Hawkins has described as the first book written in the United States under the influence of Comte's doctrines. It was written in the short space of two months in 1849 and published anonymously two years later.[157] Mankind is on the threshold, says O'Connell, of the Ages of Science:

> It brings to man the saving truth and the resting term from those blind disorders which have hitherto beset his social and his mental career; but the boon is offered him on condition that he shall be, this time, his own redeemer.[158]

The logical predecessor for a true science of society is a philosophy of history, of which the French are the leading exponents. The writing of history has no specific criteria, so that there is complete chaos in interpretation: science needs systematization, and the time is now ripe for this to occur in the field of scientific history, the outlines having been provided most eminently by Vico and Comte. Thus O'Connell's aim is to provide

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156. Vestiges of Civilization; or, the Aetiology of History, Religious, Aesthetical, Political, and Philosophical. New York and London, H. Bailliere; Paris, J.B. Baillière, 1851.

157. Nothing seems to be known of O'Connell; he corresponded with Comte "who is the greater Newton, succeeding the great Kepler, of social and universal science" (Vestiges, op.cit., p. 26), but the series of letters terminated after O'Connell had expressed in very strong terms his disappointment at Comte's religion of humanity (see, Hawkins, R.L., Auguste Comte and the United States, op. cit., c. p. 44).

158. Vestiges, op.cit., p. 9.

> ... an unprecedented exposition, professing to trace consecutively the footprints of the Human Mind, from the infancy of society up to its present point of civilitude, and to indicate its necessary direction and destination.159

The process of civilization displays three distinct phases operating firstly on the physical world of nature, secondly on the moral world of man, and finally on the logical world of the 'real' relations between the first two. In other words man comes progressively to dominate nature by uncovering the reality of laws which he turns to his advantage. Slightly renaming Comte's stages, O'Connell labels his: 1. Mythological, 2. Metaphysical, and 3. Scientific. These stages are then analyzed for their substantive manifestations of sensation, reflection and reasoning: the most advanced civilizations are said to be in stage two, and just beginning to enter the third stage. The author has an obsession with multiplies of the number three so that his classificatory schemes generally are reduced to nine factors (that is three horizontally and three vertically). O'Connell claims his schemes to be inductive, but the figure three always seems to be provided conveniently by nature. The general science of sociology, for instance, includes the study of man, animals and vegetables (since man is dependent upon the latter two for survival), and within the 'Philosophy of Human Institutions' there are three stages

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159. ibid., p. 29. The reference to 'footprints' explains the title of the book, which is intended as a direct echo of Robert Chambers's popular exposition of geological evolution Vestiges of Creation which had received its first American edition in 1845.

of economy (although only two, the hunting-gathering and the cultivation stages, are actually mentioned). There is a three-fold 'stage of progressive complication in government': patriarchal, monarchical and republican. The convolutions of O'Connell's complex scheme eventually overcame him, and he never discussed the scientific stage. The book is full of contradictions (for example, at one point he states that in cultivation man passes from a vegetable cultivation to animal husbandry; four pages on he states that it is vegetable cultivation that is the later stage[160]) and passages of great confusion, as the chapter in which hetries to refute Berkeley in an analysis of 'cosmical nature' or the harmony of mind and matter. Nevertheless the work is of some interest and has some saving features, for instance the attempt to dismiss faculty psychology (O'Connell says there is only one faculty - perception), and the denial of scientific validity to phrenology.

A more cogent thinker involved in the study of Comte was Horace Binney Wallace (1817-1852). Educated at the University of Pennsylvania and at Princeton, he was a man of wide interests and brilliant intellect.[161] He first met Comte in Paris on

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160. See ibid., pp. 291 and 925.

161. A Lawyer by profession, Wallace produced a series of standard case textbooks. Information on his short life is to be found in a memoir and series of obituaries in the collection of papers by Wallace published posthumously as Art, Scenery and Philosophy, Being Fragments from the Port-Folio of the late Horace Binney Wallace, Esquire, of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, Herman Hooker, 1855. He commited suicide in Paris at the age of 35. His friends thought that had he lived he would have devoted an increasing amount of his time to sociology.

1st April 1851. Comte had a high regard for him, considering him to be a convert to the religion of humanity, which in fact he was not.[162] Wallace's claim to attention in the present context is based on a few passages in his essays (which are largely devoted to literary and art criticism) and the article, unpublished in his lifetime, in the Methodist Quarterly Review in which he discusses Comte's work and Holmes's interpretation of it.[163] Wallace has more in common with the conservative Southerners than with the socialistic and anarchic Northerners discussed in this chapter; in the political field his favourite author was Edmund Burke, and he had no faith in the wisdom of government by democratic majority. It was, however, Comte's positivism that attracted him rather than the Frenchman's plans for social reconstruction which, like most contemporary critics, he regarded as "a complete departure from the principles of the positive method".[164] Comte, like Bacon, was a genius at abstract and logical reasoning, but again like Bacon he was quite incompetent when it came to 'practical sagacity in

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162. This was one of Comte's frequent delusions of the success of his religion in the United States. He was presumably misled by the fact that Wallace subscribed (as did G.F. Holmes) to his fund. Henry Edger's The Positivist Calendar, op.cit., was dedicated to Wallace.

163. This article is introduced by the editor of the Review, J. McClintock, and entitled Horace Binney Wallace, Methodist Quarterly Review, XXXVI, 1854, pp. 132-42. It was reprinted with the title 'Comte's Philosophy' in Art, Scenery and Philosophy, op.cit., pp. 331-45.

164. Methodist Quarterly Review, loc.cit., p. 141.

investigation'. Wallace was quick to point out that Holmes had misunderstood the relevance of the hierarchy of the sciences, as well as the law of the three stages. He goes on to show in what respect his own views differ from those of Comte, namely in Comte's atheism:

> In my view, the positive system is a certain and universal method; and religion - the religion revealed to the Church and recorded in the inspired Scriptures - is a reality as certain as life itself; and the correct application of the positive method to the subject of religion, so far from upsetting, will verify and demonstrate the catholic faith.[165]

Wallace, therefore, believed that the ultimate end of the positive philosophy would be the demonstration of the truth of revealed Christianity; as it would also in politics be the true answer in the combat against "the disorganizing maxims and passions of the revolutionary and destructive parties of the day".[166] In his reply to Wallace's criticism, Holmes stated that Wallace should not call himself a positivist since belief in Christianity precludes this. Holmes saw the need of a more all-embracing metaphysic, a 'modernized and Christianized Aristotelianism'. Holmes certainly recognized Wallace's incisiveness, however, and concluded by saying:

> I would rather feed upon the broken bread from such a table than upon the stalled oxen of such pompous and imbecile philosophers as Whewell, Morell, and the juvenile Eclectics, French, English or American.[167]

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165. ibid., pp. 140-41.

166. ibid., p. 142.

167. Methodist Quarterly Review, XXXVI, July 1854, p. 453.

Another writer of wide range who became involved in proclaiming the necessity for a social science was George Henry Calvert (1803-1889) who produced a great quantity of poetry, as well as literary studies (chiefly of German and English romantic poets), a translation of the correspondence of Goethe and Schiller, a translation of Joseph Joubert's Pensées, an edition of selected essays on phrenology, and one volume devoted to social science.[168] Calvert's aim in this was to show the necessity for industrial reorganization, which would result in a general social reorganization. This was to be done by making daily work 'vital with justice and love', "to make all our work a communion with God - this is the aim of Social Science".[169] Calvert is thus an early contributor, with Van Amringe, to the Social Christianity movement. Like Van Amringe he distrusted present-day organized religion ("a lifeless mechanism, a social conventionalism, a worldly armory")[170] and considered that hope for the world lay in the amalgamation of Fourier's doctrines with those of Christianity. "Socialism is the outcome of Christianity... Socialism is scientific Christianity."[171] The

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168. Introduction to Social Science. A Discourse in Three Parts. New York, Redfield, 1856.

169. ibid., p. 15.

170. ibid., p. 12.

171. ibid., p. 144.

latter is true since God's Being may be conceived of as a ceaseless evolution of truth which man by his intellect progressively uncovers. Man's recognition of this truth is impeded by the 'coldness of custom', but great men who discover the laws are "... the embassadors [sic] from the Divine Majesty, the chief ministers of his will".[172] The ultimate point in progress is reached with the establishment of the science of sciences, that of human society, in the field of which Fourier is the 'moral Columbus', that is, the one person who has charted a course to redress the evils of society. The fundamental law within the science is that of work:

> Therein is the solution of the social problem. So order industrial relations that each one shall do all the various work whereof he or she is capable, and you transform society from the purgatory which it now is to most, into a heaven more heavenly than has ever been fabled.[173]

Civilization is defined in terms of the way in which work is organized. The 'multiplication and enlargement of work' leads to the division of labour, and this requires mutual co-operation among men, or 'association' as Fourier termed it. Calvert has an optimistic view of human nature, regarding the role of government to be solely protective: mutuality in the work situation of itself breeds the harmony which cannot be achieved through legislation. Calvert makes it clear that he is not putting forward hypotheses, but laws and 'principles in Nature'.

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172. ibid., p. 32.

173. ibid., p. 96.

He differed from many of the socialists in advocating only a community of interests, and no community of goods, since the desire for "individual, exclusive, absolute possession is inborn",[174] a natural fact not to be tampered with. Like the socialists, however, he deprecated charity since it "increases poverty and immorality by decreasing self-respect and self-reliance"[175] which are only to be gained through the satisfaction of industry.

The various panaceas for the reconstruction of society were provided at an increasing rate in the Northern States, and often with increasing eccentricity. Calvin Blanchard, fervent admirer of Thomas Paine of whom he wrote a biography, described himself as "a student of August Comte" and wrote a series of volumes just before the Civil War describing how positivistic sociology would initiate heaven on earth, support for this idea being derived from Feuerbach: if supernaturalism is but the extension of a terrestrial condition, then the only true religion was one which was firmly grounded on earth.[176]

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174. ibid., p. 132.

175. ibid., p. 146. Calvert's emphasis on self-determination frequently appears to owe not a little to the ideas of the New England transcendentalists. The only sources to which he refers at all frequently, however, are the Bible and the works of Fourier.

176. See, for example, Religio-Political Physics: or, The Science of Man's Deliverance from Ignorance-Engendered Mysticism, and its Resulting Theo-Moral Quackery and Governmental Brigandage. New York, Published by Calvin Blanchard, 1861.

Lewis Masquerier thought that he had found the answer in the redistribution of land into townships six miles square further subdivided into plots of not less than ten acres for each family, thus providing a rural city over the whole face of the earth.[177] Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward (first published in 1888) achieved enormous success, becoming one of the best-selling books in American history, and stimulating a large number of other novels in similar vein. Two of these were written by Albert Chavannes (1836-1903),[178] who was born in Switzerland but settled early in Tennessee.[179] Chavannes edited a journal, The Sociologist, which appeared monthly during the years 1883-86. This was one of the first journals in the world devoted to the science of sociology.[180]

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177. See, Sociology: or, The Reconstruction of Society, Government, and Property ... etc., New York, Published by the Author, 1877.

178. The True Commonwealth or What Samuel Balcom saw in Socioland, New York, True Nationalist Publishing Company, 1892; and, In Brighter Climes, or Life in Socioland. A Realistic Novel. Knoxville, The New Thought Library, 1895. Chavannes called the capital city of Socioland Spencer.

179. On Chavannes, see: Knox, J.B., The Concept of Exchange in Sociological Theory: 1884 and 1961, Social Forces, 41, 1963, pp. 341-46. This is an attempt to contrast the ideas of Chavannes with those of George Homans.

180. It was preceded by at least three others: Archiv für systematische Philosophie und Soziologie, Berlin from 1868; La Science Sociale, Paris from 1876; and, Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie und Soziologie, Leipzig from 1877. There were various other journals of a more general social scientific nature: in America, Social Science Review, from 1865; and, Journal of Social Science, from 1869. (This became the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in 1890.)

Chronologically this survey of some of the early Northern activities in sociology has arrived at the point at which the subject became academically respectable under the patronage of the universities. The Northern proto-sociologists were largely extremists of one sort or another and had little influence in academic circles. They do indicate, however, the sort of climate within which sociology developed, and their basic concern to purify society was, in the main, the abiding force behind the more respectable sociology of the colleges. The one non-academic social scientist who did have a direct influence on the early teaching of sociology was the Pennsylvania protectionist Henry Charles Carey (1793-1897) whose work The Principles of Social Sciences[181] was well regarded by Robert Ellis Thompson who taught the first specific course in social science, at the University of Pennsylvania. The following chapter, accordingly, will document the beginnings of sociology teaching from this point.

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181. 3 Vols., Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott, 1858-60. On Carey see: Green, A.W., Henry Charles Carey. Nineteenth Century Sociologist, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951. Carey inspired what amounted to a 'school' of protectionist political economists, among whom was R.E. Thompson; see the Bernard's Origins of American Sociology, op.cit.

Chapter III

THE INTRODUCTION OF SOCIOLOGY INTO HIGHER EDUCATION

A. From the Beginnings until 1885

The first person to teach a course specifically under the name of Social Science in America was Robert Ellis Thompson (1844-1924), a native of County Down, at the University of Pennsylvania.[1] Thompson, a Presbyterian clergyman, was appointed as Instructor in Mathematics at the age of 24 in 1868. Despite this title, however, in 1869-70 he began teaching social science as part of the English requirement for seniors. Recognition of his major interest came in 1874 when he was given the title Professor of Social Science. His course, which attempted to embrace the whole field of the social sciences, severed its connection with senior English in 1878, and thus achieved autonomous status. That the University of Pennsylvania was in the forefront of social

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1. R.E. Thompson graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1865. At this University he was: Instructor in Mathematics 1868-1871; Assistant Professor of Mathematics 1871-74; Professor of Social Science 1874-83; Professor of History and English Literature 1883-92. After leaving Pennsylvania he refused the Presidency of Northwestern University and became President of the Philadelphia High School. He was a guest lecturer at Harvard 1884-5, at Yale 1886-7, and L.P. Stone Lecturer at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1890. He edited the Penn Monthly 1870-80, The American 1880-90, and the first two volumes of the Encyclopedia Americana, and wrote an early textbook, Social Science and National Economy, Philadelphia, Porter and Coates, 1875.

science promotion was evidenced three years later when Joseph Wharton, a wealthy businessman, founded the Wharton School of Finance. This was the first business school of collegiate rank in the world (the next such schools were those at Chicago and California, both founded in 1898). Thompson was the first Professor of Political Economy at the Wharton School, and continued to teach his social science course until 1892, when he was dismissed from the University, amidst student protests, for devoting too little time to his academic work, being much involved in his preaching and journalistic activities.[2] The teaching of social science fell into good hands, however, for Simon Nelson Patten (1852-1922) had been appointed Professor of Economics in 1888,[3] and started teaching Sociology in 1894. Also in this year Samuel McCune Lindsay (1869-1950), one of Thompson's students, became Instructor in Social Science, and began teaching Sociology, which he continued to do until 1907 (from 1904 to 1907 as Professor of Sociology) when he became Professor of Social Legislation at Columbia, and from 1907 to 1912 Director of the New York School of Philanthropy.

Shortly after Thompson's initiation of social science into the university curriculum, Rev. William Graham Sumner was

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2. On the University of Pennsylvania see: Dowlin, C.M., (editor) The University of Pennsylvania Today, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940; and Cheyney, E.P., History of the University of Pennsylvania 1740-1940, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. Cheyney studied under R.E. Thompson.

3. This was probably the first usage of 'Economics' to designate a chair.

appointed to the Yale faculty as Professor of Political and Social Science (in 1872). This was the first such post in any American college (and most probably the first in the world). By 1873 Sumner was teaching a course designated Social Science to the senior students and students of the Divinity School, something which he continued to do for the rest of his career at Yale until 1909. Novel as this course was, however, there were certain precursors to be found in a few colleges other than the University of Pennsylvania. Robert Hamilton Bishop taught a course named 'Philosophy of Social Relations' at Miami University, Ohio, in the sessions from 1834 to 1836. At the University of Virginia there was a strong tradition of instruction in social matters, which was only fitting for the University planned and conceived by Thomas Jefferson. William McGuffey, best remembered as the author of the phenomenally popular school texts McGuffey's Readers, Professor of Moral Philosophy, taught Political Economy, Statistics, and the Philosophy of Social Relations or 'Ethics of Society' to the intermediate class from the early 1840's until 1857. This course was divided into Political Economy, and the Progress of Society. The chief textbook in the second part was Guizot's History of Civilization, with additional reading, unspecified, from Adam Ferguson, John Taylor, and McKinnon. In 1857 the immensely talented George Frederick Holmes (1820-97) was appointed to the faculty and McGuffey dropped this course. Holmes, however, as Professor of History, Literature and Rhetoric, and Acting

Professor of Political Economy, continued to use Guizot as a textbook. The description of his History course given in the 1857-58 Catalogue well represents the point of view apparent in his numerous journal articles of the period:

> In the Historical class, the successions, revolutions and various aspects of the principal nations of the world are considered in such a manner as to afford a general view of the gradual and ever enlarging progress of political and social organizations, from the rude types of savage life to the complicated forms of modern freedom. Institutions and laws are discussed as the natural manifestation of the different phases of society; and an attempt is made to discover and elucidate the conditions of historical advancement, and to reduce the changes of nations and governments to the operation of regular principles.[4]

Holmes's interest in social science, or the science of society as he preferred to call it, grew steadily greater; and in 1882 he introduced his course in the Science of Society. This was some nine years after Sumner's similar course had been introduced at Yale. Previous to this, however, Noah K. Davis, McGuffey's successor as Professor of Moral Philosophy, had been considering 'fundamental questions in Sociology' in connection with his Political Economy course, since 1876.[5] It is not now possible to tell what Davis's 'fundamental questions' were, but there can be no doubt of the thoroughness and erudition of Holmes's course, which seems to have overpowered

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4. Catalogue of the University of Virginia 1857-58, p. 30.
5. ibid. 1876-77, p. 29.

the students.[6] He considered there to be no adequate textbook in the field, so he proceeded to have his lecture notes printed, and in so doing provided the world with the first American synthesizing review of the new science.[7]

Meanwhile a rather curious plan had been drawn up at Boston University. Soon after its organization in 1869, the university set up a School of All Sciences, which was an entirely postgraduate department. (The Year Book first mentions this scheme in 1874-75.) It is described as "the crowning and unifying department of the entire University organization, the Studium Generale of the Middle Ages restored and vitally adjusted to the modern Educational System". No prescribed courses were to be taken, but instruction was to be given to qualified students in the 'Universal Sciences': "Under this term are included all those disciplines in which the matter common to several special sciences is treated as a larger whole." Sociology, the great new synthesizer, accordingly gets a

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6. A student at the University from 1872 to 1877 has left this impression of Holmes as a teacher: "In classroom Professor Holmes wasted no time, making every moment count for something - chiefly discussions and criticisms of subjects under review, in which we often failed to see value or take interest. Although highly educated - indeed, a fine scholar - I did not consider him a teacher of the highest order, as in quizzing he extenuated errors in a canny manner and often became so enraptured with his subject while lecturing as to lose sight of minor violations of class decorum." Culbreth, D.M.R., The University of Virginia. Memories of her Student-Life and Professors, New York and Washington, The Neale Publishing Company, 1908, p. 409.

7. Holmes, G.F., The Science of Society, Miller School Print, 1883 (no place of publication).

prominent mention, for included in these sciences are 'Universal, or Comparative History of Societies', 'Universal, or Comparative Sociology', 'Universal or Comparative Philosophy of Society, or Philosophy of Society Universally Considered'. The Year Book goes on to say, somewhat too firmly perhaps, but very typically for the time:

> These sciences are all of most recent birth, several of them, indeed, scarcely christened, but all of them are legitimate children of the new science and new scientific methods of the nineteenth century.

The School of All Sciences continued in existence until 1895, and the idea of Universal Sciences also disappears from the Year Book at this time. No doubt some students did undertake work in sociology under the auspices of the School, but unfortunately their specializations are not listed in the Year Books. No specific courses are listed in sociology, nor indeed are they for any other subject until 1878-79. From the evidence at hand, therefore, it is impossible to say exactly what was going on at the School, and whether there were any students or indeed any teachers or courses in sociology until 1895 (when a more familiar Economics and Social Science course began for undergraduates). The use of 'Sociology' in the Year Book for 1874, however, is almost certainly the first instance of such usage of the term in any university catalogue.[8]

In this same year (1874) Daniel Read, President of the University of Missouri from 1866 to 1876, in his annual Report

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8. Noah K. Davis introduced it into his course description in 1876, Sumner into his in 1875.

presented the University Trustees with what he called "the true idea of a university", which implied an institution which had room for all branches of learning. It is an early expression of a view which was to become more and more widely held:

> Shall the educators who plead for an education as broad as modern civilization, embracing our best and most exalted earthly interests, be denounced as the enemies of classical education or of political, ethical, and social science? Yet how often is this done by the narrow and ignorant and onesided? O the narrowness and bigotry of pretended educators! But political, and economic, and social science must be taught in our colleges and universities, and far more thoroughly than at present. The greatest social problems that ever came before a people are before the American people. These affect farmers, mechanics, lawyers; they come before Congress, the State legislature, the primary political meeting. They are to be solved upon thoroughly scientific and philosophical principles, and in no other way can they be solved. Our whole political system rests upon the development of history and science. And yet today you can count upon the fingers of your left hand all the American colleges in which the history of currency, the relations of labor to capital, constitution law, the law governing nations, are taught in a manner or to an extent even deserving the name![9]

Although Read taught mental philosophy and political economy at Missouri, the University had to wait for the arrival of its next President before social science as such was taught.

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9. This Report is included as an Appendix in Read, D., Historical Sketch of the University of Missouri, p. 70, in the series edited by F.B. Hough, Historical Sketches of the Universities and Colleges of the United States, Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, Contributions to the History of Education; Washington, Government Printing Office, 1883.

Samuel Spahr Laws[10] went to Missouri in 1876, remaining President and Professor of Metaphysics until 1889. During these years he delivered a lecture series in Social Science within his School of Metaphysics (also dealing with Psychology, Logic, Ethics, Ontology or natural theology, and the History of Philosophy). The books listed for the social science course are Francis Lieber's Civil Liberty, and Spencer's Sociology (this is The Study of Sociology, which D. Appleton & Co. of New York had published in 1874). Political Economy was being taught in the English School at Missouri, which would suggest that Laws's course had some sort of specific social science content differentiated from the more usual offerings in political economy. Laws's interest in social science, however, was not one which persuaded him to cultivate the smoothest of relations with other people. His administration at Missouri was characterized from the start by feuds and quarrels, and he activated a degree of student protest which reached rebellion proportions.[11] He

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10. Laws was born in Virginia in 1824. Educated at Miami College, Ohio, and Princeton Theological Seminary, he became a Presbyterian minister, and then taught science at Westminster College, Missouri, becoming its President (1855-61). He spent part of the Civil War in Gratiot Prison, St. Louis (as a staunch Southerner in an alien State) and the rest as an exile in Paris. He returned to New York after the war, acquired both medical and legal degrees, and became Vice-President of the New York Gold Exchange. He died in Asheville, North Carolina, in 1921.

11. To such an extent indeed that the Catalogues of his era become more and more replete with things not to be done, until eventually Laws resorted to the provocative expedient of incorporating parts of the State criminal statutes in (footnote continued on next page)

was brusque and opinionated, and the historian of the University calls his tenure "perhaps the least important period in the history of the University..."[12] After this somewhat unfortunate introduction to social science, the subject was not taught again at Missouri from the time of Laws's departure in 1889 until the arrival of Charles Ellwood in 1900.

During the years of Laws's stormy association with the University of Missouri, social science was being introduced at another important State university, that of Michigan. Here Edward Swift Dunster gave a course entitled Social Science five times between 1881 and 1887.[13] This course was very comprehensive, including 1. the scope and purposes of social science; 2. theoretical or ideal systems (a discussion of works like More's Utopia and Campanella's Civitas Dei, as well as discussion of the 'practical efforts to establish social systems as communities', for example the attempts of the Oneida Perfectionists, Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, and so on); 3. poverty and its prevention; 4. the prevalence of crime and the possible remedies; 5. practical questions in Social Science (which deals with the insane, the

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the Catalogues - for example, in relation to libel, disturbing the peace, and so on. Sutdent protest did not accordingly diminish.

12. Viles, J., The University of Missouri, A Centennial History, Columbia, University of Missouri Press, 1939, p. 173.

13. Dunster was educated at Harvard (1856), and the New York College of Medicine. He was Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children at the University of Michigan.

feeble-minded, and the blind); 6. economic problems (which include the conservation of life and the problem of the increasing suicide rate, property, and the "conservation of food, game laws, pisiculture".[14] Further stimulus for Sociology at Michigan was given by Henry Carter Adams first as a Lecturer on Political Economy and later as Professor of Political Economy and Finance. He lectured on industrial and social reforms during the 1880's and the early 1890's. Adams was instrumental in awakening Charles Horton Cooley's interest in Sociology by inviting him, who at the time was a graduate student in Economics at Michigan, to develop Sociology courses at the University, which he did from 1894.[15] John Dewey also gave his first course dealing with sociological matters at Michigan, in 1889. Robert Angell, Cooley's son-in-law, suggests that Cooley's psychological approach to Sociology probably stemmed from his experience of having heard Dewey lecture as an undergraduate.[16] He continued to teach Sociology at Michigan until his death in 1929.

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14. The course description for 1881-82, here abbreviated, can be found in Vol. II, Part IV, p. 726 of Shaw, H.B., (editor) The University of Michigan: An Encyclopedic Survey, 4 Vols., Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1942-1958.

15. See Cooley, C.H., Sociological Theory and Social Research, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1930, pp. 3-14. Cooley joined the faculty as an Assistant in Political Economy in 1892, and taught political economy and statistics only at first.

16. See Angell's article 'The Department of Sociology' in Shaw, H.B., loc.cit., Vol. II, p. 726. Cooley entered the University as an undergraduate in 1881, graduating in 1887.

At Amherst College, John W. Burgess introduced the study of social institutions in 1873 to a select group of post-graduate students, after study in Germany under Mommsen, Droysen and Roscher. Burgess's German influenced methods, however, were not such as to endear him to the conservative cleric who was then Amherst's President - William A. Stearns (from 1854 to 1876). The man who had most encouraged Burgess, Julius Hawley Seelye, Professor of Philosophy at Amherst, himself became President in 1876; but it was too late, for Burgess had decided to move to New York to undertake his great life-work. In that year he became Professor in the Department of History, Political Science and International Law at Columbia University (or College as it then was), the precursor of the postgraduate School of Political Science which opened in October 1880.[17]

The teaching of Political Economy at Columbia had started at least as early as 1821. Rev. John McVicker had been appointed to the staff in 1817, but there is no real evidence that he started to teach the subject until 1821. From that time, however, he continued to teach it until 1857 when his

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17. Concerning this transition in his life, Burgess has written: "At last I had ... come slowly, gradually, even unwillingly, to see that Amherst was not the place for a university such as I had in mind, especially in the branches of historical, political, economic, sociological and juristic research; but that the city with its libraries, museums, laboratories ... and its large wealth was the natural home for such an institution." Burgess, J.W., The Founding of the School of Political Science, Columbia University Quarterly, XXIII, 1930, p. 363.

Chair was divided into three separate ones.[18] Francis Lieber (1800-1872) was brought from the College of South Carolina which he had wanted to vacate for many years, and started teaching the Political Economy courses at this time. At even so early a date he wrote to Samuel Ruggles, a distinguished trustee of Columbia,

> There ought to be ... a professorship - not indeed for the college proper, but, I am quite sure, for the super-graduate course - of ethnology, geography, and statistics.

and

> ... ethnology and its contiguous provinces form a subject so important and so nobly cultivated in modern times that N. York seems to be the very place where it ought to have a chair.[19]

Ruggles, twenty years later, was to become the principal sponsor of the School of Political Science, and when he met John Burgess he realized that he had found the man to occupy Lieber's Chair which, in 1876, had been vacant for four years since Lieber's death.[20] Social Science made an early appearance in the course offerings of the School. In 1877-78 H.C. Carey's Principles of Social Science had been recommended as a reference work for the Political Economy course to under-

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18. This was during the premature attempt to convert Columbia College into a university along European lines.

19. Letter of Lieber to S.B. Ruggles, March 11th, 1857: Francis Lieber Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

20. See: Hoxie, R.G. et al., A History of the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, New York, Columbia University Press, 1955, especially Part I by Hoxie.

graduates, and by 1880 there was a course given on Ethnography, and one on Social Science and Statistics in the graduate school. Richmond Mayo-Smith (1854-1901), who had been a pupil of Burgess at Amherst, was recruited to the faculty to undertake the teaching in social science and statistics.[21] In 1891 Burgess and Mayo-Smith began to campaign for the endowment of a Chair of Sociology in the School of Political Science. The Trustees' Committee on the Faculty of Political Science, however, thought otherwise:

> Sociology, at the present time, is mainly a matter of investigation and research. The principles that may be supposed to govern its movements or developments are not to any considerable extent settled; nor are they concurred in by the students of the subject ... the science so-called has not as yet reached a basis sufficiently certain to justify the founding for it of a chair of instruction.[22]

Nevertheless, the faculty and the President, Seth Low, further pressed the matter of Sociology, and finally Franklin Giddings (1855-1931) was invited to lecture from 1892.[23] In 1894 he

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21. Mayo-Smith graduated from Amherst in 1875, studied for two years in Berlin and Heidelberg, and joined Columbia in 1877. From 1883 to 1901 he was Professor of Political Economy and Social Science at that University.

22. Quoted from the Minutes of the Trustees, March 7th 1892, by S.M. Lipset: The Department of Sociology, Chapter XIII in Hoxie, R.G., et. al., op.cit., p. 285.

23. Giddings graduated from Union College, New York, in 1877, and acted as a journalist until joining the faculty of Bryn Mawr in 1888 (where he succeeded Woodrow Wilson as the teacher of Political Economy. His teaching of sociology there from 1890 was the first such instruction at a women's college). From 1892-1894 he continued to teach at Bryn Mawr, only devoting one afternoon a week to Columbia. After this he remained at Columbia for the remainder of his academic career, retiring in 1928.

joined the faculty full-time as Professor of Sociology (the second such appointment in the United States after this became the title of Albion Small at Chicago in 1893). This was only made possible, however, by the generosity of Seth Low who himself paid the salary of the Professor of Sociology for that year. Thereafter he did not need to:

> When President Low came to the rescue of the flagging building program in 1895 by offering to contribute the cost of the present Low Memorial Library, a condition of his gift was that the Trustees would agree to assume the responsibility for the salary of the chair of sociology on a permanent basis. It was a deft move and well calculated to neutralize any lingering mental reservations among the members of the Board.[24]

Giddings achieved popularity as a teacher, but was frequently regarded as over dogmatic by colleagues in other departments of the School who consequently gave the development of sociology something less than their full encouragement.[25]

The School of Political Science at Columbia was deliberately fashioned after the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques in Paris. Like the French college the School would offer

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24. Lipset, S.M., in Hoxie, R.G. et al., op.cit., p. 285.

25. "Auditors described Giddings as intentionally saying things calculated to jolt Victorian or neo-Puritan preconceptions, speaking in a deep, deliberate - almost booming - voice. He was a great master of phrases and frequently at the end of a two-hour session his students would rise and applaud, as Giddings walked out, mopping his brow. They agreed that he was the most colorful teacher they had encountered." Dorfman, J., The Department of Economics, Chapter IX in Hoxie, R.G., et al., op.cit., pp. 176-177.

> ... a definitely prescribed curriculum of instruction designed to prepare young men for public life whether in the Civil Service at home or abroad, or in the legislatures of the States or of the nation; and also to fit young men for the duties and responsibilities of public journalists.26

All the founding teachers of the School had attended the Ecole Libre either as students or as visitors; but if the curriculum was based upon the French model, the teaching methods were those of the German universities. A similar pedigree can be detected for social science at Cornell University, which was fortunate to have Andrew D. White as its first and highly successful President. After a visit to Paris as United States commissioner to the Paris Exposition of 1878, during which he made a study of courses in political and economic science, he decided to devote an address he was to give at the John Hopkins University to the need for systematic instruction in the social sciences as a preparation for meaningful and reasoned public service.[27] He himself had been a member of the New York Senate for four years, and he never forgot the ignorance which he had there encountered:

> I have seen institutions for the care of the insane created at vast expense with the very best intentions, yet organized in a manner most unfortunate, simply

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26. Quoted by R.G. Hoxie from Outline of a Plan for the Instruction of Graduate Classes, 1880, by F.A.P. Barnard, in Hoxie, R.G., et al., op.cit., p. 13.

27. White (1832-1918) had also been a student at the Sorbonne, Berlin and Oxford Universities. He had taught at Michigan University before the opening of Cornell in 1868.

> from want of knowledge; I have seen laws for the repression of crime discussed with an utterly inadequate knowledge of principles that in some other lands have been carefully settled; in questions of the taxation of over four millions of people, I have seen the settled experience and simplest reasonings and conclusions of thoughtful men in various nations pass for nothing, and a spirit of anarchy resulting only equalled by that of France just before the revolution of 1879. In regard to pauperism...

and so on.[28] As a historian, and as a good nineteenth century liberal, White advocated the study of the past as instruction for present action, and the study of social science as a preparation for life:

> ... including what pertains to the causes, prevention, alleviation, and cure of pauperism, insanity and crime. nor would I neglect the study of the most noted theories and plans for the amelioration of society ... and I would also have careful investigation into the relations of various bodies and classes which now apparently threaten each other.[29]

> I had rather send forth one well-trained young man, sturdy in the town meeting, - patriotic in the caucus, - earnest in the Legislature, than a hundred of the gorgeous and gifted young cynics who lounge about clubs, talk about 'Art' and 'Culture', and wonder why the country persists in going to the bad.[30]

Men must be knowledgeable and articulate enough to meet, or rather to fight Proudhon, Marx, Lasalle and company on their own ground. Thus as President of a University notable for

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28. See: White, A.D., Education and Political Science, An Address ... Delivered in the Academy of Music, Baltimore, on the Third Anniversary of the Johns Hopkins University. February 22, 1879. Baltimore, Printed by John Murphy & Co., 1879, p. 9.

29. White, A.D., ibid., p. 16.

30. White, A.D., ibid., p. 19.

its founder's generosity both financial and educational, White was in an excellent position to put into practice his support for social science. In the year of the opening of Cornell, the Register for 1868-69 states that the School of Political Science "is intended to embrace all the important topics connected with political and social science". It hardly seems that this was in fact the case, for Rev. William Wilson, the Registrar and Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy apparently dealt with Political Economy in one term of the year's three.

It was not until 1884 that instruction in social science actually began at Cornell. In his Annual Report to the Trustees on the academic year 1883-84 White outlined his official recommendation of an appointment in social science, by which "we shall render a vast service to this State and to the nation at large".[31] He suggests 'laboratory work' by visits to almshouses, gaols and reformatory institutions in nearby Elmira and Rochester, the state prison at Auburn; lunatic asylums at Ovid and Utica; the blind asylum at Batavia, and so on. To undertake this work, White secured the services of Frank B. Sanborn, a Harvard graduate, Secretary of the Board of Charities of the State of Massachusetts, and Secretary of the Social Science Association of the United States. As

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31. Cornell University. Annual Reports. Presented to the Board of Trustees, June 18th, 1884, Ithaca, New York, 1884.

Special Lecturer on Social Science, Sanborn gave one course of lectures during the spring term, supplemented by visits to various institutions. Instruction in social science (the word sociology was never used) continued at Cornell for the rest of the century, mostly under the guidance of Walter Francis Willcox.[32] Despite this long continuity, however, the social sciences, and more especially sociological topics, did not receive the emphasis which one might have expected given White's great interest in them. Cornell, although one of the first universities to give instruction in social problems, never in this period rivalled Chicago, Columbia, and some of the major state universities in the richness of their offerings in sociology and other social sciences.[33]

The same is equally true of Harvard University, where instruction in social problems began in the same year (1884), both in the College and in the Divinity School, with the

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32. A graduate of Amherst (1884) with a doctorate from the School of Political Science, Columbia University (1891), Willcox began his long association with Cornell in 1891 as Instructor in Logic. He was Chief Statistician for the Census in 1900, and from 1902 to 1907 Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science at Cornell.

33. White's own account of his experience at Cornell may be found in The Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White, New York, The Century Co., 2 Vols., 1905. The introduction of Sanborn's course is described in Vol. I, pp. 378-79. More general information is provided by Rogers, W.P., Andrew D. White and the Modern University, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1942, especially Chapter VII, and by Bishop, M., A History of Cornell, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1962.

introduction of Francis Greenwood Peabody's course on the Ethics of Social Reform.[34] This course later formed the basis of the teaching in the Department of Social Ethics organized in 1906. The first course actually to be named Sociology at Harvard was that given during 1891-92 by Edward Cummings, at that time Instructor in Political Economy. An interesting comment on the status of Sociology at Harvard has been provided by one of its distinguished economists, F.W. Taussig who was teaching there during this period, whom it is perhaps worth quoting at length:

> In one important respect ... there was failure to keep pace with the forward movement of economic science, namely, in the field of the social applications or implications of the subject. It is true that Cummings was appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology in 1893; true also that Carver gave systematic courses in theoretical sociology from the time of his appointment in 1901, and that Ripley gave courses in labor problems. But there was no coördination of all this with other disciplines, such as anthropology, psychology, and ethics, and little recognition of the way in which these might contribute to the understanding of economics or of the contribution economics might make to them. The University, needless to say, offered instruction in them, of high quality and wide range. Time and again it was suggested that there should be some unity and coördination, as well as enlargement, by the establishment of a Department of Sociology or of the Social Sciences, or at least by putting together under some such heading the various courses that might belong there. Yet nothing was done. The halting and unsatisfactory situation was due in part to the way in which the Department of Social Ethics grew up. Like economics, social ethics began as a constituent part of ethics and philosophy; it began, too, and continued, with a hortatory flavor supposed to be alien to

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34. Peabody (1847-1936) graduated from Harvard in 1872. He was Professor of Christian Morals there from 1881 to 1912, and Dean of the Divinity School 1901-1906.

> the cold dry atmosphere of science. Whatever the cause, the result was unfortunate: a failure of the University to deal adequately with a set of interesting and pressing problems, and to meet a wide public need for sound advice and guidance.[35]

The year 1884 also saw the beginning of instruction in sociology at Indiana University, and the University of Nebraska where it was introduced by J. Irving Manatt (1845-1915), Chancellor of the University (1884-89), doctor of Yale and Leipzig, and afterwards United States Consul in Athens. Finally he became Professor of Greek at Brown University (1893-1915) during the time of Lester Ward's incumbency of the Chair of Sociology there (1906-1913). Indiana University had a succession of distinguished teachers of sociology beginning with Arthur Burnham Woodford (from 1884 to 1890), Jeremiah Jenks (1889-91), E.A. Ross (1891-92), J.R. Commons (1892-95), Frank A. Fetter (1895-98), and E.L. Bogart (1898-1900). In 1895 U.G. Weatherly began his long association with Indiana, and started teaching sociology in 1900, continuing to do so until his retirement and death in 1935.

Thus by the middle of the decade of the 1880's the recognition accorded to social science (sometimes called sociology) was indeed growing. Yale, Harvard, and their Divinity Schools, Columbia, Cornell, Virginia, Michigan, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Nebraska, Indiana, Boston: most of these were influential and

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35. Taussig, F.W., The Department of Economics 1871-1929, Chapter IX in Morison, S.E., (editor), The Development of Harvard University since the Inauguration of President Eliot 1869-1929. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1930.

highly regarded institutions. It is fair to say, therefore, that the promotion of social science as a fit subject for collegiate and postgraduate study (often the latter) met with a singularly smooth passage. In Europe the teaching of sociology as such was unique to the University of Bordeaux where Durkheim was developing his academic career.[36] England had to wait until the academic year 1903-04 before Westermarck and Hobhouse began teaching sociology at the London School of Economics. Scotland had been better off in the nineteenth century: Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and St. Andrew's were all offering political economy before the turn of the century, and often this would include topics which the Americans were prepared to call social science, and increasingly prepared to call sociology. A relatively late starter in this development was The Johns Hopkins University. Late, that is, if one takes into account the exceptional interest shown by this University in the social sciences in general. The doors were opened to students in 1876, but not until 1885-86 does the Register list anything approaching a special social science. In this year Richard T. Ely, the Associate in Political Economy, devoted his History of Political Economy course to "... the historical development of economic and social theories". By 1887-88 it is stated that the Department of History and Politics,

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36. Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) accepted the Chair of Sociology created for him at Bordeaux in 1887. In 1892 he left Bordeaux for Paris and the Sorbonne.

under Herbert Baxter Adams, aims to give instruction in social science and statistics, among other topics. From this time there was always some instruction in social science, and a long procession of special and guest lecturers in social science, sociology, social problems, or some such topic.[37] Despite this, however, it is true to say that The Johns Hopkins did little to develop any sort of systematic work in sociology. The list of students and teachers who were associated with the institution, however, gives an indication of the great influence which it had as a starting point for a large number of the most important early sociologists.

After 1885 the number of introductions of sociology into the universities rose steadily, and the increase makes it impracticable to discuss in any detail these various beginnings, but rather is it better to select a few of them for their particular significances. A glance at Table I shows the numerical increase of institutions introducing social science up to the century's end; Appendix B gives a full documentation of the courses offered, and Appendix C a chronological table of the institutions involved in Table I.

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37. For example, in 1890-91 Carroll Davidson Wright, U.S. Commissioner of Labor, 1885-1905, and first President of Clark College, 1902-09, gave eight lectures on Studies in Social Science; in 1891-92 the President of The Johns Hopkins, Daniel Coit Gilman, six introductory lectures on Social Science; in 1895-96 Frederick C. Wines six lectures on sociology.

TABLE I

THE INTRODUCTION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE INTO AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

1834	1	1874	1	1884	5	1891	12	1898	22
...		...		1885	1	1892	9	1899	40
1840's	1	1876	1	1886	2	1893	11	1900	29
...		...		1887	4	1894	17		
1869	1	1880	1	1888	3	1895	24		
...		1881	1	1889	3	1896	14		
1873	3	...		1890	5	1897	16		

Total Number of Institutions: 227

In some cases the instruction in social science was not continuous from its introduction until 1900; for example, the University of Missouri offered social science from 1876 to 1889, but not thereafter until its re-introduction in 1900.

B. From 1886 until 1900

In 1886 Isaac Franklin Russell began to give courses in sociology at New York University and Charles Blanchard, President of Wheaton College, Illinois, presents the first example of a President of a smaller college deciding to introduce sociology into the curriculum. The following year is notable on account of all four institutions involved, for different reasons: Duke University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Newton Theological Institution, and Wooster University.

Duke University, at that time Trinity College, situated in North Carolina was only the second university in the South

to offer instruction in social science (that is, after the University of Virginia). In 1887 John Franklin Crowell (1859-1931) became President, remaining until 1894. In this short time he tried to develop considerable interest in social science at the College, setting up in his first year a School of Political and Social Science. He was educated for the most part at Yale (with a first year at Dartmouth), including the Divinity School, and undertook graduate study in ethics, economics and political economy during 1885-86.[38] Crowell has written: "Along with Professor William G. Sumner, who taught me undergraduate economics, President Porter was my greatest inspiration",[39] and "My studies in economics and social problems at Yale under Professor William G. Sumner led me into many questions of Southern conditions and progress".[40] Crowell's interest in social questions, which was largely of a practical kind (he had made an investigation of child labour in four States which was published in The Andover Review during 1884-85) led him to require of all students a 'graduating thesis' for the A.B. degree in the early 1890's. This is

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38. After leaving Duke, Crowell became Fellow in Sociology at Columbia, and from 1895 to 1897 was Professor of Economics and Sociology at Smith College. He worked as an economist for the U.S. Treasury and Department of Commerce, and later became Executive Officer of the New York Chamber of Commerce.

39. Crowell refers to Noah Porter, President of Yale, who taught ethics. See: Crowell, J.F., Personal Recollections of Trinity College, North Carolina 1887-1894, Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1939, p. 13.

40. Crowell, J.F., ibid., p. 21.

interesting in the present context for the large proportion of social and political thesis titles which were presented to students from which to make their choice. Some examples are: The Doctrine of Laissez-Faire Considered from the Social, Political, and Economic Standpoints; The Growth of Manufacturing in the South Since the Civil War and the Social, Political and Economic Consequences Flowing therefrom; Socialism, the Civilization of the Future; The Divine Order of Human Society; The Higher Education of Women a Necessity; and so on.[41] The work started by Crowell in social science was carried on by Jerome Dowd who later (1908) became Professor of Sociology and Economics at the University of Oklahoma.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology became the first technological institution to offer some social science to its students when Davis Dewey taught a course entitled Statistics of Sociology in 1887. This was optional; but in the following year a course in sociology was required of all General Studies students. William Zebina Ripley joined the faculty in 1893 and began his dual role as a teacher at both Columbia and M.I.T. In 1902 he became Professor of Political Economy at Harvard. Also in 1887 occurred what appears to have been the first formal teaching in social reforms at another kind of specialized college: Newton Theological Institution, Massachusetts, a

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41. See the Catalogues of Trinity College from 1890 to 1892, or Chaffin, N.C., Trinity College 1839-1932: The Beginnings of Duke University, Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1950, p. 419 where the thesis subjects are printed in full.

Baptist seminary, presented a course by the Professor of Homiletics, John Mahan English, entitled The Pastor and Our Time, which comprised "Inquiry by the students into methods of church work, charitable and philanthropic organizations".[42] Some such work as this continued thereafter, and became increasingly incorporated into the curricula of other theological seminaries as the 1890's drew to a close. Finally 1887 was notable as being the year in which the first chair to contain 'Sociology' in its designation was created: Sylvester Scovel, the President of Wooster University, a Presbyterian College in Ohio, became the Hodge Professor of Morals and Sociology at Wooster.[43]

John Bascom (1827-1911) introduced the study of sociology to Williams College in 1888.[44] A man of considerable learning, Bascom had knowledge of many scholarly fields, producing books on aesthetics, English literature, philosophy, theology, and

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42. Albion Small attended Newton Theological Institution but had completed his training (1879) before the appointment of English (1882).

43. This was actually the second academic post in America to contain 'Sociology' - the first was at Indiana University in 1885 when Arthur Burnham Woodford became Associate Professor in Economics and Sociology. The following year his title was changed to Professor of Social Science and Economics.

44. Bascom graduated from Williams College in 1849, and attended the Andover Theological Seminary. He taught various subjects at Williams College, including aesthetics, philosophy and English, from 1852 to 1874 when he became President of the University of Wisconsin. He resigned this post in 1887, and returned to Williams as Lecturer on Sociology in 1888, where he continued to teach until 1903.

two works on sociology.[45] A contemporary wrote of him:

> ... these uncompromising books, with all their unique and striking qualities, did not so fully exhibit the man as the lectures and obiter dicta of the classroom. It was a dull, out-of-place student who failed to feel the push and stimulus of his personality, the contagion of his unworldly idealism and the uplift of his pungent talk.[46]

To speak of Bascom's 'unworldly idealism' can now be seen as too facile a judgement on a man whose liberal thinking led him to argue for women's rights, the regulation of monopolies, the use of science in agriculture, co-education, the right to strike, and trade unionism, to mention some of his enthusiasms. He was very much a leading man of his century, especially in his views on the relation of science to religion. The two were not at odds, as so many believed, said Bascom, but rather the one reflected the truth and the glory of the other. This sort of orientation permitted Bascom to be an early advocate of the ideas summated in the Social Gospel movement. Bascom was no narrow dogmatist, and the idea of the church being a social institution with a purpose in society rather than merely for individuals was something which he never ceased to underline. His views on education were distinctly advanced;[47] he saw a

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45. Sociology, New York, London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1887; and, Social Theory, A Grouping of Social Facts and Principles, New York, Boston, T.Y. Crowell and Company, 1895.

46. Spring, L.W., A History of Williams College, Boston and New York, Houghton Miflin Company, 1917, pp. 275-76.

47. This was probably why the Regents of the University of Wisconsin did not press him to change his mind when he tendered his resignation in 1887. Bascom's outspokeness is demonstrated in an address he gave to a Williams College (footnote continued on next page)

great future for the State universities, especially in the West where the small denominational institutions had neither the money nor the facilities required for adequate college level instruction. In any case he thought that a larger non-denominational institution was a better place for throwing people together - an important insight in a country of immigrants. Curti and Carstensen, historians of the University of Wisconsin, offer this appraisal:

> ... it is not too much to say that his addresses and articles on education entitle him to be ranked with Angell, Gilman, White and Eliot as one of the leading philosophers of education in American institutions of higher learning.48

Bascom was President at Wisconsin for thirteen successful years, but he does not appear to have urged the development of sociology there. In his second period at Williams College, from 1888 to 1903, he taught a required course in sociology, and

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Alumni dinner at Delmonico's on December 28th 1871, at which were present many distinguished alumni, including William Cullen Bryant, the poet and translator of Homer, Washington Gladden, the leading proponent of the Social Gospel, and James Garfield, to become twentieth President of the United States. Bascom created an immense storm by charging that the Trustees of the College were too old and conservative, the alumni neglectful of their duties, the professors underpaid, the College badly equipped, and Mark Hopkins unenterprising in his duties as President. Two weeks later he wrote to Garfield: "I softened my real opinions very much." See: Rudolph, F., Mark Hopkins and the Log. Williams College, 1836-1872, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1956, pp. 226-227.

48. Curti, M., and V. Carstensen, The University of Wisconsin. A History 1848-1925, 2 Vols., Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1949, Vol. I, p. 292. See Vol. I, Chapters X and XI for assessments of Bascom's contribution to Wisconsin, and for an outline of some of his ideas.

was later joined by Charles Jesse Bullock (who became Chairman of the Economics Department at Harvard in 1912) to assist in this teaching. It must be said, however, that no attempt was ever made to provide a comprehensive, differentiated curriculum for sociology at the College.

Two Congregational theological seminaries also began teaching social science in 1888: Andover and Hartford. At both places, as at Newton and at all other theological schools which were to teach social science in the century, the emphasis in this teaching was on the involvement of the church in the world. Social problems were the focus, and the church's amelioration of them the end. At Andover the initiator was William J. Tucker who offered an optional course in Social Economics which actually dealt with crime, pauperism and the labour question.[49] Charity was not what was required, but rather social and economic justice, which was best achieved by prevention rather than relief. This is precisely what advocates of the new social science were saying, and progressive religionists agreed with them. Thus the introduction of the Social Economics course. Tucker himself describes the basis of the course:

> The idea running through these courses was that of the new obligations which society was assuming (under the

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49. Tucker (1839-1926) was educated at Amherst and Andover; a practising minister from 1867 to 1880, he was Professor of Sacred Rhetoric at Andover 1880-93, and from 1893 to 1909 President of Dartmouth College where he did much to develop the social sciences.

> incoming social order), toward those who had received scant recognition or insufficient treatment as members of society. Broadly classified, such were, 1) those who represented the demands of labor for a larger social hospitality; 2) those who through poverty and disease had lost social standing; 3) those who through crimes of various degrees had forfeited their rights in society ... The coming question was not the familiar question of the protection of society and its interests, but the question of how to bring the untrained, the disheartened, the dangerous classes into normal relations to society.[50]

Andover and Hartford Seminaries organized social settlements to further their work both as a practical realization of their new social ideas and as a training field for their intending ministers.

Albion Small (1854-1926) first taught sociology at Colby College, Maine, where he had been an undergraduate. After his theological training at Newton, and further study in Leipzig and Berlin, he was appointed Professor of History and Political Economy in 1881. In 1888 he took a leave of absence, thinking to undertake sociological study at Harvard. When he arrived in Cambridge, however, he found too little sociology for a profitable stay, and he went further south to The Johns Hopkins University. Equipped with a doctorate from the latter he returned to Colby to become the youngest President in its history, at the age of thirty-five, in 1889. As President, Small introduced sociology into Colby in this year by teaching

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50. Tucker, W.J., My Generation. An Autobiographical Interpretation, Boston and New York, Houghton Miflin Company, 1919, pp. 174-75. An outline for the course of 1889 is given ibid., p. 175; the general topic for the year is 'The Social Evolution of Labor'.

a course on 'The Development of Modern Philosophies of Society'. In this he dealt with Comte, Schäffle, Spencer, Lieber, Lotze and Lester Ward. Thus began Small's long association with the teaching of the new science. Colby College unfortunately was a prey to the plunderings of William Rainey Harper in his staff recruitments for the new University of Chicago, and Small only remained President for three years before taking up his appointment as Head Professor of Social Science at Chicago. Unfortunate for Colby, but more than fortunate for sociology since this appointment allowed Small to devote his considerable talents as administrator and teacher to the full development of his chosen field.[51]

The Department of Social Science and Anthropology was one of the founding departments at the University of Chicago, the name being changed the following year (1893-94) to that of Sociology and Anthropology. It offered by far the most ambitious programme yet devised for sociology. In 1892-93 the Department consisted of Small, Charles Henderson, Edward Bemis, Marion Talbot, Frederick Starr and Gerald West (the last two being the Anthropologists). In addition, W.I. Thomas, Charles Worthen Spencer and George E. Vincent were appointed Fellows. The courses were divided under four main headings:

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51. The Trustees of Colby paid tribute to Small's "rare executive ability and vigor", and to the inspiration and stimulation of his teaching. See: Whittemore, E.C., Colby College 1820-1925. An Account of Its Beginnings, Progress and Service. Waterville, Maine, The Trustees of Colby College, 1927, p. 121.

1. Anthropology, 9 courses (West and Starr); 2. Sanitary Science, 4 courses (Talbot); 3. Social Institutions, 8 courses (Henderson and Bemis); 4. Social Philosophy, 9 courses (Small and Thomas). Social Institutions tended to be concerned with practical matters, for example 'Methods of Promoting Social Welfare by Voluntary Organizations' and 'Social Treatment of Dependents and Defectives', and included one of the first courses devoted entirely to the topic of the family.[52] Social Philosophy comprised courses in sociological theory, the history of sociology, social psychology (in reality psychological sociology since Small here discussed Comte, Spencer, Schäffle, De Greef, Lilienfeld, Ward and Gumplowicz), and a course on socialism.[53] Ten graduate students list sociology as one of their advanced subjects, and for eight of them sociology is the principal area of study.[54] For the following academic year (1893-94) Small inserted in The Annual Register the following warning concerning sociology, which gives a very good indication of the state of the topic at this time:

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52. In the same year, 1892-93, Charles Franklin Thwing, President of Western Reserve University also taught a family course to graduate students at his University.

53. Thorstein Veblen also delivered a course on socialism in the Political Science Dept.

54. The total number of graduate students in all departments, excluding the divinity students, in this first year of operation was 211, of whom there were 162 in Arts and Literature which includes the sociology students.

Prevalent misconceptions make it necessary to advise students that Sociology is neither the sum of modern experiments in beneficence, nor the formulation of benevolent sentiments, nor a dogmatic short-cut to the solution of problems which baffle political and economic science. Sociology is, first, a philosophy, that is, a correlation of the generalizations of the special social sciences; second, an application of social philosophy to concrete problems. Social Philosophy is invalid, unless it is chiefly constructed from data authenticated by the antecedent sciences. Social programs, whether for society in general, or for minor social endeavor, are without scientific credentials unless they are indorsed by social philosophy thus derived. The Department of Sociology has, accordingly, the following distinct aims: 1) to furnish such expositions of social relations and theories as will serve the general purposes of educated citizens. 2) To train teachers for similar work of exposition in colleges. 3) To furnish professional equipment for other vocations devoted to social service; including the offices of public instruction through pulpit, platform, press; and the work of organizing enterprises for social improvement. 4) To unite, in the seminaries, a company of advanced students capable of the most comprehensive thought upon social philosophy, and to enlist them in coöperation for first-rate contribution to social doctrine.

A further paragraph goes on to describe the city of Chicago as an unsurpassed social laboratory for the study of sociology. To aid in this work, two social settlements were established by the University. Small continues:

> While the primary aim of these enterprises is improvement of the district in which they are undertaken, the settlements are social observing stations where invaluable supplementary experience should be sought by students, and where material is to be gathered by mature investigators. In so far as the work of the settlements is guided by the University, it will not stop with exhibitions of altruistic sentiments. It will attempt to test general hypotheses, and to establish scientific conclusions by use of the evidence which actual experiment affords.

With the introduction of sociology at Chicago the new discipline had firmly established itself as an appropriate

subject for university instruction. From this time the number of colleges offering such instruction grew rapidly. Up to 1891, 45 institutions had begun sociology or social science of a sociological nature; from 1892 to 1900 the number was 182, a collection which included all the major colleges and universities. Of these later 182 two may be singled out for special mention: The Catholic University of America, and Atlanta University, Georgia.

The Catholic University in Washington is noticeable in the present context as the first Catholic college in America to express its intention of teaching sociology (out of 81 such colleges included in this study, only six offered sociology by 1900). Founded in 1887 as a purely graduate college, its Year Book of 1893-94 describes a 'School of Sociology and Comparative Jurisprudence' which is said to offer 'thorough courses in the history and philosophy of social, political, economic, and legal institutions'. It does not seem, however, that anyone actually taught any sociology courses, and certainly no students are listed in the subject. In 1895-96 the School of the Social Sciences was established with four departments: Sociology, Economics, Political Science, and Law. Thirteen courses are listed under sociology, a very large number for the time. William J. Kerby is listed as Assistant Professor of Sociology, but in fact he did not start teaching at the University until 1897. Thus although the Catholic University was the first of the Catholic colleges to mention sociology among its courses,

Notre Dame University was the first actually to teach the subject in 1896.

Atlanta University is interesting for two reasons: 1. it was the first negro college to teach sociology, beginning in 1897,[55] and 2. it sponsored the work and publications of the Annual Negro Conference, the sociological studies of which must be regarded as an outstanding contribution to early empirical investigation. The amount of actual instruction in sociology was small, but the President of Atlanta from 1888-1907, Horace Bumstead, a graduate of Yale and Andover who had also studied in Europe, had much faith in the new science. In 1889 he appointed John H. Hincks as Professor of History and Social Science; but as a Dean, Hincks found too much of his time involved in administrative matters, and he confined his teaching to Political Economy and History of Civilization. But Bumstead initiated the Annual Conferences, and W.E.B. Du Bois was recruited to carry out the work as a member of the faculty, from 1897.[56] Du Bois's instruction in

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55. Talladega College, Alabama, described its course in Civil Government and Political Economy under the general heading of Sociology from 1892, but the course outline indicates that no actual sociology was included. Similarly at Tillotson College, Texas, where sociology was used to describe Political Economy, Psychology, International Law, and the History of Civilization, from 1895.

56. Du Bois was a graduate of Fisk University and of Harvard, with two years experience studying Sociology in Berlin. He was a research assistant at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School in Sociology 1896-97 (his work was published as The Philadelphia Negro, Publications of the University of Pennsylvania. Series in Political Economy and Public Law, No. 14. Published for the University, 1899). (footnote continued on next page)

sociology covered the three terms of the senior year:

> ... the first term [is given] to a general study of the principles, the second term to a general survey of social conditions, and a third term to a study of the social and economic conditions of the American Negro, and to methods of reform.

More important than this, however, were the activities of the Annual Conference, directed by Du Bois as Corresponding Secretary from 1897-1910.[57] The original idea had been to organize a Conference concerned with the negro in an urban setting to compliment a similar conference held at Tuskegee under Booker T. Washington where the interest was in encouragement of the negro farmer. This city specialization was soon abandoned. The sociological work at Atlanta fell under six headings: 1. the courses of instruction. 2. general publications on negro problems. 3. University Publications (these are the twenty Annual Conference studies referred to later). 4. The Bureau of Information which was run by Du Bois to give information

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He remained at Atlanta University, as Professor of Economics and History, until 1910. H.W. Greene claims that Du Bois was the first negro to gain a doctorate in the social sciences (at Harvard in 1895, where his major was History, Government and Economics. His thesis Suppression of the Slave Trade was later published as The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America 1638-1870, Harvard Historical Studies, Vol. I; New York, London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1896). The first negro to gain Ph.D in Sociology specifically appears to have been James R.L. Riggs at Illinois Wesleyan University in 1906. See: Greene, H.W., Holders of Doctorates Among American Negroes, Boston, Meador Publishing Company, 1946.

57. The Conference started in 1895, and ceased in 1917 through lack of financial support.

on negro questions to anyone, without charge. 5. The Annual Negro Conference. Each year a particular topic was selected, and graduates from various negro colleges undertook the investigation. The results were then reported to the Annual Conference in May where they were discussed, and then published the following autumn. Attendance at the Conferences seems to have been mixed racially, but with a predominance of negroes. 6. The Lecture Bureau. This was a service providing suitable lecturers for various societies on subjects connected with the history and present state of the American negro.

The Conferences themselves do not appear to have been outstandingly successful,[58] but the series of publications is most unusual for the period. Bumstead's support for a scientific study of society was certainly not unparalleled; what was singular about this series was that its authors and research workers were not content merely to argue for a scientific approach to social matters, they actually collected sociological data before making any generalizations or recommendations. In one of the studies Du Bois wrote:

> ... there ought to be growing in this land a general conviction that a careful study of the conditions and needs of the Negro population - a study conducted with scientific calm and accuracy, and removed so far as possible from prejudice or partisan bias - that such a study is necessary and worthy of liberal support... We must no longer guess at their condition, we must

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58. See: Adams, M.W., A History of Atlanta University 1865-1929. Atlanta, Ga., The Atlanta University Press, 1930, especially Chapter XIII.

> know it. We must not experiment blindly and wildly, trusting to our proverbial good luck, but like rational, civilized, philanthropic men, spend time and money in what can be done before we attempt to do it. Americans must learn that in social reform as well as in other rational endeavors, wish and prejudice must be sternly guided by knowledge, else it is bound to blunder, if not to fail.[59]

Accordingly the publications are characterized by a lavish use of statistics, and what certainly appears to be a great thoroughness in presentation and content. Du Bois's concern with scientific rigour and the greatest possible objectivity is well borne out by the publications.[60] Two methodological points are particularly worthy of note: firstly the extensive use of comments elicited by questionnaire and what would now be described as a focused interview; the work provides very early examples of both techniques as investigatory tools in sociology; secondly, the fact that they were early attempts to do follow-up studies: the idea was that the topic under consideration should recur decennially in order to compare changes in the negro's situation within the period. This plan was carried out in some cases.[61] Appendix D contains a complete

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59. Du Bois, W.E.B., The Negro Common School, Atlanta, Ga., University Press, 1901, p. 1.

60. Du Bois was well aware of the shortcomings of the studies, particularly in certain gaps in the data, but these were largely owing to lack of adequate funds for the work. The investigation for The Negro Common School, for example, cost $250. "Twice this amount would have made it twice as valuable" said Du Bois (in The Negro Common School, no pagination).

61. For example, Publication No. 5 The College-bred Negro, 1900, was followed up by No. 15 The College-bred Negro American, 1910.

bibliography of the Atlanta University Publications.

Just under one third (227) of the institutions included in this study (683) had begun instruction in sociology by the century's end.[62] Not only was this an absolute number unrivalled anywhere else in the world, it was also a uniquely high proportion of institutions of collegiate rank which included the subject in their curricula compared with the situation in other countries. Just what was being taught in these early years will be more fully described in succeeding chapters: the present chapter has merely been concerned to document in some detail the entry of sociology into the universities and colleges from the beginnings, through the period of greater consolidation in the late 1880's, and so to the decade of the greatest activity, the 1890's. The period saw a greater diversification of the subject matter of sociology, an increasing willingness to leave the library and the study for practical involvement in what were seen as social problems, and the beginnings of a more objective detachment from those problems in accordance with the scientific spirit of empirical enquiry. On the whole, however, it remained true that the majority of offerings in sociology were those taught as final year courses to undergraduates who were about to become fully-fledged American

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62. In 1900 85 of the 227 had departments which included sociology or social science in their titles: 59 with sociology, 26 with social science. See Appendix G for a classified chronological list of these.

citizens and who required, therefore, in the eyes of most educationalists, a solid launching platform of correct moral and social ideas. The fact that these ideas were now couched in social as well as ethical terms, however, indicates the growing concern in America with what might be called its style of collective introspection. Sociology was a product of that introspection. It is this predilection that links the early American social thinkers with their present-day counterparts. It is usually assumed that the first American sociologists have had little impact on the later developments in their field. In terms of precise theoretical formulations this may be true, and credit would have to rest with certain Europeans for showing more clearly how sociology could most profitably develop. The spirit of enquiry, however, is quite definitely an American product, and a new line was not begun when American sociologists 'discovered' German and French contributions. These sharpened the implements, they did not fashion them.

Chapter IV

REGIONS AND RELIGIONS

This chapter will be concerned to demonstrate how far the development of sociology teaching was related to geographical locality. In the second part, the relevance of the Social Gospel in the promotion of the new science, and vice versa, will be considered.

In the time period which forms the unit of this study, the most obviously deficient region, so far as instruction in sociology is concerned, was that of the Southern states. A foregoing chapter has outlined some of the interest shown in the idea of a sociology within this part of America, and the very obvious reasons for its virtual extinction after the Civil War. Jeffersonian liberalism, of the kind propagated at the University of Virginia by George Tucker, with its preeminent concern for social justice, was entering its rapid eclipse long before the tumultuous year of 1861, and the rampant propagandism of men like George Fitzhugh had long utilized the auspices of Comte's nomenclature for a decidedly unscientific purpose. Only George Frederick Holmes, with his relatively much more academic outlook, weathered the storm and continued his teaching at the University of Virginia through the War and until his death in 1897. The most significant development in sociology in the Southern states was the interest shown by some of the negro colleges in a subject which was in reality more appro-

priate than any other for their particular predicament in the period of reconstruction after the War. Mention was made in the previous chapter of the outstanding work done under Du Bois at Atlanta University. No other institution in the South (and few indeed in the North) could rival the thoroughness of this activity, and whilst much more sophisticated than most efforts, it did to an extent characterize the negro colleges' interest in a pragmatic approach to their problematic social position.[1] The extinguishing of one kind of sociological interest in the South, namely the search for schemes to justify slavery, does not in itself explain why there was little sociology in the South after the war. There would indeed have been good reason for a vigorous interest in a sociology to meet the problems of reconstruction amongst the classes whose lives had received such an abrupt reorganization. An explanation for this paucity of interest can be found in the direction which sociological thinking was taking in the United States as a whole in this period. It was becoming more decisively a study based upon sentiments arising from the nature of urban life, the problems of industrial labour, and the increasing influx of European immigrants primarily into the larger cities. A major tenet of Southern thinking before the War had been in the attempted demonstration that Northern and European capitalistic factory systems, and the consequent emphasis on competition, were

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1. This negro interest in sociology must not, however, lead to an overestimate of their actual teaching of the subject. Of the 46 institutions included in this study which were primarily for negroes, eleven actually taught Sociology sourses, which gives a considerably smaller proportion than that in the total number of colleges (227 out of 683).

debilitating to the labour force in contrast with the paternalistic attitude of masters to workers under the slavery system. Basically the South was agricultural and the number of large cities was very small; certainly there was no industrial problem on the scale experienced in the large Northern cities which grew faster. Chicago, for example, expanded so rapidly that it contained twenty times as many people in 1910 as it did in 1860. Other midwestern cities had similar spectacular increases, while the older established Eastern cities such as New York, Philadelphia and Boston continued to grow at much faster rates than comparable European cities.

The city, therefore, with its ever-widening gulf between the wealthy and the poor was a problem in a way that the rural areas were not. There was, of course, great poverty in rural areas also, but this had always been so, and the concentration of hardship in cities presented itself as an enticing field for investigation and moralizing to the newly emerging sociologists. Thus it is primarily in the East and in the Midwest that one finds the greatest sociological activity at this time. Very roughly expressed, the development of sociology teaching and concern followed the progress of the frontier in its thrust to the West, allowing for the time-lag involved in the founding of colleges (which lag, more often than not, was amazingly short). The first instances of sociology teaching are to be found in the States of Connecticut and Massachusetts, and in Eastern New York. These are soon surpassed by States such as Illinois and Ohio and the more western parts of New York, and gradually

Iowa and Kansas became prominent. There were few if any overall differences in the type of sociological teaching done in these various Northern parts. To a small extent the teaching in the East was more 'theoretical' under the guidance of men like Sumner at Yale or Garman at Amherst, but it would be a mistake to suppose that the newer Midwestern developments, more obviously committed to amelioration as they were, eclipsed the Eastern colleges altogether. It is, rather, a case of an expanding movement finding extra homes where cities arose. In the eyes of most progressive sociologists the city provided an ideal laboratory for the study of social conditions, and numerou colleges (especially theological) opened their settlement houses and attempted to draw students into the study of sociology by including in their catalogues descriptions of the more interesting and sometimes more depressing qualities of the city by which they were surrounded.[2]

Table I (on page 146) provides an overall summary of the way in which sociology teaching developed in the various states

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2. For example, beginning in 1890 in the Year Book of Boston University, the course descriptions in the Department of Economics, Law and Social Science are prefaced by the following recommendation: "To the student of economic and sociological problems according to the newest and best methods, Boston offers unsurpassed opportunities. More than half of its long historic life was spent under the sceptre of Great Britain. Its laws and institutions and customs have, therefore, roots extending back into political and social conditions markedly different from those of the present. In few other cities can social and economic evolutions be studied through periods so long and so instructive. Moreover, from the beginning it has been a community of ideas, a lover of new methods, a most fruitful mother of reforms, a champion of popular rights, a leader in world-wide charities. Its fame has attracted representatives from almost every nationality, until there has been produced a complexity of social and municipal interest well nigh unique."

TABLE I

NUMBERS OF INSTITUTIONS IN PRODUCING SOCIOLOGY COURSES BY STATES AND TERRITORIES AND BY YEARS UNTIL 1901

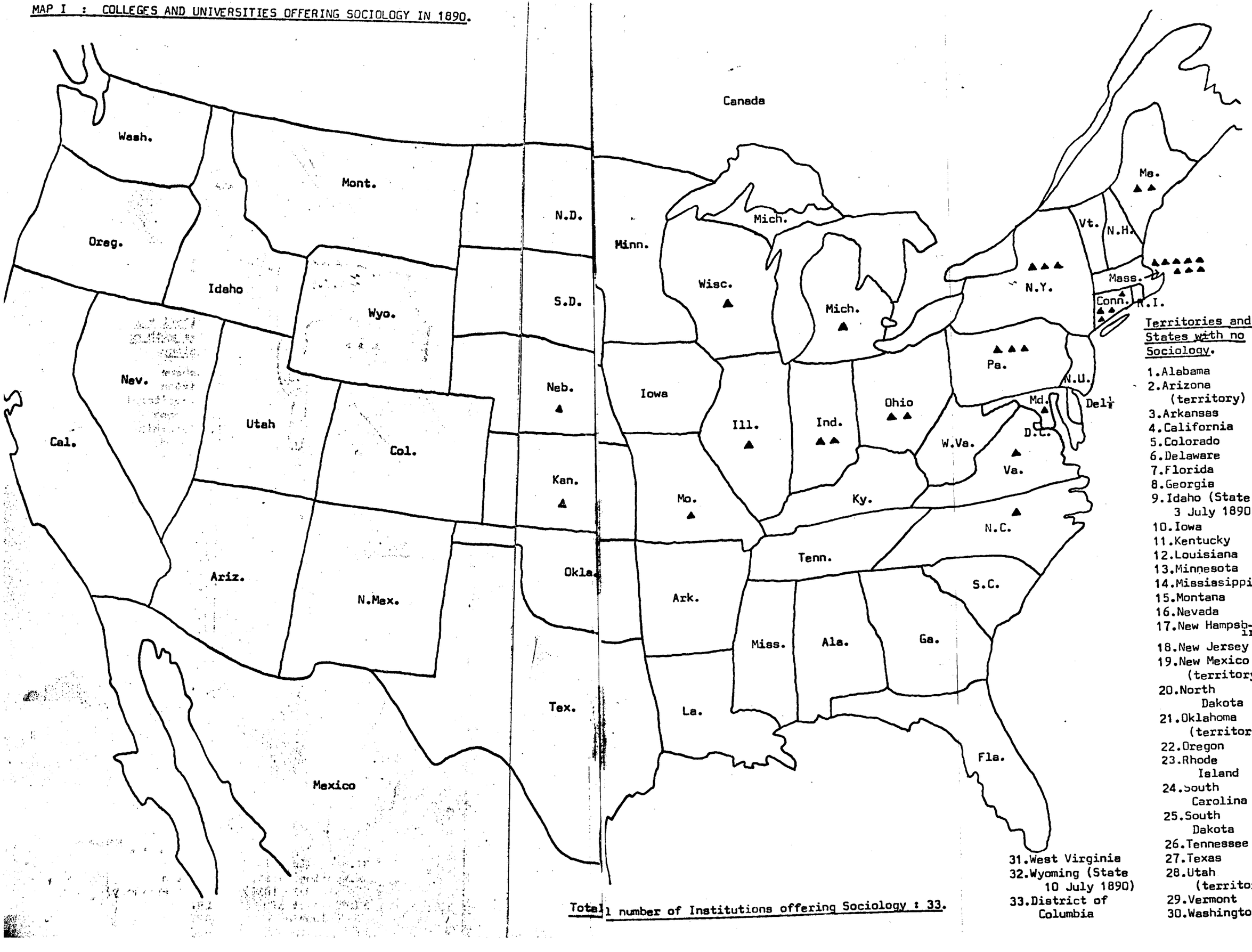
State	Total Number of Colleges in State in 1901	PRE 1870	1870's	1880 -85	1886 -89	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	Total up to 1901
Alabama	13							1	1								2
Arizona	1																-
Arkansas	9												1	1	1		3
California	19						1			1	2				2		6
Colorado	8						1				2					1	4
Connecticut	7		2		1	1									1		5
Delaware	2																-
District of Columbia	9								1		1						2
Florida	7										1				1		2
Georgia	15												1	1	1		3
Idaho	2																-
Illinois	44				1			2	1	1	2	1	2	3	5	2	20
Indiana	18			1		1				1	1	1				1	6
Iowa	29											1	1	1	7	1	11
Kansas	23				1		1			1	2		1	2	1	2	11
Kentucky	23													1	1		2
Louisiana	10																-
Maine	7				1	1						1					3
Maryland	13			1					1								2
Massachusetts	22		2	2	4		2		1				1		1		13
Michigan	13			1					1		1			1	1	1	6
Minnesota	12							1		2				2			5
Mississippi	11																-
Missouri	32		1							1						4	6
Montana	2												1				1
Nebraska	14			1				1				1				2	5
Nevada	1																-
New Hampshire	4								1								1
New Jersey	12									1	1				1		3
New Mexico	2												1				1
New York	39			2	1		2	1	1	1	4	1	1		3	2	19
North Carolina	23				1				1	1							3
North Dakota	3										1			1			2
Ohio	45		1		1		1	2		2		3	2	1	3	2	18
Oklahoma	3									1							1
Oregon	8									1		1	1	1	1		5
Pennsylvania	46		1		1	1		1			2	1		1	2	4	14
Rhode Island	3						1										1
South Carolina	16													1	2		3
South Dakota	7								1				1	1	1	1	5
Tennessee	21										1			2	1	3	7
Texas	21										1	1	1			1	4
Utah	6									1	1				1		3
Vermont	3						1			1							2
Virginia	27		1								1		1	2	2	1	8
Washington	7									1						1	2
West Virginia	5												1		1		2
Wisconsin	15					1	2		1								4
Wyoming	1											1					1
Totals	683	3	5	8	12	5	12	9	11	17	24	14	16	22	40	29	227
Totals by Accumulation			8	16	28	33	45	54	65	82	106	120	136	158	198	227	

and territories before 1901. Maps 1 to 3 show graphically the tendency of sociology to move westwards, whilst at the same time consolidating its popularity in the older established states of the Eastern seaboard. From these figures it will be seen how important were the years of the final decade of the century: seven times as many colleges were offering sociology in 1900 as were doing so in 1890. The rate of growth in the first half of the decade was considerably greater than in the second half: over three times as many colleges offered sociology in 1895 as in 1890, but the rate of new additions declined to just over twice as many in 1900 as there had been in 1895. On the other hand, it must be remembered that many of the colleges starting sociology in the earlier years were expanding their offerings and numbers of faculty in sociology within this period so that this lessening pace of new additions does not betray a slowing overall increase in the amount of instruction in sociology. In the Southern states the rate was tending to increase in the amount of instruction in sociology in the last few years of the century, a growth partly accounted for by the interest of the negro colleges previously mentioned. Arkansas, Georgia, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia were beginning to show increasing acceptance of sociology, but at the same time Louisiana and Mississippi still contained no institution offering such teaching despite the fact that both of these States contained a fair number of colleges (ten in Louisiana, eleven in Mississippi).[3]

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3. Compare the fact that of the seven colleges in Connecticut, five were teaching sociology by 1900, and four of these were doing so before 1891.

MAP I : COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES OFFERING SOCIOLOGY IN 1890.

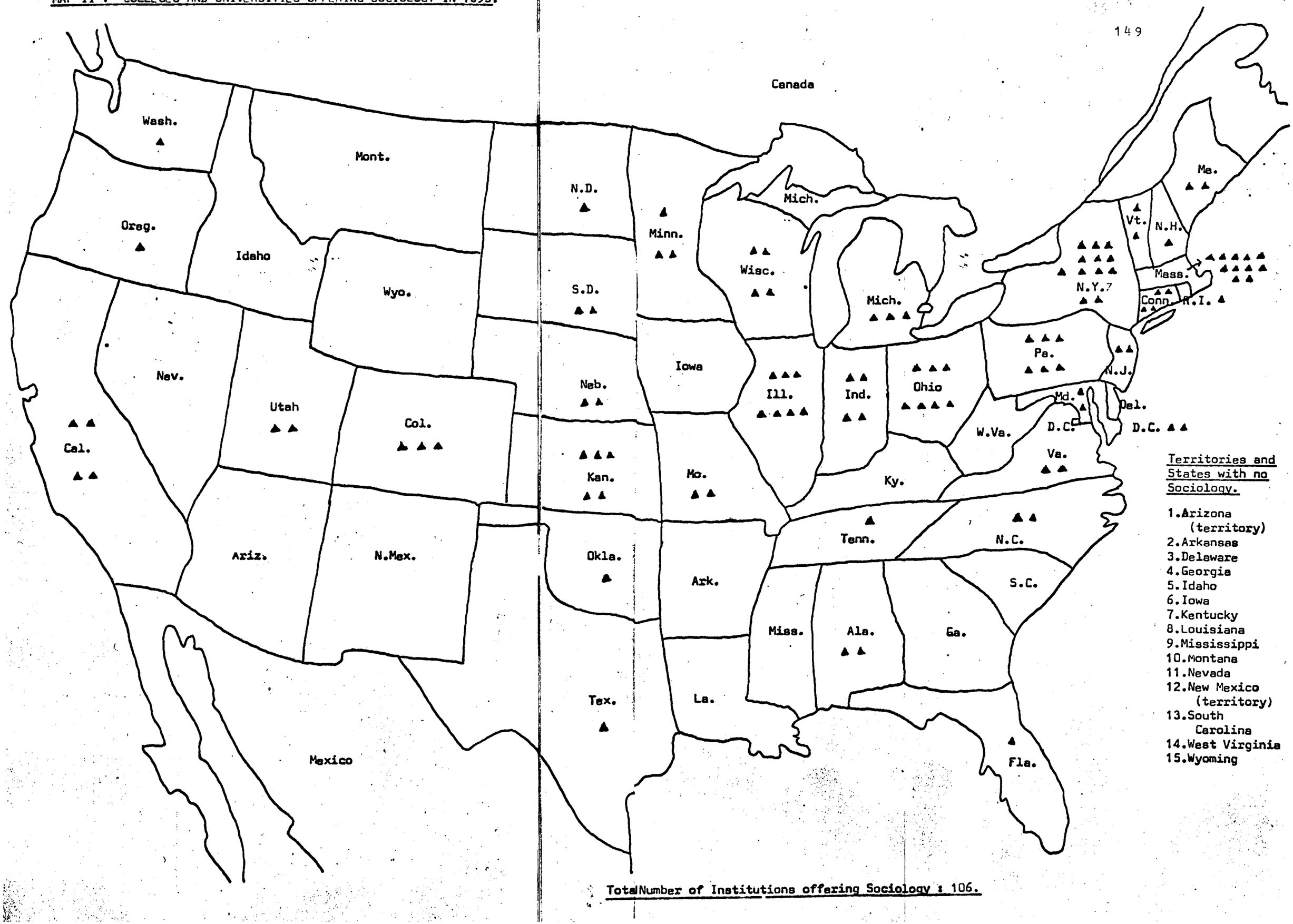


Territories and States with no Sociology.

1. Alabama
2. Arizona (territory)
3. Arkansas
4. California
5. Colorado
6. Delaware
7. Florida
8. Georgia
9. Idaho (State 3 July 1890)
10. Iowa
11. Kentucky
12. Louisiana
13. Minnesota
14. Mississippi
15. Montana
16. Nevada
17. New Hampshire
18. New Jersey
19. New Mexico (territory)
20. North Dakota
21. Oklahoma (territory)
22. Oregon
23. Rhode Island
24. South Carolina
25. South Dakota
26. Tennessee
27. Texas
28. Utah (territory)
29. Vermont
30. Washington
31. West Virginia
32. Wyoming (State 10 July 1890)
33. District of Columbia

Total number of Institutions offering Sociology : 33.

MAP II : COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES OFFERING SOCIOLOGY IN 1895.

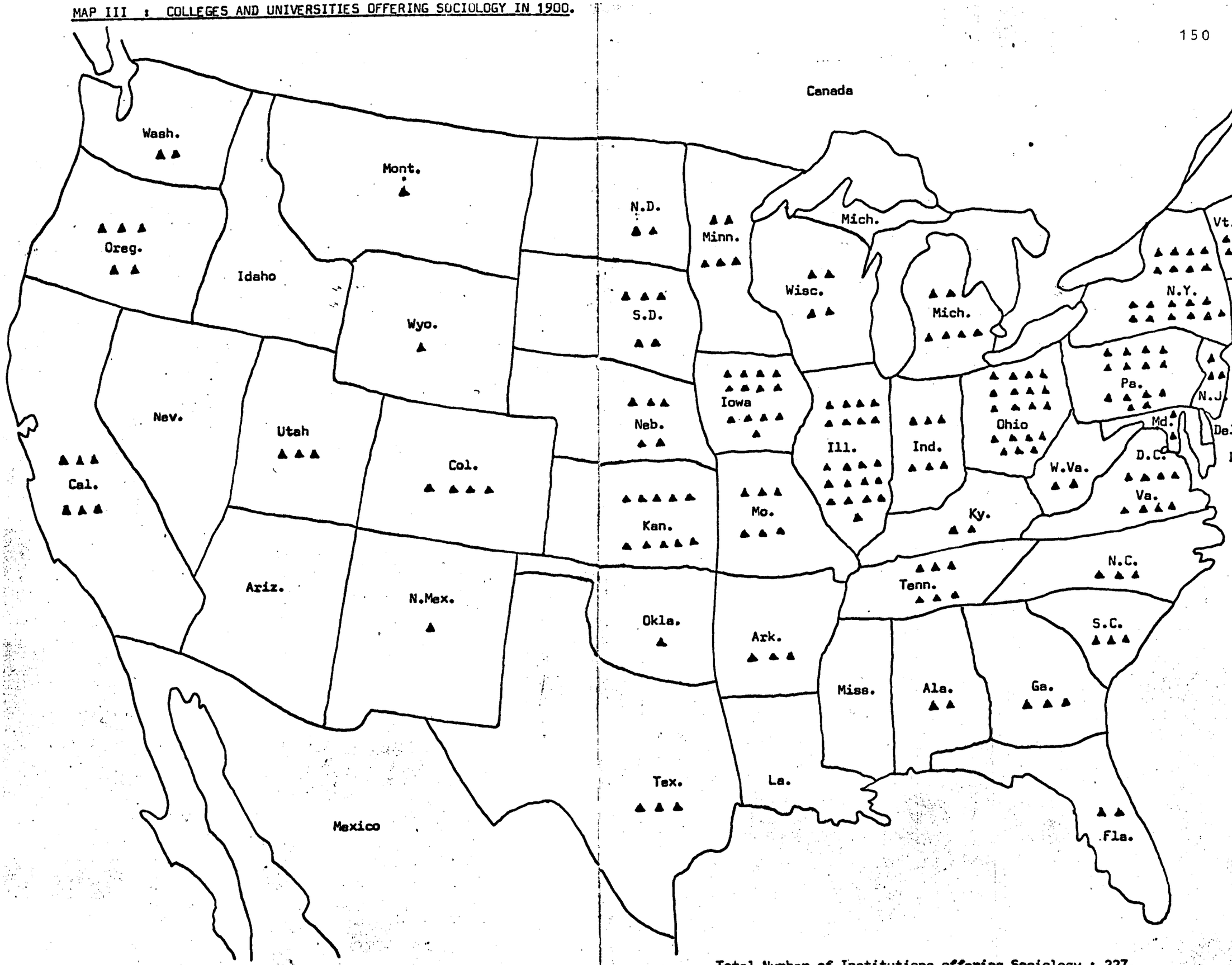


Territories and States with no Sociology.

1. Arizona (territory)
2. Arkansas
3. Delaware
4. Georgia
5. Idaho
6. Iowa
7. Kentucky
8. Louisiana
9. Mississippi
10. Montana
11. Nevada
12. New Mexico (territory)
13. South Carolina
14. West Virginia
15. Wyoming

Total Number of Institutions offering Sociology : 106.

MAP III : COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES OFFERING SOCIOLOGY IN 1900.



Territories and States with no Sociology.

1. Arizona (territory)
2. Delaware
3. Idaho
4. Louisiana
5. Mississippi
6. Nevada

Total Number of Institutions offering Sociology : 227.

Sociology and the Social Gospel

In order to understand the very considerable popularity of sociology as a college subject, emphasis must be placed upon new ways of thinking that were being put forward by certain religious leaders. Social Christianity, or the Social Gospel as it tended to be called in later years, was a reaction to the traditional theological ideas which held sway in the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries. Like sociology, it arose as a response to changing social conditions which rendered individualistic interpretations of the life of man inadequate. It is virtually impossible to extricate sociology and the Social Gospel in many instances, and to a large extent sociology in America may be seen as a product of the Social Gospel. It seems clear, however, that one of the major stimuli to the supporters of social Christianity was the idea of society conceived as an organism, and particularly the emphasis upon environmental factors in the qaulity of man's evolutionary development. From this point of view, it came to be considered that sin was not so much an individual failing as a condition forced upon the depressed by their position in society. Regeneration, therefore, must be effected at a societal level: change the environment and thereby change the man. Economic forces had eclipsed the usefulness of a kind of theology geared to individual salvation exclusively, and in effect the whole tenor of the Social Gospel was a lessening of emphasis on theological argument *per se* in favour of a demonstration of the

essential brotherhood of men. The power of God was to be seen as an immanent force working in the world; in the minds of the Gospellers his wrath was diminished, and they sought the Kingdom of God on earth without waiting for Heaven. In some ways the Social Gospel movement can be seen as Christianity attempting to come to terms with a world which was becoming more secular.[4] A religion proclaiming the inborn depravity of man and a belief in a better life beyond the grave was little consolation for the immediate hardships of millions of people living in miserable poverty. If one could but show that the hand of God was prepared to exercise its sway in alleviating such conditions, then religion could survive and indeed prosper. Rationality in religion rather than evangelical fervour was thought to be a surer indication for the good life on earth. Thus the Social Gospel was a secularization of religion in so far as that phrase relates to a belief in the power of God to direct the world from within the world (with the aid of his enlightened helpers). The popularity of Spencerian sociology was no great paradox in such an atmosphere - evolution was God's way of working out his design, or so it appeared after men such John Fiske had filtered Spencer's ideas through their faithful minds.[5] Sociology and the Social Gospel, then, joined forces

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4. The nature of this trend toward secularization as it affected higher education is discussed by Richard Hofstadter in Hofstadter, R., and C. DeWitt Hardy, The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States, published by the Commission on Financing Higher Education, New York, Columbia University Press, 1952. See Part I by Hofstadter, 'The Development of Higher Education in America', passim.

5. Lyman Abbot, for instance, consoled millions in their
(Footnote continued on next page)

and supported each other reciprocally in the desire to ameliorate evil social conditions through rational means: only uncover God's plan (the details of which tended to fluctuate somewhat, but no matter) and one would usher in His heavenly Kingdom. Man was deemed perfectible, and in this respect the link is apparent of both the Social Gospel and the sociology of the time with the ideas of the Enlightenment. Man was also seen as a being who could, to an extent, plan out his social world. Both sociology and the Social Gospel were also reactions to the more extreme forms of socialism, communism and anarchism and thus were essentially liberal rather than revolutionary movements. The Social Gospel movement in general became the mainstream of American religious thought and action,[6] and some of it later proponents who clamoured for the abolition of capitalism were not particularly recognisable as belonging to the same movement as its more cautious adherents. In one thing, however all were agreed: to show the relevance of religion to everyday life.

The first important precursor in mid-nineteenth century America of the Social Gospel was Horace Bushnell, the Congregationalist minister at Hartford, Connecticut. His book Christia

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(Footnote continued from previous page)
perplexity over the relations of evolutionary science and religion by such pronouncements as "Creation is a process not a product", quoted in Sweet, W.W., The Story of Religion in America, revised and enlarged edition, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1950, p. 343.

6. Culminating, for example, in the adoption in 1908 of the Social Creed of the Churches by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Nurture first appeared in 1846. In this Bushnell attacked the practices of the revivalistic churches and put forward his theory of 'moral influence' as the best ground for Christianity. He made a plea for truly Christian home environments as the basis for the inculcation of a living faith in the young. The book was a strong attempt to relate the truths of religion to ordinary life, and Bushnell's influence was very considerable over such renowned preachers as Henry Ward Beecher, Phillips Brooks, and Washington Gladden. Shortly after the publication of Bushnell's slim volume, Stephen Colwell, a wealthy Philadelphia iron merchant, brought out his New Themes for the Protestant Clergy.[7] This work can be seen as the first attempt to relate the liberal notions of the new approach to religion to ideas prevalent in the discipline of political economy. In this conjunction Colwell can be regarded as having written the first treatise in the Social Gospel mould. He was certainly no socialist, but he was concerned that religion as propagated was too much involved with purely doctrinal matters. He was a Trustee of Princeton Theological Seminary and as such was the major influence in the foundation of a chair of Christian Ethics at the Seminary in 1871. According to the Seminary's Catalogue of 1872 this was to deal with Christian Ethics "theoretically, historically, and in living connection with various branches of social sciences." In fact, the first incumbent of the Chair, Charles A. Aiken, was more interested in philology than in sociology, and social science was not taught in the Seminary

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7. Philadelphia, 1851.

until William B. Greene started to deliver his course Christian Ethics and Christian Sociology in the early 1890's. Aiken in his inaugural address, however, had expressed his intention of complying with the wishes of Colwell

> ... looking mainly to the exhibition here of a Christian Social Science ... Christianity in its bearings on human society, on political economy, and the manifold civil and social relations on which Christianity has so deep and mighty and benignant a work to accomplish. What Christianity has done for man's secular welfare, and what lies in its purpose and power to do, will fall within the scope of this part of the course. 8

The infiltration of the Social Gospel into the seminaries and universities did not actually occur until some ten years later, and it seems that Peabody's course at the Harvard Divinity School on The Ethics of Social Reform, begun in the early 1880's was the first such teaching.

Stimulated by the preaching and writing of proponents such as Washington Gladden and later Walter Rauschenbusch the Social Gospel ideas were gathering greater support from about 1870. It was a movement which came to affect most of the Protestant denominations, although its origins are to be seen in the more liberal Unitarian and Congregationalist churches, and to some extent in the Protestant Episcopal Church. These were all denominations associated particularly with urban, sophisticated parishes in cities like Boston and New York. The more pietistic and fundamentalist groups had a longer struggle to reconcile their traditional teachings with the sorts of wide-ranging reforms implied in the Social Gospel, but gradually they came

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8. Quoted in Dombrowski, J., The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America, New York, Columbia University Press, 1936, p. 61.

to be accepted up to a point. The Baptists in particular developed in some quarters a liberalism akin to that of the Congregationalists. Undoubtedly the Christian Socialist group formed in England in 1848 under the leadership of F.D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley and J.M. Ludlow had an effect, most notably on the Episcopalians, but the strength and extent of the Social Gospel movement were peculiarly American characteristics. In America the movement became more organized and more militant as the century progressed. An early attempt for concerted action was the organization of the Christian Labor Union in Boston in 1872. The Society of Christian Socialists grew up in the same city in February 1889, most of the members having been members of one of the Nationalist Clubs that sprang up after the publication of Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward (1888).[9] A guiding figure in the Society of Christian Socialists was W.D.P. Bliss, a Congregationalist minister from Massachusetts, who later became an Episcopalian. The motivations of this Society according to the Declaration of Principles were:

> 1. To show that the aim of Socialism is embraced in the aim of Christianity.
>
> 2. To awaken members of Christian churches to the fact that the teachings of Jesus Christ lead directly to some specific form or forms of Socialism. 10

This was strong language in a country where socialism was a distinctly pejorative word, but this did not stop milder men

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9. By January 1891 there were 162 Nationalist Clubs in America. The term 'nationalist' is not to be read as chauvinistic: it refers to Bellamy's advocacy of total nationalization.

10. Quoted in Dombrowski, J., op. cit., p. 100.

from becoming associated with Bliss's endeavours. For example, Albion Small was a contributor to The Dawn, edited by Bliss,[11] and Giddings, Commons, Benjamin Kidd, and Carroll D. Wright were among the contributors to the Encyclopedia of Social Science (1897), an outstanding early reference book devoted to the Social Gospel ideas which Bliss edited and, for the most part, wrote. Less virulent than The Dawn was The Kingdom, a journal which grew out of the Northwestern Congregationalist, but became non-denominational.[12] John Bascom, Commons, Charles Zeublin, Robert A. Woods were all associate editors of this journal at some time. Another publication proclaiming the socialist approach to Christianity was the journal Social Gospel This was the house organ of the Christian Commonwealth Colony established in Georgia, although the journal concerned itself with Social Gospel matters in America as a whole. The Colony was set up by a Congregationalist minister in 1896 as a community devoted to the practice of real Christianity, or Christianity as a way of life rather than a dogma. True to the belief in Christian brotherhood they turned none away (although it was said that their diet was so appalling that only the most devout Christian would stay). The Colony suffered the usual arguments

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11. The Dawn existed from May 1889 to March 1896 and was the official organ of the Society of Christian Socialists.

12. The Kingdom was published from 1894, with the final issue on April 20th, 1899. The chief spirit behind this publication was George D. Herron who had made Iowa College (Grinnell College) something of a fountainhead for the Social Gospel in the early 1890's before being dismissed on account of his advanced views (even a Congregationalist college in the Midwest could only tolerate so much).

and dissensions associated with experimental social communities and finally closed in 1900 (partly because of a disastrous typhoid outbreak). The members were committed to a strictly Marxian notion of from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

The experience of the members of the Christian Commonwealth Colony perhaps showed them and others that there was no premature short-cut to the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. The Colony had been no more successful than most of the utopian communities which abounded in nineteenth century America. In a sense it was a logical extension of the ideas of the Christian Socialists, but it was also an abnegation of the real conditions of the world. The great majority of the proponents of the ideas of the Social Gospel were more concerned to see what could be done about conditions in cities where the real hardships lay. Few of these would have been prepared to go so far as George Herron in his view of the church as an appendage of a bourgeois world. Most Gospellers advocated economic and social justice rather than philanthropic amelioration; but they did not support Herron's view that the duty of religious people was to destroy capitalism without regard for their own welfare. They might argue for the immanence of God in the world, but they would not have echoed this sentiment:

> Revolutions even in their wildest forms, are the impulses of God moving in tides of fire through the life of man. 13

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13. Herron, G.D., The New Redemption, New York, 1893, p. 15.

By far the most prevalent tone of preachers and teachers infected with the Social Gospel was one of liberal moderation.[14] It was with this spirit that the Social Gospel manifested itself in the sociological work of the day, and in no way was this more apparent than in the zeal associated with the founding of social settlements.

The rise of industrialism and the consequent concentration of peoples within the cities did much to shift the conception of society from an individualistic to a collective basis. This was seen in the rise of the corporate trusts on the one hand, and in the ever-increasing organization of labour in trades unions on the other. Consequently there was a parallel change in religious attitudes among the progressive: individualism and a conception of a substitutionary atonement had been the foundations of Protestant thinking, but now with the new economic and social forces at work

> The Church became as conspicuously the agency for 'social service' as it had been the 'means of grace' in the work

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14. James Dombrowski, in his 1936 study of Social Christianity, is particularly critical of Richard Ely's brand of social gospelism which he considers to have been highly condescending, entreating workers not to indulge in revolutionary action since what is 'right' will assert itself in good time. Excusing men of the stamp of Bliss and Herron, he writes of this aspect of the Gospellers: "The nature of this self-interest was manifest, for while citing the Kingdom of God on earth as the goal of Social Christianity, whenever its outlines became concrete it could be observed to have curious similarity to the bourgeois world of the nineteenth century. Religious sanction was given only to those ethical attitudes indigenous to a bourgeois world." (p. 20), and "For the most part, leaders of the Social Gospel were liberals advocating an ethic of charity consonant with a conservative and aristocratic society and based on the assumption of a permanently class-divided world." (p. 31), from Dombrowski, J., op. cit.

of individual salvation. 15

This aspect of the Church as a 'social service' was manifested in various ways, for example in the church connections with the Charity Organization Societies that were springing up.[16] In general, however, the view of man implied in the work of these societies was basically individualistic: poverty results from bad character, and relief of a monetary or material kind is therefore useless for moral uplift.[17] The duty of the more fortunate classes was to teach the poor by example and ethical persuasion. Here one can agree with Dombrowski's contention that most Social Gospellers intended to uplift the depressed classes to a more comfortable state consonant with that of the upper and middle classes; but the idea behind the social settlements had a slightly different emphasis in addition: they were experiments, and were to this extent a resulting mixture of the prevalent emphasis on scientific thinking coupled with the progressive theology of worldly involvement for the elimination of social injustice. The leaders of social settlements were at work in the same era as the great philanthropists, but

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15. Tucker, W.J., My Generation. An Autobiographical Interpretation, Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919 pp. 16-17. Tucker lived from 1839 to 1926 and was himself a prominent figure in the Social Gospel movement. A Congregationalist minister, he taught one of the early course on Social Economics ('Crime, labor, pauperism') from 1888 to 1893 at Andover Theological Seminary.

16. These were guided particularly by the example of the London Charity Organization Society founded in 1869.

17. The attitudes of Josephine Shaw Lowell of the New York Charity Organization Society were typical in this respect: she "did not hesitate to advise prospective donors that all the organization's funds went for administrative expenses and not one cent to the poor." Bremner, R.H., American Philanthropy, University of Chicago Press, 1960, p. 99.

> The demand for economic justice rather than charity or paternalistic magnanimity indicated the attitude of social Christianity toward wealth. 18

Most of the paternalistically magnanimous men of great wealth were devoted church-goers, but one of the most spectacular was not: Andrew Carnegie. In June and December 1889 Carnegie published two articles in the North American Review under the titles 'Wealth' and 'The Best Fields of Philanthropy'. These were reprinted in the Pall Mall Gazette at the suggestion of William Gladstone under the now more famous title 'The Gospel of Wealth'. In these articles Carnegie provided the classic justification for the accumulation of wealth. His main idea is that the rich have a moral obligation to help the poor; the rich are necessary since with their greater acumen and sounder judgement (how else could they have become rich?) they are better able to decide on how the wealth should be distributed than the community or Government agencies. To the social settlement advocates this seemed a travesty, in many ways, of their notions of brotherhood and the community of the children of God, as well as making a dangerous rationalization of big business in which the ends would justify the means, with no guarantee that the ends, such as Carnegie put forward, would ever be put into practice. Thus the majority of liberal religious thinkers were trying to steer a middle course between full-blown socialism and plutocracy:

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18. Hopkins, C.H., The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism 1865-1915, Yale Studies in Religious Education, Vol. XIV, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940, p. 324.

> Religious fear of socialism was at first largely motivated by apprehension lest individual and spiritual values be lost in a collective state and democracy subordinated to bureaucracy. These objections were later reversed by leaders who saw the individual already the victim of a monopolistic capitalism that manipulated government for its own ends. 19

The hey-day of the settlement idea, however, largely preceded the reversal in opinion concerning socialism.

Most of the leading seminaries had founded social settlements within the cities before the turn of the century, and many universities, both with and without any particular religious affiliation, had followed suit. The Congregationalists at Andover, Hartford and Chicago Theological Seminaries were most active. The City of Chicago abounded with settlements, under the leadership of Jane Addam's Hull House. The University of Chicago established two such settlements, and Northwestern University organized its centre in 1891 under the guidance of Charles Zeublin on Chicago's Northwest Side.[20] The great importance of the settlements so far as this study is concerned is that they were conceived of as training grounds not only for intending ministers of religion, but also for intending social scientists. They represent early attempts to get students to examine social conditions at first hand, and therefore played a very considerable part in stimulating an

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19. Ibid., p. 323.

20. "The settlement has become a kind of social investigation station and settlement residents can be regarded as social physicians constantly engaged in diagnosing and attempting to alleviate social maladies." William Hurd, 'The Northwestern University Settlement', Chapter XVIII, p. 387 in Vol. II of Wilde, A.H. (editor), Northwestern University. A History 1855-1905, 4 Vols., New York, The University Publishing Society, 1905.

empirical approach to the problems of sociology.[21]

A great number of the most popular works recommended as textbooks for sociology and social science courses stemmed directly from the new view of Christianity. Not only works such as Lyman Abbot's Christianity and Social Problems[22] and Josiah Strong's The New Era, or The Coming Kingdom[23] which were written as more distinctly religious volumes, but the works of Charles Henderson, Small and Vincent, John Bascom and Arthur Fairbanks were conscious attempts to relate sociology to the tenets of social Christianity.[24] As sociologists they approach society from an organic conception of its workings; as men of God they translate their environmental organicism into moralistic suggestions for the alleviation of societal evils. The emphasis of social Christianity is apparent in this definition given by one of its Baptist adherents:

> The application of the teaching of Jesus and the total

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21. They were equally important for the development of social work as a profession, but the story of that particular influence awaits a historian.

22. Boston, Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1897.

23. New York, The Baker & Taylor Co., 1893.

24. Henderson, C.R., An Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective and Delinquent Classes, Boston, D.C. Heath and Company, 1893; and Social Elements, Institutions, Character, Progress, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898. Small, A.W. and G. Vincent, An Introduction to the Study of Society, New York, American Book Company, 1894. Bascom, J., Sociology, New York, London, G.P. Putnam's Sons 1887; and Social Theory, A Grouping of Social Facts and Principles, New York, Boston, T.Y. Cromwell and Company, 1895. Fairbanks, A., Introduction to Sociology, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896. These works are discussed in Chapter V.

> message of the Christian salvation to society, the economic life, and social institutions such as the state, the family, as well as to individuals. 25

The Social Gospel, then, formed a very important strand of thought in the rise of sociology, and with this religious sanction sociology found quick acceptance as a college subject, especially after the Darwinian and Spencerian doctrines had been shown by John Fiske and Henry Drummond (author of, among other works, Natural Law in the Spiritual World) that there was no necessary contradiction between the teachings of the new science and the idea of the creative God.[26] If the emphasis which has been placed upon the Social Gospel in this chapter is sound, one would expect to find those denominations most involved in the progressive religious ideas to be those most willing to support sociology in their educational institutions. This support by the various denominations may be judged from Table II below (which is derived from the information in Appendix A).

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25. From Shailer Mathew's article 'The Social Gospel' in Mathews, S., and G.D. Smith (editors) A Dictionary of Religion and Ethics, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1923, p. 416.

26. See Hofstadter, R., Social Darwinism in American Thought, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944.

TABLE II

NUMBERS OF COLLEGES, WITH DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATION, AND NUMBERS OFFERING SOCIOLOGY COURSES BY 1900 [27]

Religious Denomination	Total no.of Colleges	Colleges with Sociology	Communicants or Members (1890)	
Adventist:				
Advent Christian	1	-	25,816	
7th Day Adventist	3	-	28,991	
			Total	60,491
Baptist:				
Free Baptist	4	2	87,898	
Regular	56	16	3,429,080	
7th Day Baptist	2	-	9,143	
			Total	3,712,468
Brethren	1	-	6,661	
Catholic	81	6	6,257,871	
Christian (Connection)[28]	15	5	103,722 (Christian)	
Disciples of Christ[28]			641,051 (Disciples)	
Church of God (Winnebrenerian)	1	-	22,511	

27. The membership figures and full titles of the denominations are derived from Report on Statistics of Churches in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890. Department of the Interior, Census Office; Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1894. The total membership figures do not necessarily represent the totals of the various sub-sections within a denomination, since only those religious groups supporting colleges are given here. The overall total of 20,612,806 gives the complete figure for all religious groups whether they are mentioned in Table II or not. Question marks appear in the final column since these are denominations not listed by the Census.

28. The Disciples of Christ and the Christian Church, although similar in some respect, are separate denominations. It has been impossible to differentiate the affiliation of colleges to these two churches since the Disciples of Christ often refer to themselves as 'Christian' rather than as Disciples of Christ.

(Table II contd.)

Religious Denomination	Total no.of Colleges	Colleges with Sociology	Communicants or Members (1890	
Congregationalist	22	17	512,771	
Evangelical Association	3	1	133,313	
Friends, Society of,	9	4	107,208	
Latter-Day Saints	4	1	166,125	
Lutheran				
General	22	5	884,096	
American	1	-	?	
Evangelical	6	1	?	
Norwegian	4	-	55,452	
Swedish	1	-	?	
United Danish Evangelical	1	-	10,181	
			Total	1,231,072
Methodist				
African Methodist	1	-	452,725	
Free Methodist	1	1	22,110	
Methodist Episcopal	67	32	2,240,354	
Methodist Protestant	3	1	141,989	
Methodist Episcopal Church, South	27	6	1,209,976	
			Total	4,589,284
Moravian	1	-	11,781	
Presbyterian				
Cumberland Presbyterian	4	3	164,940	
Presbyterian	58	15	788,224	
Reformed Presbyterian	1	1	15,813	
United Presbyterian	11	3	94,402	
			Total	1,278,332
Protestant Episcopal	13	3	540,509	
Reformed				
Christian Reformed	1	-	12,470	
Reformed Church in America (Dutch)	4	-	92,970	

(Table II contd.)

Religious Denomination	Total no.of Colleges	Colleges with Sociology	Communicants or Members (1890)	
Reformed				
Reformed Church in the U.S. (German)	7	2	204,018	
			Total	309,458
United Brethren	10	3		
Evangelical United Brethren	1	-	Total	225,281
Unitarian	2	2	67,749	
Universalist	3	3	49,194	
Free Thought	1	1	?	
Independent	1	-	?	
New Church	1	-	?	
Undetermined	14	2	-	
	469	136	20,612,806	
Non-denominational	214	91		
TOTAL (All Colleges)	683	227		

It will be seen at once from the above table that the Congregationalists did indeed offer an amount of sociology teaching disproportionate to their total strength. Other oustanding Protestant denominations in this respect were the Baptists and the Methodist Episcopal Church, followed by the Presbyterians. In the case of the Congregationalists, however, the newer religious ideas received much wider acceptance than in the other denominations just mentioned, which tended to be more fundamentalist. In these cases the Social Gospel, and the type of sociology espoused, was more ethical than scientific in tone. There were, naturally, exceptions: for example, in the case of the sociology taught at Syracuse University, a

Methodist institution; but it should be noted that John Commons had his Chair 'taken out from under him' at Syracuse by the entrenched forces of conservatism.[29] The position of the Roman Catholics, by far the largest denomination with approaching one third of the total church membership of the United States in 1890, was really outside of the Social Gospel movement, although there were moves during the later years of the century to involve the Church to a greater extent in the pressing social problems of the day.[30] The encyclical of Pope Leo XIII in 1891 began to stimulate interest in these social problems and opened the way for the teaching of Social Science in the Catholic seminaries and universities. The Catholic University of America responded in 1893 by outlining a large number of sociological courses to be taught by Monsignor Kerby. Not only were the Congregationalists the most fervent sponsors of social study, they were also the earliest to take it seriously as a college subject. Table III below gives details of the numbers of institutions starting Sociology up to the century's end by denomination for the seven groups with six or more institutions offering sociology.

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29. See Chapter VII for some details of this case.

30. For a Catholic viewpoint on social Christianity and socialism see W.J. Kerby's article: The Priesthood and the Social Movement, Catholic University Bulletin, VI, 1900, pp. 18-28.

TABLE III

NUMBERS OF DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES INTRODUCING SOCIOLOGY COURSES UP TO 1901

Year	Baptist	Cath.	Cong.	Lutheran	Meth. Epis.	Meth. Epis. South	Presbyterian
1874					1		

1886			1				
1887	1					1	1
1888			2				
1889	1						
1890			1		1		
1891				1	2		1
1892	1		2				
1893		1	1		1		1
1894			1	1	3		2
1895	3		1	1	3		1
1896	2	1			3		
1897	2		1	1	1		
1898	2		2		4	2	3
1899	4	2	3	2	4	3	4
1900	—	2	2	—	9	—	2
Totals	16	6	17	6	32	6	15

The leading theological schools also generally instituted visiting lectureships in sociology. For example, Meadville Theological Seminary, a Unitarian college, had the Adin Ballou lectureship of Practical Christian Sociology, established in 1891. Holders of this before 1900 include such distinguished workers in the religious social science field as Washington Gladden, Francis Peabody, Edward Everett Hale, Jeremiah Jenks, F.H. Wines, Jane Addams, and Jacob Riis. The Baptist Hamilton Theological Seminary (with which Walter Rauschenbusch was connected) began in 1892 a visiting lectureship in Sociology; says the Catalogue for 1892-93:

> Recognizing the importance of this branch of Theology, and looking to a more adequate provision for study in this department, the board has decided to supply two lectures during each term of the academic year by some specialist in social science who is also in harmy with the aims of the Christian religion.

The specialists involved were Leighton Williams from 1892-94,[31] Lincoln Wayland and Charles Kellogg for 1895-96, Kellogg and Albion Small for 1896-97, William Blackman from Yale Divinity School for 1897-98, and Charles Henderson, the sociologist from Chicago University, for 1899-1901. At Hartford, the President of the Theological Seminary, Dr. Hartranft, organized a School of Sociology which was supposed to benefit the townspeople as well as the students of the Seminary. This started in the autumn of 1894 and lasted for about two years when it collapsed owing to lack of financial support. John Bascom, John Commons, Lester Ward and Carroll D. Wright were among the prominent sociologists invited to lecture at the School.

If one were to question which came first, the sociology or the Social Gospel, the answer could not be straightforward. Certainly the work of theologians such as Horace Bushnell provided a climate of opinion in which the new orientation to the world provided by sociological thought could be readily incorporated into religious thought and practice. Since so many of

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31. Williams, a New York Baptist minister, had been instrumental together with Rauschenbusch in the organization of the Brotherhood of the Kingdom in December 1892, the aim of which was to make central the idea of the Kingdom of God on earth, and to propagate the social ideals of Christianity. See Dombrowski, J., op. cit., Chapter IX.

the leading sociologists were also leaders of social gospelism, the two strains were not only parallel but greatly interwoven. Both were responses to a social situation in which the individual seemed to be suffering an entirely new calamity brought about by the increasing scale of industrialism and the trend toward urbanization. Sociological thinking (rather than study) was making it apparent that the individual could not be dissociated from his social surroundings and that he was, to a much greater extent than puritanical divines ever considered, a being conditioned by social forces and customs. If religion was to survive in a rapidly changing society, it was thought that it had to shift its emphasis away from a strictly emotional evangelism and away from an eschatological insistence on the good life hereafter, toward a deeper and more meaningful involvement in the practical affairs of men. The ministers of a former age had seen "the religious peril of materialism, but not the religious opportunity for the humanizing of material forces" as wrote Tucker retrospectively in his autobiography.[32] The fact that he refers to the 'humanizing of material forces' is in itself highly significant. He might have said something like 'showing the power of God in material forces', which is what the educated Protestants claimed to see. The flocks under their care, however, tended to listen to the stream of fervent evangelists who were now once more appearing on the scene, led by Dwight L. Moody (aided by his singer Ira D. Sankey). This revivalism movement flourished until at least the beginning of

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32. Tucker, W.J., op. cit., p. 97.

the First World War. This kind of religion was undoubtedly more immediately effective than the decidedly abstruse arguments about the power of God in the world to help the world if only men will help themselves. However that may be, the Social Gospel and the concerns of religion played a decisive part in winning recognition for the new science, sociology. With religious santification, Spencerism achieved far wider discussion and support in America than it had ever done in England, and one did not have to extend one's support so far as Sumner in one's recognition of Spencer as the leading sociologist. In many respects sociology was social Christianity, and it is in this way in particular that early American sociology differed from contemporaneous European social thinking. Once again this underlines the essentially conservative liberalism of the greater part of sociology as it was taught in America. Those who were prepared to overstep the confines of this orientation towards sociology, and they were few indeed at this time, ran into much trouble with their academic authorities, as will be seen in a later chapter.

Chapter V

COURSES AND TEXTBOOKS IN SOCIOLOGY

A. Courses

As a new university discipline sociology was utilized to describe a variety of courses, and naturally its subject matter often overlapped with that in related disciplines. Courses in socialism, for instance, and in social reform, appeared sometimes under the auspices of political economy, sometimes under sociology or social science. By the end of the century, however, attention on particular aspects of society had become recognized as distinctly sociological areas of concern, particularly in the larger universities. Sociology became less and less that subject which students should take as preparation for life, and increasingly it became a more technical subject suitable for senior undergraduates and graduate students on account of their greater maturity. The number of such courses increased at a prodigious rate: from R.E. Thompson's social science course introduced in 1869 there was relatively slow progress until the 1890's. In the year 1890 itself there were 34 sociology courses being offered; in the following year 28 new courses appeared. The opening of the University of Chicago in 1892 saw the beginning of the fast growth when 90 courses were being taught throughout the country. By the end of the decade, however, the number had increased to over 500. During the course of the century there were approximately 900 separate courses

given in sociology, some of which were only given once, others being offered over a number of years. In all years of this teaching the proportion of courses designed specifically for graduate students to others was about 1 in 2. In only two academic years did the number of courses decline from the number of the previous year: in 1877 there had been five courses, in 1878 four; in 1881 there had been seven, in 1882 six.

From the great mass of courses no more can be attempted in this chapter than to give some indication of the topics with which they were concerned. An example of the use made of sociology in a smaller college in the 'good citizenship' mold is afforded by the course description for sociology at Susquehanna University for 1899-1900:

> The purpose is to acquaint students with the great factors entering into our social life, and to develop in them, as intelligent citizens, a profound and patriotic interest in social and economic problems of today. 1

Senior students were required to listen to the President of the University (C.W. Heisler, who was also Professor of Psychology, Ethics and Sociology) during one term for two hours per week on this topic. At Lane University in 1900-01 the course in sociology was used to propagate this message: "The industrious, serviceable and upright life is held up to be the proper ideal." This sort of course, however, was declining in popularity, and a more representative picture of how a single general course in sociology was organized can be gained from this description of

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1. All the course descriptions quoted in this chapter are taken from the Catalogue, Year-Book, Annual Register (etc.) of the institution specified for the year indicated.

a course in 'The Outlines of Sociology' at Colorado University in 1900-01:

> This course aims to present a brief outline of sociological thought; a discussion of the elements of association underlying social relations and institutions; the results of race, group and individual competition; the conditions of progress; some of the chief problems of Sociology -- population, degeneration, pauperism, dependent classes, crime, immigration, divorce, great cities, education.

This mixture of theoretical matters and social problems was the most frequent arrangement for the single course in sociology. Sometimes the scope was enlarged to include a short discussion of primitive societies, as at Swarthmore College where the one sociology course in 1895-96 comprised 'Primitive Culture and the Philosophy of History, Sociology, and Social Problems of Today'. Another frequent addition was the encouragement of practical work in sociology; at Bellevue, for instance, the course of 1900-01 in History of Civilization and Sociology is described thus:

> The course in Sociology acquaints the student with the principles of this new science, and stimulates him to interest and investigation on his own account by indicating the problems of sociology and their prime importance today; ... Subjects of study, such as the family, an individual, or part of a village's life are assigned to each student ... Thus the student is prepared in some measure for first hand observational work in Sociology.

When two courses were devoted to sociology the usual pattern was to devote one of them to matters of theory, the other to social problems. David Kinley, a former student of Sumner, introduced sociology into the University of Illinois in 1893-94, offering two courses:

1. Sociology: In this course it is intended to study society in its normal structure. The theories of the nature of society, which have been advanced by various writers, are discussed in the light of the history of social institutions; and an effort is made to formulate some of the laws of social growth.
2. Social Pathology: This course comprises a somewhat detailed study of the problems of charity and crime, with a consideration of theories and methods of reform.

Another frequent deployment of energy in the two course situation was to devote one to anthropology and one to sociology as at the University of North Carolina in 1897-98 and at the University of North Dakota in 1896-97. When more than two courses were offered the topics discussed cover a more variable range. At Ohio State University in 1900-01, the first year of sociology teaching there, the courses under sociology were, 1. History of Industrial Society (including the evolution of industrial society, the manorial and guild systems, and the rise of class interests); 2. Sociology and Statistics; 3. History and Theory of Socialism. 4. Industrial and Social Reforms. Each of these courses was given during one semester with the exception of Sociology and Statistics which extended over both semesters. J.R. Commons at Oberlin in 1891-92 gave three sociology courses: 1. Sociology ("... primitive society is studied with reference to beliefs, the institutions of the family, class and tribe, and the origins of property and social classes ... The aim is to show the evolution of modern social classes, and the development of poor laws and class legislation."); 2. Social Problems; 3. General Sociology (dealing with evolution, social organization, and a study of the major theoretical contributions).

In order to capture something of the flavour of sociology teaching in the late nineteenth century, the remainder of this section will give a documentation of courses at a number of leading institutions. These have been chosen to demonstrate the development of greater differentiation in subject matter of the new discipline, and also because on their faculties will be found some of the leading figures in nineteenth century American sociology.

1. Bryn Mawr. Bryn Mawr was the first of the women's colleges to give attention to sociology. In 1888 F.H. Giddings[2] was appointed to succeed Woodrow Wilson as the teacher of political science. In 1890 he taught his first course in sociology, for graduates, 'Modern Theories of Sociology':

> The lectures on Sociology are intended to accomplish three things, namely; 1. to provide thought on the question of whether a philosophical science of society as an organic whole is possible; 2. to acquaint the student with what has been done already toward the construction of such a science; 3. to apply sociological conceptions and methods to a few chosen sociological problems.

The course description goes on to say that students should have had basic training in history and political economy, and a

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2. A.B. Union 1877, A.M. ibid., 1889, Hon.Ph.D. ibid., 1897, Litt.D. ibid. 1926, LL.D. Oberlin 1900, Iowa 1922, North Carolina 1924, Columbia 1929. Academic posts: 1888-89 Lecturer on Political Science, Bryn Mawr; 1889-91 Associate in Political Science, ibid.; 1891-92 Associate Professor of Political Science, ibid.; 1892-94 Professor of Political Science ibid.; and, Lecturer on Sociology, Columbia; 1894-1906 Professor of Sociology, Columbia; 1906-28 Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization, Columbia; 1926-31 Hon. Chancellor of Union College; 1928-31 Emeritus Professor, Columbia. President of the American Sociological Society 1910-11, and of the Institut Internationale de Sociologie 1913.

general knowledge of the history of philosophy and of modern biology and empirical psychology. In addition all students were required to have a reading knowledge of French and German. Giddings continued this scheme until the academic year 1892-93 when he broadened his teaching in sociology. From that time he included a small amount of sociology in his course on political theory for undergraduates, and gave two sociology courses for graduates only:

1. Sociology: A course of thirty lectures will be given on general sociology. The various attempts that have been made to construct a philosophical science of society as an organic whole will be examined, and the field of sociology, as a study distinct from history, politics, and economics, will be defined. The causes and laws of social change will be sought, and the lectures will then lead to the problem of progress, its conditions and limits. The different types of progressive and unprogressive societies will be studied comparatively. Statistical methods will be employed to show the reactions of civilization that take such forms as insanity, suicide, crime, pauperism, and changes in borth-rates and death-rates.

2. Seminary in Sociology: The seminary work for 1893-94 is a study of the descriptive sociology of Pennsylvania. Each student makes an original investigation, based largely upon statistics found in the census reports, and in the different State reports, and presents the results in a paper which is followed by discussion and criticism. The special subjects for investigation are the composition and density of the population of Pennsylvania, the distribution of the population according to the topographical features of the State, the statistics of immigration, the distribution of the population according to wealth and industries, the statistics of education and illiteracy, pauperism, insanity, and crime.

Giddings continued to deliver these courses until the end of the academic year 1894-95 when he took up his full-time appointment at Columbia. In 1895-96 L.M. Keasbey[3] was appointed in his

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3. A.B. Harvard 1888, A.M. Columbia 1889, Ph.D. ibid. 1890; (Footnote continued on next page)

place, but did not offer any sociology until 1896-97. In that year he delivered three sociology courses designed for undergraduates: 1. Economic Demography and Geography (a course in economic ethnology); 2. History of Political, Economic and Sociological Theories. This course was largely devoted to the first two topics, but ended with a discussion of 'modern scientific sociology'. 3. Social Evolution:

> This course traces the evolution of savagery and barbarism in ancient America, and analyzes the causes of aboriginal institutions. European civilization is then followed from the early days of Greece to the discovery of America, with special reference to the physical conditions of the Old World. The modification of European institutions under the influence of an American environment is then noted from the period of conquest to the present time. A comparison is finally drawn between modern American and modern European institutions on the one hand and between modern American institutions and ancient American institutions on the other. In conclusion, the results of these comparisons are tabulated and the general tendencies of social evolution set forth.

These three courses were taught for only one year, and in 1897-98 Keasbey reorganized his sociology by offering 1. Descriptive Sociology (which was the old course in social evolution) 2. Theoretical Sociology, and 3. for graduate students, American Primitive Society. All these remained through 1900 except that Descriptive Sociology was dropped in 1900 to be replaced by a graduate course The Economic Antecedents of Society.

(Footnote continued from previous page)
1890-91 student at University of Berlin, 1891-92 Strasburg (R.P.D. 1892). Academic posts: 1892, Assistant in Economics, Columbia, and Lecturer in Political Science, Barnard; 1892-94 Professor of History, Economics and Political Science, State University of Colorado; from 1894 Associate Professor of Political Science, Bryn Mawr.

In the Bryn Mawr courses can be seen the heavy reliance which was placed on ethnological data in American sociology at this time, probably owing to the influence of Spencer's type of sociology, and to a lesser extent the theories of L.H. Morgan. Such data was used to demonstrate evolutionary tendencies in the life of man leading up to the state of civilization. Very typical also was Giddings's seminar ('seminary' was the standard description at the time) dealing with practical affairs in the State of Pennsylvania, an interest which was particularly strong in Giddings's lectures which tended to be discursive in the discussion of contemporary events.[4]

2. Columbia. When the School of Political Science opened at Columbia in October 1880 Richmond Mayo-Smith[5] offered courses in Ethnography and in Social Science and Statistics. In 1883 he

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4. Harry Elmer Barnes has written: "Giddings possessed a most impressive personality and a remarkable gift for both the oral and the written exposition of his thoughts ... He impressed his students with his personal vigor and gusto, but the more serious and alert among them were disconcerted by the often careless and informal conduct of his classes. No other American sociologist could lecture with the power, conciseness, and organization that Giddings could exhibit when he wished to do so, but he rarely conducted a course systematically, and, at times, a course of lectures might bear little apparent relation to the subject matter announced." Barnes, H.E. (editor), An Introduction to the History of Sociology, University of Chicago Press, 1948, pp. 763-64.

5. A.B. Amherst 1875, A.M. ibid. 1878, Hon.Ph.D. ibid. 1890; 1875-77 student at the Universities of Berlin and Heidelburg Academic posts: 1877-78 Assistant (to J.W. Burgess) in the Department of History, Political Science and International Law, Columbia; 1878-80 Adjunct Professor of History, Political Science and International Law, ibid.; 1880-83 Adjunct Professor of Political Economy and Social Science, ibid.; 1883-1901 Professor of Political Economy and Social Science, ibid.

changed his courses to 1. Statistical Science, Methods and Results, and 2. Social Science, Communistic and Socialistic Theories. Both courses continued until 1893. The descriptions of these are as follows:

1. Statistical Science: This course is intended to furnish a basis for a social science by supplementing the historical, legal, and economic knowledge already gained by such a knowledge of social phenomena as can be gained only by statistical observation. [sic] Under the head of Statistics of Population is considered Race and Ethnological Distinctions, Nationality, Density, City and Country, Sex, Age, Occupation, Religion, Education, Births, Deaths, Marriages, Mortality Tables, Emigration, etc. Under Economic Statistics; Land, Production of Food, Raw Material, Labor, Wages, Capital, Means of Transportation, Shipping, Prices, etc. Under the head of Moral Statistics is considered Statistics of Suicide, Vice, Crime of all kinds, Causes of Crime, Condition of Criminals, Repression of Crime, Penalties and Effect of Penalties, etc. Finally is considered the method of statistical observations, the value of the results obtained, the doctrine of Free Will, and the possibility of discovering Social Laws.

2. Social Science: Communistic and Socialistic Theories - the present organization of society is attacked by socialistic writers, who demand many changes, especially in the institution of private property and the system of free competition. It is the object of this course to describe what these attacks are, what changes are proposed, and how far these changes seem desirable or possible. At the same time an account is given of actual socialistic movements, such as the International, Social Democracy, etc. Advantage is taken of these discussions to make the course really one in Social Science by describing modern social institutions, such as Private Property, in their historical origin and development and their present justification.

Mayo-Smith added a further social science course in 1889 (until 1891) on Ethnology and Social Institutions of the People of the United States:

> This course is an analysis of the ethnic elements in the population of this country, of the influences affecting

> the character of the people, and deals with certain social institutions that are neither purely economic, nor political, nor legal. It treats particularly of the effects of immigration in the past and at the present time. An outline of the course is as follows: I The original ethnic elements in the population; the process of colonization; influence of climate and geographical position; influence of slavery; present distribution of population, by areas, by altitude, rainfall, temperature, etc. II The elements added by immigration; history of immigration; political, economic and social effects of immigration; legislation restricting immigration, etc. III Social institutions and customs; marriage and divorce; poor relief and pauperism; charitable institutions, public and private; penology, prisons, convict labor; religious associations; social classes.

In 1893 two important additions were made to the staff of what was, from this year, the Department of Economics and Social Science: F.H. Giddings and William Zebina Ripley[6] who also held an appointment at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology where he delivered other sociology courses. Ripley taught a course in Physical Geography and Anthropology from 1893 to 1899, one in Applied Anthropology from 1897, and one on Racial Demography from 1899. Giddings was brought from Bryn Mawr to deal with theoretical aspects of sociology to complement Mayo-Smith's emphasis on statistics, and also in part to provide competition for the University of Chicago in sociology. Giddings's courses were:

1. Sociology. This course includes a systematic study of general sociology. The attempts that have been made since Comte to construct a science of society are

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6. B.S. M.I.T. 1890, A.M. Columbia 1892, Ph.D. ibid. 1893, Hon.Litt.D. ibid. 1929. Academic posts: 1892-93 University Fellow in Political Economy, Columbia; 1893-99 Prize Lecturer in Physical Geography and Anthropology, Columbia, and, 1893-95 Instructor in Political Science, M.I.T.; 1895-1902 Assistant Professor of Sociology and Economics, M.I.T.; 1899-1902 Prize Lecturer in European Demography, Columbia; from 1902 Professor of Political Economy, Harvard.

explained in a review of the literature, which is brought down to the present time. A society is described in ethnographic terms, as a subdivision of the population of the earth, which has a territorial or ethnical ground of unity and develops its own distinctive culture and organization. The causes and laws of its natural evolution, so far as they are yet apparent, are presented. The first half of the work in systematic sociology is anthropological and ethnological, particular attention being given to those forms of the clan, the family, and kinship that are related to the origins of law and political institutions. The second half is demographic, dealing largely with the causes and consequences of the rapid growth of modern populations and their concentration in cities.

2. Crime and Penology. This course comprises a special study of the sociological problems of crime and penology. It includes an examination of the modern anthropological school and its critics, and of such systems as the Elmira reformatory.

In addition, Giddings was involved, with Mayo-Smith, in the conducting of various seminars in social science. In subsequent years he added courses on the family, on pauperism and charities, sociological laws, progress and democracy, principles of sociology, and social evolution (some of these he also delivered at Barnard College). Mayo-Smith devoted his efforts to a variety of courses in statistics relating to sociological and economic matters.

Thus Columbia offered a good variety of courses by the end of the century, but it was some long way behind Chicago in this respect. Giddings was apparently unpopular with his academic colleagues on account of his dogmatism, and this fact alone may have prevented a more marked development of sociology at Columbia in the yearly years. Temperamentally also Giddings was no match for Albion Small when it came to matters of

organization. Small, consequently, built up a more impressive sociology department, and it is to him more than to anyone else that sociology owes its greatest debt as a teaching enterprise. Giddings was more fertile in the field of theoretical ideas than Small, but the latter's achievements, not only as the first head of the finest sociology department in the country at the time, but in editing and founding the American Journal of Sociology, in acting as the chief spirit in the American Sociological Society for a quarter of a century, and in championing European sociology in America, were ones which were supremely well accomplished at a time when they were most necessary.

3. Cornell. Cornell University is interesting since it had as its first President one of the strongest advocates of social science in the United States, Andrew Dickson White. In 1884 he engaged Franklin B. Sanborn,[7] one of the ablest charity administrators of the time, to teach a course on social science to the senior undergraduates. This was one of the first of the social problems courses which were to become such a feature of early sociological education. Sanborn described his course thus:

> It embraces instruction by lectures on the best methods arrived at in this country by the different states and in other countries in regard to legislative, administrative, and other dealings with pauperism in its various manifestations; crime in all its grades by reformatories, prisons, and the like; inebriety in its different stages; insanity, whether chronic or acute; illiteracy, whether in city

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7. M.A. Harvard; Special Lecturer on Social Science at Cornell 1884-89. Secretary of the Board of Charities, State of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Social Science Association of the United States.

> or rural populations; and in general with various subjects of the sort, which demand more intelligent treatment than, as a rule, they have yet received. To supplement such instructions, observations and investigations will be made by the students choosing this study under the direction of the instructor at various public institutions in Central New York -- nearly the whole range of charitable, reformatory, and punitory effort being represented at such institutions within a short distance of Ithaca. It is hoped that, as years go on, young men graduated with the practical knowledge thus given, will, in the various professions, and especially in town councils, country boards, and State legislatures, prove of great value to the country by aiding to remove some of the serious evils which have arisen in creating and maintaining various institutions and administration.

Although Sanborn remained a special lecturer at Cornell until 1889 his course was in fact taught from 1888 by Charles A. Collin, the Professor of Law. From 1889 to 1891 Collin named the course 'Social Science, including the History and Management of Charitable and Penal Institutions'. For the academic year 1891-92 the teacher was Jeremiah W. Jenks, the Professor of Political, Municipal and Social Institutions (who had been Professor of Economics and Social Science at Indiana University where he had taught sociology from 1889 to 1891). Jenks offered a course in social institutions -- "Principles and history of social institutions; social problems, including pauperism, crime, savings institutions, race problems, immigration, etc." -- and a seminar on the Study of Political and Social Questions. In 1892 rather more comprehensive teaching in social science was begun by Walter Francis Willcox.[8]

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8. A.B. Amherst 1884, A.M. ibid. 1888, LL.B. Columbia Law School 1887, Ph.D. Columbia 1891. Academic posts: 1891-92 Instructor in Logic, Cornell; 1892-93 Assistant Professor of Social Science, Statistics and Political Economy, Cornell 1893-94 Assistant Professor of Social Science and
(Footnote continued on next page)

Willcox's chief interest was in statistics, a subject which he taught in connection with sociology from 1892 onwards. In addition, a very novel course was taught at Cornell from 1893 by James Oliver, the Professor of Mathematics: 'Mathematical Methods applied to the treatment of certain economic and social questions'. There is no description of this course, but since it was delivered in addition to the statistical courses, it is possible that it was an early attempt to use mathematical models or perhaps econometric methods in social science. Whilst Willcox was involved in Census matters from 1899 his courses were attended to by Charles Hull, a political economist, and by Harry Huntington Powers[9] who delivered a most interesting single semester course on the Social History of Art, an early essay in the sociology of knowledge: "A study in the relation between social conditions and the development of art. The subject will be considered historically, with particular reference to the social, political and economic conditions prevailing during periods of exceptional art activity."

In general the emphasis on social problems at Cornell,

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Statistics, Cornell; 1894-98 Associate Professor, ibid.; 1898-1901 Professor ibid. From 1901 Professor of Political Economy and Statistics, Cornell; 1902-07 Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science, Cornell. In 1900 Willcox was Chief Statistician for the United States Census.

9. A.B. and B.L. Wisconsin 1882, A.M. ibid. 1888; 1886-88 student at the Sorbonne and the Collège de France. Academic posts: 1885-86 Instructor in German, Wisconsin; 1888-92 Professor of French, Oberlin; 1893-95 Professor of Economics and Sociology, Smith; 1895-97 Professor of Economics, Leland Stanford; 1899-1901 Acting Assistant Professor of Social Science, Cornell.

initiated by White's appointment of Sanborn, tended to persist under Willcox's direction of sociology (a word which was not used, incidentally, in any course titles there during the nineteenth century), and there were no courses devoted primarily to theoretical sociology as there were well before 1900 in other universities of comparable standing.

4. Dartmouth. The universities so far examined were all ones in which sociology was regarded primarily as a subject for graduate students. Dartmouth, however, prided itself on being an undergraduate college of high quality. Sociology was introduced there in 1893 on the appointment of David Colin Wells[10] who had studied under Sumner at Yale and had previously taught sociology at Bowdoin College. Wells was alone responsible for all the teaching of sociology at Dartmouth from its introduction up to the end of the century, and his courses provide a succinct epitome of the most usual concerns of sociology teachers at the time. In 1893-94 he taught one course in anthropology and one in sociology ('Analysis of social phenomena among civilized nations. Present social problems.'). The following year he added a further course in Applied Sociology which dealt with socialism, statistics and social problems, the sociology course being now devoted to more theoretical matters. This three

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10. A.B. Yale 1880, B.D. Andover 1885, Hon.A.M. Brown 1908. From 1880 to 1890 Wells was a high school teacher (from 1887 to 1890 at the celebrated Phillips Academy, Andover). Academic posts: 1890-93 Professor of History and Political Science, Bowdoin; 1893-98 Professor of Social Science, Dartmouth; 1898-1911 Professor of Sociology, Dartmouth.

course lecture scheme remained the basis of Wells's instruction, with the addition of an extra course devoted to Anthropological Geography. With the exception of the anthropology course from 1898 which was available for juniors all the sociology courses at Dartmouth were designed for senior undergraduates. From 1895 graduate students were allowed to take sociology, but there were only two registrations in the field (both in 1899-1900) and one in political and social science (from 1896 to 1898).

The man responsible for including sociology in the Dartmouth curriculum was William Jewett Tucker, a former professor at Andover Theological Seminary where he had taught social science courses, who became President of Dartmouth in 1892. The historian of the College has stated that

> In surveying the course of study of the college upon his accession, Dr. Tucker at once perceived that its most pronounced weakness was in the relative paucity of instruction in the social sciences ... 11

5. Indiana. Sociology was first mentioned in the course descriptions of the Philosophy Department at Indiana University during 1884-85. It was not, however, taught that year, the post being vacant. The following year saw the appointment of Arthur Burnham Woodford[12] who offered a general course in

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11. Richardson, L.B., History of Dartmouth College, 2 Vols. Hanover, N.H., Dartmouth College Publications, 1932, Vol. II, p. 699.

12. A.B. Yale 1880, A.M. Indiana 1886, Ph.D. Johns Hopkins 1891 graduate work at Yale (in the Sheffield Scientific School), Berlin, and the Ecole des Sciences Politiques, Paris. Academic posts: 1885-86 Assistant and Associate Professor in Economics and Sociology, and Instructor in History, (Footnote continued on next page)

sociology from 1885 to 1889. For the academic year 1889-1890 he offered:

1. Industrial Organization of Society: A historical and critical study, comprising (a) an outline of social evolution from the earliest times, but particularly of the economic development of Europe since the XVIth century. (b) a systematic study of the industrial revolution of the XIXth century. (c) an examination of socialistic theories and the various methods of social reform.
2. Anthropology and Sociology: An elementary course in the study of prehistoric man and of the development of social institutions, particularly the domestic.

The following academic year J.W. Jenks (see also Cornell) was responsible for three courses, on Sociology, Statistics, and Social Problems. In 1891-92 E.A. Ross[13] was a member of the faculty. Most of his teaching was devoted to economics and politics (the subjects in which he had been trained) but he gave one course divided between 'Anthropology and Statistical Sociology' using Tylor and Spencer, and 'Dynamic Sociology' based on Ward. Students were also required to conduct individual research projects on one of the following topics: the criminal, pauperism, the problem of property, foreign immigration, the negro problem, the Indian problem, labour organizations, relation

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(Footnote continued from previous page)
Indiana; 1886-1890 Professor of Economics and Social Science, ibid.; 1891-92 Instructor in Political Science, University of Pennsylvania; 1895-99 Lecturer on Sociology in Relation to Education, New York University. High school teacher from 1897.

13. A.B. Coe 1886, Ph.D. Johns Hopkins 1891; 1888-89 graduate study, University of Berlin. Academic posts: 1891-92 Professor of Economics and Social Science, Indiana; 1892-93 Associate Professor of Political Economy and Finance, Cornell; 1893-96 Professor of Finance and Administration, Leland Stanford; 1896-1900 Professor of Sociology, ibid.; 1900-06 Professor of Sociology, Nebraska; 1906-37 Professor of Sociology, Wisconsin. President of the American Sociological Society 1914-16.

of the state to education, higher education, marriage and divorce, the future of the family, the position and rights of women, the sociological significance of the church, and industrial exhibitions. Ross's successor was a kindred spirit, John R. Commons,[14] who delivered a course on sociology from 1892 to 1895:

> Beginning with a comparative study of different stages of social development, based upon Tylor's Anthropology and Spencer's Descriptive Sociology, a body of facts is secured regarding the development of social institutions, such as the Family, Property, Government, Labor, 'Rights' etc. Then a comparison of the writings of Sociologists is taken up, including Spencer, Ward, De Greef, Gumplowicz, and others. Practical topics are treated in lectures by the instructor and are assigned for investigation by students.

In 1893-94 Commons added Comte and Schäffle to the writers considered, and in 1894-95 Benjamin Kidd and Henry Drummond, also adding that the sociology course 'presupposes work in psychology and biology'. During his final year at Indiana, 1894-95, he also delivered a one term course on Dependents, Defectives and Delinquents. These general courses were taken over by Frank A. Fetter[15] from 1895 to 1898 and by E.L. Bogart[16] from 1898 to

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14. A.B. Oberlin 1888, A.M. ibid. 1890; 1889-90 Graduate study, Johns Hopkins. Academic posts: 1890-91 Tutor in Political Economy, Wesleyan University; 1891-92 Associate Professor of Political Economy, Oberlin; 1892-95 Professor of Economics and Social Science, Indiana; 1895-96 Professor of Sociology and Civics, Syracuse University; 1896-99 Professor of Sociology, ibid. From ~~1894~~ 1904 Commons taught at the University of Wisconsin.

15. A.B. Indiana 1891, A.M. Cornell 1892, Ph.D. Halle 1894. Academic posts: 1891-92, Fellow, Cornell; 1894-95 Assistant Professor of Political Economy, Cornell; 1895-98 Professor of Economics and Social Science, Indiana;(1898-99 leave of absence to teach at Leland Stanford). Later Fetter became Professor of Political Economy and Finance at Cornell.

16. A.B. Princeton 1890, A.M. ibid. 1896, Ph.D. Halle-

(Footnote continued on next page)

1900. U.G. Weatherly[17] had been appointed in 1895 to teach history at Indiana, but from 1900 turned his attention to the teaching of sociology, which he continued to do there for the next thirty-five years. He gave a relatively comprehensive set of courses in Socialism and Communism, Anthropology (designed as a general introduction to sociology), social problems, and general sociology together with a seminar in economics and sociology which was largely concerned with training in statistical methods.

6. Michigan. The first teaching in social science was done at Michigan by the Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children, Edward Swift Dunster, who delivered a course entitled 'Social Science' five times between 1881 and 1887. John Dewey joined the faculty as instructor in philosophy in 1884 and in 1885-86 offered a course on 'The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer'. G.H. Mead joined Dewey in the Philosophy Department in 1891 as an instructor, and was responsible for the teaching of psychology (with a heavy emphasis on empirical work)

(Footnote continued from previous page)
Wittenberg 1897; 1895-96 Fellow in Social Science, Princeton, 1897-98 Columbia. Academic posts: 1898 Acting Professor of Economics and Sociology, Smith College; 1898-1900 Assistant Professor of Economics and Social Science, Indiana; from 1900 Professor of Economics and Sociology, Oberlin College.

17. A.B. Colgate 1890, Ph.D. Cornell 1894; graduate student, Universities of Heidelburg and Leipzig 1893-94. Academic posts: 1890-91 and 1895 high school teacher; 1895-98 Assistant Professor of European History, Indiana; 1898-1935 Professor of Economics and Social Science, Indiana University. President of the American Sociological Society in 1923.

and the History of philosophy (in connection with which he gave a course, largely devoted to Spencer, on the 'Philosophy of Evolution'). Mead's teaching activities at Michigan remained in these fields until his removal to Chicago in 1894 along with Dewey. The latter had offered a course on political philosophy in 1893-94 which he had subtitled 'The Theory and Institutions of Social Organization' (together with a course entitled 'Movements of Thought in the Nineteenth Century' which was later to become the title of one of Mead's posthumous books). The person most associated with sociology at Michigan, however, was Charles Horton Cooley.[18] At first Cooley devoted his time to the teaching of political economy[19] (which he finally gave up in 1901), and of statistics. In 1894, however, he began instruction in sociology delivering the following:

1. Theory and Practice of Statistics: ... treats statistics as a method of social research, an instrument important not only to economists and statisticians but also to all who wish to qualify themselves to understand or criticize current social and political discussion.
2. Principles of Sociology: ... aims at a systematic and comprehensive study of the underlying principles of social science. It embraces a brief historical review of the development of institutions, but is chiefly concerned with an analysis of existing society.

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18. A.B. Michigan 1887, Ph.D. ibid. 1894. Academic posts (all at the University of Michigan): 1892-95 Assistant in Political Economy; 1895-99 Instructor in Sociology; 1899-1904 Assistant Professor of Sociology; 1904-07 Junior Professor of Sociology; 1907-29 Professor of Sociology. President of the American Sociological Society in 1918.

19. Which had been his major subject for the Ph.D. His thesis was entitled A Theory of Transportation.

3. Problems in Sociology: ... a study of the treatment of criminals, poor-relief, the assimilation of immigrants, the development of great cities, and other sociological questions of present importance.
4. Practical Problems in Statistics: (a continuation of 1. above).

Later Cooley offered a number of short courses for graduates only, which are not outlined in any detail, but appear to have been of some interest. His course on Psychological Sociology, for instance, instituted in 1899, involved discussion of Baldwin Giddings, Tarde and Durkheim.

In one respect only was Michigan unfortunate in having Cooley as its sociology representative: he had little interest in general teaching, and no taste at all for the administrative problems involved in the building up of a strong department (he did not get a full-time assistant to help with the teaching of sociology until as late as 1913).

7. West Virginia. The University of West Virginia has been chosen, as the final representative institution, to show the influence of the Chicago sociology department on the teaching of the subject. Sociology began here in 1897-98 on the appointment of Jerome Hall Raymond as President and Professor of Economics and Sociology.[20] Raymond had studied sociology

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20. A.B. Northwestern 1892, A.M. ibid. 1893, Ph.D. Chicago 1895 (one of the first two doctorates from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology). Academic posts: 1892-93 Lecturer in History, Extension Division, Chicago; 1893-94 Professor of History and Political Science, Lawrence University; 1894-95 Lecturer on Sociology, Chicago; 1895-97 Professor of Sociology, Wisconsin; 1897-1901 President, and Professor of Economics and Sociology, West Virginia (resigned 1900). Later, Professor of Economics and Sociology, Toledo University, and a Member of Congress.

as a graduate student at Chicago and had been a member of the department there. He bought to West Virginia his interest in extension and correspondence education which had been so much stressed by President Harper at Chicago. The other teacher of sociology at West Virginia (from 1899), Hannah Belle Clark, had also been a Chicago graduate student in sociology.[21] Raymond gave three regular courses (later taught by Clark) from 1897:

1. Anthropology: An elementary course on man as the unit of society, and on the evolution of society and social institutions. The general purpose of the course is to point out how man has developed into his present social state, what the influences were which caused this development, and how these influences themselves have evolved. The general subjects discussed are: first, the antiquity of man, and the place man occupies in nature; second, the origin and early development of institutions which have made man what he is, and upon which contemporary society is based, such as language and writing, the arts of life and of pleasure, religion and science, mythology and history, the family and social structure.

2. Elements of Sociology: A course on the structure and functions of contemporary society. Existing societ is studied as an objective reality, the student's own world being his laboratory. The course begins with a series of elementary lectures on the methods of scientific social study; the relations of the individual to society; the social organism; the physical and psychical bases of society; the social forces; the field of sociology and its relations to social reform.

3. Historical Survey of Sociological Thought: Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas are said to be taken as types 'with a view to explaining the slow growth of sociology' before the discussion of modern sociologists.

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21. A.B. Smith 1887, Ph.D. Chicago 1897. Academic posts: 1887-99 Instructor, Dearborn Seminary; 1895-96 Lecturer on Sociology, Chicago; 1899-1902 Assistant Professor of Domestic Science, and Dean of Women, West Virginia; from 1902 Dean of Women and Assistant Professor of Sociology at Knox College, Tennessee.

In addition to these curriculum lecture courses Raymond delivered a series (which he had given earlier at the University of Chicago) of six public lectures dealing with J.S. Mill, Kingsley, Carlyle, Ruskin, William Morris and Toynbee. Lester Ward gave a series during the summer on his own sociology, together with a shorter course concerned mainly with Comte and Kidd. Jane Addams, too, arrived during the summer and gave nine lectures on settlements, and on notions of non-violence (Jesus Christ and Tolstoy). Charles Zeublin from Chicago University gave a short series dealing largely with ethics and social science. Thus the amount of activity in sociology in this first year was very considerable (Raymond also made his courses available in the extension and correspondence divisions of the University). When H.B. Clark arrived in 1899, her function was largely to teach courses more oriented to social problems (for example, on the family, on the Treatment of Deliquents, and so on).

Raymond resigned the Presidency early in 1900 and left at the end of the academic year 1899-1900. Miss Clark stayed on until 1902, but the impressive development of sociology at West Virginia then lapsed. Had Raymond remained West Virginia might well have become an important centre for sociological studies; even in the short time of his presidency a relatively large number of graduate students were enrolled in sociology. He himself was the first person who was by professional training a sociologist to become the president of an American university.

In the foregoing course descriptions it can be said by way of summary that sociological courses by about 1900 fell into four basic categories: 1. Anthropological, where the emphasis was on evolutionary and emergent analyses of man's past leading to contemporary civilized societies; 2. Statistical, the courses of this type being concerned mainly with descriptive rather than analytical statistics (the science of statistics as it is known today being barely begun); 3. Sociological, or theoretical courses in sociology in which the usual conception of society was organic; and, 4. Problematical, or discussions of social problems of the time, normally specifically concerned with American society. Various other sorts of courses were beginning to appear of a greater specialization, for instance on the family, on cities, criminology, and the sociology of religion (the latter, for example, at Nebraska from 1900). Theological seminaries offered courses helpful to intending priests in their future pastoral work, and were keen supporters of getting students involved in the life of depressed areas. Sociology was rapidly becoming divorced from the other social sciences, as the increase in the number of sociology departments mentioned earlier indicates. A striking indication of this is also afforded by the number of American textbooks in sociology which appeared in the 1890's, and particularly from 1894, the publication year of the most popular text of the time, Small and Vincent's Introduction to the Study of Society. In order to obtain a fuller picture of the contents of sociology courses, therefore, the remainder

of this chapter will discuss some of the writers and textbooks recommended for these courses.

B. Textbooks

Lists of the writers and textbooks cited in connection with sociology courses will be found in Appendices E and F. Of the 227 institutions in which evidence was found of sociology teaching, 110 recommended textbooks or particular authors for their sociology courses in the catalogues. Thus a sample of just under 50% upon which to base generalizations of more detailed course contents is afforded by this number.

The pronounced influence of Comte and the positivistic orientation to social matters on the early writers of sociology in America has been demonstrated in Chapter II. By the time that sociology had become a university discipline Comte had been relegated to a 'founding father' position. At no university were his works actually recommended as texts (as were other authors writing in foreign languages), but he always figured prominently in courses describing the history of sociology, or the theory of sociology. A comparison of the types of courses in which Comte appeared and those in which Spencer did so shows quite clearly that on the whole Spencer was regarded very much as a modern sociologist, and Comte as a forerunner. Table I below gives an indication of the relative popularity of the most frequently cited writers up to 1901, the information being a distillation of the data to be found in

Appendices E and F. In the case of some of the texts, the author mentioned had written more than one of the books which was recommended (such as Giddings, Spencer and Tylor). For the purposes of the table, however, all references to each text have been added together. The next five most popular references were equally to Baldwin, Durkheim, Ely, Le Bon and Marx. In fact by 1901 all the major figures of nineteenth century sociology in Europe as well as America (including Simmel and Tönnies) had found their way into the syllabuses, notably under the support of Small and his associates at Chicago, and of Sumner at Yale.[22] The most notable neglect, perhaps, was that accorded to Sumner himself who today would certainly be regarded as one of the outstanding writers of sociology of the time. Small provides an interesting comment on Sumner's standing as a sociologist:

> It came to me as a surprise and a shock that he was thought of as second president of the American Sociological Society At that time (1907) he was not within my field of vision as even nominally a sociologist. I had forgotten that he had by implication referred to himself as a sociologist in a book which still seems to me a moving picture of what a sociologist should not be. 23

The publication of Folkways, however, in 1907 changed Small's

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22. An exception was Ratzenhofer, at least from the evidence compiled in this study. Small, however, has attested to his extreme acceptance of Ratzenhofer's views at this time, so presumably he passed on the word to his students. See, Small, A.W., Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States (1865-1915), American Journal of Sociology, XXI, 1916, p. 818ff. Neither Max Weber nor Pareto had made any recognized contribution to sociology by 1900.

23. Small, A.W., ibid., pp. 732-33. The book referred to is What Social Classes Owe to Each Other (1883). It should be noted also that so far as the present author has been able to discover Giddings made no reference to Sumner in any of his sociological publications before 1900.

TABLE I

ORDER OF FREQUENCY OF TEXTBOOK AND REFERENCE CITATIONS IN SOCIOLOGY COURSE DESCRIPTIONS, ALL YEARS UP TO 1901

Textbooks	Number of Recommend-ations	References	Number of Recommend-ations	Texts and References Combined	Number of Recommend-ations
1. Small & Vincent	42	1. Spencer	39	1. Giddings	54
2. Giddings	26	2. Giddings	28	2. Spencer	50
3. Spencer	11	3. Ward	26	3. Small & Vincent	44
4. Wright	9	4. Comte	25	4. Ward	34
5. Fairbanks	8	5. Schäffle	12	5. Comte	25
- Mayo-Smith	8	6. Kidd	10	6. Schäffle	14
- Tylor	8	7. Tarde	9	7. Kidd	13
- Ward	8	8. Gumplowicz	8	8. Plato	12
9. Bascom	7	- Plato	8	- Tylor	12
- Warner	7	10. De Greef	7	10. Wright	10

mind about Sumner in his competence as a sociologist. The small number of references to Sumner in Appendix E, of course, is partly owing to the fact that the majority of his publications up to the appearance of Folkways was in political economy with but a few scattered articles on sociological topics.[24] His general influence as a teacher is certainly not reflected in his minor place in the list of writers recommended. The remainder of this chapter will contain an outline of some of the most popular American books designed specifically as texts in sociology.

From the year of its publication (1894) Small and Vincent's An Introduction to the Study of Society[25] remained by far the most recommended sociology textbook for the rest of the decade. The authors' aim is an understanding of, rather than the reform of, society; thus the first requisite is to obtain a precise knowledge of social facts. The book is divided into five major sections which will be discussed briefly below.

1. Origin and Scope of Sociology. Sociology must be based on the same criteria of procedure as the natural sciences (observation, discrimination, classification and generalization) In this respect Comte was "not an oracle, but a herald of Sociology."[26] At the present time, say Small and Vincent, sociology

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24. See the bibliography of Sumner's writings in Sumner, W.G., War and Other Essays, (edited by A.G. Keller), New Haven, Yale University Press, 1911, pp. 377-81.

25. Small, A.W., and G.E. Vincent, An Introduction to the Study of Society, New York, American Book Company, 1894.

26. Ibid., p. 30.

is nothing more than a method having no body of secure results. Some of the outstanding influences on the development of sociology are discussed -- utopian schemes (Fourier, Owen, La Blanc), Christian Socialism ("The Christian Socialists ... have done good service in maintaining the position that ultimate Sociology must be essentially Christian."[27]), a number of socially inclined writers (Carlyle, Ruskin and William Morris), organized philanthropy, and socialism (St. Simon, Rodbertus, Proudhon, Bakunin and Marx). The remarks on socialism are particularly revealing in that Small and Vincent imply clearly that in many respects sociology owed its existence to socialism; that is, as a discipline of refutation. If the charges of the socialists against existing forms of society are to be taken seriously, they must be either proven or disproven. "In the Hegelian idiom, conventionality is the thesis, Socialism is the antithesis, Sociology is the synthesis."[28] Other influences on sociology have been political economy (a partial view of social facts), and the philosophy of history together with the new comparative approach to historical study. Some of the outstanding figures of sociology are discussed: Spencer (of whose work they state that "Such Sociology can have no more direct influence upon human progress as a census of the waves of the ocean could have upon the speed of ships."[29]), Comte, Le Play, Lilienfeld (whose work receives, rather curiously, favourable

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27. Ibid., p. 38.

28. Ibid., p. 41.

29. Ibid., p. 46.

mention as the point de départ of Small and Vincent's alleged reliance on precise observation), Schäffle, whose functionalism and 'empiricism' render his work the most important to date for the foundation of sociology, and Lester Ward, whose merit is in "his demonstration of the essentially psychical basis of social phenomena."[30]

After this catholic collection of mentors it comes as no surprise to learn that sociology should be regarded as the synthesis of all the particular social sciences. The influence of the extreme organicists, Lilienfeld and Schäffle, is apparent if muted in the description of society:

> ... a complex of activities and movements originated by the energy of those physical and psychical attributes which determine human motives. These elementary factors of social activity produce social phenomena that fall into groups, each of which is distinguished by certain common peculiarities. Society cannot be known through one group of these phenomena only, any more than matter can be known through a single one of its properties. Each of these groups of facts must be known separately, and then in its actual relation to coexisting groups, before society or social life can be understood. 31

Thus the task of the sociologist is to compile data from all the sciences of man such as biology, anthropology, psychology and history. This is known as 'descriptive sociology' as opposed to 'social statics' which is the equilibrium of a perfect society (and thus synonymous with social ethics and social ideals). Social statics are derived in theory from descriptive sociology, and implemented under the heading of the third main division of sociology -- 'social dynamics'. The organic

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30. Ibid., p. 52.

31. Ibid., p. 55.

conception of society held by Small and Vincent, which they regarded as fundamental for sociology, treads a slippery path: they claim that society is not a biological organism, but a distinctively social organism which shares with biological organisms certain major factors (such as interdependence, interrelation and the like). Thus there is no isomorphic identification and no direct analogy between biological and sociological forms. "We assume that every act in society, like every process in the animal organism, has a causal explanation, and a functional significance."[32] Such objectivity, however, does not prevent them from stating:

> The classes technically known as the defective, the dependent and the deliquent are outside of proper social relationships. They are dead or poisonous matter, foreign and dangerous to the social body. They are not of society in the same sense in which normal men are members of society. The task of society is not with them, but with itself. The capable, willing people who compose society in the true sense have a duty toward these unsocial people, but it is incidental. It is not the chief duty of society to act as guardian to these people, any more than it is the chief business of a railway corporation to repair broken rails. 33

In the same vein the readers are told that the aim of sociology "is the development of social health, not the cure of social disease",[34] a statement which ought to have stimulated many questions from students required to read the volume. What Small and Vincent are at pains to point out in these and other passages is that essentially sociology is concerned with the regular functioning of society, so that sociology is not to be

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32. Ibid., p. 95.

33. Ibid., p. 80.

34. Ibid., p. 80.

regarded as the 'theory and practice of charity' but rather "an effective policy of rational sociability which shall include the largest possible number of men in the fellowship of reciprocally helpful coöperation."[35] Thus Small and Vincent are not anti-amelioration, but proper scientific investigation has to precede the readjustment of society. Festina lente.

2. The Natural History of a Society. The second section is intended to demonstrate the various factors in social life as they appear at different stages of social organization (integration, specialization and interdependence), and a method of observation comprising all social activities in their interrelations, rather than the study of particular aspects of social life. The method adopted is a kind of ideal type, hypothetical reconstruction portraying the life history of a single couple settling in the American west up to the final establishment of a diversified city. The whole description, as befits an introductory textbook, is handled with simplicity, but it does illustrate with considerable clarity the kinds of concepts and ideas which the authors had put forward as sociological in the other parts of the volume.[36]

3. Social Anatomy. This refers to the systematic examination of social structures. Interpretation of society must begin

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35. Ibid., p. 82.

36. It is also true that this part could just as well appear in an economic history textbook.

with the analysis of men's desires and the conditions of their emergence. The personal wants of men are isolated in such a way that six categories are devised: health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty and righteousness. Within each of these there is a continuum; for example, the social instinct which produces sociability is said to vary between 'wolfishness' and 'brotherhood'. Statical sociology would determine 'what ought to be' for each of the categories in the ideal society. This is certainly the weakest part of the book, and Small and Vincent might have gained a good deal from Henry Hughes in this respect had they been aware of his Treaties on Sociology. The structures which they isolate fall under the headings of the primary social group (the family), aggregates, and organs. The family is primary not because it was necessarily the first social structure, but because it is the simplest permanent group to be found in society.[37] Aggregates are "coherent masses which may be divided without injury"[38] relying on solidarity on the expression of common interests and sympathies. They may be spontaneous (for example, blood relationships, nationalities) or voluntary (for example, professions, religious groups, social classes based on wealth). Organs on the other hand suffer injury and possible destruction if divided.

> Social organs ... (are) ... functional combinations of persons and property, i.e. peculiar arrangements of individuals and material elements to which is assigned the

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37. The lack of ethnological data in the book is most pronounced since Small and Vincent seem to have regarded sociology as the study of modern societies alone.

38. Ibid., p. 197.

performance of social tasks.[39]

Small and Vincent give the factory as an example of an organ, but their distinction based upon interest and sympathy will not hold. What they seem to be aiming at is some sort of instrumental/affective distinction, but they assign exclusive functional systems to discreet social institutions. The final element of social structures is the 'social nervous system'. The authors do not allow themselves to be carried away by the physiological parallels of their category, confining themselves to a routine discussion of the press, post-office, education, the church, government and so on, as communicating bodies (although they do refer to the transmission of psychic impulses along these channels).

4. Social, Physiology and Pathology. This section deals with the social functions performed by organs, always aiming at a state of stable equilibrium but never yet having achieved it. Growth and change occur by the readjustment of psychical force (which is, as it were, the basic input of a society), a notion which is clearly derived from Ward who might well have written:

> To study this growth of society, to discover laws of development, and to bring psychical forces to bear so that they may direct and hasten the movement toward a higher plane of collective and individual life, is the task of the scientific social reformer. 40

A classification of social functions is included "essential to

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39. Ibid., p. 204, italics in original.

40. Ibid., p. 239.

the maintenance of individual existence, and to the preservation and progress of social life"[41] grouped under the sustaining, transporting and regulating social organs (this being Spencer's trio with the substitution of 'transporting' for the Spencerian 'distributing' system). The family is taken as a microcosm which in some measure takes care of all the twelve functions[42] although there is no necessity that it should be the family which does this. A large chart[43] is included to show the distribution of functions at various stages of social organization; the first stages are shown thus on p. 208.

'Social pathology' (a division of social study which seems to have been named thus by Lilienfeld) is

> The study of all phenomena which are apparently inconsistent with the best interests of society, and the determination of clearly abnormal or unhealthful structures and functions ... 44

Small and Vincent do concede that normal/abnormal are relative terms and no absolute ethical (or sociological) standard may ever be attained (although this view does undermine the position of social statics surely). The main pathological

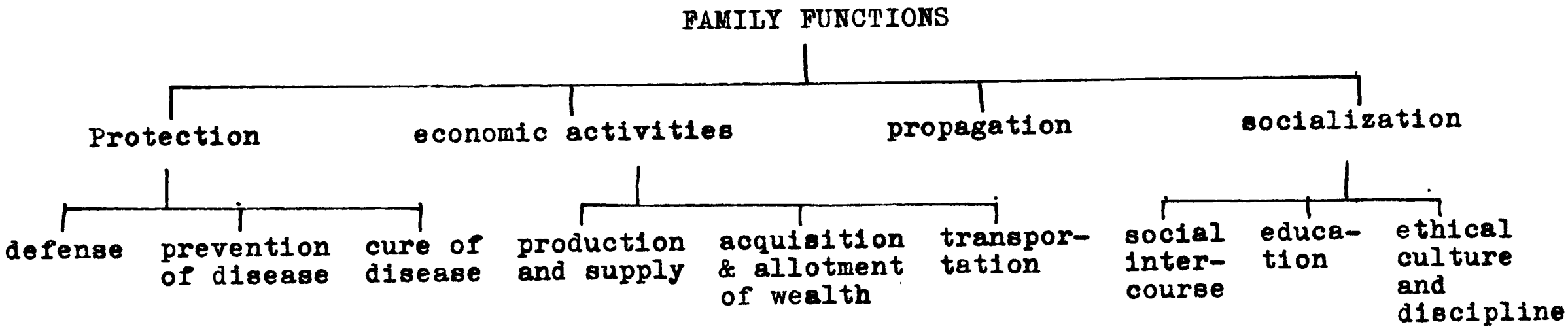
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41. Ibid., p. 240.

42. Sustaining system: 1. propagation 2. location or settlement 3. defence against nature 4. production of wealth.
Transporting system: 5. transportation (and exchange) 6. apportionment of wealth 7. transmission of wealth (inheritance)
Regulating system: 8. discovery and invention 9. communication of psychical impulses 10. intellectual training 11. discipline (ethical and social training) 12. control (coordination of activities).

43. Ibid., facing p. 250.

44. Ibid., p. 267.


FAMILY FUNCTIONS
Protection
economic activities
propagation
socialization
defense
prevention of disease
cure of disease
production and supply
acquisition & allotment of wealth
transportation
social intercourse
education
ethical culture and discipline

conditions of society are poverty, vice ("Baser thought and desires in the population find expression in institutions of many kinds, which, like sores upon an animal organism, are outward evidence of hidden maladies"[45]), crime, pauperism (distinguished from poverty in that paupers have to be supported by society, those who are poor are just poor), physical disability, and social inactivity ("There are large numbers of people who by virtue of economic arrangements live in selfish idleness so far as social service is concerned."[46]).

5. Social Psychology. The reader is now led into the arcane realm of the 'psychical resources of society' which are of three types: 1. knowledge, 2. standards of judgment, and 3. potential volitions.

> ... all the phenomena of society find their explanation in psychical force. Social structures are preserved and collective activities are carried on by this agency. It is the psychical potencies of society, knowledge, taste and criteria of conduct, which persist and constitute the real life of the organism. Material structures, technical devices, groupings of individuals, conduct, private and public, are simply the expression in tangible things, or invisible actions, of these mysterious forces. 47

A social mind is not actually postulated, although a dangerous tendency to reification is present in such statements as "... society must observe, know, feel,and act."[48] Occasionally

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45. Ibid., p. 271.

46. Ibid., p. 272. These are presumably the idle rich.

47. Ibid., p. 305.

48. Ibid., p. 347.

social psychology is referred to as 'super-psychology', that is, something related to individual psychology, but at the same time an autonomous realm. Not surprisingly the precise nature of the psychical forces remains in doubt. One of the laws of social psychology, for instance, is that "Social psychical energy cannot long be concentrated upon one object."[49] Even as an hypothesis it is difficult or impossible to see what use such a phrase might have; it is supposed to refer to the 'fickleness of the public mind' (or Schäffle's law of contrast). This is a case of a confusion of referents; sometimes there are actual contradictions. For example, here is a statement (which in itself is a piece of faulty logic): "Since all social functions are combinations of individual activities, it follows that so far as the social unit is concerned every social act is consciously performed."[50] Turn the page, however, and the statement is immediately contradicted: "Unconsciousness is a conspicuous characteristic of social activities and institutions."[51]

After a discussion of morality and law the book ends with a general recapitulation. For all their pretensions to scientific objectivity, Small and Vincent produced a distinctly moral and religious approach to sociology in their volume which must have greatly aided its wide acceptance as a textbook.[52]

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49. Ibid., p. 334.

50. Ibid., p. 317 (italics in original).

51. Ibid., p. 318.

52. Small's moralistic orientation is also clearly demonstrated in Sociology, Syllabus of a Course of Six Lecture-Studies, University of Chicago, Extension Division. University of Chicago Press, 1894.

This fundamentally ethical approach is present but less overt in the work of Giddings which, although it too suffers from the common tendency to construct dubious classificatory schemes and supposed axiomatic laws, contains more suggestive and imaginative material than that of Small and Vincent. Giddings turned his attention to sociology comparatively late in life, producing his first sociological article at the age of thirty-three in 1888.[53] The essential foundations of his sociology, however, quickly followed in the brief treatise The Theory of Sociology[54] which also forms, with a few significant changes, the first part of The Principles of Sociology.[55] Like Small, Giddings had a wide knowledge of contemporary sociological writings, but whereas Small was infected with the organicist views of Schäffle and Lilienfeld in particular, the most important influences on Giddings were the so-called psychological sociologists Tarde and Ward, and, to some extent, Durkheim; together with the biological reductionists such as Novicow and De Greef.

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53. The Sociological Character of Political Economy, Publications of the American Economic Association, III no. 1, 1888.

54. Supplement to the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, V no. 1, 1894. Parts of this had previously appeared in two articles: The Province of Sociology, ibid., I no. 1, 1890; and, Sociology as a University Study, Political Science Quarterly, VI no. 4, 1891.

55. The Principles of Sociology. An Analysis of the Phenomena of Association and of Social Organization. New York, Macmillan and Co., 1896. A second edition appeared in 1926.

The reader is left in no doubt of Gidding's psychological approach when he learns very early on in The Principles that "... all true social facts are psychical in their nature."[56] Sociology is defined as "an attempt to account for the origin, growth, structure, and activities of society by the operation of physical, vital and psychical causes, working together in a process of evolution."[57] The major postulates of sociology for Giddings are the 'equilibration of energy' and the famous 'consciousness of kind.'[58] It is the consciousness of kind that marks off the animate from the inanimate, and "which distinguishes social conduct, as such, from purely economic, purely political, or purely religious conduct; for it is precisely the consciousness of kind that, in actual life, continually interferes with the theoretically perfect operation of the economic, the political, or the religious motive."[59] This passage is decidedly obscure since Giddings does not go into what he means by a 'theoretically perfect operation' in the

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56. Ibid., p. 3. It should be pointed out that 'psychical' at this time was synonymous with 'psychological'. A present day reader may perhaps be forgiven for understanding 'psychic' for 'psychical' in the context of the prevalent discussions of 'psychical forces' and the 'social mind'.

57. Ibid., p. 8.

58. Neither of these phrases occurred in the earlier Theory of Sociology, although both are present in embryo. The consciousness of kind idea appears in the earlier treatise as follows: "In suggestion and imitation we have, beyond any doubt, the most primary, most elementary, social facts, for which we have been looking. They are the phenomena that differentiate association, in the true or social sense, from mere physical association or concourse." Loc. cit. p. 26. Tarde's Les Lois de l'Imitation had been published in Paris in 1890.

59. The Principles of Sociology, p. 18.

spheres which he mentions, nor indeed what, say, 'purely' economic conduct would be (although obviously he has in mind the classical 'Economic man'). Nonetheless, consciousness of kind is a 'social fact' of a distinctly sociological sort, the systematic study of which, in all its manifestations, would give a "complete subjective interpretation of society."[60] The basis for such a study must be strictly empirical along historical and comparative lines, both of which have qualitative and statistical aspects. Such empirical work, says Giddings, is logically antecedent to theoretical statements (which admirable premise did not, however, prevent him from designating a number of sociological laws on little or no empirical evidence).

The second part of the book deals with 'The Elements and Structure of Society' under the following headings:

1. Aggregation. This may be genetic, that is of blood relations, or congregate, or the coming together of non-related peoples.

2. Association. Whereas aggregation is a physical process, association is psychical and, therefore, forms a central part of Giddings's thought. The origin of the consciousness of kind lies in the very lowest forms of life (including amoebae):

> ... the earthworm, by doubling and coiling upon itself, learns to know the 'feel' of its own substance, and to know the difference between fellow-creatures of its own kind and all other things; and insects, through the contact of their legs and wings, and particularly of

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60. Ibid., p. 19. In the Inductive Sociology of 1901 Giddings distinguished five forms of his concept: 1. organic sympathy. 2. perception of resemblance. 3. reflective sympathy. 4. affection. 5. desire.

their antennae, acquire the same knowledge.[61]

One of the vital institutions for the development of the consciousness of kind is that of play and festivity. Somewhat grudgingly Giddings states that

> Deplorable as are the consequences of both gambling and drunkenness, the truthful scientific observer is forced to admit that in the early stages of social development these vices have served a useful function ... Among rude men intoxicants and narcotics have unquestionably helped to convert the physiological function of eating into the social function of festivity. In every savage and barbarous tribe that has learned to drink or to smoke, festivity is the commonest of social pleasures and is a strong social bond. 62

Giddings confuses matters not a little, however, in his use of the word 'social' in the cocktail party sense: "Take out of savage life its feasts and dances and the remaining social activity will be slight indeed."[63]

3. The Social Nature and Social Classes. Inequalities of physical, mental and moral power are said to be inevitable and a society is therefore always divided into three classes: 1. vitality classes (referring to the various combinations of birth and death rates, high, medium and low); 2. personality classes (geniuses and talented, the normal, the defective); 3. social classes. Once again there is confusion in the referent of the adjective social since the possible types in this

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61. Ibid., pp. 106-7. This idea of the origin of the consciousness of kind had first been put forward in Giddings's article Sociology and the Abstract Sciences: The Origin of the Social Feelings, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, V no. 5, 1895.

62. The Principles of Sociology, pp. 119-120.

63. Ibid., p. 118. This observation also appears in The Theory of Sociology.

section are (a) 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."[64] (b) the 'non-social', that is those who cling to a narrow individualism only having a partially developed consciousness of kind; (c) the 'pseudo-social', which comprises the congenital and habitual paupers or 'parasites'; (d) the 'anti-social', or the instinctive and habitual criminals in whom the consciousness of kind is 'approaching extinction'. These are the primary orders of class; others such as political and economic classes are secondary, and with these the sociologist is said not to be concerned. It has become quite clear by this stage that the consciousness of kind is a highly evaluative notion, and what Giddings is really about is to use his concept to grade people on a pre-ordained ethical scale. In what sense, for example, can it be said that a criminal's consciousness of kind is approaching extinction, except if the implication be that he does not accept the moral viewpoint of the respectable majority? Giddings obviously regarded the criminal code in quite a different light from the moral standards (overt at least) of the brownstone dwellers in Washington Square and the East Side.

4. The Social Mind. This concept is supposed to incorporate such matters as general desire, moral sense, public opinion and the general will. It is more than the sum of individual wills, dominating the latter. It is in fact 'more concrete'.

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64. The Principles of Sociology, p. 126.

It derives from the genesis of social self-consciousness (that is through aggregation and association) and is perpetuated through tradition (or the 'social memory') which is embodied in dominant social values, "the grounds of rational social choice."[65] Giddings's unwillingness to free himself from biological sociology leads to the rather preposterous idea that animal instincts are often partly traditional, which is a contradiction in terms.[66] It is the social mind that gives coherence to societies not only by means of concerted sets of values, but in language, an aesthetic tradition, religion and so on.

5. The Social Composition, consists of 'genetic aggregations' and 'congregate aggregations'. Thus there follows a discussion of the family, hordes, tribes and nations with numerous ethnological illustrations.

6. The Social Constitution. "The constitution of a society is the organization of its individual members into specialized associations for achieving various social ends"[67] such as schools, churches, governments and so on. Membership in the social constitution is not, therefore, determined by birth. In this chapter Giddings comes perilously close to contravening his contention that sociology is distinct from the other social sciences. Much of the chapter deals with the state in a way that is indistinguishable from a political science treatment of the subject. He says, rather too lamely, that the sociologist

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65. Ibid., p. 150.

66. See ibid., pp. 142-43.

67. Ibid., p. 171.

is concerned with the 'general factors' in such matters, the particulars being the province of the other social sciences.

The third part of the volume deals with the Historical Evolution of Society through the stages of zoögenic, anthropogenic, ethnogenic and demogenic associations.[68] This of course describes the progress of man out of the first 'conscious animals up to the state of civilization. There is little to distinguish Giddings's treatment from others of the time, but one or two points mentioned passim are worthy of special notice. In a footnote hidden amongst the discussion of anthropogenic association (which is largely a discussion of the origin of races) appears the observation on the beginnings of religion:

> I believe that all interpretations of religion which start from the assumption that fetichism, animal worship, nature worship, or ancestor worship was a primitive form from which all other forms were derived, are destined to be overthrown. The earliest beliefs were a jumble of ideas, and it was long before the elements of the different kinds of religion were discriminated. 69

This was a novel view at the time. In another passage he anticipated some of Durkheim's points in Suicide (published in 1897) where he states that the growth of liberalism, whilst generally a development to be applauded, is to some extent subversive of organized society: discrepancies between aspiration (for the fruits of progress) and the opportunity and capability for achieving them lead to "... failures in the life-struggle

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68. In the bibliography at the end of the book these terms assume their more normal forms of zoological, anthropological, ethnological, and demological.

69. Ibid., footnote 1, p. 249.

that are attributable to industrial changes, redistribution of population, and a feverish activity ..."[70] one result of which may be suicide. Giddings's view of progress involves the other major principle of sociology, the equilibration of energy, as the following passage shows:

> Objectively viewed, progress is an increasing intercourse, a multiplication of relationships, an advance in material well-being, a growth of population, and an evolution of rational conduct. It is a final display in the grand metamorphosis of universal evolution. It is a series of transformations of energy, and its ultimate nature therefore is found in a pecularity of the transformations. As a physical process, progress is the increasing conversion of modes of energy that are not accompanied by psychical manifestations, into modes of energy that are accompanied by psychical phenomena of increasing complexity. Subjectively, progress is the expansion of the consciousness of kind. 71

For Giddings, the growth of sympathy put forward by Tarde and Spencer, and Comte's primary emphasis on the development of intellect, are effects of the increasing consciousness of kind; thus once again he underlines the preeminence of his own concept for sociology.

In the fourth part Giddings discusses the Social Process which, in tune with the other parts of the book, is divided between physical and psychical distributions of energy, the former being transmuted into the latter at some stage of the development of consciousness. In this section Giddings's thought has strong affinities with that of Ward; for example, the notion of volitional association:

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70. Ibid., p. 349.

71. Ibid., p. 359.

> Knowing that personality depends on conditions that are established only by association, and knowing that we have the power to react on our environment, we seek to increase our satisfactions by perfecting our social relations. 72

This passage also shows clearly the extent to which Giddings, almost despite himself, removed sociology from biological determination. The unity of the self is almost entirely governed by the circumstances of social interaction, the only limitation lying in hereditary factors. But even the latter are governed in the first place by the social conditions of the environment. The continuity of the sciences, however, is underlined on one of the final pages of the book:

> ... while affirming the reality of sociological forces that are distinctly different from merely biological and from merely physical forces, the sociologist is careful to add that they are different only as products are different from factors, only as protoplasm is different from certain quantities of oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen and carbon; only as an organism and its coördinated activities are different from a group of nucleated cells having activities that are unrelated. 73

The year after the publication of The Principles of Sociology Giddings brought out The Theory of Socialization[74] which is a brief exposition of the ideas of the earlier book in 76 consecutive propositions, largely as an aid to teachers who had apparently found difficulty in deducing the 'laws' for themselves. Socialization, a word that Giddings had not used in the Principles, is defined as:

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72. Ibid., p. 386.

73. Ibid., p. 418.

74. The Theory of Socialization. A syllabus of Sociological Principles for the Use of College and University Classes. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1897.

> ... 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. 75

Giddings's next book, The Elements of Sociology,[76] also achieved wide recognition as a textbook. It was supposed to be completely different from the three former volumes, but in fact it is more or less a compendium of them. The organization of the book, however, is much more that of a textbook, with suggestions for further reading at the end of each chapter and clearly marked subdivisional headings within the chapters. The only important innovations are the appearance of the word socius (pl. socii) which is the unit of investigation in sociology (man being an animal, a conscious individual mind, and a socius), and an increase in the number of so-called sociological laws than in the previous writings.

The works by Small and Vincent and by Giddings were by far the most popular as foundations for the study and teaching of sociology and, particularly in the smaller colleges where the recitation system of instruction was dying a lingering death, they were frequently used as the only basis for sociology courses, the lecturer following the contents exactly. Other

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75. Ibid., p. 2, italics in original. Giddings credited Simmel with the first use of the word 'socialization' in a definition of sociology; but see the translator's note on the interpretation of 'Vergesellschaftung' in Wolff, K.H., The Sociology of Georg Simmel, Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1950, pp. lxiii-lxiv.

76. The Elements of Sociology. A Textbook for Colleges and Schools. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1898.

books, by American sociologists less well-known today, also received recommendations as study guides. One such was that by Arthur Fairbanks, a Yale teacher of ethics, Introduction to Sociology.[77] In this, sociology is defined as the science of society, and society as "... a group of men who live together in relations more or less permanent."[78] A distinction has to be made, says the author, between societies which come together for a short time for a specific purpose (social 'organs' or 'groups') and the larger society of which these are the constituent parts. For Fairbanks a total society is a culture, an example being Christian civilization. The primary object of sociology is the study of groups of men who have come to share a common life, and this it is that gives to sociology its special area of investigation. The importance of the individual has been too much emphasized in law, philosophy and religion since these disciplines assume that the individual can be abstracted from his social environment. Sociology, therefore, provides other disciplines with an overall view of the nature of man's relation to society and vice versa.

> Defined from this standpoint, sociology will deal 1. with the general structure of society, its organs, and their functions; and 2. with the laws governing social progress, or the evolution of new and more complex forms of social life. 79

Fairbanks hopes that a genuine science of society will develop

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77. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896. 2nd edition, revised, 1899.

78. Ibid., 2nd edition, p. 2.

79. Ibid., p. 15.

by the 'recognition of natural law in the social world' which man can then utilize for his further progress:

> The science of the evolution of society gives some clue to the next stage of social evolution, but it is hardly fair to call any such foreshadowed future state a social ideal. The science of society, in the narrow sense of the term which I have suggested, gives data by which I may pronounce the new form of society to be better or worse than those forms which have preceded; but it contains no 'ought', and in itself it lays no duties on any state or any church to bring in the future. 80

The book goes on to discuss the notion of society as an organism (which Fairbanks holds to have impeded the development of sociology as utilized by Spencer and some of the German writers) social forces (which should only be used in the singular to denote the energy of a particular social group), and most of the other concerns which have already been encountered in Giddings and in Small and Vincent. The bibliographies are particularly wide ranging and include works by, inter alia, Bagehot, H.C. Carey, Comte, Durkheim (The Division of Labour), Fouillée, Giddings, De Greef, Gumplowicz, J.S. Mackenzie, Novicow, Patten, Simmel, Spencer, Schäffle, Tarde, Tönnies and Ward, along with various studies in Culturgeschichte and the philosophy of history, and ethics (especially by Wundt, Höffding and Paulsen).

One of the dullest of the American textbooks was John Bascom's lengthy and repetitive Social Theory[81] which was designed for the general student of sociology, prompted by a 'progressive temper'. Bascom's analysis centers around five

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80. Ibid., p. 27, italics in original.

81. Social Theory. A Group of Social Facts and Principles. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1895.

forms of 'organic force' in society: customs, economics, civics (which is concerned with the laws, written and, misleadingly, customary, which unite men in the state), ethics and religion. Each division may be studied separately, but studied together, as they modify one another and collectively build up society, they form the subject matter of sociology. The five forms are regrouped as 1. Customs, 2. Economics and Civics, and 3. Ethics and Religion.

> The first group is that of primitive, instinctive organic forces; forces which initiate social activity, precede deliberate, voluntary action, and always underlie it as the more intangible and unchangeable terms of social life. The second group includes forms of action which are in a large measure voluntary, and are, therefore, subject to deliberation. The intelligent life of man enters into them ... They have a distinctly physical bearing. Food, shelter, safety, are immediately involved in them. The third group pertains to action in its least sensuous and most spiritual incentives. The law and the impulse are of an interior, personal character. They are deeply penetrated and thoroughly pervaded by self-conscious and self-directed impulses ... They are open ... at any moment to a new disclosure of power in some one person. 82

The three groups stand in a definite line of development:

> Customs predominating, we have a barbarous or a semi-civilized form of society. Personal interests and civic dependencies in the ascendancy, we have the more advanced forms of civilization. The spiritual impulses uppermost, we pass into that enlightenment, that wide, adequate vision, which still, for the most part, lies before us. 83

The distinctions between Bascom's organic forms is very hazy since 'custom', for instance, enters into the definitions of civics and of ethics. Bascom also makes a distinction between the organic forces and the 'facts of attainment' (such as

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82. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

83. Ibid., p. 13.

wealth, means of production, language, knowledge, art, spiritual belief and so on) which either meet or modify the organic forces. It is not at all clear what this particular distinction is supposed to rest on. A charitable interpretation would be that the facts of attainment are the concrete enactments of the organic forces; for example, specific religious beliefs arising from the general religious force.

The number of authors referred to in the book is small: W.E.H. Lecky and D.A. Wells appear the most frequently; Spencer is mentioned but once, Comte and Schäffle and most other European sociologists not at all (Kidd is an exception). There are no references to contemporary American sociologists, with the possible exception of C.D. Wright who was primarily a statistician. Wright wrote one of the works which was widely used in social problems courses.[84] Other works of this type were Amos G. Warner's American Charities,[85] and those of Charles Henderson, one of the original members of the Chicago Social Science Department and Chaplain to the University.

Henderson's An Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective and Delinquent Classes[86] was designed as a textbook for those primarily interested in social problems (Henderson mentions charity workers and clergymen), and gives a good indication of some of the assumptions underlying the so-called

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84. Outline of Practical Sociology, with Special Reference to American Conditions, New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1899.

85. New York, Boston, T.Y. Crowell, 1894.

86. Boston, D.C. Heath and Company, 1893.

applications of sociology.

> A sustaining purpose of high order is required for the study of dependency, because a thorough knowledge demands of us that we submit our senses of sight, hearing and smell to very disagreeable phenomena. Investigation cannot be entirely by proxy. 87

There are degrees of dependency, the extreme form of which being pauperism:

> The pauper is a social parasite who attaches himself to other members of the community, and, by living at the expense of others, like a Hermit Crab, suffers loss of faculty by atrophy and disuse. 88

By statistical demonstration Henderson points out the financial cost of the dependent classes in England and the United States, as well as the 'moral cost', by which he means that pauperism leads to crime and disease. Implicitly arguing against the social laissez-faire of Sumner and Spencer and placing himself firmly on the melioristic side Henderson states that "They count without facts who trust to the inherent and natural forces of society to root out this threatening element."[89] Society he divides into two general classes: 1. progressive, that is the self-supporting, law-abiding and industrious; 2. stationary or retrogressive, being dependents (children, the old and paupers), defectives (the infèrm of body or mind), and delinquents:

> In this section are placed for study all those who have forfeited their place in society by reason of violating laws which are designed to protect life, personal security, property and character. 90

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87. Ibid., p. 2.

88. Ibid., p. 5.

89. Ibid., p. 13.

90. Ibid., p. 14.

The task of the student of these matters is the search for causes leading to the various 'violations', the causes being broadly grouped as hereditary, environmental and 'personal' (that is, situations in which freedom of choice and responsibility must be taken into account). Henderson allies himself fairly clearly with the advocates of state control for dependenc; relief in most instances, but at all times the relief agency must be careful not to 'pauperize' the dependent by distributing actual money which he would almost certainly use unwisely; work must always accompany relief.

Henderson interestingly points to the existence of social ranks among professional criminals of whom he certainly had a better understanding than Giddings: "There is nothing unintelligible in their conduct"[91] for example:

> Theft is an evil direction of the universal desire for the means of satisfying physical and other wants. Erotic vices are exaggerations of sins not unknown in polite society. 92

As a textbook writer, Henderson's method is encyclopaedic in the putting forward of different views, but his section on the physical anthropology of the criminal seems to show his credence of the atavistic and physical theories of criminality (Lombroso and Ellis). His own view is not entirely clear, however, since a little further on he is prepared to say:

> All human beings are affected by the tendency to imitate, and this is especially true of the young and the untaught.

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91. Ibid., p. 111.

92. Ibid., p. 112.

> Hence the power of the immediate social environment. To these universal impulses are due several phenomena of criminal life of supreme social interest. 93

To an extent he follows the notion that the criminal is a primitive in an advanced society (primitive tribes as such Hunderson regarded as immoral). The ultimate cure of all social evils is to be found in the spreading of 'spiritual force': "The Author of that force is present everywhere, and at all times, and his energy is the only adequate, and therefore scientific explanation of humanitarian progress."[94] Almost half of the book is concerned with crime and its treatment, including a typically equivocal discussion of the various possible purposes of punishment.

The other work of Henderson cited in Appendix E, Social Elements,[95] is more of a general textbook of sociology written, the author says, from the point of view neither of pessimism nor optimism, but that of 'meliorism'. As such the sections on social problems are more prominent than those of a more theoretical nature, and are similar in content to the concerns of the previous volume.

The most pronounced tendency of the kind of sociology which the foregoing texts demonstrate was one of haphazard classifica-

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93. Ibid., p. 138.

94. Ibid., p. 170.

95. Social Elements. Institutions, Character, Progress. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898.

tion largely on the basis of a priori judgements. That society would improve was in no doubt, although there were differences of opinion as to the mechanism by which this would come about. There was certainly a general feeling that sociology needed to be an empirical science, but very little indication, and perhaps little understanding, of the relationship between the sociological laws (which were at best hypotheses and sometimes merely dogmas) and empirical research. Where the early sociologists considered themselves to be most original, namely in the building of their dubious systems, is precisely the aspect of their work which has proved least valuable in subsequent years. Faced with the intractable and ill-understood phenomenon of society there was a tendency for its students to posit some all-embracing principle, such as social force, as an adequate explanation of diversified social manifestations. As Small wrote in retrospect of late nineteenth century sociology: "We alleged processes more than we detected them."[96] Writing of the approximate period 1890 to 1905 he stated:

> Sociology was more of a yearning than a substantial body of knowledge, a fixed point of view, or a rigorous method of research. It was rather a determination to follow a few promising clues, to see whither they would lead, than an assured body of scientific results or an adequate methodology for reaching results ... Neither in 1892 nor in 1901 had Sociology justified itself as a body of doctrine, as a point of view, or as a method of research. 97

By 1900, however, sociology was a sufficiently autonomous area

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96. Small, A.W., Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States (1865-1915), American Journal of Sociology, 21, 1961, p. 806.

97. Ibid., p. 802.

of study so that, in a sense, there was no going back. There was a number of academics who regarded themselves as professional sociologists, enough for them to break away from the American Economic Association to establish the American Sociological Society in 1905. In the preface to the second edition of Dynamic Sociology (1897) Ward expressed a view of the development of sociology which would have received emphatic endorsement from these professionals:

> From such humble beginnings ... and, in the face of such obstacles and open opposition, the science ... has marched steadily forward until its name is now in the mouths not only of students and writers, but also of educationalists and statesmen, and its future culture and popularity are assured. Judging from its rapid rise, and all the signs of the times, it bids fair to become the leading science of the twentieth century as biology has been that of the nineteenth. 98

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98. Ward, L.F., Dynamic Sociology, or, Applied Social Science, as Based upon Statical Sociology and the Less Complex Sciences. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 2nd edition, 1897, p. x.

Chapter VI

THE TEACHERS OF SOCIOLOGY

A significant indication of the growing intrusion of social science, and more particularly of sociology into institutions of higher education can be seen in the increase of teachers of these subjects. By 1900 there was not one major institution in the United States which did not offer some sociology to its students. From 1872, the date of the first appointment in social science, until 1900 almost three hundred people were engaged at one time or another, either with their whole energies or in a partial capacity, in the propagation of the new subject. In that year itself there were some two hundred and twenty-five teachers, whereas a decade before, in 1890, there had been twenty-nine, and in 1880 a mere four teachers. The years of the 1890's of course, were those of the nineteenth century which saw the greatest growth of staff in the colleges and universities in most subjects. In social science, however, the growth was a particularly marked one, seeing as it did the increase in the numbers of social science specialists, and the rather gradual levelling off in the proportion of those university presidents whose job entailed the teaching of social science, to the total numbers of those teaching social science. Thus a growing professionalization can be detected, together with a growing recognition that in order to be a social scientist or a sociologist it was neces-

sary that one should have had some specific training in the field. Although the absolute numbers of presidents doing part-time social science teaching continued to increase up to 1900 (when there were in fact forty-one),[1] this may simply be explained by the fact that more and more colleges came to recognize the need for such teaching, and not all of them could afford to provide themselves with someone whose time would be solely devoted to this. In the process of shedding light, therefore, on the state of sociology in nineteenth century America, consideration must be given to the teachers of sociology and to the various titles which they were given. Clearly it is not possible to give detailed information about all of them, but some interesting facts do emerge from a general study of these men.[2]

The Training of Teachers.

The general influence of the German system of higher education, and particularly the German conception of the university, has been mentioned in a previous chapter. The German ideals of Lernfreiheit and Lehrfreiheit had a particular relevance to the new social scientists, engaged as they

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1. One of this number was in any case a fully-fledged sociologist : Jerome Hall Raymond, who had presented one of the first two dissertations for Ph.D. for the Chicago Sociology Department in 1895, was President of the University of West Virginia from 1897 to 1901.

2. Disposal can at once be made of the female social science teachers: there were just six, or 2.02%, in the total of 298.

often were in the dissemination of social thinking that was decidedly upsetting to the holders of more conservative views. Thus four of the most prominent scholars who were engaged in the teaching of sociology were the central foci of crucial cases involving academic freedom: Sumner, Ely, Ross, and Commons.

William Graham Sumner (1840-1910) ran into difficulties at Yale over his recommendation of Spencer's Study of Sociology to his undergraduate students. In December 1879 the President of Yale, Noah Porter, asked Sumner to withdraw the book from out of the hands of untried students since, he said, freely and unfairly "it attacks every Theistic Philosophy of society and of history..."[3] Thus Spencer's "pamphleteering style, which is very unlike most of Spencer's more solid treatises" was thought by Porter to have the power to bring "intelectual and moral harm to the students." In the ongoing controversy Sumner replied to Porter by way of 'A private and personal communication to the members of the Corporation and to the permanent officers of Yale College.'[4] In this interesting document Sumner, with characteristic force, defends his choice of the Study of Sociology on the grounds that this book was the only one available which could be recommended from a 'scientific point of view.' That the volume had deficiencies

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3. quoted in Starr, H.E., William Graham Sumner, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1925, pp. 346-47.

4. dated New Haven, June 1881. Printed in Starr, ibid., pp. 357-366.

Sumner was ready to admit, but to ban it on vague theological or metaphysical grounds seemed to him quite absurd. The point at issue for Sumner was whether this particular book of Spencer was scientifically cogent. Sumner thought so, and in fact won the day in his fracas with Porter (that he later withdrew the book because of the publicity which this matter stirred up certainly does not diminish Sumner's victory). Thus the point at issue here was the freedom of a professor in the choice of what he was to teach. Strong character as he was in any case, Sumner's own experience of university life in Germany at Göttingen in 1863, had always impressed him greatly. A Germanic pursuit of knowledge for its own sake in the most thorough manner possible was certainly a mark of Sumner's own dedicated life of scholarship.[5]

Another highly influential teacher of sociology to become involved in a major academic controversy was Richard T. Ely (1854-1943) who had been one of the stars in the prominent members of an outstanding faculty at The Johns Hopkins University, as Professor of Political Economy from 1881 to 1892. Frederick Jackson Turner, the distinguished historian, had been a participant in Ely's graduate classes at The Johns Hopkins before moving on to the University of Wisconsin. At this latter institution Turner was the chief initiator of the idea for a School of Economics, Political Science and History,

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5. "Keep cool and damn all metaphysics" said Sumner, as reported by his devoted student and disciple A.G. Keller in his Reminiscences (Mainly Personal) of William Graham Sumner. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1933.

and he was keen to have Ely as its first Director. It so happened that Ely was not particularly satisfied with his position at Baltimore, having failed to be appointed full professor, among other complaints, and he was induced to travel westward to set up the new School at a salary of three thousand five hundred dollars, more than any other professor at Wisconsin was then receiving, and with the promise of five thousand dollars, a very large sum indeed, for developing an adequate library. Ely's decision to go to Wisconsin was indeed a great triumph for this middle Western institution. As Curti and Carstensen say in their excellent history of the University: the setting up of the School

> ...meant that Wisconsin was to be a pioneer in the Middle West in promoting social science on an advanced level; that the appointment of so well-known a scholar as Ely from a leading Eastern university focused the attention of the whole academic world on Wisconsin; and that at last implementation was to be given to a hitherto neglected aspect of the time-worn idea that the state university should serve the public not only in the training of lawyers, engineers, and teachers, and in the development of natural resources and agricultural improvement, but in the schooling of administration and citizenship.[6]

Thus Ely went to the University of Wisconsin in 1892. In fact he directed the School from that date until 1925 when he moved on to Northwestern University; but within two years of his arrival at Wisconsin certain of his views caused great concern to the Regents so recently elated at their new catch. Ely, like Sumner, had received part of his training in German

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6. Curti, M. and V. Carstensen, The University of Wisconsin. A History. 1848-1925. 2 Vols., Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1949. See Vol. I, p. 632.

universities, having been awarded a Ph.D. at Heidelberg in 1879; he had also been a faculty member in what must be regarded as having been America's leading institution of higher education at least until the early 1890's: The Johns Hopkins University, most of whose faculty at its founding in 1876 had been trained at German universities (of the fifty-three faculty members, thirteen had German doctorates). The academic atmosphere at The Johns Hopkins, therefore, presided over by a dauntless champion of academic freedom, Daniel Coit Gilman, was one in which German ideals and methods were paramount. Naturally Ely did not suddenly abandon those ideals, and the trouble at Wisconsin centered around freedom of political action and freedom in teaching. In 1894 the State Superintendent of Education for Wisconsin, himself on the Board of Regents of the University, published a letter in the New York Nation accusing Ely of assisting by personal involvement in a strike amongst printers in Madison; not only this, but also that Ely was teaching socialism within the walls of the hallowed seat of learning. The matter was public, and the Board of Regents were forced to act. The details of the trial before the Regents need not be reported here. Suffice it to say that the charges against Ely that he was the abetter of strikes was proved false, that he did indeed teach socialism but was not a socialist, and that the Regents themselves produced a strongly worded defence of academic freedom, which reads in part:

> ...we could not for a moment think of recommending the dismissal or even the criticism of a teacher even if

> some of his opinions should, in some quarters, be regarded as visionary. Such a course would be equivalent to saying that no professor should teach anything which is not accepted by everybody as true... In all lines of academic investigation it is of the utmost importance that the investigator should be absolutely free to follow the indications of truth wherever they may lead. [7]

An even more spectacular case of a social scientist in controversial waters was that of Edward Allsworth Ross (1866-1951) in his troubles at the new Leland Stanford Junior University (afterwards Stanford University). Ross had spent a year at the University of Berlin, and completed his training under the impeccable auspices of The Johns Hopkins in 1889-91, gaining a doctorate in Political Economy in 1891. David Starr Jordan, the President of Indiana University from 1885 to 1891, recruited Ross to his staff at Indiana in that year. Jordan, who had been an outstanding success at Indiana, then received the call to be the first President of the magnificently endowed Leland Stanford, and Ross, after a year as Associate Professor of Political Economy and Finance at Cornell, followed Jordan to the far West, becoming Professor of Administration and Finance at Stanford in 1893. The dominant figure at Stanford was Mrs Stanford, the widow of the founder, and a woman who entertained very strong views on what her faculty should or should not do. The trouble over Ross reached fruition at his expression of two opinions: firstly

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7. quoted in Curti and Carstensen, ibid., Vol. I, p. 525. See also Hofstadter, R. and W. Metzger, The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States, New York, Columbia University Press, 1955, pp. 425-436. For Ely's own account see his autobiographical Ground Under Our Feet, New York, 1938.

his view that Japanese immigration into California should not be allowed on the grounds that the general standard of living would be lowered; secondly there was his address in the Unitarian Church, Oakland, in which he outlined what he saw to be an inevitable drift toward the public ownership of water and gas, and his opinion that the street railways would probably pass through a period of municipal ownership and then revert to private ownership. (The Stanfords had made a fortune in railways). These matters, however, were only those which tried Mrs Stanford's patience beyond endurance. During 1895 Ross had made public pronouncements advocating the free coinage of silver, thereby giving support to William Jennings Bryan in his Democratic presidential campaign of 1896. Mrs Stanford was disturbed about this, not, she said, because she necessarily disagreed with Ross, but rather that she did not want any of her faculty to be involved in such an exceedingly hot political issue. (Ross's views on this were widely known, and he was one of the very few academic economists who advocated free silver.) The President, Jordan, appeased the anger of Mrs Stanford in 1896 by having Ross's title changed from that of Professor of Finance and Administration to that of Professor of Sociology, and Ross was persuaded not to give any more courses in finance. Mrs Stanford had actually requested Ross's dismissal at this time, and pressed once again for his removal when she heard that he had addressed the Socialist Club of Oakland during 1898. Ross wisely spent the academic year 1898-99 in Europe, but Mrs Stanford again and

this time successfully called for his resignation after his Japanese immigration pronouncements. In her view, Ross was a highly dangerous influence on the students, and she looked upon him as some kind of monstrous socialist or anarchist. Undoubtedly there were indiscretions on the part of each of the protagonists in the Ross affair. Ross himself was headstrong and forthright, having, according to an eye witness of the whole matter, a vocabulary "pungent with the aroma of the soil."[8] Mrs Stanford had a decidedly matriarchal view of her responsibilities; but perhaps President Jordan emerges in the worst light. At Stanford the power of appointing professors lay in the hands of the Trustees, but the power of dismissal was vested in the President. Jordan had been enthusiastic in his recruitment of Ross, having written to Mr Stanford:

> I think of all the men in the country in this line of work, Dr Ross is the most promising. He has originality, energy, and force of character, and in his investigation of financial and administrative questions he shows himself entirely free from either political prejudices or the prejudices of books. [9]

Jordan having been loyal to his professor on a number of occasions by having persuaded Mrs Stanford that Ross should not be asked to resign, eventually succumbed to her wishes.[10] This

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8. Elliot, O.L., Stanford University. The First Twenty-Five Years. Stanford University Press, 1937, p. 332.

9. quoted in Elliot, O.L., ibid., p. 331.

10. Ross went on to the University of Nebraska as Professor of Sociology from 1900 to 1906. The Chancellor at Nebraska at this time was E. Benjamin Andrews, another academic victim on account of his economic views. This former President of Brown University had resigned the latter office partly because of a dispute with the Brown Trustees over his support of bimetallism.

he had no need to do - Mrs Stanford was Chairman of the Trustees, but he was President. The case caused a considerable furore both within the University (several other professors resigned over Jordan's treatment of Ross) and outside. An ad hoc group of social scientists produced a document entitled Report of the Committee of Economists on the Dismissal of Professor Ross from Leland Stanford Junior University.[11] The Committee was presided over by E. R. A. Seligman and approved by fifteen leading social scientists (including among others H. C. Adams, R. T. Ely, F. H. Giddings, R. Mayo-Smith, S. N. Patten and F. W. Taussig). This body, however, produced a lame document since Jordan refused to give them access to many papers, and refused to specify the precise reasons for Ross's dismissal.[12] The actual role of the Trustees in the Ross affair has never been adequately settled, and indeed it may be that they were using Mrs Stanford to put forward their objections without detection.[13]

Sumner, Ely and Ross had all been well acquainted with the German system, and the latter two with its virtual importation into the United States in the shape of The Johns Hopkins

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11. No publishing details, 1901.

12. The group failed to receive official sanction from the American Economic Association and therefore was treated by Jordan quite legitimately as a set of private individuals.

13. An excellent account of the Ross case is to be found in Elliot, O.L., op. cit., pp. 326-78. Elliot was Registrar at Stanford from 1891 to 1925. Elliot says, rather over-dramatically, that the whole matter "was, and still remains, the great tragedy in the history of the University", see p. 378.

University. John Rogers Commons (1862-1945) had also done graduate work in Baltimore, from 1889 to 1890, in History and Politics. He failed to get a degree, but the social liberalism of his undergraduate days at Oberlin College was further encouraged in his contact with Ely and others at The Johns Hopkins. After leaving his graduate school Commons taught political economy at Wesleyan, Oberlin and Indiana before becoming Professor of Sociology and Civics at Syracuse University in 1895 (his title became Professor of Sociology the following year). Essentially pragmatic in his intellectual pursuits, it was not long before he became involved in a dispute over his methods at Syracuse. The Chancellor (equivalent to President) of Syracuse from 1893 to 1921 was James R. Day, a Methodist pastor who had had scant association with universities until his election to Syracuse. He was, however, particularly keen that Syracuse should develop work in sociology, and in 1894 had written:

> The science of society as related to the sanitary modes of life in cities and to pauperism, crime, charity, temperance, etc., is coming to be a subject of vast importance and it is appealing to large-minded men. Anarchism, Coxeyism, and labor-strikes are hints that the time has come for the Colleges to train men in domestic and social as well as political economics. At a distant date we must have a School of Sociology here. We should make a beginning by at least a course of lectures in Sociology this coming year. [14]

Large-minded Chancellor Day, therefore, engaged Commons to do this teaching, and it seemed an excellent choice. At Indiana

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14. quoted in Galpin, W.F., Syracuse University, 2 Vols., Syracuse University Press, 1960. Vol. I The Growing Years, p. 11.

University Commons had founded a Christian Socialist Society, and he was a prominent young religious reformer in whom Day was well pleased (Day called Commons his 'crusading professor').[15] Commons's style therefore, was essentially one of involvement: one could only be a good social scientist by direct observation of life conditions. His students were directed to look upon the city of Syracuse as their laboratory.[16] He went too far, however, when he organized the establishment of a University Co-operative store, which he said was to be a "practical application of our theories of co-operation and socialism."[17] The faculty and administration of the University approved the venture, but rumblings were soon heard from the worthy merchants of Syracuse. In fact the idea was not to undersell them, but simply to distribute the profits among the stockholders at the end of each year. "Sensitive to criticism, especially when it stemmed from sources whose support of the University was not expendable, the Chancellor began to cramp these experiments in democracy and education. Soon Professor Commons found life increasing in complexity and annoyance. A crisis was reached

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15. in 1894 Commons published a collection of essays entitled Social Reform and the Church, New York, Boston, T.Y. Crowell & Co., 1894.

16. The Catalogues of Syracuse between 1895 and 1899 list 'research' as a requirement for students writing theses in sociology. Examples of topics are: the unemployed, intemperance, hours of labor, public poor relief, police and criminals, etc.

17. see Common's article in University Forum, May 5th, 1896.

in the winter of 1898-99."[18] The upshot of the matter was that Day announced Commons's retirement for May 1899. The faculty rallied round and expressed confidence in Commons as a man, a scholar and a teacher. The press darkly intimated that he was being forced to leave for politically heretical teaching; Commons himself said that he was leaving to undertake the study of trusts and combines in Europe and America. In his autobiography he later wrote: "I was not dismissed but my chair was pulled out from under me."[19] Later Ely was to be instrumental in recruiting both Commons and Ross to the faculty of Wisconsin, the former in 1904, and the latter as Professor of Sociology, in 1906 (a post which Ross held until his retirement in 1937). This trio of the maligned gave to Wisconsin in the early decades of the new century a reputation in social science teaching which few other universities could approach.

These four cases give some indication of the kinds of battles which young social scientists had to wage against entrenched ideas concerning the duties of the teacher. In all cases the victims had undergone considerable exposure to the German way, and for all of them the pursuit of knowledge as truth was the guiding principle. Clearly Sumner and Ely, at the times of their incidents, were already leaders in their chosen fields of study, and Commons and Ross were on the verge

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18. Galpin, W.F., op. cit., p. 24.

19. Commons, J.R., Myself, New York, Macmillan Co., 1934, p. 58.

of becoming such. These, however, were by no means the only leaders amongst the early teachers of sociology who received important parts of their training at The Johns Hopkins and at German universities. On the information available it would appear that just under twelve per cent of the social science teachers up to 1900 received some training at European universities, (thirty-five out of the total two hundred and ninety-eight), at some fifteen institutions. By far the most popular university was Berlin which attracted seventeen post-graduate students who were to teach sociology in American institutions. It seems reasonable to suppose that some of these students at Berlin would have elected to attend the lectures of Max Weber in Law during 1891-93, and many those of Simmel in Philosophy and Sociology. (Simmel was Privatdozent in Philosophy there from 1885 to 1900 when he became an Ordinary Professor). In the later years of the decade they would have heard Vierkandt. Surprisingly, none of the seventeen gained a doctorate at Berlin. In accordance with the high degree of mobility associated with the free system of the German universities, many students studied at more than one of them. A list follows of such participation at European universities. (The list is almost certainly not definitive, but it does give an indication that many of the outstanding social scientists engaged in sociology came under the European influence):

GERMANY

University of Berlin. E.L. Bogart 1894-95; J.W. Burgers, early 1870's; C.W. Dabney 1878-90; W.E.B. Du Bois, two years in the early 1890's; E.D. Durand 1897; C.A. Ellwood 1897-98; H.C. Emery 1896-97; L.M. Keasbey 1890-91; P.G. Knowlton 1893-94; W.C. Mains 1894-96; R. Mayo-Smith 1875-76; B.H. Meyer 1894-95; E.A. Ross 1888-89; A.W. Small 1879-80; W.I. Thomas 1888-89; G.G. Wilson 1890-91; A.B. Woodford, early 1880's.

University of Freiburg. A. Fairbanks, Ph.D. 1890.

University of Göttingen. C.W. Dabney, Ph.D. 1880; W.G. Sumner 1864; W.I. Thomas 1888-89.

University of Halle-Wittenburg. E.L. Bogart, Ph.D. 1897; R.T. Ely 1878; F.A. Fetter PhD. 1894; S.M. Lindsay Ph.D. 1892; W.C. Mains Ph.D. 1896; F.G. Peabody, early 1870's.

University of Heidelberg. R.T. Ely Ph.D. 1879; R. Mayo-Smith 1876-77; U.G. Weatherly 1893-94.

University of Leipzig. M.M. Curtis Ph.D. 1890; P.G. Knowlton Ph.D. 1896; J.I. Manatt Ph.D. 1877; A.W. Small 1879-80; U.G. Weatherly 1893-94.

University of Strasbourg. (Alsace being ceded to Germany from 1871 to 1918) L.M. Keasbey R.P.D. 1892.

AUSTRIA

University of Vienna. F. Monteser Ph.D. 1885 (Austrian born).

BELGIUM

Catholic University of Louvain. W.J. Kerbey Ph.D. 1897.

FRANCE

Sorbonne. H.H. Powers 1886-88; G.G. Wilson 1890-91.

College de France. H.H. Powers 1886-88.

Ecole des Sciences Politiques. A.B. Woodford, early 1880's.

GREAT BRITAIN

University of Durham. G.F. Holmes 1836-37 (as an undergraduate).

University of Edinburgh. W. Caldwell D.Sc. (Scottish born).

University of Oxford. W.G. Sumner 1863; G.G. Wilson 1890-91.

SWITZERLAND

University of Geneva. W.G. Sumner 1865.

UNSPECIFIED:

F.S. Baldwin and H.W. Farnam had both gained the degree of R.P.D. before 1900. This is a European doctorate (Rerum Politicarum Doctor), but no trace could be found of the institutions involved in these cases. 20

The number of doctorates gained at European universities was small: fifteen if those of Baldwin and Farnum are included; but a slight trend can be detected if the years in which these were gained are compared with the years in which sociology teachers gained American Ph.D.'s. Up to and including 1892 eight European doctorates were gained, from 1893 to 1900 five (none at all, in fact, from 1898). In these same two periods, however, the granting of doctorates to future teachers of sociology in American universities betrays a distinct numerical increase: before 1893 seventeen, from 1893 to 1900 thirty-one.[21] Thus the two sets of figures are in-

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20. G.H. Mead studied at Berlin and Leipzig, but he does not appear in this study since up to 1900 his teaching concerns lay in philosophy and experimental psychology. The famous course in social psychology at Chicago came later.

21. There is some difficulty in regarding the figure 17 as exact: it was the practice in American universities to grant the Ph.D. honoris causa in great numbers. Such degrees were granted on fewer and fewer occasions as the 19th century progressed, and 17 represents those doctorates which were quite definitely awarded for work undertaken for the degree.

versely related, and give some indication of the growing importance of the native universities as training institutions for sociologists.

Little can be said concerning the colleges which conferred first degrees upon the sociology teachers. Certainly all the major universities and colleges produced one or more of the two hundred and ninety-eight. Harvard and Yale, as one would expect since they were the most prolific of all institutions in the nineteenth century, produced the largest numbers. Yale is in fact the leader, and undoubtedly the influence of Sumner must be the paramount factor here. Sumner's courses at Yale were attended by practically everyone at the University, so great was his reputation as a teacher.[22] At Harvard, both in the College and in the Divinity School, courses in social problems, ethics and social reform were presided over by Francis G. Peabody (1847-1936) from 1884, and these achieved great popularity.[23] Peabody was an early exponent of the ideas summated in the Social Gospel movement, and taught his course by means of a sort of case method such as was used so successfully in the Law School, thereby developing what he termed an 'inductive

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22. Many writers have testified to Sumner's influence and his drawing power as a teacher. See, for example, The Autobiography of David Kinley, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1949, pp. 22-23. Also Keller, A.G., op. cit., passim.

23. Peabody's course which was initially titled 'Ethics of Social Reform' was known by the Harvard students as "Peabo's drainage, drunkenness, and divorce." See: Williams, G.H., The Harvard Divinity School, Its Place in Harvard University and in American Culture. Boston, The Beacon Press, 1954, p. 180.

ethics'. Outside of these two leading universities, the highest numbers of sociology teachers were produced by Amherst and Oberlin Colleges.

At Amherst the guiding figure was Charles Edward Garman (1850-1907), himself an Amherst graduate who had spent four years at Yale Divinity School, and this at the time of Sumner's argument with Noah Porter over Spencer. Garman was not the only person to teach some sociology at Amherst. John W. Burgess had been appointed in 1873 on his return from study in Berlin; he gave instruction to a few selected students in social institutions in 1874 (Ely was a student at Amherst at this time), but he soon left to establish the school of Political Science at Columbia. Garman joined the Amherst faculty as Instructor in Mathematics in 1880. The following year he was appointed Instructor in Philosophy, and later became Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy. Thus like Cooley in his long association with Michigan, or Sumner with Yale, Garman in a similar way was almost exclusively associated with Amherst until his early death. His reputation was as a teacher of extraordinary ability.[24] He began his philosophy teaching by holding evening discussions of Spencer's First Principles, using no text-books, but producing pamphlets printed at his own expense, and with instructions that they were not to be shown to anyone outside his

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24. He published practically nothing during his lifetime. Letters, Lectures, and Addresses of Charles Edward Garman, edited by James M. Tufts was published in Boston in 1909.

seminar (a direct result of Sumner's troubles perhaps). In general his teaching methods were unorthodox, and many of his views revolutionary in their context. (In 1896 the Amherst Trustees, with admirable toleration, conferred upon him an honorary D.D. in order to allay growing feelings outside the College that his social and religious thinking and teaching was subversive). He achieved great popularity with the students (partly since he did all he could to deflate the pomposity of the highly unpopular President of Amherst, Merrill Edwards Gates), and something of a Garman cult developed, just as it did around Sumner at Yale. It is said that William James regarded Garman as the greatest teacher in the United States, and Calvin Coolidge, for whom all the other courses at Amherst "were in the nature of a preparation" stated: "We looked upon Garman as a man who walked with God."[25] Up to about 1890 Garman's teaching was primarily concerned with theological and metaphysical problems. After 1890 however, his great interest was in social ethics. He objected to the individualism of the Calvinist tradition, and put great emphasis on service and the moral duty of stewardship, as the means to self-realization. His conception of society was organic; society he saw as an end with which man must be in harmony. In his own time, however, he saw capitalist society as essentially immoral since it stultified man's innate moral

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25. quoted from the Autobiography of Coolidge by C.M. Fuess in Amherst. The Story of a New England College, Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1935, p. 241.

perfectibility in the higher value which it placed on money.[26]

Oberlin College

> ... which for half a century had triumphantly combined orthodoxy in religion with radicalism in politics and social relationships, and where a lively social conscience was a prerequisite to graduation,[27]

graduated J. R. Commons in 1888, and gave Commons together with W. I. Thomas and Thomas Nixon Carver an early home in their academic careers. (All these taught sociology at Oberlin: Commons as Associate Professor of Political Economy from 1891 to 1892; Thomas as Professor of Sociology 1894-95; and Carver, later to achieve fame at Harvard, as Associate Professor of Economics and Sociology from 1895 to 1900).

Greater detail concerning the postgraduate education of sociologists will be given in the following chapter, but it is interesting to note at this stage those institutions which awarded earned doctorates to the teachers. These degrees were not necessarily awarded in sociology as such. The actual numbers in the following compilation are not definite, but give a fair indication of those universities most active in the promotion of the social sciences:

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26. See Le Duc, T., Piety and Intellect at Amherst College 1865-1912, New York, Columbia University Press, 1946, chapter VIII for an outline of Garman's thought. Also: Dyer, W.A., Garman of Amherst, Sewanee Review, XLIII, 1935, pp. 146-159.

27. Commager, H.S., The American Mind, An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950, p. 244.

The Johns Hopkins University. 8 doctorates: F.W. Blackmar 1889; E.R.L. Gould 1886; D. Kinley 1892; E.A. Ross 1891; S. Sherwood 1891; A.W. Small 1889; T.P. Thomas 1895; A.G. Warner 1888.

University of Chicago. 7 doctorates: H.B. Clark 1897; C.A. Ellwood 1899; J.D. Forrest 1900; I.W. Howerth 1898; J.H. Raymond 1895; W.I. Thomas 1896; G.E. Vincent 1896.

Columbia University. 5 doctorates:[28] H.C. Emery 1896; L.M. Keasbey 1890; W.Z. Ripley 1893; M. West 1893; W.F. Wilcox 1891.

Cornell University. 5 doctorates: W.F. Blackman 1893; T.N. Carver 1894; E.D. Durand 1896; H.E. Mills 1892; U.G. Weatherly 1894.

Harvard University. 4 doctorates: W.E.B. Du Bois 1895; S.E. Mezes 1893; C.W. Mixter 1898; W.G.L. Taylor 1893.

University of Michigan. 4 doctorates: E.D. Adams 1893; F.C. Clark 1891; C.H. Cooley 1894; J.A. Smith 1894.

University of Wisconsin. 4 doctorates: C.J. Bullock 1895; A.G. Fradenburgh 1894; J.H. Hamilton 1896; B.H. Meyer 1897.

Brown University. 2 Doctorates: J.Q. Dealey 1895; G.G. Wilson 1889.

Yale University. 2 doctorates: J.I. Manatt 1873; A.G. Keller 1899.

Cumberland University. 1 doctorate: J. Anderson 1894.

De Pauw University. 1 doctorate: T.M. Gatch 1874.

Franklin and Marshall College. 1 doctorate: S.V. Ruby 1890.

Leland Stanford Junior University. 1 doctorate: M.R. Smith 1896.

New York University. 1 doctorate: F. Monteser 1893 (Pd.D.).

Syracuse University. 1 doctorate: S.G. Smith 1880.

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28. L.W. Hatch and C.W. Spencer were teaching sociology before the turn of the century, but were not awarded their doctorates by Columbia University until 1905.

University of Tennessee. 1 doctorate: W.I. Thomas 1886.

Union University. 1 doctorate: B.H. Ripton 1895.

(a small number of recipients of medical doctorates are not included).

One can detect from these details the rise to importance of Chicago (which opened its doors in 1892) and Columbia, and the eclipse of The Johns Hopkins in the production of sociology teachers (of the eight Ph.D.'s here, seven were gained before 1892). By 1900 Chicago, under Small's chairmanship, and Columbia, under the guidance of Giddings and Mayo-Smith, were pre-eminent in their facilities for sociology. Stanford might well have challenged them, but the Ross affair had a very serious effect on the recruiting of social scientists. The position of Harvard in fourth place is somewhat misleading since very little sociology was taught there, and in fact none of those mentioned above gained doctorates in sociology as such. It is noticeable that of the forty-nine doctors above, twelve of them also appear in the former list of students at European universities. Prominent absentees from the ranks of doctors are Giddings, Mayo-Smith and Sumner, all of whom must be considered amongst the handful of really influential sociology teachers of the day. If one includes higher degrees other than doctorates in the above list, the general pattern is little altered: The Johns Hopkins leads, followed equally by Chicago and Columbia, and then Harvard, Cornell, Wisconsin, Michigan in that order, followed equally by Brown and Yale. Taking undergraduate and postgraduate degrees

together one finds that Harvard and Yale head the list, closely followed by The Johns Hopkins (a postgraduate university at this time), Cornell and Columbia, Chicago and Wisconsin, Michigan, Oberlin and Amherst. The inclusion of theological seminaries does little to alter the picture, except that Yale gains a fairly clear lead as the most productive institution, and Andover Theological Seminary enters the list of the most productive at the lower end.

In a previous chapter the importance of certain theological ideas for the development of an empirical social science has been outlined. Certain divinity schools, therefore, have to be discussed in the present chapter. It has often been pointed out that many of the leaders of early American sociology came from religious backgrounds. To what extent this was the case, it has not been possible to ascertain. Albion Small was the son of a Baptist minister; George Vincent one of Small's early associates at Chicago, President of the University of Minnesota 1911-1917 and later Director of the Rockefeller Foundation, was the son of John H. Vincent the Methodist Episcopal Bishop who founded the Chautauqua movement; Gidding's father was a clergyman, and G. H. Mead's father a Congregational minister. Perhaps more important, however, is the extent to which the sociologists themselves were involved in religious pursuits, and here some interesting facts do emerge.

By 1900 almost exactly one third (33.22%) of those involved in the teaching of social science courses had received

some theological training. Practically all of these were ordained ministers. About one quarter of them received their training at institutions which were officially non-sectarian. The remainder, however, were largely products of four Protestant churches: Methodist Episcopal (16); Presbyterian (15), Congregational (13), and Baptist (10). Four were Roman Catholics, and three Lutheran; two each came from the United Brethren, and the Free Baptist; and one each from the following: Dutch Reformed, Evangelical, Evangelical Lutheran, Methodist Episcopal Church South, Unitarian, United Presbyterian, and Universalist. The interest of the Methodist Episcopal Church in education at this time is well known: it had founded well over fifty colleges by the turn of the century, although no one of these showed any marked tendency to produce sociologists. In the case of the Presbyterians, however, there were two particularly significant institutions: firstly, Princeton Theological Seminary where William Brenton Greene, the Stuart Professor of the Relations of Philosophy and Science to the Christian Religion, required all third year students to study Christian Ethics and Christian Sociology from the early 1890's, and who later instituted an extra curricula course in Biblical Sociology; students could also attend the lectures of James Mark Baldwin in social psychology at Princeton University. Secondly, Union Theological Seminary in New York;[29] here no actual sociology was taught within

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29. One should also point out that the first full professorship in America to include sociology in the title was at a Presbyterian institution: Wooster University, where Rev. Sylvester F. Scovel was Hodge Professor of Morals and Sociology from 1887.

the Seminary, but students of high academic standing were encouraged to attend the lectures of Giddings and Mayo-Smith at Columbia, and those of Isaac Franklin Russell at New York University.[30] Perhaps the most active denominations in the teaching of a social approach to religion, however, were the Congregationalists and the Baptists.

The chief mainstay of the Congregationalist approach to social problems was the work done at Andover Theological Seminary where William Jewett Tucker (1839-1926) was Professor of Sacred Rhetoric from 1880 to 1893 (Tucker became a highly successful President of Dartmouth College from 1893 to 1909). The emphasis at Andover was on dedicated social involvement in the world on the part of ministers.[31] The Seminary, having sent Robert A. Woods to be a resident at Toynbee Hall, the Oxford venture in London, decided to set up a settlement House in Boston. (This started with Woods in charge as

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30. Russell (1857-1931) taught continuously at New York from 1881 until his death, introducing sociology there in 1886, and becoming its first Professor of Sociology in 1895.

31. for which position Andover gained publicity through what came to be known as the 'Andover Controversy' which persisted from about 1882 to 1892. The Board of Visitors of the Seminary received a formal complaint against five of the professors on the general charge of heresy. One professor was dispossessed of his chair, and eventually he brought the case before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. The final result was that the judgement of the Visitors was declared void by the Court on account of their violation of the definition of their powers in the Statues of the Seminary. The underlying issue, however, was one of an individual or a social orientation towards the idea of the church. For Tucker's engrossing account, see his admirable My Generation. An Autobiographical Interpretation, Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919, Chapter VII.

Andover House, but became South End House in 1895). All intending ministers at the Seminary were encouraged to spend some time at the House, which was looked upon as a sort of social laboratory or experiment. The intention, as at Toynbee Hall, was to get away from the idea of philanthropy and towards a commitment by example (the fact that it was regarded as an 'experiment' may call into question the actual extent of involvement). A similar idea was prevalent at another distinguished Congregational Foundation: Hartford Theological Seminary. Here an outstanding proponent of the Social Gospel was Graham Taylor, who was Professor of Practical Theology and Christian Sociology from 1888 to 1892. He was at the same time a pastor at the Fourth Church in Hartford, and the dual appointment was symbolic of the involvement in the world that he taught:

> The Fourth Church became a clinic for the Seminary students. [Taylor] could not only teach his classes through lectures and textbooks but he brought them into living contact with the men and women who were meeting the problems of life under hard conditions. The students assisted in the work of the Yokefellows band, a company of reformed men. First hand contact with problems of city life became a part of the training of every student, and many students received from him an impulse toward Christian social service which they have never lost. [32]

The President of Hartford, Hartranft, organized a School of Sociology in Hartford; this was not connected with the Seminary, but students could attend it. It only lasted for two

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32. Geer, C.M., The Hartford Theological Seminary 1834-1934, Hartford, Conn., The Case, Lockwood and Brainard Co., 1934, p. 163.

years and then died through lack of financial support. In this short time, however, many of the leading sociologists were guest lecturers: Lester Ward, John Bascom, J. R. Commons, and Carroll D. Wright. Hartford Seminary set up a social settlement in which a guiding spirit was Alexander Ross Merriam (1842-1927), a graduate of Andover, and Taylor's successor in the sociology chair. Taylor himself, in 1892, went on to the Chicago Theological Seminary as Professor of Christian Sociology and Use of the English Bible. At Chicago he gave a wide range of practical sociology courses, and all students were required to do 'field work' in connection with the Seminary's famous social settlement, Chicago Commons, of which Taylor was Warden.[33]

The city of Chicago was a true haven for those who wanted to establish social settlements. Jane Addams (1860-1935) founded Hull House in 1889, the first such settlement in the United States, based, as were all these institutions, on the methods and the ideas of Canon Barnett at Toynbee Hall (which was opened in 1884). It was at the University of Chicago that were gathered together some of the most prominent Baptist Social Gospelites, particularly in the Divinity School where Shailer Matthews and Charles Henderson were prominent, as well as Albion Small. Chicago University was officially non-sectarian, but it had a clear Baptist bias in the early years

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33. The Commons is described in the 1894/95 Year Book of the Seminary as "a social observatory, a statistical laboratory, and a field for the original researches of post-graduate students." For a description see pp. 49-53 of this Year Book.

particularly amongst the Trustees. Small and Matthews had both been President of a small Baptist college in Maine, Colby College, and Nathaniel Butler who became Dean of the Graduate School at Chicago was also recruited from Colby by James Rainey Harper, the dynamic first President at Chicago, and also a Baptist. Colby and Newton Theological Seminary (where Small had received his theological training in 1878-79), together with Chicago, can thus be regarded as the most prominent Baptist institutions to produce sociology teachers.

The small interest of the Catholics in developing sociology has been pointed out elsewhere, and this is reflected in the small number of teachers of sociology trained at Catholic institutions. The Catholic University of America in Washington D.C. was the only Catholic University in the United States to develop sociology in any serious fashion before 1900, but the elaborate offerings listed in the Catalogues do not appear to have been attended by many students. Msgr. W. J. Kerby, who had studied at the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium, did much to expound the social teachings embodied in the statements and encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII, but the three years of his sociology teaching before the turn of the century is too short a time for

his influence to be shown in this study.[34]

Amongst the non-sectarian divinity schools those of Harvard and Yale were the most productive of teachers. At Harvard there was Peabody, a leading exponent of the Social Gospel ideas. At Yale Divinity School there were Sumner, an Episcopalian minister whose religious fervour grew steadily weaker (he dropped the title of Reverend in the early 1870's), and Arthur Fairbanks, the Instructor in Christian Ethics who wrote one of the most popular textbooks in sociology of the time.[35]

Thus the general contention in this study of the importance of religious factors in the development of sociology is well borne out by the high proportion of teachers who received theological training. There were many other teachers of prominence who did not receive such training, and yet underpinned their ideas and practices with religious motivation.

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34. Father Thomas J. Harte, C.Ss.R., Kerby's present day successor in charge of Sociology at the Catholic University, has written: "As a gifted and stimulating teacher, Msgr. Kerby had conditioned the social thinking of generations of Catholic university students, cleric and lay. His acute awareness of the realities of American social problems, and of the potential of the Church's doctrines for reconstructing the social order, directed his interests into practical channels such as, for example, the organization of a school for the professional training of social workers." Harte, T.J., Silver Jubilee of Quadragesimo Anno, The Catholic University of America Bulletin, Vol. 23, April 1956, p. 1.

35. Fairbanks, A., Introduction to Sociology, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896. See the chapter on Textbooks in the present study for information concerning this text.

Ely and Commons are outstanding examples, George E. Vincent and George Frederick Holmes are others.

Appointments in Sociology and Social Science.

Now let us turn our attention to the development of sociology as manifested in the growing number of appointments to include sociology of social science (or equivalents such as science of society) in their titles. In the case of the use of 'Social Science', this was almost entirely another phrase to describe sociology, often from the point of view of social science as a general description for the integrating discipline of the separate social sciences. From the evidence of course descriptions given by those having this title it is clear that one could substitute sociology for social science, but one could not substitute, for example, political economy or economics. The greatest rate of growth in these appointments took place from the opening of the University of Chicago in 1892 (when there were nineteen appointments) until the end of the century (eighty-eight appointments in 1900). The following tables are compiled from the faculty lists in the catalogues of all institutions of higher education having sociology/social science appointments from the first such title (Professor of Political and Social Science, Yale University, 1872). 'Mixed titles' in these tables refers to appointments such as Professor of Economics and Sociology, Instructor in Political and Social

Science, etc.

TABLE I

APPOINTMENTS IN SOCIOLOGY

Year	Mixed Titles (below Prof.)	Mixed Titles (Prof.)	Sociol. (below Prof.)	Sociol. (Prof.)	Total
1885	1				1
1886	1				1
1887		1			1
1888		1	1		2
1889		3	1		4
1890		3	1		4
1891		3	2		5
1892		4	3		7
1893	1	6	10	1	18
1894	2	8	16	3	29
1895	5	11	20	4	40
1896	7	14	22	6	49
1897	8	18	18	6	50
1898	9	18	17	6	50
1899	12	20	21	6	59
1900	12	27	18	8	65

TABLE II

APPOINTMENTS IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

Year	Mixed Titles (below Prof.)	Mixed Titles (Prof.)	Soc.Sci. (below Prof.)	Soc.Sci. (Prof.)	Total
1872		1			1
1873		1			1
1874		1		1	2
1875		1		1	2
1876		1		1	2
1877		1		1	2
1878		1		1	2
1879		1		1	2
1880	1	1		1	3
1881	1	1		1	3

TABLE II (Continued)

Year	Mixed Titles (below Prof.)	Mixed Titles (Prof.)	Soc.Sci. (below Prof.)	Soc.Sci. (Prof.)	Total
1882	1	2		1	4
1883		3		1	4
1884		3	1		4
1885		3	1		4
1886		4	1		5
1887		4	1		5
1888		4	1	1	6
1889		4	1	1	6
1890		4	1	1	6
1891	2	5		1	8
1892	3	6	1	2	12
1893	3	8		2	13
1894	5	10	2	2	19
1895	6	13	2	2	23
1896	5	13	2	2	22
1897	4	13	1	2	20
1898	3	15		2	20
1899	2	17	1	1	21
1900	3	16	3	1	23

TABLE III

PROPORTIONS OF APPOINTMENTS IN SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE TO TOTAL NUMBER OF TEACHERS OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

Year	All teachers (numbers)	P : Sociol. titles to teachers	P : Soc.Sci. titles to teachers	P : Sociol. and Soc.Sci. titles to teachers[36]
1872	1	0	1.00	1.00
1873	1	0	1.00	1.00
1874	2	0	1.00	1.00
1875	2	0	1.00	1.00
1876	3	0	.66	.66
1877	4	0	.50	.50

36. The final column of Table III was computed independently of the individualized proportions appearing in the other columns, to two decimal places, and therefore does not always make the product of the individual proportions.

TABLE III (Continued)

Year	All teachers (numbers)	P : Sociol. titles to teachers	P : Soc.Sci. titles to teachers	P : Sociol. and Soc.Sci. titles to teachers
1878	4	0	.50	.50
1879	4	0	.50	.50
1880	4	0	.75	.75
1881	5	0	.60	.60
1882	6	0	.66	.66
1883	6	0	.66	.66
1884	10	0	.40	.40
1885	11	.09	.36	.45
1886	13	.08	.38	.46
1887	18	.06	.28	.33
1888	22	.10	.27	.36
1889	27	.15	.22	.37
1890	29	.13	.21	.34
1891	41	.12	.20	.32
1892	59	.12	.20	.32
1893	71	.25	.18	.44
1894	94	.31	.20	.51
1895	125	.32	.18	.50
1896	137	.35	.16	.52
1897	156	.32	.13	.45
1898	164	.30	.12	.43
1899	206	.29	.10	.39
1900	225	.29	.10	.39

Taking the two eight year periods 1885-1892 and 1893-1900 the increasing use of the term sociology as a descriptive title emerges clearly: the proportion of appointments in sociology to all teachers of the subject regardless of academic title increased from .11 to .31. The proportion of appointments in social science, however, decreased from .24 to .14. The increased acceptance of sociology as a title is further demonstrated by the growth in proportion of titles in sociology to those in sociology and social science taken together: for the periods 1885-1892 and 1893-1900 the increase was from .32 to .69.

Correlative with the decrease in the proportion of social science titles was the proportion of university and college presidents teaching sociology or social science to the total number of such teachers: in the period 1872-1886 the proportion was .20, whereas in the following period 1887-1900 the proportion was .16. These figures, and those for the social science titles, give an indication of the increasing specialization of social science into more clearly defined disciplines: social science and sociology were becoming no longer synonymous, and sociology was displacing social science as that aspect of the social sciences in the plural which was concerned specifically with social matters.[37]

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37. Appendix H contains a chronological list of full titles in sociology and social science from 1872 to 1900.

Chapter VII

GRADUATE STUDENTS OF SOCIOLOGY

In an earlier chapter something has been said concerning the state of advanced study in the universities and colleges. Evidence of the rise of sociology as an academic pursuit will now be considered in the light of the increasing prominence of graduate studies. If the presence or absence of such studies in an academic institution determined whether one should legitimately regard it as a 'university', which was the prevailing view, then clearly sociology could only come of age within the system by promoting graduate work itself. Accordingly the leaders of the new science prepared themselves for the test, and expressed intentions of offering elaborate sets of courses for graduate students. The students came, although seldom in great numbers, and largely with their efforts was initiated the trend toward empirical investigation in sociology. This was no more than a gentle trickle at first, the stream becoming a river after the first world war, and a torrent from the 1930's onward. The graduate students in sociology most probably had had little exposure to the subject; certainly a minute number would have majored in it, and many, possibly the great majority, would have attended a single course in their final year as undergraduates. It would be hazardous indeed to attempt to explain particular motivations for undertaking its study, but in retrospect one

may to an extent generalize by hypothesizing a wide commitment to the notion of alleviation of societal ills. The large number of graduate students in sociology who were already or were to become clergymen would seem to support this. Some teachers, pre-eminently Sumner, would soon erase this sort of nonsense of course, and the likelihood of empirical advancement for the science under their auspices of conservative pessimism was severely restricted. Sumner and his followers in fact brandished a very dangerous weapon for a struggling 'science' - the revealing of an unchanging and unchangeable world, of which sociologists were the anatomists, but of which they could never be the physicians. Others were not so sure, and the antidote, at least in intellectual guise, was provided by Lester Ward. Ward's opinions, for example on the desirability of compulsory education as a prerequisite for rational freedom, on the role of the directing individual will, and the necessity for concerted governmental planning, provided a much more stimulating climate for an empirical science, and it is from this side of the dialogue that modern sociology more surely springs. Ward, like most other early sociologists in the world, did not ask people systematic questions, did not use questionnaires, did not become a participant observer in a factory, did not consort with a juvenile gang; but, on the other hand, he did not spend his life in New Haven as did Sumner. He grew up in frontier conditions, and learned how best to survive in rugged surroundings as a government field botanist and paleontologist.

Both Ward and Sumner could, therefore, have devoted a lifetime to the discussion of the survival of the fittest - but it was surely no accident that the safety of a Yale study should be the environment whence sprang this pervasive preoccupation. If Ward did no organized social investigation, his orientation to the world was less dogmatic (although dogmatically expressed), more accomodating, essentially optimistic, and hence more easily empirical. He provided a strongly argued case for the efficacy of social science in the world, and could therefore provide a point of departure, a basis for justification of a study leading toward the betterment of society.

It would be a mistake to imply that Sumner and Ward generated implacably opposed sets of followers, but the contrasting viewpoints provided a middle ground in which arguments could develop, thus enabling the possibility of greater growth in sociology. A reading of Sumner would lead the student to fill in the details of an earthly scheme already delineated by the master. Why should he bother? A reading of Ward, on the other hand, with his cosmic sweep and the promise of a possible new outlook on man's position in the world and in society, would spark off new investigations and new conjectures. This, in part at least, was the intellectual climate, within the discipline, in which sociology grew up as a graduate subject. Other facets of the more general climate have already been mentioned - the increasing importance of science in the universities, the influence of German

and European ideas in education, the Social Gospel, the attitude to socialism; and beneath all, the reality and the idea of America as they formed the consciousness of peoples in a new society with its peculiar problems.

In 1876 Bishop Thomas A. Becker of Wilmington, Delaware, wrote an article in the American Catholic Quarterly Review under the title 'Shall we Have a University?' In the opinion of the Bishop: "There is not today, in the entire country, Catholic, Protestant (of any shade), or non-descript, [a college] entitled to the name of university in the European sense..."[1] A university in the European sense implied an institution dedicated to free research with a heavy emphasis on graduate study untrammelled by the tyranny of the recitation system and containing students who had been fully prepared in their earlier schooling for a more reflective contribution to knowledge when they undertook collegiate and graduate study: such a preparation as was provided by the French lycée and the German Gymnasium, but not by the American high school and, too often, not by the American college. Bishop Becker's views goaded the Catholic hierarchy into prolonged discussions of the need for a genuinely advanced seat of learning, and at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884 the foundation of the Catholic University of America was formally declared. The University was opened as an entirely

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1. Quoted in Deferrari, R.J., Essays on Catholic Education in the United States. Washington D.C., The Catholic University of America Press, 1942, p. 196.

graduate institution in 1889, supposedly modelled on the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium, but owing more in its conception and methods to the German universities and their American counterpart, The Johns Hopkins University, in nearby Baltimore. The latter had been opened to students in 1876, and was therefore the first fully graduate university in the United States. The ideals and methods of Daniel Coit Gilman and his staff at The Johns Hopkins were indeed those which most successfully demonstrated the practicability and importance of an institution devoted to higher learning on American soil. The example was followed by Clark University in 1889, the first President of which was G. Stanley Hall, the psychologist and former member of the faculty at The Johns Hopkins; in 1892 the University of Chicago was opened under the Presidency of William Rainey Harper, who irreparably lessened the impact of Clark by drawing away large numbers of its teachers for his Chicago venture. These four universities, therefore, were those which answered Bishop Becker's complaint most decisively in that they were, at first at least, largely devoted to postgraduate study (The Catholic University and Clark entirely so). Needless to say there were some less fully-fledged instances of colleges providing facilities for such study before these four came into operation, and mention should be made of some of these to set in perspective the place of specifically sociological graduate work, which made a late arrival on the scene.

Thomas Jefferson sought to dissuade young men from seekin

an education in Europe; indeed the result of such an education in England, he thought in 1785, would be a certain facility in drinking, horse-racing and boxing, and no more. What could be gained from France was even more reprehensible if more interesting. One of Jefferson's most absorbing projects was his plan for the University of Virginia, which he originally conceived as a graduate institution of sorts. This idea was not carried out, however, and the University of Virginia was opened as an undergraduate institution in 1825. Another similar idea also failed to reach fruition: James Smithson's generous bequest for the foundation of an academic institution in the nation's capital in 1835 was not specific with regard to the form such an institution should take. Accordingly some advocated a national university, and Dr. Thomas Cooper, who had been an advisor to Jefferson on educational matters, put forward a proposal that the university should provide only for graduate students. As it happened no university was founded on the endowment, and the Smithsonian Institution took shape instead.[2] Despite these promising suggestions it is true to say that no systematic graduate instruction was provided until the beginning of the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale in 1860. This is not to say that there were no graduate students in America before this time. In fact Harvard College had initiated a master's degree to be earned by study

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2. See Storr, R.J., The Beginnings of Graduate Education in America, University of Chicago Press, 1953, especially pp. 43-45.

as early as 1642, but in 1825 the British system was instituted whereby one paid a fee three years after the B.A. The University of South Carolina granted its first earned A.M. in 1812, St. Louis University in 1834. Other early examples are provided by the University of Michigan (1859), North Carolina (1856), Georgia (1871), Yale (1876) and Princeton (1879). The first Ph.D. awarded for graduate study in the United States was at the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale in 1861. Other prominent universities to follow the example were: University of Pennsylvania (1870), Harvard (1873), Columbia (1875 in the School of Mines; the first Ph.D. in the School of Political Science was awarded in 1883). Michigan (1876), Princeton (1879), North Carolina (1883), Virginia (1885), Brown and St. Louis (1889), South Carolina (1891).[3]

The Morrill Act of 1862 by which revenues from public lands were set aside for the development of 'agriculture and mechanic arts' in colleges was of particular significance for the growth of scientific study.

Much early stimulus for the idea of graduate and advanced study receiving a proper place in universities came from Henry P. Tappan (1805-1881), a determined advocate of the state universities, and President of the University of

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3. This information is derived from Deferrari, R.J., op.cit., and from John, W.C., Graduate Study in Universities and Colleges in the United States, United States Department of the Interior, Office of Education, Bulletin, 1934 No. 20. Washington D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1935.

Michigan from 1852 to 1863.[4] Tappan had studied the German system; too thoroughly in fact, since he antagonized prominent members of the State of Michigan who accused him of trying to 'Prussianize' their young men. Thus he was asked to resign the Presidency and spent most of the rest of his life in Europe. His ideas, however, began to flourish, particularly in a similar advocacy of advanced study by Andrew D. White who had taught at Michigan during Tappan's time, and became the first President of Cornell. Eliot at Harvard initiated an elective system (a system, incidentally, which had long been followed at the University of Virginia) and under his guidance advanced degree programmes were inaugurated in 1872; Gilman at The Johns Hopkins was similarly innovatory. It is perhaps to White, Eliot and Gilman that the credit must go for the actual realization of the American college becoming, in some cases, a university to be mentioned in the same category as the leading institutions of Europe.

The numerical extent of the new emphasis on graduate studies can be guaged from the following table. It is incomplete since not all universities reported, but the general trend can be appreciated:

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4. See his: University Education, New York, 1851; and, The University: Its Constitution and its Relations, Political and Religious, Ann Arbor, published by the University of Michigan, 1858.

TABLE I

THE GROWTH OF GRADUATE STUDENT ENROLMENT 1871-1889[5]

1871-72	198	1876-77	389	1881-82	---	1886-87	1237
1872-73	219	1877-78	414	1882-83	552	1887-88	1290
1873-74	283	1878-79	465	1883-84	778	1888-89	1343
1874-75	369	1879-80	411	1884-85	869		
1875-76	399	1880-81	460	1885-86	935		

It is interesting to observe that the total graduate enrolment in all subjects in 1871-72 (198) is just five more than the number of full-time graduate students in sociology alone at the University of California, Berkeley, as reported in the Guide to Graduate Departments of Sociology 1965.[6] From 1889 the number of graduate students grows more and more spectacular. According to Walton C. John, in 1890 there were 2,382 (82% men, 18% women), in 1900, 5,831 (70% men, 30% women), and in 1930, 47,255 (61% men, 39% women).[7] These figures include professional students (lawyers, doctors, and so on) which would probably account for about two thirds of the students in each year. Growth in the number of earned non-professional graduate degrees proceeded as follows: 1890, 485 (321 master's, 164 doctors), 1900, 915 (573 masters, 342 doctors), 1930, 11,425 (9,401 masters, 2,024 doctors). In

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5. These figures are provided in the Annual Report, Vol. II, p. 819 of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1889-90.

6. Washington D.C., the American Sociological Association, p. 12.

7. See John, W.C., op. cit., Table 2, p. 13.

1876 there were 44 Ph.D.'s granted, and in 1880, 62 master's degrees.[8]

From the foregoing sets of figures something can be seen of the rise of graduate studies, particularly in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. These were years of great expansion in all academic fields, and this study has attempted to document the participation of sociology in this general educational activity. It now remains finally to discuss the place of sociological graduate study, and the graduate students of sociology, in this wider context.

By 1900 some forty institutions had declared an intention

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8. These figures are derived from John, W.C., ibid., Table 5, p. 15, and Table 7, p. 19. A distinction has to be made between 'earned' Ph.D.'s and those granted honoris causa, as John does in his figures. The award of the Ph.D. degree honoris causa was a common practice until about 1890 and had finally died out by about 1900. There was much opposition to such awards, and in 1892 the Editor of the Educational Review, an influential journal of the time, condemned institutions that still granted them, threatening to publish a list of such institutions. This was later done. This action in a way points to the new value placed upon graduate degrees.

to give graduate courses in sociology.[9] Of these there were twenty-four universities which list students studying sociology at this level (either as major or minor field),[10] thirteen which did not have any graduates in sociology in the period,[11] and three which do not specify the graduate subject

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9. Institutions listing graduate courses in sociology, with date of introduction:

Bethany (W.Va.)	1899	New York	1886
Boston University	1874	North Carolina	1897
Brown	1892	Northwestern	1894
California	1895	Pennsylvania	1894
Catholic University	1893	Princeton	1895
Chicago	1892	Univ. of the South	1900
Clark	1891	Syracuse	1895
Columbia/Barnard	1880	Wesleyan	1895
Cornell	1891	West Virginia	1897
Cumberland	1898	Western Reserve	1892
Harvard	1884	Willamette	1898
Indiana	1900	Williams	1888
Iowa	1897	Wisconsin	1894
Johns Hopkins	1885	Wyoming	1897
Kansas	1889	Yale	1875
Leland Stanford	1892	Virginia	1876
Michigan	1893	Atlanta	1897
Minnesota	1897	Bryn Mawr	1890
Missouri	1900	Chicago Theol. Sem.	1895
Nebraska	1894	Radcliffe	1891

10. Institutions listing graduate students in sociology:

Brown	Iowa	Northwestern
Bryn Mawr	Johns Hopkins	Pennsylvania
Catholic Univ.	Kansas	Princeton
Chicago	Leland Stanford	Syracuse
Columbia/Barnard	Michigan	West Virginia
Cornell	Minnesota	Williams
Harvard	Nebraska	Wisconsin
Indiana	New York	Yale

11. Institutions listing graduate courses in sociology, but with no sociology students:

Atlanta	Cumberland	Willamette
Bethany (W.Va.)	North Carolina	Wyoming
Boston	Univ. of the South	Virginia
California	Wesleyan	
Clark	Western Reserve	

of their students.[12] In addition to these, six colleges list graduate students in sociology but do not list any courses as being specifically designed for graduates.[13] Thus there were thirty institutions with graduate students in sociology before 1900, with the possibility of three other institutions.[14] In all these universities sociology could be offered as a major field for graduate study; in fact there were twenty-four universities which enrolled students whose major was sociology. In all cases, also, one could study sociology as an optional minor field, and the majority of students offering sociology were enrolled as candidates for degrees in some other field (with very few exceptions for degrees in some other social science, theology, or law). With these latter students this chapter will not be concerned.

The total enrolment of persons at all universities offering sociology as their major graduate field was 545, up to and including the academic year 1900-01. The distribution of these students is shown in the following table:

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12. These are: Chicago Theological Seminary, Missouri and Radcliffe.

13. These are: Dartmouth, Trinity (Duke), Grinnell, George Washington, Illinois and Vassar.

14. Another possibility was Amherst where John Burgess gave graduate instruction in social science from 1873 to 1876. This appears to have been informal, however, and so is not mentioned in footnote 9.

TABLE II

NUMBERS OF GRADUATE STUDENTS WITH SOCIOLOGY

AS MAJOR FIELD, 1887-1901

Brown	20	Grinnell	1	Nebraska	1
Bryn Mawr	2	Harvard	9	Northwestern	5
Catholic	4	Indiana	1	Pennsylvania	16
Chicago	128	Iowa	23	Princeton	11
Columbia	213	Kansas	56	Syracuse	5
Cornell	10	Leland Stan.	5	Vassar	1
Dartmouth	3	Michigan	1	West Va.	17
George Wash.	1	Minnesota	5	Wisconsin	7

Total: 545

Two significant omissions from Table II are New York and Yale Universities. In the case of the former it is not possible to discover the major field of students, although there were enrolments of graduates in sociology courses from 1887. At Yale the Catalogue does not specify the field of study at all until 1900-01. In this year there were twenty students majoring in 'Political and Social Science'. Thus if it were possible to add these two universities the figure 545 would probably expand to something over 600. In addition, as already pointed out, it is not possible to tell whether Chicago Theological Seminary, Missouri and Radcliffe had graduates enrolled as majoring in sociology. It seems unlikely, however, that these institutions would affect the figure very substantially. More important than the bald figure of 545 is the growth in popularity of sociology as a major field. This can be discerned from Table III on page 278. The total figures do not, of course, add up to 545 since they record

actual enrollments for each year. In fact the average period of time for graduate study in sociology before or in 1900 was something just over one year and a half. The figures in Table III give only a general indication of a trend. The Columbia/Barnard figures are particularly concealing: the sharp rise in numbers from 1893-94 to 1894-95 can be accounted for by an arrangement made with the Union Theological Seminary in New York to enrol graduate students in sociology at Columbia.[15] Thus these students appear in the lists of Columbia as majoring in sociology, whereas in reality they were primarily theological students at the Seminary. The actual number of graduate students in sociology at Columbia itself was levelling off during the period, but in 1896-97 it became possible for Barnard students to enrol as graduates at Columbia, and they therefore inflate the figures. The Princeton figures record the annual South East Club University Fellow in Social Science. It is not possible to tell what the various holders of this award actually studied, but it is included as a probable sociological fellowship (since this practically remains a constant in the totals, it does not affect the general trend anyway). The growing importance of certain mid-western universities will be noticed - Iowa and Kansas in particular, also Minnesota and Northwestern. The sudden rise to prominence of West Virginia, and its quick decline is easily explained: in 1897 Jerome Hall Raymond became

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15. The Seminary had a similar arrangement with New York University.

TABLE III

NUMBER OF GRADUATE STUDENTS WITH SOCIOLOGY AS MAJOR FIELD BY INSTITUIONS AND BY YEARS 1887-1901

	1887-88	1888-89	1889-90	1890-91	1891-92	1892-93	1893-94	1894-95	1895-96	1896-97	1897-98	1898-99	1899-1900	19
Brown					1	4	9	7	5	4	5	5	4	
Bryn Mawr								2						
Catholic University of America										1	1		2	2
Chicago						8	22	24	29	22	23	24	25	25
Columbia/ Barnard							9	43	28	29	33	32	52	39
Cornell						1		5	1	3				
Dartmouth										1	1		2	
George Washington										1				
Grinnell														1
Harvard							2	1	5	3		1		
Indiana									1					
Iowa										4	3	6	4	15
Kansas							2		3	6	13	14	8	20
Weland						3	2	2	1					
Stanford									1	1	1			
Michigan							1						2	4
Minnesota													1	
Nebraska											1	3	4	2
Northwestern													7	11
Pennsylvania	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1
Princeton									1	3		1	2	
Syracuse										1				
Vassar											8	8	1	
West Virginia									2	4	5			
Wisconsin														
Total	1	1	1	1	2	17	48	84	78	84	95	95	115	124

President and Professor of Economics and Sociology at the University.[16] Although officially President until 1901 he had left by 1900 and the subject lapsed. During his time, as was noted in a previous chapter, sociology received much attention, with many graduate courses and a host of prominent special lecturers.

The proportion of graduate students in sociology to all graduate students varies considerably among different universities. The figures for Kansas and West Virginia, for example, do not reflect the overall trend:

TABLE IV

NUMBERS OF GRADUATE STUDENTS IN SOCIOLOGY AND ALL OTHER GRADUATE STUDENTS AT TWO UNIVERSITIES

	Kansas			West Virginia	
	Sociology	Other		Sociology	Other
1897-98	13	21	1897-98	8	11
1898-99	14	28	1898-99	8	24
1899-1900	8	49	1899-1900	1	40
1900-01	20	62	1900-01	0	45

16. Raymond graduated from Northwestern in 1892, studied at the Johns Hopkins the following year, and obtained one of the first two Ph.D.'s from the Chicago Department of Sociology in 1895. He was on the staff at Chicago until he became Professor of Sociology at Wisconsin (1895-97) before taking up the Presidency of the University of West Virginia at the age of twenty-eight. He later taught at Toledo University, and entered politics.

A more representative picture, however, is provided by one of the leaders in the sociological field, the University of Chicago:

TABLE V

ATTENDANCE AT THE GRADUATE SCHOOLS OF ARTS, LITERATURE AND SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, 1892-1901[17]

	a. Sociol.	b. Arts and Lit. (excluding a.)	c. Science	d. Total	e. a as % of d.
1892-93	8	154	55	217	3.69%
1893-94	22	192	83	297	7.41
1894-95	24	314	155	493	4.87
1895-96	29	410	209	648	4.63
1896-97	22	448	247	717	3.07
1897-98	23	571	281	875	2.63
1898-99	24	585	342	951	2.63
1899-1900	25	630	353	1008	2.48
1900-01	25	619	355	999	2.50

Here will be noticed a diminishing proportion of students of sociology (paralleling the declining proportion of teachers of sociology noted elsewhere) and an increasing proportion of graduate students in scientific subjects. Both of these trends were national ones. The levelling off of actual numbers of sociology students at Chicago does not reflect the overall increases noted in Table III, but from the evidence at hand, the percentages of column d in Table V, if generalized

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17. The figures in columns b, c and d, but with the sociology majors here subtracted from b and forming a, are derived from Table IV, p. 21 of The President's Report, July 1892-July 1902, University of Chicago Press, 1903.

to the national scene, appear to be more or less accurate. Thus there was no question of a decline of interest in sociology, but rather a more rapid rise in certain other subjects, notably the natural sciences.

Postgraduate Degrees in Sociology.

By 1900, eighty-two higher degrees had been awarded in sociology at some sixteen universities: nineteen doctorates and sixty-three master's degrees. These figures represent those degrees actually awarded for completion of courses and theses in sociology. To them would have to be added a few others awarded in other disciplines, which by the evidence of thesis work were sociological in all but name. Once again New York and Yale Universities pose a problem since it is impossible to tell the major field of graduates. Without these two, however, the distribution of higher degrees was as follows:

TABLE VI

INSTITUTIONS AWARDING HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIOLOGY UP TO 1900

	Ph.D.	A.M.		Ph.D.	A.M.
Brown	2	5	Iowa	-	2
Chicago	11	5	Kansas	-	9
Columbia	2	25	Leland Stanford	1	3
Cornell	2	-	Northwestern	-	3
Dartmouth	-	2	Pennsylvania	1	1
George Washington	-	1	Syracuse	-	1
Harvard	-	1	West Virginia	-	2
Indiana	-	1	Wisconsin	-	2
Total Doctorates:	19				
Total Master's:	63				

The following table indicates the years in which these degrees were awarded:

TABLE VII

HIGHER DEGREES AWARDED IN SOCIOLOGY, BY YEARS, UP TO 1900

	Ph.D.	A.M.		Ph.D.	A.M.
1893	1	2	1897	3	15
1894	-	2	1898	1	8
1895	3	1	1899	3	13
1896	4	9	1900	4	13

Total Doctorates: 19

Total Master's: 63

The first doctorate awarded for work in sociology was gained in 1893 at Cornell University by William F. Blackman, sometime Professor of Christian Ethics at Yale. Both the first master's degrees, awarded in 1893, were gained at Leland Stanford University. Dissertations were not always required for master's degrees, but for doctorates a thesis was always required. The following list documents the nineteen theses submitted for the degree of Ph.D. by students majoring in sociology:

1893 Cornell — W.F. Blackman: The Making of Hawaii, A Study in Social Evolution.

1895 Chicago — J.H. Raymond: American Municipal Government.

F.W. Sanders: An Exposition in Outline of the Relations of Certain Economic Principles to Social Readjustment.

	Brown	J.Q. Dealey: A History of the Development of the Texas Constitution.
1896	Chicago	W.I. Thomas: On a Difference of the Metabolism of the Sexes.
		G.E. Vincent: Sociology and the Integration of Studies.
	Cornell	L.G. McConachie: A Study of Our American Legislative Methods with Special Reference to their Origins and their Development.
	Leland Stanford	M.E.B.R. Smith: Almshouse Women: A Study of 228 Women in the City and County Almhouse of San Francisco.
1897	Chicago	H.B. Clark: The Public Schools of Chicago: A Sociological Study.
		P. Monroe: Profit Sharing: A study in Social Economics.
	Columbia	W.S. Ufford: Fresh Air Charity in the United States.
1898	Chicago	I.W. Howarth: The Social Aim in Education.
1899	Chicago	C.A. Ellwood: Some Prolegomena to Social Psychology.
		W.C. Gordon: The Social Ideals of Alfred Tennyson as Related to his Time.
	Columbia	E.W. Clews: The Educational Legislation and Administration of the Colonial Government.
1900	Brown	S.A. Sherman: Advertising: Its History and Present Forms.
	Chicago	J.D. Forrest: The Development of Industrial Organizations.
		A.M. MacLean: The Acadian Element in the Population of Nova Scotia.
	Pennsylvania	J.E. Hagerty: Recent Changes in the Marketing of Products in their Effects upon Social Welfare.

In addition to these, the following are clearly theses of a sociological nature, either submitted for majors in some allied field (political economy for example), or possibly submitted in sociology (that is, in the case of universities where it is not possible to determine the major field, New York and Yale):

1891	Columbia	W.F. Wilcox: The Divorce Problem. A Study in Statistics.
1893	New York	A.P. Atterbury: Present Social Conditions in Norway.
1895	New York	D.L. Pelton: The Church and Social Reform.
	Yale	M. Graham: The Relations Between Education and Poverty.
1896	New York	F.D. McRae: Spencer's Moral Theory.
1897	Columbia	J.F. Crowell: The Logical Process of Social Development; a Theoretical Foundation for Educational Policy from the Standpoint of Sociology.
	New York	J.W. Knapp: Indiscriminate Charity.
1899	Columbia	A.F. Weber: The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in Statistics.
	Yale	A.G. Keller: A Sociological Study of the Iliad and Odyssey.

Graduate students in sociology at American universities who later achieved particular prominence as teachers and writers of sociology include: E. L. Bogart (Fellow in Social Science at Princeton 1895-96), J. Q. Dealey (Ph.D. Brown 1895), C. A. Ellwood (Ph.D. Chicago 1899), J. M. Gillette (Ph.D. Chicago 1901), E. C. Hayes (Fellow in Sociology at Chicago, Ph.D. 1902),

A. G. Keller (Ph.D. Yale 1900), W. I. Thomas (Ph.D. Chicago 1896), and G. E. Vincent (Ph.D. Chicago 1896). George E. Vincent was perhaps the most distinguished of all sociology students of this time, at least outside of the sociological fraternity, in that he became President of the University of Minnesota (1911-1917) and President of the Rockefeller Foundation (1917-1929). It will be seen from this list that many of the most outstanding sociologists of the time did not undertake graduate study in their eventual chosen field; some, of course, since there was no instruction in the subject when they were younger, or such sociology that there was could be better found in Germany. Many of them, however, did graduate studies in some closely allied social science, and for these The Johns Hopkins University was most prominent: A. G. Warner, F. Blackmar, J. R. Commons, E. A. Ross, A. B. Woodford, and A. W. Small were among those sociologists who at some time were graduate students in Baltimore before 1900.

The subsequent careers of all graduate students who gained degrees in the subject, and of all fellows and scholars in sociology[18] give an indication of the range of occupations taken up by graduate students in sociology in general:

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18. These were to be found at Chicago, Columbia, Dartmouth, Iowa, Pennsylvania and Princeton.

TABLE VIII

SUBSEQUENT OCCUPATIONS OF DEGREE RECIPIENTS, FELLOWS AND SCHOLARS IN SOCIOLOGY, REGISTERED AS STUDENTS IN ALL YEARS UP TO 1900-01[19]

University Professors	33%	Civil Servants	6%
High School Teachers	17%	Businessmen	6%
Clergymen	14%	Journalists	4%
Charity Organization Workers	8%	Farmers	2%
Lawyers	6%		

Total Number: 108

In addition, there were three others: one doctor, one librarian, and the President of the Rockefeller Foundation. It will be noticed that 50% of the students took up some form of teaching. If the careers of all graduate students in sociology (that is including those who did not graduate), were detailed, this proportion would diminish, with more high school teachers than university professors, and a greater proportion of clergymen and lawyers. The clergymen in Table VIII do not show any marked tendency to come from any particular denomination, but the greatest numbers are Presbyterians, Congregationalists and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

This summary survey of graduate students in sociology is now complete. Perhaps more than any other form of evidence which this study has put forward, this survey shows that

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19. This information on what happened to graduate students is derived from the Alumni Catalogues of the relevant universities. In all cases the occupation in the latest available catalogue was taken for the compilation of this table.

sociology was growing in harmony with the general expansions taking place in American higher education in the final decades of the nineteenth century. In one way, however, it was not keeping its promise: the natural sciences were increasing at a faster rate. Sociology had not demonstrated that it was the scientific subject which it purported to be.

Chapter VIII

CONCLUSION

As an intellectual discipline sociology had its roots in European soil; as an academic discipline, however, it reached its earliest flowering in the universities and colleges of the United States. The two foremost exponents of the new science in the nineteenth century, Comte and Spencer, were not attached to universities: Comte was for ten years an examiner in mathematics at the Ecole Polytechnique, but the professorship which he sought there never came his way; Spencer, like his contemporary J. S. Mill, never had any connection with an academic institution. Despite the considerable intellectual influence of Spencer and, more especially, Comte, a student in Europe even as late as 1900 would have had little choice of university if he had wanted to specialize in sociology. At that time in fact Berlin and Paris had the most to offer. At the former Simmel was teaching sociology and philosophy as well as psychology, and Vierkandt offered courses in various topics connected with 'Culturphilosophie' and 'Völkerpsychologie'. Even Simmel, one of the most outstanding sociologists of the time, had to rely on private means during the greater part of his academic career: from 1885 to 1900 he was a Privatdozent, a position which only entitled him to collect student fees for his lectures, and from 1900 to 1914 he was an 'ausserordentlicher

Professor' which was a purely honorary position.[1] At the University of Paris Espinas was teaching his brand of organismic sociology, and Durkheim sociology and philosophy; at the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques the 'Inspecteur général des ponts et chaussées' could be heard lecturing on social economy. Other universities teaching sociology were few and far between. Some of the German speaking institutions gave occasional instruction in the subject (for instance Freiburg, Heidelberg, Munich, Tübingen, and Vienna), but in other countries there was practically no authorized teaching of sociology. Only in the United States at the close of the nineteenth century were there university teachers whose sole academic function was to give instruction in sociology, and only in the United States was there developing a professional secession of sociologists from other disciplines. In Europe there were few men who would have regarded themselves primarily as sociologists; it should be remembered that Comte and Spencer themselves incorporated sociology into wider schemes, their sociological interests being subordinated in the one case to a general positivistic theory, in the other to a cosmic philosophy.

The importance of sociology in America, therefore, was its incorporation into university curricula. Few of its

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1. See Weber's essay 'Science as a Vocation' which contrasts the German and American situations in respect of academic positions: Gerth, H.H., and C. Wright Mills (editors), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1948, pp. 129 ff.

early exponents are read today with any more than purely historical interest, but does it not seem possible that if sociology had not achieved such an early and enthusiastic welcome in American institutions of higher learning it might have died out altogether? With the investment of emotional and intellectual capital in the new discipline in the United States its survival was assured in a way in which it was not in Europe. Sociology was particularly late in receiving academic support in England. The Martin White endowment at the London School of Economics enabled Hobhouse and Westermarck to begin instruction in the subject in 1903. Their work, however, extended over a much wider range of subjects than would now be generally recognized as sociology although, of course, their contributions to this field were distinctly impressive. Despite this development at the London School of Economics it was not until very much later that other British universities began systematic instruction in sociology, and not until after the second World War that it really developed as an academic discipline. In Germany sociology was something of an appendage to cultural history, the study of the state and 'Völkerpsychologie'; in France the successors of Durkheim for many years turned their attention to anthropological studies. In America, however, the interest in specifically sociological enquiry developed steadily with the number of sociologists growing year by year.

The comparatively short-lived vogue of the American contributors to early sociological theory may be explained in a

number of ways, but primarily it was because they exhibited a considerable lack of theoretical subtlety. In their quest for general principles and the reduction of causes to the smallest possible number (usually of a biological or psychological kind), they tended to produce inclusive systems, the ideas of which were conspicuously unamenable to further development by empirical application. Lester Ward, for instance, had toyed with calling the book which eventually became Dynamic Sociology 'The Great Panacea'. Empirical evidence was in short supply, but this acted as a stimulus rather than an inhibition in the production of a priori generalizations and sociological 'laws'. On the whole these contributions to sociology were very much bound to their time and place of origin. They all showed the prevailing nineteenth century belief in progress, a belief which was to be rudely undermined by the carnage of the First World War. This general faith in evolutionist tendencies, paralleled by emergent political doctrines, set the style for sociological theorizing. Ward may have thought that the sociology of Spencer and Sumner was an ideology produced by their middle-class views of the world, but he could no more escape his American background than could Sumner. Neither of them had soundly systematic empirical grounds for producing the kinds of sociology which they did, their divergent views being equally the products of a common situation. It is in this American situation of faith in progress that an explanation may be found for the small impact made by the European revol-

utionaries of the time. Ward always denied that he was a socialist, although many of his views were decidedly such, and one of Ely's strongest defences in his troubles with the Regents of the University of Wisconsin was that he was most assuredly no socialist, although he said that Americans should be aware of socialism as an incipient danger to the social fabric. In a time when America was 'coming of age' as Van Wyck Brooks has termed it there was really nothing to be particularly revolutionary about, at least in so far as Americans defined their situation as one containing the probability of economic and social upward mobility. Many of the sociologists were themselves living examples of this probability, notably Ward and Sumner. At the time of the rise of sociology the rate of immigration was still high, and the continuing availability of cheap land acted as a stimulus to the more depressed classes of the Eastern cities, keeping alive the dream of an individual existence in the great West as an escape from their urban hardships. The point is not, therefore, that the rate of emigration by city-dwellers was actually small, but the fact that they continued to believe that there was a better life for them somewhere over the Appalachians that is important. Geographical mobility was indissolubly associated with economic betterment. Only in the closing years of the nineteenth century were any really large scale attempts at unionization successful, the solidarity of the working classes having been but a tenuous reality so long as the West retained its power as myth.

Certainly there were socialists in America, but at this stage they were largely utopian. Edward Bellamy, for example, was very sympathetic to Marx, but his greatest divergence from the Marxist plan was his belief that the socialist community would come into being without revolution. When Julian West, the 'hero' of Looking Backward, finds himself in the idyllic Boston of 2000 A.D., he asks his mentor Dr. Leete how they had arrived at such a perfect state of social and economic relations:

> "Such a stupendous change as you describe," said I, "did not, of course, take place without great bloodshed and terrible convulsions."
>
> "On the contrary," replied Doctor Leete, "there was absolutely no violence. The change had been long foreseen. Public opinion had become fully ripe for it, and the whole mass of the people was behind it. There was no more possibility of opposing it by force than by argument. On the other hand the popular sentiment toward the great corporations and those identified with them had ceased to be one of bitterness, as they came to realize their necessity as a link, a transition phase, in the evolution of the true industrial system. The most violent foes of the great private monopolies were now forced to recognize how invaluable and indispensable had been their office in educating the people up to the point of assuming control of their own business."[2]

The realization of false consciousness on the part of the working classes, therefore, was for Bellamy the exact opposite of Marx's conception. Looking Backward was no incitement to action, but rather a forecast of what was to be the next stage of social and economic progress 'in accordance with the principles of evolution.' It was not until the predominant be-

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2. Bellamy, E., Looking Backward 2000-1887, New York, The New American Library, 1960, p. 54. (first published in 1888).

lief in natural social evolution had waned, beginning sometime after the opening of the twentieth century, that Marxist thought became at all prominent in the United States, gathering its greatest support in the depressed twenties and thirties, as evidenced, for example, by the novels of Upton Sinclair (especially The Jungle and The Metropolis), and by Charles Beard's interpretations of American history.[3]

The most pronounced tone of American sociology in the early years was one of liberalism within a relatively narrow spectrum. Sumner was outside of this spectrum on account of his extreme individualism, his literal reading of social Darwinism, and his non-academic tendency toward propaganda. He had his followers in university circles, but the views of Lester Ward were a more lasting influence, stopping short as they did of any dangerous socialistic notions, and at the same time making possible the release of American sociology from an evolutionary determinism. One reason for the narrow range of academic sociology lay in the institutional power structure of the universities. The boards of regents or governing bodies were in most cases composed of prominent citizens and clergymen with responsibilities to their commun-

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3. The writings of Marx were not particularly well known in nineteenth century America. He had written articles for Greeley which appeared in the Tribune of New York between 1853 and 1860, and Edward Bellamy published the first nine chapters of Capital as The Theory of Value Complete (New York, The Bellamy Library, No. 13, 1890). Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Napoleon was first published (1852) in Joseph Wedemeyer's German language magazine Die Revolution which was based in New York.

ities who were not prepared to support radical departures in the curricula or in the life-styles of teachers who dissented from their pedagogical and moral views.[4] The difficulties experienced in these respects by J. R. Commons and Thorstein Veblen, to mention only two of the most prominent, are well known.[5] Such governing bodies had a very direct control over the internal affairs of their institutions, and therefore acted as a barrier against radical developments in sociology.

To an extent American sociology was an insular discipline attempting to find a distinctive style. There was certainly an awareness of European developments in the subject, but relatively few attempts to incorporate the best of such work into a more soundly based science. Contemporary developments in jurisprudence under the leadership of Brandeis and Holmes and in philosophy with the rise of pragmatism led by Peirce, Dewey and James were more successful in their creations of native American systems of thought. The reaction in art against the European oriented painters of the early and middle nineteenth century came to fruition in the works of the group known as 'The Eight' who based themselves not in London or Paris but in New York. In literature the

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4. One of the reasons for the establishment of the American Association of University Professors in 1915 was to give a measure of protection to teachers in such matters.

5. See Veblen's trenchant piece of satire The Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men. New York, The Viking Press, Inc., 1918.

tradition of a quest for an American style had had as its spokesman the Emerson who wrote The American Scholar in 1837, and it became an even more indigenous reality in the works of Whitman. Certainly American sociology, on the level of ideas, in the main could not stand much comparison with these movements; but only slowly did the true stature of thinkers such as Durkheim, Pareto and Weber become so dominant as to supplant the American theoretical sociologists. In fact even when these writers were beginning to make a marked impression upon American sociology, the native strain exerted itself in a renewed interest in the history of American sociology led by Odum, H. E. Barnes and the Bernards, particularly in the 1930's and 1940's. It would be wrong to exaggerate the nationalistic tenor of early American sociology, but it is significant that interest in it should have developed most remarkably at a time when the United States was particularly conscious of its incipient international stature, leading it to embark upon the war with Spain in 1898: a war which ended in American victory after a mere one hundred and fifteen days and evoked a tremendous wave of patriotic feeling and which, as all historians are agreed, could easily have been avoided by a more strenuous diplomatic effort.

The earliest attempts at sociological writing in the United States exhibited an intention to study social phenomena in a scientific manner. The social phenomena under review, however, were in large part the problems facing American society in the nineteenth century. To a much greater extent,

therefore, was such sociology identified with a specific cultural situation than were the contemporaneous developments in European sociology. Even the incorporation of anthropology within sociology in America at this time does little to challenge this view: anthropology courses tended to be taught as a preliminary to those in sociology in order to demonstrate the validity of evolutionary theories, a progress from immoral barbarism towards the civilized state. This specificity of cultural reference goes part of the way in accounting for the apparent barrenness of a large section of the theoretical writing in sociology in the United States in the early years. It was not that the sociologists were unaware of a larger intellectual tradition, but rather that they sought solutions to particular questions of a practical kind. The result was hasty generalization unsupported by empirical evidence except of the most haphazard variety. There was little or no systematization of empirical work, despite the endless claims to scientific status, and an almost total lack of realization that a fundamental tenet of scientific method is the necessity of testing hypotheses by observation and measurement. On the other hand, there was a reasonably widespread feeling that to understand society it was necessary to observe diverse conditions of men: hence the association of the social settlements with the universities. But this movement itself had a distinctly patronizing air about it and was devoted largely to the inculcation of a social duty of good works in the more fortunate classes.

Amelioration of existing conditions rather than their prevention was the primary object.

One of the most immediate of the social problems confronting late nineteenth century America was the increasing concentration of population in the larger cities, a problem which was further complicated by the wide variety of nationalities which made up that population. Sociological work became particularly involved with the phenomenon of urban expansion and rose on the tide of the transition from the more individually based and self-sufficient agrarian situation of the earlier part of the century towards the more complicated labour structure of large scale industrialism. Despite the concern with the problems of industrial and urban growth, the sociologists appear to have been singularly unwilling to become involved in two vastly important issues: the plight of the negro, and that of the foreign immigrant. Both would have offered admirable proving grounds for a distinctly sociological approach to society at a time when sociology was so intent on demonstrating its autonomous area of competence. What little sociological work that was done on the negro was almost entirely undertaken by negroes themselves, notably under the guidance of W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington.

A poorly developed methodology and a weakness in theory were no hindrance to the development of sociology as an academic discipline in the United States. The increasingly widespread adoption of the elective system in higher education

after its introduction at Harvard by President Eliot was to some extent an aid in the continuance of sociology as a university subject: the rigid requirements of the old classically based education were undermined, and the introduction of more diversified courses in a wider variety of topics was thereby encouraged. It is generally true that courses in sociology were well attended in such circumstances, primarily, it must be said, because sociology was regarded as a singularly easy option. Nevertheless, the ready supply of students meant that the sociologists could continue to consolidate their position academically, giving them time also to work on the much needed refinements of their methodological and theoretical viewpoints. Like the inhabitants of Yoknapatawpha County, they endured: in so doing, they paved the way for later developments in American sociology of a relatively greater sophistication.

Appendix A

AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES IN 1900

(Institutions underlined are those which offered sociology as an academic subject in the years before 1901.)

Institution	State	Religious Denomination
Adelphi College	N.Y.	Non-sectarian
Adrian College	Mich.	Methodist Protestant
Agnes Scott College	Ga.	Presbyterian
Akron Municipal Univ. (Buchtel College)	O.	Universalist
Alabama College	Ala.	Non-sectarian
Alabama Polytechnic Institute	Ala.	Non-sectarian
Alabama, Univ. of,	Ala.	Non-sectarian
Albion College	Mich.	Methodist Episcopal
Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College	Miss.	Non-sectarian
Albright College	Pa.	Evangelical United Brethren
Alfred University	N.Y.	Non-sectarian
Allegheny College	Pa.	Methodist Episcopal
Allentown College for Women	Pa.	Reformed Church
Alma College	Mich.	Presbyterian
American International College (French-Amer. College)	Mass.	Non-sectarian
American University	D.C.	Methodist Episcopal

Amherst College	Mass.	Non-sectarian
Andover Theological Seminary	Mass.	Congregational
Antioch College	O.	Non-sectarian
Arizona, Univ. of,	Ariz.	Non-sectarian
Arkansas Baptist Col.	Ark.	Baptist
Arkansas Industrial University	Ark.	Non-sectarian
Arkansas College	Ark.	Presbyterian
Armour Institute of Technology	Ill.	Non-sectarian
Asheville College	N.C.	Non-sectarian
Ashland University	O.	Brethren Church
Atlanta Baptist Col. (Morehouse College)	Ga.	Baptist
Atlanta University	Ga.	Non-sectarian
Augustana College	Ill.	Lutheran (Swedish)
Augustana College	S.D.	Lutheran (Norwegian)
Augustana Seminary	Ill.	Lutheran
Augsburg Seminary	Minn.	Lutheran
Auburn Theological Seminary	N.Y.	Presbyterian
Aurora College	Ill.	Advent Christian
Austin College	Ill.	?
Avalon College	Mo.	?
Baker Univ. (Baldwin U.)	Kan.	Methodist Episcopal
Baldwin Wallace Col.	O.	Methodist Episcopal
Baltimore Women's Col. (Goucher Col.)	Md.	Methodist Episcopal
Bangor Theological Seminary	Me.	Congregational

Baptist Female Univ. (Meredith College)	N.C.	Baptist
Bard College (St. Stephen's Col.)	N.Y.	Protestant Episcopal
Barnard College	N.Y.	Non-sectarian
Bates College	Me.	Non-sectarian
Baylor Female College	Tex.	Baptist
Baylor University	Tex.	Baptist
Beaver College	Pa.	United Presbyterian
Bellevue College (of Omaha University)	Neb.	Presbyterian
Belmont, St. Mary's Col.	N.C.	Roman Catholic
Beloit College	Wisc.	Non-sectarian
Benedict College	S.C.	Baptist
Bennett College	N.C.	Methodist Episcopal
Berea College	Ky.	Non-sectarian
Berkeley Divinity Sch.	Conn.	?
Bethany College	Kan.	Lutheran
Bethany College	W.Va.	Disciples of Christ
Bethel College	Ky.	Baptist
Birmingham Southern College	Ala.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Bishop College	Tex.	United Baptist
Bishop Page Divinity School	Va.	Protestant Episcopal
Blackburn University	Ill.	Presbyterian
Blinn Memorial College	Tex.	?
Blue Mountain Female College	Miss.	Baptist
Bloomfield Theological Seminary	N.J.	Presbyterian

Bonebrake Theological Seminary	O.	United Brethren
Boston College	Mass.	Roman Catholic
Boston University	Mass.	Methodist Episcopal
Bowdoin College	Me.	Congregational
Bradford Academy	Mass.	?
Brenan College	Ga.	Baptist
Bridgewater College	Va.	Non-sectarian
Brigham Young College	Utah	Latter Day Saints
Brigham Young Univ.	Utah	Latter Day Saints
Brooklyn Institution	N.Y.	Non-sectarian
Brooklyn Polytechnic Institution	N.Y.	Non-Sectarian
Brown University	R.I.	Non-sectarian
Bryn Mawr College	Pa.	Non-sectarian
Buena Vista College	Iowa	Presbyterian
Bucknell University	Pa.	Baptist
Buffalo, Univ. of,	N.Y.	Non-sectarian
Burleson College	Tex.	Baptist
Burritt College	Tenn.	Disciples of Christ
Butler College (Univ. of Indianapolis)	Ind.	Non-sectarian
Caldwell College	Ky.	Non-sectarian
California Institute of Technology (Throop Polytechnic)	Cal.	Non-sectarian
California, Univ. of,	Cal.	Non-sectarian
Calvin Seminary	Mich.	Christian Reformed
Campbell University	Kan.	United Brethren
Canisius College	N.Y.	Roman Catholic

Capital University	O.	Lutheran
Carleton College	Minn.	Congregational
Carroll College	Wisc.	United Presbyterian
Carson and Newman Col.	Tenn.	Baptist
Carthage College	Ill.	Lutheran
Carthage Collegiate Institute	Mo.	Non-sectarian
Case School of Applied Science	O.	Non-sectarian
Catawba College	N.C.	Reformed in U.S.
Catholic University of America	D.C.	Roman Catholic
Cedarville College	O.	Non-sectarian
Centenary College	La.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Central Christian Col.	Mo.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Central College	Iowa	Baptist
Central College	Mo.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Central Univ. of Ky.	Ky.	Presbyterian
Central Wesleyan College	Mo.	Methodist Episcopal
Centre College	Ky.	Presbyterian
Chaddock College	Ill.	Methodist Episcopal
Charles City College	Iowa	Methodist Episcopal
Charleston, College of,	S.C.	Non-sectarian
Chattanooga, Univ. of, (Grant University)	Tenn.	Methodist Episcopal
Chicago Lutheran Seminary	Ill.	Lutheran
Chicago Theological Seminary	Ill.	Congregational

Chicago, Univ. of,	Ill.	Non-sectarian
Cincinnati, Univ. of,	O.	Non-sectarian
Claflin University	S.C.	Methodist Episcopal
Clark University	Ga.	Methodist Episcopal
Clark University	Mass.	Non-sectarian
Clemson College	S.C.	Non-sectarian
Coe College	Iowa	Presbyterian
Colby College	Me.	Baptist
Colgate University	N.Y.	Baptist
Colgate University Theological Seminary (Hamilton Seminary)	N.Y.	Baptist
Colorado College	Col.	Non-sectarian
Colorado State Agricultural College	Col.	Non-sectarian
Colorado, Univ. of	Col.	Non-sectarian
Colored Students, State College for,	Del.	Non-sectarian
Columbia Theological Seminary	S.C.	Presbyterian
Columbia University	N.Y.	Non-sectarian
Conception College	Mo.	Roman Catholic
Concordia College	N.C.	Lutheran
Concordia Theological Seminary	Mo.	Evangelical Lutheran
Connecticut Agricultural College	Conn.	Non-sectarian
Converse College	S.C.	Non-sectarian
Cornell University	N.Y.	Non-sectarian
Cotner University	Neb.	Disciples of Christ
Cottey College	Mo.	Non-sectarian

Creighton University	Neb.	Roman Catholic
Crozer Theological Seminary	Pa.	Baptist
Cumberland College	Ark.	Non-sectarian
Cumberland University	Tenn.	Cumberland Presbyterian
Dakota University	S.D.	Methodist Episcopal
Dartmouth College	N.H.	Non-sectarian
Davidson College	N.C.	Presbyterian
Dayton, St. Mary's Institute	O.	Roman Catholic
Defiance College	O.	Non-sectarian
Delaware College (Univ. of Delaware)	Del.	Non-sectarian
Denison University	O.	Baptist
Denver University	Col.	Methodist Episcopal
Denver, College of the Sacred Heart	Col.	Roman Catholic
De Pauw University	Ind.	Methodist Episcopal
Des Moines College	Iowa	Baptist
Detroit College	Mich.	Roman Catholic
Dickinson College	Pa.	Methodist Episcopal
Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church	Pa.	Protestant Episcopal
Doane College	Neb.	Congregational
Drake University	Iowa	Disciples of Christ
Drew Theological Seminary	N.J.	Methodist Episcopal
Drew University	N.J.	Methodist Episcopal
Drury College	Mo.	Non-sectarian
Dubuque, Univ. of,	Iowa	United Presbyterian

Duke University (Trinity College)	N.C.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
Duquesne University	Pa.	Roman Catholic
Earlham College	Ind.	Society of Friends
Eden Theological Seminary	Mo.	Evangelical Church of North America
Elizabeth College	N.C.	Non-sectarian
Elmira College	N.Y.	Presbyterian
Elon College	N.C.	Disciples of Christ
Emmanuel Missionary College (Andrews U.)	Mich.	7th Day Adventist
Emory College	Ga.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Emory and Henry College	Va.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Emporia, College of,	Kan.	Presbyterian
Episcopal Theological School	Mass.	Protestant Episcopal
Eskine College	S.C.	Presbyterian
Eureka College	Ill.	Disciples of Christ
Ewing College	Ill.	Baptist
Fairfield College	Neb.	?
Fargo College	N.D.	Congregational
Farmington College	O.	?
Findlay College	O.	Church of God
Fisk University	Tenn.	Congregational
Florida Agricultural College	Fla.	Non-sectarian
Florida Agricultural & Mechanical College for Negroes	Fla.	Non-sectarian
Florida Conference College	Fla.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South

Florida State College	Fla.	Non-sectarian
Florida, University of	Fla.	Non-sectarian
Fordham University (St. John's College)	N.Y.	Roman Catholic
Franklin College	Ind.	Baptist
Franklin and Marshall Col.	Pa.	Reformed in U.S.
Franklin, Missions-Hauses	Wisc.	Reformed in U.S.
Fredericksburg College	Va.	Presbyterian
Friends University	Kan.	Society of Friends
Furman University	S.C.	Baptist
Garrett Biblical Instit.	Ill.	Methodist Episcopal
Geneva College	Pa.	Reformed Presbyterian
General Theological Seminary	N.Y.	Protestant Episcopal
Georgetown College	Ky.	Baptist
Georgetown University	D.C.	Roman Catholic
George Fox College (Pacific College)	Oreg.	Society of Friends
George Washington Univ.	D.C.	Baptist
Georgia School of Tech.	Ga.	Non-sectarian
Georgia, Univ. of,	Ga.	Non-sectarian
German Wallace College	O.	?
Gettysburg College (Pennsylvania College)	Pa.	Lutheran
Gettysburg Lutheran Theological Seminary	Pa.	Lutheran
Gladeville College	Va.	?
Glen Rose Collegiate Institute	Tex.	Presbyterian
Gonzaga College	D.C.	Roman Catholic

Gonzago College	Wash.	Roman Catholic
Graceland College	Iowa	Latter Day Saints
Grand Island College	Neb.	Non-sectarian
Grand River College	Mo.	Baptist
Grand View College	Iowa	?
Greenville College	Ill.	Free Methodist
Grinnell College (Iowa College)	Iowa	Congregational
Grove City College	Pa.	Non-sectarian
Guilford College	N.C.	Society of Friends
Gustavus Adophus Col.	Minn.	Lutheran
Hamilton College	N.Y.	Non-sectarian
Hamline University	Minn.	Methodist Episcopal
Hampden-Sidney College	Va.	Non-sectarian
Hampton Agricultural & Mechanical Institute	Va.	Non-sectarian
Hanover College	Ind.	Presbyterian
Hardin-Simmons College	Tex.	Baptist
Hartford Theological Seminary	Conn.	Congregational
Hartshorn Memorial Col.	Va.	?
Hartsville College	Ind.	?
Harvard Divinity School	Mass.	Unitarian
Harvard University	Mass.	Non-sectarian
Hastings College	Neb.	Presbyterian
Haverford College	Pa.	Society of Friends
Healdsburg College	Cal.	7th Day Adventist
Hedding College	Ill.	Non-sectarian
Heidelberg College	O.	Reformed in U.S.

Hendrix College	Ark.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Highland University	Kan.	Presbyterian
Hillsdale College	Mich.	Free Baptist
Hiram College	O.	Disciples of Christ
Hiwassee College	Tenn.	'Independent'
Hobart College	N.Y.	Protestant Episcopal
Hollins Institute	Va.	Non-sectarian
Holy Cross, College of the,	Mass.	Roman Catholic
Hope College	Mich.	Reformed in the U.S.
Howard College	Ala.	Baptist
Howard University	D.C.	Non-sectarian
Howard Payne College	Mo.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Howard Payne College	Tex.	Baptist
Hunter College	N.Y.	Non-sectarian
Huron College	S.D.	Presbyterian
Idaho, College of,	Idaho	Presbyterian
Idaho, University of,	Idaho	Non-sectarian
Iliff School of Theol.	Col.	Methodist Episcopal
Illinois College	Ill.	Non-sectarian
Illinois, Univ. of,	Ill.	Non-sectarian
Illinois Wesleyan Univ.	Ill.	Methodist Episcopal
Illinois Women's Col.	Ill.	Methodist Episcopal
Indiana University	Ind.	Non-sectarian
Iowa State College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts	Iowa	Non-sectarian
Iowa University	Iowa	Non-sectarian

Iowa Wesleyan Univ.	Iowa	Methodist Episcopal
Irving College	Pa.	Non-sectarian
John B. Stetson Univ.	Fla.	Baptist
John Carroll University (St. Ignatius College)	O.	Roman Catholic
Johns Hopkins Univ., The,	Md.	Non-sectarian
Johnson B. Smith Univ. (Biddle Univ.)	N.C.	Presbyterian
Juniata College	Pa.	United Brethren
Kalamazoo College	Mich.	Baptist
Kansas City University	Kan.	Methodist Episcopal
Kansas State Agric. College	Kan.	Non-sectarian
Kansas University	Kan.	Non-sectarian
Kansas Wesleyan Univ.	Kan.	Methodist Episcopal
Kentucky State College	Ky.	Non-sectarian
Kentucky University	Ky.	Disciples of Christ
Kentucky Wesleyan Univ.	Ky.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Kenyon College	O.	Protestant Episcopal
King College	Tenn.	Presbyterian
Knox College	Ill.	Non-sectarian
Knoxville College	Tenn.	United Presbyterian
Lafayette College	Ala.	Non-sectarian
Lafayette College	Pa.	Presbyterian
Lake Erie College	O.	Non-sectarian
Lake Forest College	Ill.	Presbyterian
La Grange College	Mo.	Methodist Episcopal
Lancaster, Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church	Pa.	Reformed in the U.S.

Lane Theological Seminary	O.	Presbyterian
Lane University	Kan.	United Brethren
Lawrence University	Wisc.	Methodist Episcopal
Leander Clark College (Western College)	Iowa	United Brethren
Lebanon Valley College	Pa.	United Brethren
Le Grand Christian Col.	Iowa	Disciples of Christ
Lehigh University	Pa.	Non-sectarian
Leland University	La.	Non-sectarian
Leland Stanford Junior University (Stanford)	Cal.	Non-sectarian
Lenoir College	N.C.	Lutheran
Lenox College	Iowa	Presbyterian
Lewis University	Ill.	Non-sectarian
Lexington College of the Bible	Ky.	Disciples of Christ
Liberal University	Oreg.	Free Thought
Liberty College	Ky.	Baptist
Lima College	O.	Lutheran
Lincoln Institute	Mo.	Non-sectarian
Lincoln Memorial Univ.	Tenn.	Non-sectarian
Lincoln University	Ill.	Cumberkand Presbyterian
Lincoln University	Pa.	Presbyterian
Lineville College	Ala.	Non-sectarian
Linfield College	Oreg.	Baptist
Livingstone College	N.C.	African Methodist
Logan College	Ky.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Lombard College	Ill.	Universalist
Loras College (St. Joseph's College)	Iowa	Roman Catholic

Louisiana Female College	La.	Baptist
Louisiana State Univ.	La.	Non-sectarian
Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary	Ky.	Presbyterian
Louisville, Univ. of,	Ky.	Non-sectarian
Loyola College	Md.	Roman Catholic
Loyola University	Ill.	Roman Catholic
Luther College	Iowa	Lutheran
Luther Theological Seminary	Minn.	Lutheran (Norwegian)
Lutheran Ladies Seminary	Minn.	Evangelical Lutheran
Lycoming College (Williamsport Dickinson Seminary)	Pa.	Methodist Episcopal
Macalester College	Minn.	Presbyterian
McCormick Theological Seminary	Ill.	Presbyterian
McKendree College	Ill.	Methodist Episcopal
MacLean College	Ky.	Non-sectarian
McLemoresville Collegiate Institute	Tenn.	Non-sectarian
McPherson College	Kan.	United Brethren
Maine University	Me.	Non-sectarian
Maine Wesleyan Seminary and College	Me.	Methodist Episcopal
Manhattan College	N.Y.	Roman Catholic
Mansfield Female College	La.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Marietta College	O.	Non-sectarian
Marquette University	Wisc.	Roman Catholic
Mars Hill College	N.C.	Baptist
Martha Washington Col.	Va.	Non-sectarian

Marvin College	Ky.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Maryland Agricultural College (Univ. of Md.)	Md.	Non-sectarian
Maryville College	Tenn.	Presbyterian
Mary Baldwin College	Va.	Presbyterian
Massachusetts Agric. College (Univ. of Mass.)	Mass.	Non-sectarian
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Mass.	Non-sectarian
Meadville Theological Seminary	Pa.	Unitarian
Mercer University	Ga.	Baptist
Miami University	O.	Non-sectarian
Michigan Agricultural College	Mich.	Non-sectarian
Michigan, Univ. of,	Mich.	Non-sectarian
Middlebury College	Vt.	Non-sectarian
Midland College	Kan.	Lutheran
Millersburg Female College	Ky.	Non-sectarian
Milligan College	Tenn.	Disciples of Christ
Mills College	Cal.	Non-sectarian
Millsaps College	Miss.	Methodist Episcopal
Milton College	Wisc.	7th Day Baptist
Milwaukee-Downer College	Wisc.	Non-sectarian
Minnesota, Univ. of,	Minn.	Non-sectarian
Mississippi Agric. and Mechanical College	Miss.	Non-sectarian
Mississippi College	Miss.	Baptist
Mississippi State College for Women	Miss.	Non-sectarian

Missouri, Univ. of,	Mo.	Non-sectarian
Missouri Valley College	Mo.	Cumberland Presbyterian
Missouri Wesleyan College	Mo.	Methodist Episcopal
Monmouth College	Ill.	United Presbyterian
Montana State College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts	Mont.	Non-sectarian
Montana, Univ. of,	Mont.	Non-sectarian
Moody Bible Institute	Ill.	Evangelical
Moore's Hill College	Ind.	Methodist Episcopal
Moravian College	Pa.	Moravian
Morgan College	Md.	Non-sectarian
Morningside College	Iowa	Methodist Episcopal
Morrisville College	Mo.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Morris Brown College	Ga.	Methodist Episcopal
Mount Angel College	Oreg.	Roman Catholic
Mount Holyoke College	Mass.	Non-sectarian
Mount Lebanon Male College	La.	Baptist
Mount Morris College	Ill.	Methodist Episcopal
Mount St. Joseph's Col.	Md.	Roman Catholic
Mount St. Mary's College	Md.	Roman Catholic
Mount Union College	O.	Methodist Episcopal
Mountain Home College	Ark.	Baptist
Muhlenberg College	Pa.	Lutheran
Muskingum College	O.	United Presbyterian
Nannie Lou Warthen Institute	Ga.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Nashotah House	Wisc.	Protestant Episcopal

Nebraska, Univ. of,	Neb.	Non-sectarian
Nebraska Wesleyan Univ.	Neb.	Methodist Episcopal
Nevada, University of,	Nev.	Non-sectarian
Newberry College	S.C.	Lutheran
Newton Theological Seminary	Mass.	Baptist
New Hampshire College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts	N.H.	Non-sectarian
New Hampshire, Univ. of,	N.H.	Non-sectarian
New Mexico College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts	N.M.	Non-sectarian
New Mexico, Univ. of,	N.M.	Non-sectarian
New York, City College of,	N.Y.	Non-sectarian
New York, University of,	N.Y.	Non-sectarian
Niagara University	N.Y.	Roman Catholic
North Carolina Agric. and Mechanical College	N.C.	Non-sectarian
North Carolina, Univ. of,	N.C.	Non-sectarian
North Dakota Agric. Col.	N.D.	Non-sectarian
North Dakota, Univ. of,	N.D.	Non-sectarian
North Georgia Agric. College	Ga.	Non-sectarian
Northwestern University	Ill.	Methodist Episcopal
Northwestern University	Wisc.	Lutheran
North-Western College	Ill.	Evangelical
Norwich University	Vt.	Non-sectarian
Notre Dame, College of,	Cal.	Roman Catholic
Notre Dame of Maryland	Md.	Roman Catholic

Notre Dame University	Ind.	Roman Catholic
Oberlin College	O.	Non-sectarian
Occidental College	Cal.	Presbyterian
Odessa College	Mo.	Non-sectarian
Ogden College	Ky.	Non-sectarian
Ohio State University	O.	Non-sectarian
Ohio University	O.	Non-sectarian
Ohio Wesleyan University	O.	Methodist Episcopal
Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College	Okla.	Non-sectarian
Oklahoma, University of,	Okla.	Non-sectarian
Olivet College	Mich.	Congregational
Omaha, University of,	Neb.	Presbyterian
Oregon Agricultural Col.	Oreg.	Non-sectarian
Oregon, University of,	Oreg.	Non-sectarian
Ottawa University	Kan.	Baptist
Otterbein University	O.	United Brethren
Ouachita College	Ark.	Baptist
Pacific Methodist Col.	Cal.	Methodist Episcopal
Pacific Theological Seminary	Cal.	Congregational
Pacific University	Oreg.	Congregational
Pacific, Univ. of the,	Cal.	Methodist Episcopal
Packer Collegiate Institute	N.Y.	Non-sectarian
Palmer College	Iowa	Methodist Episcopal
Park College	Mo.	Presbyterian
Park Region Luther Col.	Minn.	Lutheran (Norwegian)
Parker College	Minn.	Free Baptist

Parsons College	Iowa	Presbyterian
Paul Quinn College	Tex.	Methodist Episcopal
Peirce City Baptist College	Mo.	Baptist
Pennsylvania College for Women	Pa.	Non-sectarian
Pennsylvania State Col.	Pa.	Non-sectarian
Pennsylvania, Univ. of,	Pa.	Non-sectarian
Philander Smith College	Ark.	Methodist Episcopal
Piedmont College	Ga.	Protestant Episcopal
Pierce Christian College	Cal.	Disciples of Christ
Pittsburgh Western Theological Seminary	Pa.	Presbyterian
Pleasant View Luther College	Ill.	Lutheran
Pomona College	Cal.	Congregational
Potter College for Young Ladies	Ky.	Non-sectarian
Prairie View State Norman and Industrial College	Tex.	Non-sectarian
Pratt Institute	N.Y.	Non-sectarian
Powhatten College	W.Va.	Non-sectarian
Presbyterian College of South Carolina	S.C.	Presbyterian
Presbyterian College of the South West	Col.	Presbyterian
Presbyterian College for Women	S.C.	Presbyterian
Presbyterian Theological Seminary	Neb.	Presbyterian
Princeton Theological Seminary	N.J.	Presbyterian

Princeton University	N.J.	Non-sectarian
Pritchett College	Mo.	Non-sectarian
Puget Sound University	Wash.	Methodist Episcopal
Purdue University	Ind.	Non-sectarian
Racine College	Wisc.	Protestant Episcopal
Radcliffe College	Mass.	Non-sectarian
Randolph-Macon College	Va.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Redfield College	S.D.	Congregational
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute	N.Y.	Non-sectarian
Regis College	Col.	Roman Catholic
Rhode Island Agricultural and Mechanical College	R.I.	Non-sectarian
Rhode Island State Col.	R.I.	Non-sectarian
Richmond College	Va.	Baptist
Richmond Theological Seminary (Union Theol. Sem.)	Va.	Presbyterian
Ridgeville College	Ind.	Free Baptist
Rio Grande College	O.	Free Baptist
Ripon College	Wisc.	Non-sectarian
Roanoke College	Va.	Lutheran
Roanoke Female College	Va.	Non-sectarian
Rochester Theological Seminary	N.Y.	Baptist
Rochester, Univ. of,	N.Y.	Baptist
Rockford College	Ill.	Non-sectarian
Rock Hill College	Md.	Roman Catholic
Rogersville Synodical College	Tenn.	Presbyterian

Roger Williams University	Tenn.	Baptist
Rollins College	Fla.	Non-sectarian
Rose Polytechnic Inst.	Ind.	Non-sectarian
Rutgers College	N.J.	Dutch Reformed (Reformed Church in America)
Rust University	Miss.	Methodist Episcopal
St. Ambrose College	Iowa	Roman Catholic
St. Anselm's College	N.H.	Roman Catholic
St. Bede's College	Ill.	Roman Catholic
St. Benedict's College	Kan.	Roman Catholic
St. Benedict's College	N.J.	Roman Catholic
St. Bernard College	Ala.	Roman Catholic
St. Bonaventure's Col.	N.Y.	Roman Catholic
St. Charles' College	La.	Roman Catholic
St. Charles' College	Md.	Roman Catholic
St. Edward's College	Tex.	Roman Catholic
St. Fidelis College	Pa.	Roman Catholic
St. Francis College	N.Y.	Roman Catholic
St. Francis College	Pa.	Roman Catholic
St. Francis Solanus Col.	Ill.	Roman Catholic
St. Francis Xavier Col.	N.Y.	Roman Catholic
St. Ignatius College	Cal.	Roman Catholic
St. Ignatius College	Ill.	Roman Catholic
St. James' College	Wash.	Roman Catholic
St. John's College	D.C.	Roman Catholic
St. John's College	Md.	Roman Catholic
St. John's College	O.	Roman Catholic

St. John's Lutheran Col.	Kan.	Lutheran
St. John's College	N.Y.	Roman Catholic
St. Joseph's College	Ind.	Roman Catholic
St. Joseph's College	Pa.	Roman Catholic
St. Joseph's College	O.	Roman Catholic
St. Lawrence College	Wisc.	Roman Catholic
St. Lawrence University	N.Y.	Universalist
St. Louis College	Tex.	Roman Catholic
St. Louis University	Mo.	Roman Catholic
St. Martin's College	Wash.	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's College	Cal.	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's College	Kan.	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's College	Ky.	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's College	Me.	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's Institute	Miss.	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's University	Tex.	Roman Catholic
St. Olaf's College	Minn.	Lutheran
St. Peter's College	N.J.	Roman Catholic
St. Procopius College	Ill.	Roman Catholic
St. Stanisluas College	Miss.	Roman Catholic
St. Stanislawa Kostki, Kolegium	Ill.	Roman Catholic
St. Thomas, College of,	Minn.	Roman Catholic
St. Viateur's College	Ill.	Roman Catholic
St. Vincent's College	Cal.	Roman Catholic
St. Vincent's College	Pa.	Roman Catholic
St. Xavier College	Ky.	Roman Catholic
St. Xavier College	O.	Roman Catholic

Saints College, Latter Day	Utah	Latter Day Saints
Salem College	W.Va.	7th Day Baptist
San Francisco Theological Seminary	Cal.	Presbyterian
San Joaquin Valley College	Cal.	?
Santa Clara College	Cal.	Roman Catholic
Scarritt Collegiate Institute	Mo.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Scio College	O.	Methodist Episcopal
Scotia Seminary	N.C.	Presbyterian
Seton Hall College	N.J.	Roman Catholic
Shaw University	N.C.	Baptist
Shelbina Collegiate Institute	Mo.	Non-sectarian
Shoemaker College	Va.	Non-sectarian
Shurtleff College	Ill.	Baptist
Simpson College	Iowa	Methodist Episcopal
Smith College	Mass.	Non-sectarian
Soule College	Kan.	Non-sectarian
South, University of the,	Tenn.	Protestant Episcopal
South Carolina College	S.C.	Non-sectarian
South Dakota State Agricultural College	S.D.	Non-sectarian
South Dakota University	S.D.	Non-sectarian
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary	Ky.	Baptist
Southern California, University of,	Cal.	Methodist Episcopal
Southern Female College	Ga.	Non-sectarian

Southern Female College	Va.	Non-sectarian
Southern University	Ala.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Southern University and Agricultural and Mechanical College	La.	Non-sectarian
Southland College	Ark.	Society of Friends
Southwest Baptist Col.	Mo.	Baptist
Southwest Kansas College	Kan.	Methodist Episcopal
Southwestern Presbyterian University	Tenn.	Presbyterian
Southwestern University	Tex.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Spring Hill College	Ala.	Roman Catholic
Stephen's College	Mo.	Baptist
Sterling University (Cooper Memorial Col.)	Kan.	Presbyterian
Stevens Institute of Technology	N.J.	Non-sectarian
State College for Colored Students	Del.	Non-sectarian
State Colored College	S.C.	Non-sectarian
Straight University (including New Orleans University)	La.	Methodist Episcopal
Sullias College for Young Ladies	Va-Tenn.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Susquehanna University	Pa.	Evangelical Lutheran
Swarthmore College	Pa.	Society of Friends
Syracuse University	N.Y.	Methodist Episcopal
Tabor College	Iowa	Congregational
Talledega College	Ala.	Congregational
Tarkio College	Mo.	United Presbyterian

Taylor University	Ind.	Methodist Episcopal
Taylorsville Collegiate Institute	N.C.	Non-sectarian
Temple University	Pa.	Non-sectarian
Tennessee, Univ. of,	Tenn.	Non-sectarian
Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College	Tex.	Non-sectarian
Texas Christian College (Add-Ran College)	Tex.	Disciples of Christ
Texas University	Tex.	Non-sectarian
Thiel College	Pa.	Lutheran
Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church in America	N.J.	Dutch Reformed (Reformed Church in America)
Tillotson College	Tex.	Methodist Episcopal
Tobin College	Iowa	Non-sectarian
Topeka Industrial and Educational Institute	Kan.	Non-sectarian
Tougaloo University	Miss.	Methodist Episcopal
Trinity College	Conn.	Protestant Episcopal
Trinity College	D.C.	Roman Catholic
Trinity University	Tex.	Cumberland Presbyterian
Trinity Theological Seminary	Neb.	United Danish Evangelical Lutheran in America
Tri-State Normal Univ.	Ala.	Non-sectarian
Tufts College	Mass.	Non-sectarian
Tulane University of Louisiana	La.	Non-sectarian
Tulsa, University of, (Henry Kendall College)	Okla.	Presbyterian
Tusculum College	Tenn.	Presbyterian

Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute	Ala.	Non-sectarian
Twin Valley College	O.	Methodist Episcopal
Union College	Ky.	Methodist Episcopal
Union College	Neb.	7th Day Adventist
Union Christian College	Ind.	Disciples of Christ
Union Theological Seminary	N.Y.	Presbyterian
Union University	N.Y.	Non-sectarian
Upper Iowa University	Iowa	Methodist Episcopal
Upsala College	N.J.	Evangelical Lutheran
Urbana College	O.	New Church
Ursinus College	Pa.	(German) Reformed in the U.S.
Utah Agricultural Col.	Utah	Non-sectarian
Utah University	Utah	Non-sectarian
Valparaiso University	Ind.	Non-sectarian
Vanderbilt University	Tenn.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Vassar College	N.Y.	Non-sectarian
Vermont University	Vt.	Non-sectarian
Villanova, College of St. Thomas	Pa.	Roman Catholic
Vincennes University	Ind.	Non-sectarian
Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute	Va.	Non-sectarian
Virginia Institute, The,	Va.	Baptist
Virginia Theological Seminary	Va.	Protestant Episcopal
Virginia, University of,	Va.	Non-sectarian
Virginia Union Univ.	Va.	Baptist

Virginia Polytechnic Institute	Va.	Non-sectarian
Volant College	Pa.	Non-sectarian
Wabash College	Ind.	Non-sectarian
Wagner Memorial Lutheran College	N.Y.	Evangelical Lutheran
Wake Forest College	N.C.	Baptist
Walden University	Tenn.	Methodist Episcopal
Wartburg Kollege	Iowa	Evangelical Lutheran
Wartburg Seminary	Iowa	Lutheran
Washburn College	Kan.	Congregational
Washington College	Md.	Non-sectarian
Washington University	Mo.	Non-sectarian
Washington, Univ. of,	Wash.	Non-sectarian
Washington Agricultural College	Wash.	Non-sectarian
Washington Christian College	D.C.	Disciples of Christ
Washington and Jefferson College	Pa.	Presbyterian
Washington and Lee University	Va.	Non-sectarian
Watertown, Sacred Heart College	Wisc.	Roman Catholic
Weaverville College	N.C.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Wellesley College	Mass.	Non-sectarian
Wells College	N.Y.	Non-sectarian
Wesleyan College	Ga.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Wesleyan University	Conn.	Methodist Episcopal
West Plains College	Mo.	Non-sectarian

West Virginia, Univ. of,	W.Va.	Non-sectarian
West Virginia Colored Institute	W.Va.	Non-sectarian
Western College (Oxford College)	O.	Non-sectarian
Western Maryland College	Md.	Methodist Protestant
Western Reserve Univ.	O.	Non-sectarian
Western Theological Seminary	Mich.	Reformed in America
Western University of Pennsylvania (Univ. of Pittsburgh)	Pa.	Non-sectarian
Westfield College	Ill.	United Brethren
Westminster College	Mo.	Presbyterian
Westminster College	Pa.	United Presbyterian
Westminster College	Tex.	Methodist Protestant
Westminster College (Salt Lake Collegiate Institute)	Utah	Presbyterian
Wheaton College	Ill.	Congregational
Wheaton College	Mass.	Non-sectarian
Whitman College	Wisc.	Congregational
Whitworth College	Wash.	Presbyterian
Whitworth Female College	Miss.	Non-sectarian
Wichita, Municipal University of,	Kan.	Congregational
Wilberforce University	O.	Methodist Episcopal
wiley University	Tex.	Methodist Episcopal
Willamette University	Oreg.	Methodist Episcopal
William and Mary, College of,	Va.	Non-sectarian
William Jewell College	Mo.	Baptist

William Penn College	Iowa	Society of Friends
Williams College	Mass.	Non-sectarian
Wilmington College	O.	Society of Friends
Wilson College for Women	Pa.	Presbyterian
Winthrop College	S.C.	Non-sectarian
Wisconsin, University of,	Wisc.	Non-sectarian
Wittenberg College	O.	Lutheran
Wofford College	S.C.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Woman's College	Va.	Non-sectarian
Wooster University	O.	Presbyterian
Worcester Polytechnic Institute	Mass.	Non-sectarian
Wyoming, University of,	Wyo.	Non-sectarian
Xenia Theological Seminary	O.	United Presbyterian
Yadkin College	S.C.	Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Yale Divinity School	Conn.	Non-sectarian
Yale University	Conn.	Non-sectarian
Yankton College	S.D.	Congregational
York College	Neb.	United Brethren

Appendix B

COURSES IN SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE AT INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING UP TO 1901

Abbreviations:

G. Graduate Course — S. Senior Year — So. Sophomore Year

U. Undergraduate Course — J. Junior Year — F. Freshman Year

U.(?) indicates that a course is for undergraduates, with the year unspecified.

? indicates that no specification of year or level is provided

Insitituion	Course	Started/ Ended	Level	Teacher
Atlanta	Sociology	1897-	G.U.(?)	W.E.B.Du Bois
Atlanta Baptist (Morehouse)	Sociology	1898-	U. (S)	G. Sale.
Amherst	Social Institutions	1873-76	G.	J.W.Burgess.
	Anthropological Ethics	1894-99	U. (s)	M.E.Gates.
	Objective Ethics	1894-99	. . . .	. . . . .
	Ethics and Sociology	1899-	U. (J)	C.E.Garman.
Alfred	Sociology	1895-	U. (So).	B.C.Davis.
Adelphi	Sociology	1899-	U. (J).	A.G.Fradenburgh.
Adrian	Sociology	1895-	U. (S).	A.L.Reynolds.
Albion	Elementary Principles of Sociology	1900-	U. (?)	W.M.Burke.
Akron (Buchtel)	Sociology	1897-	U. (J)	S.P.Orth.
Allegheny	Sociology	1898-	U. (?)	E.A.Smith
Andover Theological	Social Economics (Crime, Labor, Pauperism)	1896-98	Theol. Students	W.J.Tucker.
	Sociology	1893-95	. . . .	G.Harris.
	Social Ethics I :	1895-96	. . . .	. . . . .
	Economics, Politics, Religion	1895-96 (Alt.yrs)		
	Social Ethics II : The Family	1895-96 (Alt.yrs)	. . . .	. . . . .

Andover Theol. (Contd)	Social Ethics I : Economics, Politics, Religion	1896-	Theol. Students	G.Harris
	Social Ethics II : Education, Pauperism, Criminology	1896-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Social Ethics III : The Family, State, Church	1896-	. . . . .	. . . . .
Antioch	Ethics and Sociol.	1899-	U. (S)	W.A.Bell
Arkansas Industrial	Principles of Sociol.	1897-	. . .	S.J.McLean.
	Problems of Social Growth	1897-	. . .	. . . . .
Armour Inst.	Principles of Sociol.	1897-98	U. (?)	L.C.Monin
	Elements of Sociol.	1898-	. . .	. . . .
Auburn Theological	Practical Theology (includes Christian Sociology)	1893-96	Theol. Students	A.S.Hoyt
	History of Labor, Pauperism and crime, History of the Family (Sociology Courses)	1896- Each given in consecutive years	. . . .	. . . .
Baker	Sociology	1894-96	On request	W.A.Quayle
Baltimore Women's (Goucher)	Sociology	1893-95	U. (J)	T.P.Thomas
	Sociology (advanced & specialized)	1894-96	U. (S)	. . . . .
	Economics and Charities	1895-	U. (S)	. . . . .
	Descriptive Sociol. (Sociol.1897-98)	1896-98	U. (?)	. . . . .
	Sociol. and Social Pathology	1898-	. . .	. . . . .
Barnard	Sociology	1895-	U. (S)	F.H.Giddings
	Communistic and Socialistic Theories	1898-	. . .	J.B.Clark.
	Theory of Social Reform	1898-	. . .	. . . . .
Bates	Social Science	1896-	. . .	F.M.Baldwin 1896-7 C.M.Geer 1897-
Baylor	Social Science	1896-	Advanced Students	S.P.Brooks
Bellevue	History of Civilisation and Sociol.	1900-	U. (J)	D.R.Kerr & C.A. Mitchell

Beloit	Sociology	1890-95	U.(S)	A.L.Chapin
	Sociology - Social Problems	1895-	. . . .	R.C.Chapin
Berea	Sociology	1899- (Alt. years)	U.(?)	Le V.Dodge.
Bethany (Kansas)	Sociology	1897-1900	. . . .	unspecified
	Sociology	1900-	U. (S)	C.F.P.Calbert
Bethany (W.Va.)	Sociology	1899-	G.U.(S)	G.Munro
Blackburn	Sociology	1899-	U.(S)	unspecified.
Boston Univ.	(See Chapter IV for scheme starting in 1874)			
	Social Science and Reform	1889-94	U.(?)	unspecified.
	Elements of Social Science	1895-	. . .	F.S.Baldwin.
	Modern Socialism	1895-	. . .	. . . . .
Bowdoin	Sociology	1890-94	U.(S)	D.C.Wells.
	Sociology	1894-98	. . .	H.C.Emery (L.W.Hatch 1896-97 only)
	Growth of Social Institutions	1898-1900	. . .	H.C.Emery
Brigham Young Univ.	Relation of Psychol. to Sociology, Pedagogics, Theol. and Ethcs.	1899-	U.(?)	unspecified.
	Social Law	1900-	. . .	P.J.Jensen
Brooklyn Inst.	Sociology	1895-99	Adult	L.G.James (W.C.Webster 1897-98)
	Descriptive Sociol.	1899-	. . .	M.Hurd.
Brooklyn Polytechnic	Sociology	1900- (Alt. years)	U.(J)	C.A.Green.
Brown	Principles of Sociol. and Development of Primitive Civilizations.	1891-	U.(J & S)	G.G.Wilson
	Modern Social Problems I	1891	. . .	. . . . .
	Modern Social Problems II	1891-	. . .	. . . . .
	Social Philosophy	1892-	G.U.(S)	Wilson (J.Q, Dealey 1895-
	Development of Social Theory	1895-	. . .	Dealey

Brown (Contd)	Segregation of Population	1895-97	G.U.(S)	Dealey
	Current Social Theory and Practice	1895-	. . . .	Dealey & Wilson
	Municipal Functions and Administration	1897-	G.U.(S)	Dealey
	Social Institutions	1900-	U.(Not F)	. . . .
Bryn Mawr	Modern Theories of Sociology	1890-92	G.	F.H.Giddings
	Sociology	1892-95	...	. . . . .
	Seminary in Sociol.	1892-95	...	. . . . .
	Economic Demography & Geography (Economic Ethonlogy)	1896-97	U.(F)	L.M.Keasbey
	History of Political, Economic & Sociological Theories	1896-97	U.(So)	. . . . .
	Social Evolution	1896-97	U.(J & S)	. . . . .
	Descriptive Sociol.	1897-1900	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Theoretical Sociol.	1897- ?	. . . . .	. . . . .
	American Primitive Society	1897-	G.	. . . . .
	Economic Antecedents of Society	1900-	G.	. . . . .
Bucknell	Sociology (and thesis)	1895-98	U.(S)	H.L.Wayland.
	Sociology	1896-	U.(J & S)	W.E.Martin
	Honor Course in Sociol.	1900-	U.(S)	. . . . .
	Sociol. from the Christian point of view	1900-	All Students	L. Moss
Butler (Univ. of Indianapolis)				
	Sociology	1894-99	U.(F)	unspecified.
	Study of Society	1896-99	U(?)	E.B.Bryan
	Organized Philanthropy	1899-	U.(So.J&S)	. . . . .
	Primitive Culture	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Socialism	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Social Psychology	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Development of Social Philos.	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Contemporary Social Philos.	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Comparative Religion	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
California (Berkeley)	Theories of Social Progress	1895-	G.U.(special)	B.Moses.
	Social Conditions	1895-96	. . . . .	. . . .
Campbell	Sociology	1900-	?	unspecified.
Carleton	Sociology	1898-	U.(J & S)	C.H.Cooper.

Carthage	Sociology	1899-	U.(S)	P.E.Mason
Catholic Univ. of America	Unspecified courses dealing with history and philosophy of social institutions	1893-95	G.	unspecified.
	Sociology as a General Introduction to the other Social Sciences	1895-97	..	W.J.Kerby
	The Social Being or Organism in the Abstract.	1895-97	..	. . . . .
	Society in the Concrete	1895-97	..	. . . . .
	Domestic Society	1895-97	..	. . . . .
	Civil or National Society	1895-96	..	. . . . .
	International Society	1895-97	..	. . . . .
	The Universal Society of the Human Race	1895-97	..	. . . . .
	Religious Society - Catholicism	1895-97	..	. . . . .
	Particular Civil Associations	1895-97	..	. . . . .
	Particular Religious Associations	1895-97	..	. . . . .
	Social Systems	1895-97	..	. . . . .
	Sciences Preliminary to Sociology	1895-97	..	. . . . .
	Sciences Auxiliary to Sociology	1895-97	..	. . . . .
	(These courses, 1895-97, were probably never taught since the teacher W.J.Kerby did not take up his appointment until 1897)			
	History and Literature of Sociology	1897-98	S.S.B.Degree	W.J.Kerby
	Elements of Sociology	1897-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Advanced Course in Special Topics in Sociology	1897-98	S.S.B.& S.S.D.	. . . . .
	Theses	1897-	All degrees	. . . . .
	Socialism	1898-99	G.	. . . . .
	Seminar - Methods	1898-	..	. . . . .
	Crime as a Social Phenomenon	1899-	..	. . . . .
	The Labor Question	1900-	..	. . . . .
Cedarville	Sociology	1899-	U.(S)	unspecified
Centre (Ky)	Sociology	1898-99	. . .	W.H.Johnson
	Structure and Law of Society	1899-	. . .	. . . . .
Central (Iowa)	Sociology	1899-	. . .	A.B.Chaffee

Chaddock	Sociology	1898-	?	unspecified
Charles City	Social Theory and Social Problems	1899-	U.(J & S)	E.F.Fisher
Charleston, College of,	Sociology	1898-1900	U.(S)	J.Gadsden
	Tariff History (Listed under Sociology)	1898-	. . .	. . . . .
	General Sociology	1900-	. . .	. . . . .
Chicago	Seminar - Social Welfare Agencies	1892-93	G.(prelim.)	C.R.Henderson
(Courses of the Dept. of Sociology & Anthropology in Social Institutions and Social Philosppphy only are listed here. Sociology Dept. of the Divinity School courses : all those listed under Henderson). (Other courses were also given in the Extension, Class Study and Correspondence Divisions not listed here).	Social Institutions of Organized Christianity.	1892-	G.U.	. . . . .
	Social Treatment of Dependents and Defectives	1892-	...	. . . . .
	Criminology	1892-93	...	. . . . .
	The Family	1892-	...	. . . . .
	Non-Political and Non-Economical Social Institutions	1892-93	...	. . . . .
	Methods of Promoting Social Welfare by Voluntary Organiz's	1892-93	...	. . . . .
	The State as an Agent for Social Ameriora-tion and Reform	1892-97	...	. . . . . (E.Bemis 1893-95)
	Methodology and Bibliography of Social Sceince	1892-97	G.(prelim.)	A.W.Small
	Seminar : The Psychology, Ethics and Sociology of Socialism	1892-97	. . . . .	. . . . .
	The Province of Sociology in its Relation to the Special Social Sciences	1892-95	. . . . .	. . . . . (and G.E.Vincent 1893-95)
	Social Psychology	1892-93	. . . . .	. . . . .
	The Organic Functions of the State and Government	1892-97	. . . . .	. . . . .

Chicago (Contd)	Problems of Social Statics	1892-97	G.(primarily)	A.W.Small (and Vincent 1893-95)
	Problems of Social Dynamics	1892-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Sociology of the New Testament	1892-97	. . . .	. . . . . (Henderson 1893-97)
	The Historical Sociologies	1892-96	G.U.	W.I.Thomas
	Seminar - Organizations for Promoting Social Welfare	1893-97	...	Henderson
	Voluntary Associations	1893-97	...	. . . . .
	Economical and Government Agencies for Advancing General Welfare	1893-97	...	. . . . .
	Social Conditions in American Rural Life	1893-	...	. . . . .
	Modern Cities and Cooperation of their Beneficent Forces	1893-97	...	. . . . .
	Social Treatment of Crime and Criminals	1893-	...	. . . . .
	Historical Development of the Great Philanthropies and Reforms	1893-97	...	. . . . .
	Trade Unionism and Cooperation	1893-95	...	Bemis
	Contemporary Society in the U.S.	1893-97	...	G.E.Vincent
	Urban Life in the U.S.	1893-97	...	. . . . .
	Elements of Sociol.	1893-95	U.	D.Fulcomer.
	Fieldwork in the Study of Social Institutions of Charity and Correction	1895-	G.U.	Henderson
	The Province of Sociol.	1895-	G.	Vincent
	Social Structure & Function Interpreted by Social Psych.	1895-	G.	. . . .
	Social Psychology	1895-	(Summer Course)	E.A.Ross
	Social Control	1895-	.....	. . . .
	Development of Systematic Sociol.	1895-96	G.U.	A.F.Bentley
	Recent Sociology	1895-96	. .	. . . . .
	Problems of Social Interpretation	1895-96	. .	. . . . .
	Social Psychology of Art and Amusement	1896-97	G.	Thomas
	Folk Psychology	1896-	G.U.(S)	. . .
	Primitive Education	1896-97	G.	. . .
	Social Psychology of Sex (title varies)	1896-	G.	. . .

Chicago (Contd)	Primitive Social Control	1896-	G.	Thomas
	Introduction to the Study of Society	1896-	U.(J & S)	. . . (and Vincent 1896-)
	Introduction to Sociol.	1896-	. . . . .	Vincent
	Dynamic Sociol.	1896	G(Summer course)	L.F.Ward
	Social Mechanics	1896	G	. . . . .
	Ethnological Aesthetics	1897-98	G.	Thomas
	Primitive Social Mind	1897-	...	. . .
	Hungarian and South Slavonian Ethnology and Folk Psychology.	1897-98	...	. . .
	Associations for Cultiue and Sociability	1897-	G.U.	Henderson
	The Labor Movement	1897-	. .	. . . . .
	Seminar - Methods of Social Amelioration	1897-	. .	. . . . .
	Modern Cities	1897-	. .	. . . . .
	Biblical and Ecclesiastical Theories of Society	1897-	. .	. . . . .
	Philanthropy	1897-	. .	. . . . .
	The Methodology of the Social Problem	1897-	. .	Small
	The Elements of Social Teleology	1897-	. .	. . .
	The History of Sociol.	1897-	. .	. . .
	Outlines of Constructive Social Philosophy	1897-	. .	. . .
	The Elements of Social Dynamics	1897-	. .	. . .
	Seminar - Problems of Social Teleology	1897-	. .	. . .
	Seminar - Problems in Methodology and Classification	1897-	. .	. . .
	American Experience with State Control of Social Action	1897-	. .	. . .
	Controlling Ideas of Modern Society	1897-	. .	. . .
	The Sociological Method of Stating the Social Problem and of Arranging Evidence, Applied to a Selected Historical Period	1897-	. .	. . .
	Contemporary Study of the Social Forces in American and French Democracy	1897-	. .	. . .

Chicago (Contd)	The Social Philosophy of the English People in the Victorian Era	1897-	G.U.	Zeublin
	Egyptian Life and Antiquities	1897-	. .	J.H.Breasted
	The Art of the Natural Races	1897-	. .	Thomas
	The Scientific and Philosophical Premises of General Sociology	1898-	. .	Small
	Municipal Sociology	1900-	. .	Zeublin
Chicago Theological	Biblical Sociology	1892-	Junior yr.	G.Taylor.
	Social Economics	1892-94	Second yr.	. . . . .
	Sociology	1892-	Second yr.	. . . . .
Not given in every year.	Social Condition of Labor	1892-94	Any year	. . . . .
	Biblical Suggestion of the Methods of applying truth to life	1892-94	. . . .	. . . . .
	Biblical Study of the Sociological Development of the Kingdom and the Church	1892-94	. . . .	. . . . .
	Municipal Economics	1892-	. . . .	. . . . .
	The Family and Pedagogical Development	1892-94	. . . .	. . . . .
	Penology	1892-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Industrial Structure of Society	1892-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Pauperism and Poverty	1892-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Field Work	1892-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Economics of the Kingdom	1894-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Social Economics of the Family	1894-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Social Economics of Community and Neighbourhood Life etc.	1894-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Political Structure of Society	1894-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Labor Movement	1894-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Child Saving, Treatment of the Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent, etc.	1894-	. . . .	. . . . .
	City Evangelization ... Social Settments etc.	1894-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Social Reform Movements	1894-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Sabbath Observance (inc. social aspects)	1894-	. . . .	. . . . .

Chicago Theol. (Contd)	Biblical Sociology	1895-	G.	G.Taylor
	Sociology	1895-	...	. . . .
	Social Economics	1895-	...	. . . .
Coe	Sociology	1900-	U.(S)	W.R.Boyd
Clark	Anthropology (inc. Sociology)	1891-	G.	A.F.Chamberlain.
Colby	Development of Modern Philosophies of Society	1889-94	U.(S)	A.W.Small (S. Matthews 1892-94)
	Sociology	1895-	. . .	N.Butler (J.W.Black 1896-97 only)
Colgate	Sociology	1895-97	. . .	C.W.Spencer
Colorado (College)	Modern Social and Sociological problems	1895-	. . .	W.F.Slocum.
Colorado (Univ.)	Outline of Sociology	1900-	. . .	unspecified.
Colorado State Agricultural	Sociology (plus thesis)	1895-97	U.(?)	G.E.Patton (E.M. Traker 1897-98)
	Constitution and Sociol.	1899-	U.(J & S)	B.D.Aylesworth
Columbia	Social Science and Statistics	1880-83	G.U.(S)	R.Mayo-Smith
	Ethnography	1880-83	. . . .	. . . . .
	Statistical Science, Methods and Results	1883-93	. . . .	. . . . .
	Social Science : Communistic and Socialistic Theories	1883-93	. . . .	. . . . .
	Ethnology and Social Institutions of the People of the U.S.A.	1889-91	. . . .	. . . . .
	Physical Geography and Anthrop.	1893-99	. . . .	W.Z.Ripley.
	Practical Statistics	1893-95	G.(primarily)	Mayo-Smith.
	The Science of Statistics	1893-95	. . . .	. . . . .
	Sociology	1893-1900	. . .	F.H.Giddings.
	Socialism and Communism	1893- (Alt.yrs)	. . . .	Mayo-Smith.
	Crime and Penology	1893	. . . .	Giddings
	Seminar in Social Science	1893-94	. . . .	Giddings & Mayo-Smith
	Evolution of the Family	1894-96	. . . .	Giddings
	Pauperism, Poor Laws and Charities	1894-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Seminar in Sociology	1894-97	. . . .	. . . . .

Columbia (Contd)	Work in Statistics Laboratory	1894-	G. (Primarily)...	Mayo-Smith
	Statistics and Sociol.	1895-	. . . . .	
	Statistics and Economics	1895-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Theory of Statistics	1895-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Sociological Laws	1896-	. . . . .	Giddings. .
	Applied Anthrop.	1897-	. . . . .	Ripley
	Progress and Democracy	1897-	. . . . .	Giddings
	Civil Aspects of Ecclesiastical Organization	1897-	. . . . .	G.J.Bayles.
	Seminar ? Sociology and Statistics	1897-	. . . . .	Giddings & Mayo-Sm
	Principles of Sociol.	1898-	U.(S)	Giddings
	Racial Demography	1899-	. . .	Ripley
	Social Evolution	1900-	G.(primarily)	Giddings
Cornell	Social Science	1884-89	U.(S)	F.Sanborn (C.A. Collin 1888-89)
	Social Science including the History and Management of Charitable and Penal institutions	1889-91	. . .	Collin
	Social institutions	1891-92	G.	J.W.Jenks
	Seminary : Study of Political and Social Questions	1891-92	...	. . . . .
	Social Science	1892-94	U.(?)	W.F.Willcox
	Statistics	1892-94	G.	. . . . .
	Seminary	1892-93	..	. . . . .
	Practical Social Questions	1892-93	Summer Course	. . . . .
	Social Science (Advanced)	1893-94	G.	. . . . .
	Mathematical Methods applied to the Treatment of Certain Economic and Social Questions	1893-	..	J.E.Oliver.
	Elementary Social Science (inc. Intro. to Anthropology)	1894-	U.(?)	Willcox (H.H. Powers 1899-)
	Advanced Social Science, Problems of Social Life	1894-	G.	Willcox (Powers 1899-)
	Advanced Social Science Theoretical	1894-	..	. . . . .

Cornell (Contd)	Social Statistics	1894-	G.	Willcox (C.H.Hull 1899)
	Anthropology	1896-	?	Willcox (Powers 1899-)
	Social History of Art	1900-	?	Powers
	Current Prospects for Social Change	1900-	Summer course	F.A.Fetter.
Cotner	Sociology	1900-	U.(S)	W.P.Aylesworth
Cumberland	Sociology	1898-	G.U.(S)	E.E.Weir
Dakota	Sociology	1900-	U.(S)	T.A.Duncan.
Dartmouth	Sociology	1893-97	. . .	D.C.Wells.
	Anthropology	1893-97	. . .	. . . . .
	Applied Sociology	1894-97	. . .	. . . . .
	Ethnology	1897-98	. . .	. . . . .
	Sociology	1897-98	. . .	. . . . .
	Statistics (inc. Charities)	1897-98	. . .	. . . . .
	Anthropology and Ethnology	1898-	U.(J & S)	. . . . .
	Sociology Proper	1898-99	U.(S)	. . . . .
	Applied Sociology	1898-99	. . .	. . . . .
	Anthropological Geography	1899-	. . .	. . . . .
	Historical Sociology	1899-	. . .	. . . . .
	Social Statistics and Applied Sociology	1899-	. . .	. . . . .
Denver	Sociology	1891-99	U.(J.S. 1893-)	W.F.McDonell
	Relation of Psychology to Sociology etc.	1899-	U.(J)	unspecified.
De Pauw	Civilization and Sociol.	1890-92	?	J.R.Weaver.
	Sociology	1892-	?	. . . . .
Dickinson	Sociology	1896-	U.(S)	M.W.Prince. (J.E.Pilcher 1899-)
Drake	Sociology	1896-1900	U.(J & S)	B.E.Shepperd.
Duke (formerly Trinity)				
	Social Science	1887-89	. . . .	J.F.Crowell.
(information lacking for 1891-97)	The Social Classes	1889-90	. . . .	. . . . .
	Socialism, Communism, Nihilism	1889-90	U.(S)	. . . . .
	Political Economy and Social Sci.	1890- ?	Special students	. . . . .

Duke (Contd)	Sociology	1897-	U.(J)	J.Dowd
	Practical Sociological Problems	1898-	U.(S)	. . .
Elmire	Sociology	1891-	U.(?)	D.R.Ford
Elon	Social Science	1894-	. . .	J.O.Atkinson.
Emporia	Sociological Subjects	1898-99	All Students	Dr.William, Bishop of Salina.
	Sociology	1900	U.(S)	F.S.Blayney.
Fargo	Principles of Social Evolution	1898-	. . .	F.G.Knowlton.
Fisk	Sociology	1900-	?	unspecified.
Fredericks-burg	Sociology	1898-	U.(S)	A.B.Ellis
Friends	Sociology	1898-	U.(J)	E.Stanley
Florida Agricultural	Sociology	1899-	U.(S)	unspecified.
Geneva.	Political Philosophy (the social organism')	1895-97	?	J.M.Coleman
	Development of Social Institutions from their Origin to the Foundations of the Nation			
	State	1897-	U.(S)	. . . . .
	Nature, Law and Authority of the State	1897-	. . .	. . . . .
	Applications of Christianity to Present Social Problems	1897-	. . .	. . . . .
George Wash. (formerly Columbian)	Principles of Sociol.	1896-99	. . .	L.F.Ward.
	Socialism, Practical Social Problems	1896-99	. . .	L.F.Ward
Grand Island	Social Science	1892-	. . .	G.Sutherland.
Greenville	Sociology	1899-	U.(J)	O.E.Tiffany.
Grinnell (Iowa College)	American Social Life	1900-	. . .	G.P.Wyckoff.
	Industrial History and the Problem of Labor	1900-	U.(S)	. . . . .
(information lacking for 1891-1900)	Charities and Penology	1900-	. . .	. . . . .
	Evolution of Society	1900-	. . .	. . . . .
	Sociology and Social Reform.	1900-	. . .	. . . . .
	The City	1900-	. . .	. . . . .

Hartford Theol. (only catalogues available : 1892 and 1900)	Graham Taylor taught Sociology courses from 1888 to 1892. From 1892 A.R.Merriam taught a Sociology course to Senior Theology students. This course was still available in 1900.			
Hamilton	Sociology	1899-	U.(S)	D.D.Smyth
Hamline	Political Science (inc. "The Great Sociological Problems")	1894	. . .	G.S.Innis
	Sociology	1898-	. . .	. . . . .
Hanover	Socialism (changed to Social Science 1897)	1895-	U.(?)	unspecified.
Harvard	Ethics of Social Reform	1884-	G.U.	F.G.Peabody
	Principles of Sociol.	1891-	. .	E.Cummings (T.M. Carver 1900-)
	Social and Economic Conditions of Workingmen in the U.S.A.	1892-97, 1899-	. .	Cummings
	Ideal Social Reconstructions (title varies)	1893-	. .	. . . . .
	Statistics (inc. studies in Demography)	1898-	. .	J.Cummings
	Ethnology in its Applications to Economic and Social Problems	1898-		
	The Labor Question in Europe and the U.S.	1900-	. .	W.F.Willoughby
	Provident Institutions- Workingmen's insurance, Friendly Societies, Savings Banks.	1900-	. .	. . . . .
Harvard Divinity Sch.	Peabody's course available from inception. Sociological Seminary	1898-	Theol. students	Peabody
Haverford	Current Problems of Practical Ethics and Sociology	1900-	U.(S)	I.Sharpless
Hedding	Sociology	1899-	. . .	H.D.Clark
Heidelberg	Sociology	1899-	. . .	A.D.Keller.
	The City and its Problems	1899-	. . .	. . . . .
Hendrix	Sociology	1898-	U.(J & S)	J.H.Reynolds
Hillsdale	Sociology	1898-	U.(?)	G.F.Mosher
Hiram	Sociology	1894-	U.(J)	E.B.Wakefield
Illinois (College)	Sociology	1895-98	U.(with prerequisites)	H.W.Milligan

Illinois (Univ.of)	Sociology	1893-97	U.(with prerequ-isites)	D.Kinley
	Social Pathology) Alt.	1893-97	. . . .	. . . .
	Social Problems) yrs.	1894-97	. . . .	. . . .
	Sociology	1897-	. . . .	M.B.Hammond.
	Social Insti-tutions	1897-99	. . . .	. . . . .
Illinois Wesleyan	Sociology	1900-	U.(J & S)	E.M.Smith
Indiana	Sociology	1885-89	U.(S)	A.B.Woodford
	Industrial Organiza-tion of Society	1889-90	. . .	. . . . .
	Anthropology and Sociology	1889-90	. . .	. . . . .
	Intro. to Sociology	1890-91	U.(?)	J.W.Jenks
	Intro. Course in Statistics	1890-91	U. (with prereq)	. . . . .
	Social Problems	1890-91	. . . .	. . . . .
	Anthropology and Statical Sociology	1891-92	U.(?)	E.A.Ross
	Sociology (Alt.yrs)	1892-95	U. (J & S)	J.R.Commons
	Dependents, Defectives, Delinquents	1894-95	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Charities, corrections and Social Problems	1895-99	. . . . .	F.A.Fetter (E.L. Bogart,1898-99)
	General Sociology	1895-99	. . . . .	Fetter . . . . .
	Socialism and Communism	1899-	. . . . .	U.G.Weatherly (on leave 1899-1900)
	Anthropology	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	General Sociology	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Charities, Corrections, and Social Problems	1899-1900	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Seminar : Economics and Sociol.	1900-	G.	. . . . .
	Social Pathology	1900-	G.	. . . . .
Iowa (Univ.)	Sociology	1897-1900	G.U.(S)	I.A.Loos.
	Municipal Government (designed as a Soliology course)	1897-1900	G.U.(J & S)	. . . . .
	Principles of Sociol.	1900-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Allied Sociology	1900-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Sociology (modern cities)	1900-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	The Industrial Revolu-tion in its Social Aspects	1900-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Socialism and Contempor-ary Social Legislation	1900-	. . . . .	. . . . .

Iowa A. & M.	Modern Social Problems, with a special study of Socialism	1899-	U.(S)	E.D.Stanton
Irving	Sociology	1900-	. . .	C.F.Kloss
Johns Hopkins, The	History of Political Economy (inc. social theories)	1885-87	G.	R.T.Ely.
	Social Science	1893-97	. .	E.R.L.Gould
	Economic Sociology (part of a course)	1897-	. .	S. Sherwood
Kalamazoo	Sociology	1899-	U.(So.)	H.L.Stetson
Kansas	Questions in Practical Sociology	1889-97	U.(J & S)	F.Blackmar
	Sociology, Dynamic and Descriptive	1889-97	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Advanced Course : Political and Social Institutions	1889-99	G.U.(S)	. . . . .
	Economic Seminary (for Sociology)	1894-99	G.	. . . . .
	Principles of Sociol., Dynamic and descriptive	1897-99	G.	. . . . .
	Principles of Sociol.	1897-99	U.(J & S)	. . . . .
	Social Pathology	1897-99	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Social Pathology (Criminology, Charities and Corrections, Social Problems)	1897-99	G.	. . . . .
	Advanced Course in Sociology (inc. Racial Statistics)	1897-99	. .	. . . . .
	Elements of Sociology	1899-	G.U.(J & S)	. . . . .
	Social Pathology	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Seminar : Socialization and Social Control	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Seminar : Social Statistics	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	General Anthropology	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Ethnology	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Ethnology (American Races)	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Criminology and Penology	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	American and European Charities	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Social Theories and Social Problems	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
Kansas Wesleyan	Sociology	1895-	U.(S)	E.A.Mueller.

La Grange	Sociology	1900-	U.(S)	J.T.Muir
Lake Erie	Economics and Sociol. (inc. Social Problems)	1898-	U.(?)	M.E.Lawrence
	Sociology	1900-	U.(J & S)	Hitchcook
Lane	Sociology	1900-	U.(J)	N.B.Bartlett
Lawrence	Social Philosophy (inc. Sociology)	1891-98	U.(J & S)	T.E.Will
	Sociology	1898-	U.(?)	F.A.Havighurst
Leland Stanford Junior (later Stanford)	Social Science (Charities and Penal Institutions)	1891-92	Courses not actually taught in 1891-92.	A.G.Warner
	Sociology	1891-92		. . . . .
	Communism and Socialism	1891-92		. . . . .
	Recent Social Reform	1891-92		. . . . .
	Anthropology and Ethnology	1892-93	G.U.(?)	F.C.Clark
	Statical Sociology	1892-94	. . . .	E.A.Ross
	Dynamic Sociology	1892-94	. . . .	. . . .
	Social Pathology	1892-95	. . . .	Warner
	Charities and Corrections	1892-95	. . . .	. . .
	Sociol. of the Family	1894-98	. . . .	M.E.B.R.Smith
	Sociology	1894-99	. . . .	E.A.Ross
	Cities	1894-1900	G.(U from 1897)	. . . . .
	Principles of Household Management	1895-98	G.U.(?)	M.E.B.R.Smith
	Education and Society	1895-98	. . . .	Ross
	Crime and Penology	1895-97	. . . .	Smith
	Charities and Corrections	1895-	. . . .	. . .
	Immigration	1895-98	. . .(not F)	H.H.Powers
	Social Institutions I	1895-97	G.U.(?)	. . . .
	 II	1895-97	. . . .	. . . .
	 III	1895-97	. . . .	. . . .
	Thesis	1895-	U.(S majors in Social & Economics)	Staff
	Seminary	1895-	G.U.(?)	Ross and Powers (to 1897) Smith & Warner 1897-
	Social Pathology	1896-98	. . . .	Smith
	Statistics and Sociol.	1896-	. . . .	. . .
	Socialism and Social Control	1898-1900	. . . .	E.D.Durand

Leland Stanford (Contd)	Race Problems	1898-	G.U.(?)	Smith
	Causes of Poverty	1898-	. . . .	. . .
	Criminology	1898-	. . . .	. . .
	Penology	1898-	. . . .	. . .
	Social Psychology	1898-1900	. .(not F)	Ross
	Sociology of the Family	1899-	G.U.(?)	Smith
Liberal	Sociology	1896-	U.(?)	T.B.Wakeman
Lincoln Institute	Sociology	1900-	U.(S)	unspecified
Linfield	Sociology	1897-	. . .	H.L.Boardman
Lombard (information lacking for 1890-98)	Christian Sociology	1898-1900	'by permission'	E.H.Chapin
	A Study of Society	1898-1900	. . . .	. . . . .
	Principles of Sociol.	1898-1900	. . . .	. . . . .
	Applied Sociology	1898-1900	. . . .	. . . . .
	The Development of Sociological Theory	1900-	U.(?)	R.G.Kimble
	The Development of Association and of Society	1900-	. . .	. . . . .
Macalester	Sociology	1894-	. . .	unspecified
McKendree	Sociology	1897-	U.(J & S)	M.H.Chamberlain
Manhattan	Sociology	1897-	. . . . .	unspecified
Massachusetts Institute of Tech.	Statistics of Sociol.	1887-	U.(?)	C.Dewey
	Sociology	1888-91	U.(J)	C.H.Levermore
	Social Science and History	1891-95	. . .	. . . . . (W.Z.Ripley 1893-95)
	Theories and Methods of Social Reforms	1893-	U.(J & S)	Dewey
	Descriptive Sociology	1895-	. . . . .	Ripley
Marietta	Facts, Principles and Methods of Sociol.	1896-99	U.(?)	J.A.Smith
	Modern Social Problems	1896-99	. . .	. . . . .
	Sociology	1900-	U.(S)	A.T.Perry
Meadville Theol. (information lacking before 1900)	The Principles of Sociol.	1900-	Theol. students	N.P,Gilman
	Applied Sociology : Practical Social Problems	1900	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Ideal Commonwealths from Plato to Hertzka	1900-	. . . . .	. . . . .

Miami	Social Relations 1834-36 (See Chapter IV).			
	Sociology	1896-	U.(J)	W.D.Thompson
Michigan	Social Science	1881-87	U.(?)	E.S.Dunster
	The Theory and Institutions of Social Organization	1893-94	G.U.(?)	J.Dewey.
	Theory and Practice of Statistics	1894-	. . .	C.H.Cooley
	Principles of Sociol.	1894-	. . .	. . . . .
	Problems in Sociol.	1894-	. . .	. . . . .
	Practical Problems in Statistics	1894-95	. . .	. . . . .
	Special Studies in Sociology	1895-	. . .	. . . . .
	Critical studies in Economics and Sociology	1895-	G. (+ selected S)	Staff
	Special Studies in Sociol. and Statistics	1895-	. . . .	Cooley
	Critical Studies in Economics and Sociol.	1895-	. . . .	Staff
	Historical Development of Sociol. Thought	1897-	G. (advanced)	Cooley
	Psychological Sociol.	1899-	. . . .	. . .
	Social Psychology	1897-98 and 1899-1900	G.	. . .
Short Courses in Graduate School	Current Changes in the Social Organization of the U.S.	1897-1900	. .	. . .
	Aims and Methods in the Study of Society	1897-99	. .	. . .
	Competition	1897-1900	. .	. . .
	The Laws of Population	1897-1900	. .	. . .
	Principles of Association	1898-1900	. .	. . .
Middlebury	Sociology	1894-	U.(S)	W.E.Howard
Midland	Sociology	1891-99	. . .	J.A.Chutz
	Social Science	1899-	. . .	G.H.Meixel
Minnesota	Principles, Elements and History of Sociol.	1892-96	. . .	W.W.Folwell
	Sociology	1896-	U.(J)	S.G.Smith

Minnesota (Contd)	Comparative Sociol.	1897-	G.	S.G.Smith
	Anthropology	1897-	..	. . . . .
	Social Institutions	1897-	..	. . . . .
	Social Pathology	1897-98	..	. . . . .
Missouri	Social Science	1876-89	U.(?)	S.S.Laws
	Elementary Sociol.	1900-	U.(Any)	C.A.Ellwood
	Advanced Sociol.	1900-	U.(not F)	. . . . .
	American Charities	1900-	U.(Any)	. . . . .
	Criminal Sociol.	1900-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Ethnology	1900-	G.U.(?)	. . . . .
	Social Psychology	1900-	. .. .	. . . . .
	History of Social Philosophy	1900-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Race Psychology	1900-	G.	. . . . .
	Sociology of Religion	1900-	. .	. . . . .
	Seminary	1900-	. .	. . . . .
Missouri Valley				
	Sociology	1894-98	U.(?)	T.E.Galloway
	Introduction to the Study of Society	1898-	. . .	. . . . .
	Descriptive Sociology	1899-	. . .	. . . . .
	Social Development	1899-	. . .	. . . . .
Missouri Wesleyan	Sociology	1900-	U.(S)	B.W.Baker
Monmouth (information lacking for 1877-98)	Sociology	1898-1900	U.(?)	R.Graham
	Elements of Sociol.	1900-	. . .	. . . . .
	Economics and Social Problems	1900-	. . .	. . . . .
Montana A & M.	Sociology	1896-	U.(?)	J.Read.
Morningside	Sociology	1899-	U.(S)	F.H.Garver
Morris Brown	Mental Philosophy (Sociology)	1899-	. . .	unspecified.
Mount Holyoke	Principles of Sociol.	1899-	. . .	A.M.Soule
Mount Union	Sociology	1900-	U.(?)	W.W.Weaver
Muskingum	Economics and Sociol.	1892-99	U.(J)	T.H.Paden
Nebraska	Social Science	1884-89	U.(S)	J.I.Manatt
	Charities and Corrections	1889-92	U.(?)	A.G.Warner
	Sociology	1894-99	G.U.(J & S)	W.G.Taylor
	Sociology	1899-1900	. . . . .	C.E.Prevey
	Advanced Sociology	1899-1900	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Social Psychology	1899-1900	. . . . .	. . . . .

Nebraska (Contd)	Charity and Corrections	1899-1900	G.U.(J & S)	C.E.Pfevey
	Statistics	1900-	. . . . .	
	Socialism	1900-	. . . . .	
	Charities	1900-	. . . . .	
	Criminology	1900-	. . . . .	
	Colonies and Colonization	1900-	. . . . .	E.A.Ross
	Seminary on Cities	1900-	. . . . .	
	Sociology	1900-	. . . . .	
	Psychology of Society	1900-	. . . . .	
Nebraska Wesleyan	Sociology	1896-	U.(?)	unspecified
New Mexico	School Sociology	1897-99	Normal Students (ie trainee teachers)	C.L.Herrick
Newton Theol.	The Pastor and our Time (charities etc.)	1887-93	Theol. students	J.M.English
	The Pastor and our Time (extended)	1893-	. . . . .	unspecified
New York	Sociology	1886-91	G.	I.F.Russell
	Introduction to Sociol.	1891-	...	. . . . .
	Principles of Sociol.	1891-	...	... .
	Sociology in Relation to Pedagogy	1894-	Normal students	A.B.Woodford (F.Monteser 1899-)
	Principles of Sociol.	1895-	U.(?)	E.H.Warren (F.M.Colby 1896-)
	Social Problems	1895-	. . .	. . . . .
North Caroline	Principles of Political Economy and Sociology	1893-	U.(J & S)	G.T.Winston (K.P.Battle 1895-)
	Anthropology	1897-98	G.U.(?)	E.I.Bynum
	Sociology	1897-98	. . . .	. . . . .
North Dakota	Sociology	1895-	U.(?)	W.Merrifield
	Anthropology	1896-	. . .	. . . . .
	Socialism	1897-	. . .	. . . . .
North-Western (College)	Sociology	1895-	U.(S)	H.J.Kiekhoeffer
Northwestern (University)	Seminary in Sociology	1894-98	G.U.(J & S)	W.Caldwell
	Introductory Sociology	1894-98	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Practical Applications of Sociology	1894-98	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Advanced Sociology	1895-98	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Social Psychology	1898-	. . .. . .	. . . . .
	Social Philosophy (Advanced)	1898-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Philosophy of History	1898-99	. . . . .	. . . . .

Northwestern (Contd)	Social Philos.(Practical Problems)	1898-	G.U.(J & S)	W.Caldwell
	Social Philos. (Nature of Sociol.)	1898-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Seminary in Social Philosophy	1898-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Ethics of the Social Questions	1899-	. . . . .	. . . . .
Notre Dame	Special Ethics (inc. Sociology)	1896-	?	unspecified
	Sociology	1897-	U.(S)	. . . . .
	Social Duties	1897-	. . .	. . . . .
	Elements of Sociology	1897-	. . .	. . . . .
Oberlin	Sociology	1891-92	U.(J & S)	J.R.Commons
	Social Problems	1891-92	U.(S)	. . . . .
	General Sociology	1891-92	. . .	. . . . .
	Historical Sociology	1892-94	U.(J & S) and Theol. students	J.W.Black
	Practical Sociology I	1892-94	. . . . .	. . . . .
	II	1892-94	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Sociology	1894-95	. . . . .	W.I.Thomas
	Anthropology	1894-95	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Christian Sociology	1894-96	. . . . .	Z.S.Holbrook
	Practical Sociology	1895-	. . . . .	T.N.Carver (E.L.Bogart 1900-)
	The State	1895-96	. . . . .	Carver
	Anthropology (Alt.yrs)	1895-1900	. . . . .	. . .
	Sociology (. . . .)	1895-	. . . . .	Carver(Bogart 1900-)
	Practical Sociol.(...)	1895-96	. . . . .	. . .
	Theory of Social Progress (Alt.yrs.)	1895-96	. . . . .	. . .
	Socialism (. . . .)	1895-96	. . . . .	. . .
Occidental	Sociology	1899-	U.(S)	W.S.Stevenson
Ohio (Univ.)	Sociology	1897-98	?	I.Crook
Ohio State	History of Industrial Society	1900-	U.(?)	F.C.Clark
	Sociology and Statistics	1900-	. . .	. . . . .
	History and Theory of Socialism	1900-	. . .	. . . . .
	Industrial and Social Reforms	1900-	. . .	. . . . .
Ohio Wesleyan	Sociology as one of eight curriculum groups from 1896. No courses.			
	Sociology	1900-	U.(J)	R.T.Stevenson
Olivet	Philos. and Sociol.	1893-95	U.(S)	W.G.Sperry
	Sociology	1895-	. . .	. . . . .

Oregon	Sociology	1894-95	U.(So. J & S)	C.H.Chapman
	Sociology	1895-99	U.(S)	F.G.Young
	Elements of Society	1899-	. . .	. . . . .
	Principles of Sociol. and Theory of Social Forces	1899-	. . .	. . . . .
	Anthropology	1899-	. . .	. . . . .
	The Social Debtor Classes	1899-	. . .	. . . . .
	Demoncracy	1899-	. . .	. . . . .
Oklahoma A & M	Sociology	1894-99	. . .	R.J.Baker
	Sociology	1899-	. . .	F.A.Hutto
Ouachita	Principles of Sociol.	1899-	. . .	chair vacant
Pacific Theological	Sociology	1894-95	J.Theol.	C.H.Jenness
	Sociology : Intro.	1897-98	. . . .	F.Foster
	Prihciples of Sociol.	1897-98	Middle year	. . . .
Pacific (University)	Sociology	1899-	U.(?)	J.R.Robertsoh.
Palmer	Sociology	1898-	U. (J & S)	unspecified
Parker	Sociology	1898-	U. (S)	. . . . .
Parsons	Sociology	1899-	U.(?)	D.E.Jenkins
Pennsylvania	Social Science	1869-92	U.(S)	R.E.Thompson
	Elements of Sociology	1891-92	U.(J)	F.W.Moore
	Descriptive Sociology	1894-96	G.U.(So.)	S.M.Lindsay
Wharton School	Theory of Sociology	1894-96	. . (J)	. . . . .
	Practical Sociological Problems	1894-96	. . . .	. . . . .
	Sociological Field Work	1894-99	. . . .	. . . . .
	Charity Organization	1894-96	. .(Not F)	. . . . .
Department of Philosophy	Problems of Sociology	1894-99	G.U.	S.N.Patten
	Sociological Field Work	1895-	. .	Lindsay
	History and Organization of Philadelphia Charities (Alt.yrs.)	1895-96	. .	. . . .
	Modern Socialism	1895-96	. .	. . . .
	Sociological Theory	1895-96	. .	. . . .
Wharton School	Elementary Theoretical Sociology	1896-99	G.U.(J & S)	. . . .
	Social Problems	1896-99	. . . . .	. . . .
	Elementary Sociology	1896-99	. . (So.)	. . . .
	Advanced Sociology	1896-99	. . (J)	. . . .

Pennsylvania (contd)				
	General Sociology	1896-97	2 yr.course	Lindsay
Department of	Social Debtor Classes	1896-	U.	. . . .
	Methodology of the Social Sci's.	1897-	U.	. . . .
Philosophy	Theory of Sociology	1897-	2 yr.course	. . . .
	Seminary : Polotical Science, Economics, Sociology	1897-	G.U.	Staff
	Elements of Sociology and Social Problems	1898-99	G.U.(S)	Lindsay
Wharton School	Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century	1898-	. . . .	. . . .
	Sociology	1899-	U.(J)	. . . .
	Race Traits and Distribution	1899-	U.(J & S)	. . . .
	Charities and Correction	1899-	. . . .	. . . .
Presbyterian College for Women	Political Economy and Sociology	1899-	U.(S)	E.McClintock
Princeton	Sociology	1895-1900	G.U.(S)	W.A.Wyckoff
	History of Social Theory	1900-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Genesis of Industrial Order (An Ethnology course)	1900-	. . . .	. . . . .
Princeton Theological	Christian Ethics and Christian Sociology.	1894-	Theol.3rd year.	W.B.Greene
	Biblical Sociology	1896-	'Extra Curriculum'	. . .
Radcliffe	Principles of Sociology	1891-	G.U.	E.Cummings(T.N. Carver 1900-)
	Social and Economic Conditions of Workingmen in the U.S. and in other countries	1893-	. .	Cummings (W.F. Willoughby 1900-
	Socialism and Communism	1896-1900	. .	Cummings
Randolph-Macon (Women's Div.)	Principles of Sociology	1898-99	U.(S)	J.H.Latane
	Elements of Sociology	1899-	. . .	. . . . .
Redfield	Sociology	1899-	. . .	A.B.Maynard
Richmond	Sociology	1897-	. . .	W.D.Thomas
Ripon	Sociology	1893-1900	. . .	R.C.Flagg.

Roanoke	Sociology	1895-	U.(S)	L.A.Fox
Rockford	Social Problems	1900-	?	unspecified
Rollins	Sociology	1898-	U.(S)	G.M.Ward
Roger Williams	Sociology	1898-	. . .	A.Owen
St. Francis Xavier	Social Relations (part of a Political Economy Course)	1900-	?	J.M.Stadleman
St.Lawrence	Sociology	1896-	U.(S)	L.B.Fisher
San Joaquin	Sociology	1895-	U.(J)	A.L.Cowell
Seton Hall	Sociology	1899-	U.(S)	C.H.Mackel
Shurtleff	Sociology	1900-	U.(J & S)	H.C.Tilton
Smith	Outlines of Sociology	1895-97	U.(J)	J.F.Crowell
	Descriptive Sociology	1895-96	U.(S)	. . . . .
(information lacking for 1891-95)	Industrial Development (Title varies)	1895-97	. . .	. . . . .
	The American Family (Title varies)	1895-97	. . .	. . . . .
	Socialism and Social Reformers	1897-99	. . .	H.L.Moore
	Sociology	1897-99	. . .	. . . . .
	Principles of Sociol.	1900-	U.(J & S)	C.T.Emerick
	Some Sociological Principles	1900-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Socialism and Social Reform	1900-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Some Problems of Poverty	1900-	. . . . .	. . . . .
South, Univ. of the,	Principles of Sociology	1900-	M. A. students	B.J.Rammage
South Dakota	Sociology and Social Problems	1898-99	U.(?)	G.Droppers and C.M.Young
	Sociology and Social Progress	1899-1900	. . .	Young
	Theory of Sociology	1900-	. . .	. . .
	Criminal Sociology	1900-	. . .	. . .
South Dakota State Agricultural	Economics (" ... a branch of general Sociology")	1893-95?	U.(?)	J.M.Parkinson
	Sociology	1897-98	U.(J)	J.W.Heston
(information lacking for 1895-97)	Sociology and Economic Theory	1898-99	U.(?)	. . . . .
	Sociology	1899-	. . .	. . . . .

Southern California	Seminar : Political and Social Science	1899-	U.(?)	J.H.Hoose
South West Kansas	Elementary Study of Society	1899-	. . .	C.A.Place
	Social Pathology	1899-	. . .	. . . . .
Susquehanna	Sociology	1899-	U. (S and Theol.)	C.W.Heisler
Swarthmore	Social Problems	1892-	U.(?)	W.I.Hull
	Primitive Culture and the Philos. of History, Sociology, Social Problems of Today	1895-97	U.(S)	. . . .
	Elements of Sociology	1899-	. . .	. . . .
Syracuse	Sociology	1895-96	U.(J & S)	J.R.Commons
	Social and Economic Theories	1895-96	U.(S)	. . . . .
	Research (theses in Sociology)	1895-	G.U.(S)	. . . . . (Staff 1899-)
	Elements of Sociology	1896-99	U.(J & S)	Commons (W.P. Coddington 1899-
	Social Philosophy (History of Sociology)	1896-1900	U.(S)	Commons
	City Government (title varies)	1896-99	Any students & citizens	. . . .
	Social Economics	1898-99	U.(J & S)	. . . .
	Economic and Socioh. Problems	1899-1900	G.U.(S)	J.H.Hamilton
	Research in Social Phil.	1899-1900	. . . .	Staff
	Practical Sociology	1900-	G.U.(J & S)	Hamilton
	Degenerate Social Classes	1900-	. . . . .	. . . .
	Literature of Sociology	1900-	. . . . .	. . . .
Tabor	Dynamic Sociology	1899-	U.(?)	R.C.Hughes
Talladega	Sociology used as general title for courses in Civil Government and Political Economy.			
Taylor	Sociology	1900-	Extension Div.	J.H.Shilling
Temple	Sociology	1899-	U.(?)	A.E.McKinley
Tennessee	Sociology	1895-99	U.(S)	T.C.Karns
	Scope, Methods and Applications of Economics (inc. Sociol)	1899-	U.(not F)	C.W.Dabney
	Principles of Sociology	1900-	. . . . .	. . . . .

Texas	Early Society	1897-1900	U.(?)	S.EMezes
	History of Social Theories	1897-1900	. . .	D.F.Houston
	Dependent and Defective Classes	1897-1900	. . .	. . . . .
Tillotson	Sociology used as a general title for courses in Political Economy, Psychology, International Law etc.			
Trinity (Conn.)	Sociology	1899-	U.(S)	C.W.Mixter
Trinity (Tex.)	Soliology	1900-	. . .	J.Anderson
Tuskegee	Pastoral Theology and Sociology	1893-	Theol. students	B.T.Washington (M.B.Stevens 1898-99)
Union (N.Y.)	Sociology	1894-	U.(S)	B.H.Ripton (and F.R.Jones 1897-)
Ursinus	Political Economy (inc. Sociology)	1889-92	. . .	S.V.Ruby
	National Economy (... Sociology)	1892-96	. . .	. . . .
	Christian Sociology	1893	Theol. students	J.I.Good
	Sociology (inc. 'social excursions')	1896-97	selected students	W.C.Mains
	Sociology	1897-98	U.(?)	J.L.Barnard
Utah	Social Science : Descriptive Sociol.	1895-96	U. (?)	G.Q.Coray
	Social Science : Social Problems	1895-96	. . .	. . . . .
	Uncivilized, Ancient and Medieval Societies	1896-97	U.(Advanced)	. . . . .
	Modern Social Phenomena	1896-97	. . . .	. . . . .
	Social Problems	1896-97	. . . .	. . . . .
	Elements of Social Science	1897-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Modern Society	1897-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Social Education	1898-99	Normal students	. . . . .
Utah Agricultural	Sociology	1894-95	U.(S)	J.H.Paul
Vanderbilt	Introduction to Sociol.	1899-	U.(?)	G.W.Dyer
	Applied Christianity (spcial problems etc.)	1899-	Theol. students	. . . .
	Introduction to the study of Sociology	1900-	Summer course	. . . .
	Christian Sociology	1900-	. . . .	. . . .

Vassar	Social Science	1892-98	U.(S)	H.E.Mills
	Charities and Corrections	1898-	. . .	. . . . .
Vermont	Sociology	1891-96	. . .	S.F.Emerson
	Social Theories) Given	1896-	U.(J & S)	. . . . .
	Industrial Era) in	1896-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Social Institutions)successive	1896-	. . . . .	. . . . .
	) years	1896-	. . . . .	. . . . .
Villanova, St.Thomas	Sociology	1900-	U.(S)	J.M.Reiner
Virginia	Philosophy of Social Relations.	1840's-		
	Ethics of Society	-1857	U. 2nd year	W.McGuffey
	Political Economy (inc. 'fundamental questions in Sociology')	1876-82	G.U.(S)	N.K.Davis
	Political Economy and the Science of Society	1882-97	. . .	G.F.Holmes
	Science of Society	1892-97	G.and U.A students (after 1893 Ph.D.students only)	. . . . .
Virginia Theological	Christian Sociology	1900-	Theol. students (S)	unspecified
Virginia Union.	Sociology	1899-	U.(S)	unspecified
Walden	Sociology	1900-	U.(So.)	. . . . .
Washburn	Sociology	1895-96	U.(?)	C.D.Greeley
	Sociology	1899-	U.(J & S)	D.M.Fisk
	Social Interpretation of History	1900-	U.(S)	. . . .
Washington Agric.	Principles of Sociol.	1900-	U.(?)	unspecified
Washington (Univ. of)	Social Science	1894-96	: : :	T.M.Gatch
	Sociology	1896-97		J.A.Smith
	Elements of Sociology, Social Institutions	1897-	. . .	. . . . .
Washington and Lee	Elements of Sociology	1899-	U.(S)	H.P.Willis
Wellesley	Socialism	1897-	U.(?)	E.G.Balch
	Statistics	1897-	. . .	. . . . .
	Social Economic I (Defective, Dependent and Delinquent classes)	1897-	. . .	. . . . .

Wellesley (contd)	Social Economics II: ('social needs' etc)	1897-	U.(?)	E.G.Balch
	Social Philosophy (inc. social psychology, and society)	1900-	. . .	H.S.Case
	Introduction to General Sociology	1900-	. . .	Balch
Wells	Sociology	1897-1900	U.(S)	A.Walker
	Socialism	1898-1900	. . .	. . . .
	Sociology	1900-	. . .	W.F.Lowe
	Industrial History	1900-	. . .	. . . .
	Social Influences of Christianity	1900-	. . .	. . . .
Wesleyan	Social Science	1891-92	. . .	J.R.Commons
	. . . . .	1892-93	. . .	W.M.Daniels
	. . . . .	1895-	G. . .	W.C.Fisher
	Economics Seminar (sociological topics included)	1895-99	G.	. . . . .
	Sociology	1896-	G.U.(S)	. . . . .
West Virginia	Anthropology (also correspondence course)	1897-	G.U.(?)	J.H.Raymond (H.B.Clark 1900-)
	Elements of Sociology (. . .)	1897-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Historical Survey of Sociological Thought	1897-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Ethnology (also correspondence course)	1898-1900	. . . .	Raymond
	Contemporary Charities	1899-	. . . .	H.B.Clark
	Treatment of Delinquents	1899-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Social Movements of the nineteenth century	1899-	. . . .	. . . . .
	The Family	1899-	. . . .	. . . . .
Western Reserve	Anthropology (Alt.yrs.)	1892-	G.U.(to 1893 only)	M.M.Curtis
	Sociology (. . . .)	1892-94	. . . . .	. . . . .
	The Family	1892-96	G.	C.F.Thwing
	Plans for Social Reform	1893-94	U.(Women's Col.)	Curtis
	Psychology of Society	1894-	G.	. . .
	Social Economics	1894-1900	G.U. (Women's Col.)	S.F.Weston
	Social Theory	1895-1900	G.U.	. . . . .
	Pauperism & Charities	1895-1900	. .	. . . . .
	Social Problems and Theories for their solution	1895-1900	U. (Women's Col.)	. . . . .
	Introduction to Sociol.	1897-1900	G.U.	Curtis
	Philosophy of Spencer	1897-	G.	. . .

Western Reserve (contd)	Sociology in the Light of Anthropology	1897-	G.	Curtis
	Philosophy of Society	1900-	G.U.	. . .
Westfield	Introduction to the Study of Sociology	1899-	U.(?)	W.S.Reese
Westminster	Political Economy (inc. Sociological problems)	1900-	U.(S)	J.J.Rice
Wheaton	Sociology	1886-93	U.(?)	C.A.Blanchard (with E.Whipple 1888-)
	Socialism (title changes to Sociology, 1896-)	1894-	. . .	Whipple
Willamette (information lacking for 1892-98)	Sociology	1898-	. . .	W.C.Hawley
	Sociology and Economics (Man and his relations)	1898-	G.	. . . . .
Williams	Sociology	1888-	G.U.(S)	J.Bascom
Wilmington	Political Economy (inc. Sociology)	1896-	U.(?)	J.B.Unthank
Wisconsin	Outlines of Economics ("treated as a branch of General Sociology")	1891-94	?	D.Kinley
	Dependent and Delinquent Classes	1891-92	. .	. . . .
	Elements of Sociology	1894-95	G.U.(S)	. . . .
	American Charities and Crime	1894-1900	. . . .	R.T.Ely (E.D. Jones 1895-)
	Field Work	1894-	. . . .	Staff
	Social Ethics	1894-1900	. . . .	Ely
	Social Ethics	1894-	. . . .	F.C.Sharp
	Readings in German Social Philosophy	1894-98	G.	. . . . .
	Socialism	1894-98	G.U.(S)	Ely
	Women Wage-Earners	1894-95	. . . .	H.Campbell (Special lecturer)
	Domestic Science	1894-95	. . . .	. . . . .
	Anthropology	1895-97	. . . .	J.H.Raymond
	Ethnology	1895-97	. . . .	. . . . .
	Descriptive Sociology	1895-97	. . . .	. . . . .
	Historical Survey of Social Thought	1895-97	. . . .	. . . . .
	Static Sociology	1895-96	. . . .	. . . . .
	Dynamic Sociology	1895-97	. . . .	. . . . .
	Telic Sociology	1896-97	. . . .	. . . . .
	Seminary in Sociology	1896-97	. . . .	. . . . .
	Elements of Sociology	1897-	. . . .	B.H.Meyer (G.A. Kleene 1900-)
	Modern Sociological Thought	1897-	. . . .	. . . . .

Wisconsin (Contd.)	The Psychological Sociologists	1897-1900	G.U.(S)	Meyer.
	Seminar in Sociology	1897-	. . . .	Jones and Meyer (Kleene only 1900.
	Psychological Sociology	1900-	. . . .	Kleene
	Charities and Correction	1900-	. . . .	. . .
	Public and Private Charity	1900-	. . . .	. . .
	Charity Organization	1900-	. . . .	. . .
Wittenberg	Sociology	1894-	U.(?)	B.F.Prince
Wofford (information lacking for 1892-99)	Economics (inc. Sociol.)	1899-	U.(J)	D.D.Wallace
Wooster	Sociology	1887-	U.(S)	S.F.Scovel
Wyoming	Sociology	1896-97	. . .	H.Merz.
	Principles of Sociol.	1897-	. . .	. . .
	Social Problems	1897-	G.U.(S)	. . .
	Social Philosophy	1897-	. . . .	. . .
Yale	Political and Social Science	1873-84	U.(S)	W.G.Sumner
	Sociology (Alt.yrs.)	1875-87	G.	. . . . .
	Industrial Organization of Modern Society (Alt. yrs.)	1886-91	..	. . . . .
	Anthropology (Alt.yrs.)	1887-91	G.(and U.S.)	. . . . .
	Logic and Method of the Social Sciences (Alt. yrs.)	1887-91	G.	. . . . .
	Social Science	1888-95	U.(S) (G.1892-95)	. . . . .
	Historical Development of Modern Industrial Organization	1893-95	G.	. . . . .
	History of Social Ethics	1892-	G.	A.Fairbanks
	Social Problems	1893-94	G.	. . . . .
	Anthropology	1893-	G.	Sumner
	Science of Society	1895-	G.U.(S)	. . .
	Social Science	1895-1900	G.	W.F.Blackman
	Historical Study of Marriage and the Family	1895-98	. .	. . . . .
	Industrial Revolution of Renaissance Period	1895-	. .	Sumner
	Beginnings of Industrial Organization	1895	. .	. . .
	Fall and Rise of the Scandinavian Peasantry	1895-96	. .	. . .

Yale (Contd)	Science of Society	1896-1900	Special course for teachers	Sumner
	Systematic Societology	1896-1900	G.	. . .
	Science of Society (special reference to German writers)	1896-	G.U.(S)	. . .
	Literature of Sociol. (title changes to Social Philosophy 1900-)	1898-	G.	Blackman
	Sociological Study of the Family	1898-	...	. . . .
	Social Teaching and Influence of Christianity	1898-	...	. . . .
	Self-Perpetuation of Society	1900-	...	Sumner
	The Mental Reactions	1900-	...	. . .
	Social Politics(Inc. e.g. pauperism)	1900-	...	H.W.Farnam
	Practical Sociology	1900-	...	Blackman
	Anarchism, Socialism, Communism	1900-	...	. . . .
	Ethical and Social Ideals in Modern English Poetry	1900-	...	. . . .
	Statistics	1900-	G.U.(S)	W.B.Bailey
	American Social Conditions	1900-	. . . .	. . . . .
	Economic Systems of Classical Antiquity (inc. social conditions of Greece and Rome)	1900-	G.	. . . . .
	Environmental Influences on Man	1900-	G.U.(S)	A.G.Keller
	Homeric Society	1900-	. . . .	. . . . .
Yale Divinity School	Sumner's courses at Yale are available 1873-87, and from 1893 onward. Blackman and Fairbanks's courses available from inception. Also :			
	Christian Ethics (sociological orientation)	1900-	Theol. students	Blackman
Yankton	Elementary Economics (inc. Sociology)	1897-	U.(J)	H.K.Warren.

Appendix C

THE INTRODUCTION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE/SOCIOLOGY COURSES INTO INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING IN AMERICA

1834	Miami University
1840's	University of Virginia
1869	University of Pennsylvania
1873	Amherst, Yale, Yale Divinity School
1874	Boston University
1876	University of Missouri
1880	Columbia
1881	University of Michigan
1884	Cornell, Harvard, Harvard Divinity School, Indiana, University of Nebraska
1885	The Johns Hopkins
1886	Wheaton, New York University
1887	Duke, M.I.T., Newton Theological, Wooster
1888	Andover Theological, Hartford Theological, Williams
1889	Colby, Kansas, Ursinus
1890	Beloit, Bowdoin, Bryn Mawr, De Pauw, Wesleyan
1891	Brooklyn Institution, Brown, Clark, Denver, Elmira, Lawrence, Leland Stanford, Midland, Oberlin, Radcliffe, Vermont, Wisconsin.
1892	Chicago, Chicago Theological, Colgate Theological, Grand Island, Minnesota, Muskingum, Swarthmore, Talladega, Vassar, Western Reserve.
1893	Auburn Theological, Baltimore Women's (Goucher), Catholic University, Dartmouth, Farmington, University of Illinois, North Carolina, Olivet, Ripon, Smith, South Dakota Agricultural, Tuskegee.

1894 Baker, Butler, Elon, Hamline, Hiram, Macalester, Middlebury, Missouri Valley, Northwestern, Oregon, Oklahoma A and M., Pacific Theological, Princeton Theological, Union University, Utah Agricultural, University of Washington, Wittenberg

1895 Adrian, Alfred, Barnard, Bucknell, California, Colgate, Colorado College, Colorado State Agricultural, Geneva, George Washington, Hanover, Illinois College, Kansas Wesleyan, North-Western College, North Dakota, Princeton, Rollins, Roanoke, San Joaquin, Syracuse, Tennessee, Tillotson, Utah, Washburn

1896 Bates, Baylor, Dickinson, Drake, Liberal, Marietta, Montana Agricultural, Nebraska Wesleyan, Notre Dame, Ohio Wesleyan, St. Lawrence (New York), Shurtleff, Wilmington, Wyoming.

1897 Akron (Buchtel), Armour Institute, Arkansas Industrial, Atlanta, Bethany (Kansas), Iowa University, Linfield, McKendree, New Mexico, Ohio University, Richmond, West Virginia, Wellesley, Wells, Yankton, Texas University

1898 Allegheny, Carleton, Centre (Kentucky), Chaddock, College of Charleston, Cumberland, Emporia, Fargo, Fredericksburg, Friends, Hendrix, Hillsdale, Lake Erie, Lombard, Monmouth, Morehouse, Palmer, Parker, Randolph-Macon, Roger Williams, South Dakota, Willamette

1899 Adelphi, Antioch, Berea, Bethany (West Virginia), Blackburn, Brigham Young University, Carthage, Cedarville, Central (Iowa), Charles City, Coe, Florida Agricultural, Greenville, Hamilton, Hedding, Heidelberg, Iowa Agricultural, Kalamazoo, Manhattan, Morningside, Morris Brown, Mount Holyoke, Occidental, Ouachita, Pacific University, Parsons, Presbyterian College for Women, Redfield, Seton Hall, Southern California, Southwest Kansas College, Susquehanna, Tabor, Temple, Trinity College (Connecticut), Vanderbilt, Virginia Union, Washington and Lee, Westfield, Wofford

1900 Albion, Bellevue, Brooklyn Polytechnic, Campbell, University of Colorado, Cotner, Dakota University, Fisk, Grinnell, Haverford, Illinois Wesleyan, Irving, La Grange, Lane, Meadville Theological, Missouri Wesleyan College, Lincoln Institute, Mount Union, Ohio State, St. Francis Xavier (New York), Taylor, Trinity College (Texas), Villanova, Rockford, Virginia Theological, Walden, Washington Agricultural, Westminster (Missouri), University of the south.

Appendix D

THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

Number

1. Mortality Among Negroes in Cities, 1896. 2nd edition, abridged, 1903.
2. Social and Physical Condition of Negroes in Cities, 1897.
3. Some Efforts of Negroes for Social Betterment, 1898.
4. The Negro in Business, 1899.
5. The College-bred Negro, 1900. 2nd edition, abridged, 1902.
6. The Negro Common School, 1901.
7. The Negro Artisan, 1902.
8. The Negro Church, 1903.
9. Notes on Negro Crime, 1904.
10. A Select Bibliography of the American Negro, 1905.
11. Health and Physique of the Negro American, 1906.
12. Economic Co-operation Among Negro Americans, 1907.
13. The Negro American Family, 1908.
14. Efforts for Social Betterment among Negro Americans, 1909.
15. The College-bred Negro American, 1910.
16. The Common School and the Negro American, 1911.
17. The Negro American Artisan, 1912.
18. Morals and Manners among Negro Americans, 1914.
19. Economic Co-operation among Negroes of Georgia, 1917.
20. Select Discussions of Negro Problems, 1916

Editors : Numbers 1 and 2 : George G. Bradford.

Numbers 3 to 14 : W.E.B.Du Bois.

Numbers 15 to 18 : W.E.B.Du Bois and Augustus Granville Dill.

Number 19 : Thomas I. Brown.

Number 20 : J. Alvin Bigham.

Publication : Atlanta, Georgia; The Atlanta University Press.

Appendix E

TEXTBOOKS RECOMMENDED IN SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE COURSES UP TO 1901

(Publication information for this bibliography has been obtained from the card catalogues of the following institutions: The British Museum, The Library of Congress, and New York Public Library).

1. Abbott, L. (1835-1922). Christianity and Social Problems. Boston, Houghton, Miflin & Co., 1897.

   Recommendations: 1899, Vanderbilt.
   1900, Vanderbilt.

2. Ashcrott, P.F. (1856-). Das Englische Armenwesen in seiner historischen Entwickelung und in seiner heutigen Gestalt. Leipzig, 1886 (English translation, 1888).

   Recommendations: 1894, Pennsylvania.
   1895, Pennsylvania.

3. Augustine, St., Civitas Dei. Editions, various.

   Recommendations: 1895-1900, Vermont.

4. Bagehot, W. (1826-1877). Physics and Politics, or Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of 'natural selection' and 'inheritance' to Political Society. International Scientific Series, Vol. 2, New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1873. (First published in England, 1872).

   Recommendations: 1895, Oberlin.
   1896-98, Brooklyn Institution.

5. Bascom, J. (1827-1911). Sociology. New York, London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1887.

   Recommendations: 1891, Denver.
   1898, Willamette.

6. Bascom, J. Social Theory. A Grouping of Social Facts and Principles. New York, Boston, T.Y. Crowell & Company, 1895.

   Recommendations: 1895, Ripon.
   1896, Ripon, Goucher, Williams.

1897, Goucher, Williams, Yankton.
1898, Goucher, Williams.
1899, Goucher, Williams.
1900, Goucher, Oberlin, Williams

7. Blackmar, F.W. (1854-1931). The Study of History and Sociology. Topeka, Kansas Publishing House, 1890.

Recommendations: 1899, Adelphi.
1900, Adelphi.

8. Booth, C., editor, (1840-1916). Life and Labour of the People, London, Edinburgh, William & Norgate, 1891. (Various further editions. Title varies).

Recommendations: 1893-1900, Newton Theological Seminary.
1898, Harvard Divinity School.

9. Campanella, T. The City of the Sun. Editions, various.

Recommendations: 1881-87, Michigan.

10. Carey, H.C. (1793-1879). Principles of Social Science. Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott & Co. 3 vols: I, 1858, II and III, 1865.

Recommendations: 1877, Columbia.

11. Carlyle, T. (1795-1881). Past and Present. Boston, C.C. Little and J. Brown, 1843 (First American edition).

Recommendations: 1898, Harvard Divinity School.

12. Chandler, J.R. (1792-1880). Outlines of Penology. Philadelphia, Social Science Association, Papers of 1874.

Recommendations: 1898, Willamette.

13. Chantepie de la Saussaye, P.D. (1848-1920). Manual of the Science of Religion. London and New York, Longmans, Green, and company, 1891. (translated from the German).

Recommendations: 1900, Missouri.

14. Cicero. De Republica. Editions, various.

Recommendations: 1895-1900, Vermont.

15. Collins, F.H. (1857-1910). An Epitome of the Synthetic Philosophy. Preface by Herbert Spencer. New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1889.

Recommendations: 1893, Western Reserve.

16. Crafts, W.F. (1850-1922). Practical Christian Sociology. A Series of Lectures at Princeton Theological Seminary and Marietta College on Moral Reforms and Social Problems. New York, Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1895. (Various further editions).

Recommendations: 1897, Yankton.
1898-99. McKendree, Yankton.
1900, McKendree.

17. Darwin, C. (1809-1882). The Descent of Man. 2 Vols, New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1871. (First English edition, 1871).

Recommendations: 1892-1900, Western Reserve.

18. Debierre, C.D. (1853 -). L'Homme avant l'Histoire. Paris, J.B. Baillière et Fils, 1888.

Recommendations: 1889-90, Yale.

19. Drummond, H. (1851-1897). Ascent of Man. The Lowell Lectures. New York, J. Pott & Co., 1894. Also: New York, A.L. Burt Co., 1894.

Recommendations: 1894-1900, New York.

20. Ellis, H.H. (1859-1939). The Criminal. The Contemporary Science Series, Walter Scott, London, 1889. (2nd edition by W. Scott and C. Scribner's Sons of New York, 1900).

Recommendations: 1900, Missouri.

21. Ely, R.T. (1854-1943). Socialism: An Examination of its Nature, its Strength and its Weakness, with Suggestions for Social Reform. New York, Boston, T.Y. Crowell & Co., 1894.

Recommendations: 1894-96, Wisconsin.
1897, North Dakota, Wisconsin.
1898, North Dakota.
1899-1900, Iowa State College, North Dakota.

22. Fairbanks, A. (1864 -). Introduction to Sociology. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896. (2nd edition, 1899).

Recommendations: 1896, Goucher, Miami (Ohio).
1897, Arkansas Industrial, Buchtel, Goucher, Miami.
1898, Arkansas Industrial, Carleton, Charleston, Goucher, Miami.

1899, Arkansas Industrial, Carleton, Centre (Ky), Charleston, Goucher, Miami.
1900, Arkansas Industrial, Carleton, Centre (Ky), Charleston, Goucher, Miami, Oberlin.

23. Fanshawe, E.L. ( ). Liquor Legislation in the United States and Canada. Report of a non-partisan inquiry ... into the laws and their operation; at the request of W. Rathbone. London Cassell & Co., Ltd., 1892.

Recommendation: 1898, Harvard Divinity School.

24. Fontaine, E. (1814-1884). How the World was Peopled. Ethnological Lectures. New York, D. Appleton & Company, 1872.

Recommendation: 1898-99, Willamette.

25. Fustel de Coulanges, N.D. (1830-1889). The Ancient City: a study on the religion, laws, and institutions of Greece and Rome. Boston, Lee and Shepard, 1874. (translated from the French).

Recommendation: 1892-93, Oberlin.

26. Galton, F. (1822-1911). Natural Inheritance. London and New York, Macmillan & Co., 1889.

Recommendations: 1890-91, Bryn Mawr.

27. Giddings, F.H. (1855-1931). The Theory of Sociology. Supplement to The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol V, July 1894. Also: New York, Macmillan Co., 1897.

Recommendations: 1894-95, Pennsylvania.
1898, Willamette.
1899-1900, Pennsylvania.

28. Giddings, F.H. The Principles of Sociology. New York Macmillan Co., 1896 (and 1926).

Recommendations: 1896, Denver, Leland Stanford, Michigan, North Western, Pennsylvania.
1897, Dartmouth, Denver, Duke, Leland Stanford, Michigan, North-Western, Pennsylvania, Ripon, Smith, South Dakota State Agricultural.
1898, Denver, Duke, Leland, Stanford, Michigan, Missouri Valley, North-Western, Pennsylvania,

Ripon, Smith, Willamette.
1899, Denver, Duke, Hillsdale, Leland Stanford, Michigan, North-Western, Pennsylvania, Ripon, Willamette.
1900, Arkansas Industrial, Denver, Duke, Lake Erie, Leland Stanford, Meadville, Theological, Michigan, Missouri, North-Western, Pennsylvania

29. Giddings, F.H. The Elements of Sociology. New York, Macmillan Co., 1898 (and 1926).

Recommendations: 1898, Allegheny, Dickinson, Lawrence, South Dakota State Agricultural.
1899, Adelphi, Elon, Lawrence, South Dakota State Agricultural Temple,
1900, Albion, Campbell, Elon, Illinois Wesleyan, Lawrence, Meadville, Ohio Wesleyan, South Dakota State Agricultural, Temple.

30. Henderson, C.R. (1848-1915). An Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective and Delinquent Classes, Boston, D.C. Heath and Company, 1893.

Recommendations: 1894-95, Pennsylvania.

31. Henderson, C.R. Social Elements. Institutions, Character, Progress. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898.

Recommendations: 1898, Dickinson, Northwestern, North-Western.
1899, Northwester, North-Western.
1900, Linfield, Northwestern, North-Western.

32. Heron, G.D. (1862-1925). The Christian Society. Chicago, New York, &c. F.H. Revell Company, 1894.

Recommendations: 1894, Indiana.

33. Holmes, G.F. (1820-1897). The Science of Society. Seventeen Lectures by G.F. Holmes, Ll.D. Delivered to his Class at the University of Virginia. Session 1882-83. Miller School Print, 1883. (presumably a local printer in Charlottesville, Virginia).

Recommendations: 1883-97, Virginia.

34. Joly, N. (1812-1885). Man Before Metals. New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1883. (translated from

the French).

Recommendations: 1888, Yale.
1896, Brooklyn Institution.

35. Keane, A.H. (1833-1912). Ethnology. Cambridge, The University Press, 1895.

Recommendations: 1895-96, Wisconsin.
1898-99, West Virginia.
1900, Missouri.

36. Kidd, B. (1858-1916). Social Evolution. New York, Macmillan & Co., 1894.

Recommendations: 1894, New York.
1895-97, Leland Stanford, New York.
1898, Leland Stanford, Missouri Valley, New York.
1899-1900, Leland Stanford, New York.

37. Kirkup, T. (1844-1912). A History of Socialism. New edition, revised and enlarged, London, A. & C. Black, 1900. (Originally articles on socialism contributed to the ninth edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica).

Recommendations: 1895, Chicago.

38. Laveleye, E.L.V. (1822-1892). Primitive Property. London, Macmillan and Co., 1878. (translated from the French).

Recommendations: 1899, Willamette.

39. Lefèvre, A.F.E. (1834-1904). Race and Language. London, K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1894. (translated from the French).

Recommendations: 1898, Willamette.

40. Letourneau, C.J.M. (1831-1902). Sociology Based on Ethnography. London, Chapman and Hall Limited, 1881. (translated from the French).

Recommendations: 1886, Indiana.
1887, Yale.
1889, Indiana.

41. Lippert, J. (1839-1909). Kulturgeschichte der Menschreit in ihrem organischen Aufbau. 2 Vols, Stuttgart, F. Enke, 1886-87.

Recommendation: 1889-90, 1892-99, Yale.

42. Lubbock, Sir J. (Lord Avebury) (1834-1913). Origins of Civilization, and the Primitive Condition of Man. Mental and Social Conditions of Savages. New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1870.

Recommendations: 1898, Willamette.

43. Lubbock, Sir J. Prehistoric Times, as illustrated by ancient remains and the manners and customs of modern savages. New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1872.

Recommendations: 1898-99, Willamette.

44. MacKenzie, J.S. (1860-1935). An Introduction to Social Philosophy. Glasgow, J. Maclehose & Sons, 1895.

Recommendations: 1895, Indiana, North-Western.
1896-97, North-Western.
1898, Lombard, North-Western.
1899, North-Western.
1900, Meadville, North-Western.

45. Maine, Sir H.J.S. (1822-1888). Ancient Law. Its Connection with the Early History of Society, and its Relation to Modern Ideas. New York, C. Scribner, 1864. (First English edition 1861).

Recommendations: 1896-98, Pennsylvania.

46. Maine, Sir H.J.S. Village Communities in the East and West. Six Lectures Delivered at Oxford. London, J. Murray, 1871. (first American edition, 1876).

Recommendations: 1899, Willamette.

47. Maine, Sir H.J.S. Early History of Institutions. London, J. Murray, 1890.

Recommendations: 1896-98, Pennsylvania.

48. Mayo-Smith, R. (1854-1901). Statistics and Economics. An Outline of Statistical Science, with especial reference to the use of Statistics in Political Economy and Social Science. Baltimore, American Economic Association, 1888. (See also 49).

Recommendations: 1890-91, Bryn Mawr.

49. Mayo-Smith, R. Statistics and Sociology. New York, Macmillan & Co., 1895. (This forms Part I of The Science of Statistics, Part II being Statistics and Economics, republished 1899).

Recommendations: 1896, Yale.
1897, Dartmouth, Yale.

1898, Yale.
1899, Adelphi, Atlanta, Willamette, Yale.
1900, Atlanta, Lincoln Institute, Michigan, Yale.

50. More, Sir Thomas (1480-1535). Utopia. Editions, various.

Recommendations: 1881-87, Michigan.
1895-1900, Vermont.

51. Morgan, L.H. (1818-1881). Ancient Society, or, Researches in the lines of human progess from savagery, through barbarism to civilization. New York, H.Holt and Co., 1877.

Recommendations: 1892-1900, Western Reserve.

52. Morrison, W.D. (1853 -). Crime and its Causes. London S. Sonnenschein & Co., 1891.

Recommendations: 1898, Willamette.

53. Mortillet, G. de, (1821-1898). Le Préhistorique antiquité de l'homme. Bibliothèque des sciences contemporains, Tome VIII. Paris, C. Reinwald, 1883.

Recommendations: 1887-88, Yale.

54. Patten, S.N. (1852-1922). The Failure of Biologic Sociology, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol IV, no. 6, May 1894, pp. 63-91 (pp. 919-947).

Recommendations: 1894-95, Pennsylvania.

55. Patten, S.N. The Theory of Social Forces. Supplement to The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol VII, no. 1, January 1896.

Recommendations: 1896, Oberlin.
1899-1900, Pennsylvania.

56. Peschel, O.F. (1826-1875). The Races of Man and their Geographical Distribution. New York, 1876. (translated from the German).

Recommendations: 1894-1900, New York.
1898-99, Willamette.

57. Plato. The Republic. Editions, various.

Recommendations: 1881-87, Michigan.
1894, Harvard.
1895-99, Harvard, Vermont.

1900, Brooklyn Institution, Harvard, Vermont.

58. Proal, L.J.C. (1843-). Political Crime. Criminology Series, Vol IV, New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1898. (translated from the French: La Criminalité Politique. Paris, F. Alcan 1895).

Recommendations: 1898, Willamette.

59. Quatrefages (Armand de Quatrefages de Bréau). (1810-1892). The Human Species. International Scientific Series, Vol XXVII, New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1879. (translation from the French; first French edition 1877).

60.

Recommendations: 1898, Willamette.

60. Quatrefages, A.de, Hommes Fossiles et Hommes Sauvages. Paris, J.Bailliere et Fils, 1884.

Recommendations: 1895, Me.

61. Quatrefages, A.de, Histoire Générale des Races Humaines. Paris, A. Hennuyer, 1889.

Recommendations: 1889-92, Yale.

62. Rae, J. (1845-1915). Contemporary Socialism. New York, C. Scribner's Sons, 1884.

Recommendations: 1895, Washburn.
1899-900, Westfield.

63. Ranke, J. (1836-1916). Der Mensch. Leipzig und Wein, Bibliographisches institut, 1894, 1900 (2 Vols).

Recommendations: 1893-1900, Yale.

64. Ratzel, F. (1844-1904). Volkerkunde. Leipzig und Wein, Bibliographisches institut, 1894.

Recommendations: 1889-90, Yale.

65. Robinson ? The Social Influences of Christianity ?

Recommendations: 1892-93, Denver.

N.B. I have not been able to trace this work. The author is probably Stuart Robinson (1814-1881) the author of The Church of God as an essential element of the Gospel, and the idea, structure and functions thereof. Philadelphia, J.M. Wilson, Louisville, A. Davidson, 1858.

66. Ross, E.A. (1866-1951). Social Control. A Survey of the

Foundations of Order. New York, Macmillan Company, 1901. (First appeared as articles, from March 1896 to May 1898 in the American Journal of Sociology)

Recommendations: 1897-1900, Pennsylvania.

67. Ruskin, J. (1819-1900). Unto this Last; four essays on the first principles of political economy. New York, J. Wiley & Son, 1866. (originally appeared in the Cornhill Magazine; first English edition: London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1862).

Recommendations: 1898, Harvard Divinity School.

68. Schäffle, A.E.F. (1831-1903). Kapitalismus and Socialismus (&c.) Tubingen, H. Laupp, 1870.

Recommendations: 1880, Columbia.

69. Schäffle, A.E.F. Quintessence of Socialism. New York, Humboldt Publishing Co., 1890. (Translated from the eighth German edition).

Recommendations: 1898, Harvard Divinity School.

70. Small, A.W. (1854-1926) and G.E. Vincent (1865-1929), An Introduction to the Study of Society. New York, American Book Company, 1894.

Recommendations: 1894, Leland Stanford, Macalester, Pennsylvania, University of Washington.
1895, Alfred, Boston University, Colerado State Agricultural, Gouchers, Illinois, College, Kansas Wesleyan, Nebraska, North-Western, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Washington, Wisconsin.
1896, Alfred, Arkansas Industrial, Brooklyn Institution, Colorado State Agricultural, Denver, Drake, Goucher, Illinois College, Kansas Wesleyan, Nebraska, North-Western, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, St. Lawrence, Tennessee, Ursinus, Wisconsin.
1897, Alfred, Colorado State Agricultural, Denver, Goucher, Illinois, College, Kansas Wesleyan, Nebraska, North-Western, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, St. Lawrence, Tennessee, Wells, West Virginia, Wyoming.
1898, Alfred, Centre (Ky), Colorado State Agricultural, Denver, Fredericksburg, Goucher, Illinois, College,

Kansas Wesleyan, Missouri Valley, Nebraska, North-Western, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, St. Lawrence, Tennessee, Wells, West Virginia, Wyoming, Yankton.
1899, Alfred, Bethany, Colorado State Agricultural, Denver, Fredericksburg, Goucher, Grand Island, Keidelberg, Kansas Wesleyan, Midland, Morris Brown, Nebraska, North-Western, North Dakota, Pacific, St. Lawrence, Tabor, Wells, West Virginia, Wyoming, Yankton.
1900, Alfred, Bethany, Charleston, Colorado State Agricultural, Denver, Fredericksburg, Goucher, Grand Island, Heidelberg, Kansas Wesleyan, Midland, Missouri, Mount Union, North-Western, North Dakota, Pacific, St. Lawrence, Shurtleff, Tabor, Vanderbilt, Wells, West Virginia, Wyoming Tankton.

71. Spencer, H. (1820-1903). The Study of Sociology. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1874.

Recommendations: 1886, Indiana.
1894-95, New York, University of Washington.
1896, Brooklyn Institution, New York, Yale.
1897-1900, New York, Yale.

72. Spencer, H. The Principles of Sociology. 3 Vols. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1876-1897.

Recommendations: 1894-95, University of Washington.
1896, Brooklyn Institution, Pennsylvania, Yale.
1897, Pennsylvania, Yale.
1898, Harvard Divinity School, Pennsylvania.
1899, Adelphi, Pennsylvania, Willamette.
1900, Arkansas Industrial, Missouri, Pennsylvania.

73. Starcke, C.N. (1858-1926). The Primitive Family, in its Origin and Development. New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1889.

Recommendations: 1898, Willamette.

74. Starr, F. (1858-1933). Some First Steps in Human Progress. Meadville, Pa., New York, Flood and Vincent, 1895. (Chautauqua reading circle literature).

Recommendations: 1898, Willamette.

75. Strong, J. (1847-1916). The New Era, or, The Coming Kingdom. New York, The Baker & Taylor & Co., 1893

Recommendations: 1899, Colorado State Agricultural, Presbyterian College for Women, 1900, Colorado State Agrigultural.

76. Stuckenberg, J.H.W. (1835-1903). Introduction to the Study of Sociology. New York, A.C. Armstrong and Son, 1898.

Recommendations: 1900, Geneva.

77. Sumner, W.G. (1840-1910). What Social Classes Owe to Each Other. New York, Harper and Bros., 1883.

Recommendations: 1894-1900, Elon, New York.

78. Thompson, R.E. (1844-1924). Social Science and National Economy. Philadelphia, Porter and Coates, 1875.

Recommendations: 1875-92, Pennsylvania.

79. Thwing, C.F. (1853-1937). The Family: An Historical and Social Study. Boston, Lee & Shepard; New York, C.T. Dillingham, 1887.

Recommendations: 1892-95, Western Reserve.

80. Tylor, Sir E.B. (1832-1917). Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization Boston, Estes & Lauriat, 1878 (first American edition).

Recommendations: 1899, Willamette

81. Tylor, Sir E.B. Anthropology. An Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilization. New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1881. (First American edition)

Recommendations: 1888, Yale.
1889, Indiana.
1892, Oberlin, Western Reserve.
1893, Oberlin.
1895, Wisconsin, Yale.
1896, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Yale.
1898, North Dakota, Willamette, West Virginia, Yale.
1899-1900, North Dakota, West

Virginia, Yale.

82. Walker, F.A. (1840-1897). Political Economy. New York, H. Holt and Company, 1883.

Recommendations: 1895-96, North Carolina.

83. Ward, L.F. (1841-1913). Dynamic Sociology, or Applied Social Science as Based upon Statical Sociology and the Less Complex Sciences. 2 Vols, New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1883. (2nd edition 1897).

Recommendations: 1895, George W ashington, Pennsylvania.
1896, University of Washington.
1898, Willamette.
1899, Pennsylvania, Willamette.
1900, Missouri, Pennsylvania.

84. Ward, L.F. The Psychic Factors of Civilization. Boston, Ginn and Co., 1893 (2nd edition 1906).

Recommendations: 1893, Indiana.
1895-1900, Leland Stanford.

85. Ward, L.F. Outlines of Sociology. New York, Macmillan and Co., 1898.

Recommendations: 1899, Adelphi.

86. Warner, A.G. (18 -1900). American Charities. New York, Boston, T.Y. Crowell, 1894.

Reco mendations: 1894, Wisconsin.
1895, Goucher, Leland Stanford, Pennsylvania, Vasser, Wisconsin.
1896, Goucher, Pennsylvania, Vassar, Wisconsin.
1897, Goucher, Pennsylvania, Vassar, Wisconsin.
1898, Lombard, Goucher, Pennsylvania, Vassar, Wisconsin.
1899, Goucher, Vassar, Wisconsin.
1900, Goucher, Missouri, Vassar.

87. Westermarck, E.A. (1862-1939). The History of Human Marriage. London and New York, Macmillan and Co., 1894 (originally published in Helsingfors in 1889).

Recommendations: 1898, Willamette.

88. Wilson, Sir D. (1816-1892). Anthropology; with an appendix on archaeology by E.B. Tylor. New York, J. Fitzgerald, 1885.

Recommendations: 1886, Indiana.

89. Wines, F.H. (1838-1912). Punishment and Reformation. New York, T.Y. Crowell & Company 1895.

Recommendations: 1895, Goucher, Wisconsin.
1896, Wisconsin.
1897, Dartmouth, Wisconsin.
1898, Wisconsin.
1899, Vanderbilt, Wisconsin.
1900, Missouri, Oberlin, Vanderbilt.

90. Winter, A. ( ). The New York State Reformatory in Elmira. London, S. Sonnenschein & Co., 1891.

Recommendations: 1898, Willamette.

91. Wright, C.D. (1840-1909). Outline of Practical Sociology, with Special Reference to American Conditions. New York, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899.

Recommendations: 1899, Oberlin, Susquehanna, Willamette.
1900, Albion, Berea, Lake Erie, Trinity (Texas), Susquehanna, Vanderbilt, Yale.

In addition, the following works are listed:

Giddings, F.H. Sociology. Recommended at Antioch 1899.

N.B. Giddings did not produce a work of this title. The book referred to could be either 27, 28 or 29 above.

Kohn ? History of Economic Thought ? Recommended at Willamette 1898.

N.B. I have not been able to trace this work.

Spencer, H. Introduction to Sociology. ? Recommended at Pennsylvania 1894-98.

N.B. Spencer did not produce a work of this title. The book referred to could be either 71 or 72 above.

Wundt, (presumably W.M. Wundt 1832-1920). Methodenlehre. Recommended at Chicago 1896.

N.B. Wundt did not produce a work of this title.

Appendix F

WRITERS CITED IN DESCRIPTIONS OF COURSES IN SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, UP TO 1901, WITH COURSE TITLES

1. Aristotle.

Missouri: 1900, History of Social Philosophy.
Pennsylvania: 1897-1900, Elementary Sociology.
. . . . . Theory of Sociology.
West Virginia: 1897-1900, Historical Survey of Sociological Thought.

2. Augustine, St.

West Virginia: 1897-1900, Historical Survey of Sociological Thought.

3. Bachofen, J.J. (1815-1887).

Western Reserve: 1892-96, The Family.

4. Bagehot, W. (1826-1877).

De Pauw: 1890-91, Civilization and Sociology.

5. Baldwin, J.M. (1861-1934).

Butler: 1899-1900, Social Psychology.
Michigan: 1899-1900, Psychological Sociology.
Missouri: 1900, Social Psychology.
Northwestern: 1898-1900, Social Psychology.
Yale: 1898-1900, The Literature of Sociology.

6. Beken, G.

Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

7. Bellamy, E. (1850-1898).

Chicago: 1895-96, Socialism.
Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

8. Bernès, M. (1865-).

Chicago: 1895-96, Recent Sociology.

9. Blanc, L. (1811-1882).

Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

10. Brinton, D.G. (1837-1899).

Western Reserve: 1897-1900, Sociology in the Light of Anthropology.

11. Brownson, O.A. (1803-1876).

Notre Dame: 1897-1900, Sociology.

12. Buckle, H.T. (1821-1862).

De Pauw: 1890-91, Civilization and Sociology.
Northwestern: 1898-99, Philosophy of History.
Western Reserve: 1897-1900, Introduction to Sociology.
. . . . . Sociology in the Light of Anthropology.

13. Carey, H.C. (1793-1879).

De Pauw: 1890-91, Civilization and Sociology.

14. Carlyle, T. (1795-1881).

Chicago: 1896-1900, Phases of Social Ethics.
Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

15. Cicero.

West Virginia: 1897-1900, Historical Survey of Sociological Thought.

16. Coleridge, S.T. (1772-1834).

Chicago: 1896-1900, Phases of Social Ethics.

17. Comte, A. (1798-1857).

Brooklyn Institution: 1895-99, Sociology.
Butler: 1899-1900, Development of Social Philosophy.
Chicago: 1892-93, Social Psychology.
. . . 1895-96, Development of Systematic Sociology.
. . . 1895-1900, History of Sociology.
. . . 1896-1900, Introduction to Sociology.
Colby: 1889-93, Philosophies of Society.
Goucher: 1895, Sociology.
Iowa College: 1900, Sociology and Social Problems.
Indiana: 1893-95, Sociology.
Leland Stanford: 1892-94, Dynamic Sociology.
Michigan: 1899-1900, Historical Development of Sociological Thought.

Missouri: 1900, History of Social Philosophy.
Nebraska: 1899-1900, Advanced Sociology.
Northwestern: 1898-99, Philosophy of History.
North Carolina: 1897-98, Sociology.
Oberlin: 1895-99, Sociology.
Pennsylvania: 1897-1900, Theory of Sociology.
Syracuse: 1895-96, Theories of Sociology.
. . . 1896-98, Social Philosophy.
Texas: 1897-99, History of Social Theories.
Vermont: 1895-1900, Social Theories.
Western Reserve: 1897-1900, Sociology in the Light of Anthropology.
Wisconsin: 1898-99, Modern Sociological Thought.
Yale: 1898-1900, The Literature of Sociology.

18. Darwin, C. (1809-1882).

Chicago: 1894-96, Six Great Theories and their Social Significance.
Western Reserve: 1897-1900, Sociology in the Light of Anthropology.

19. De Greef, G. (1842-1924).

Chicago: 1892-93, Social Psychology.
. . . 1895-96, The Province of Sociology.
. . . 1895-96, Development of Systematic Sociology.
. . . 1896-1900, The Social Mind.
Goucher: 1895, Sociology.
Indiana: 1892-93, Sociology.
Northwestern: 1895-98, Advanced Sociology.

20. Dilthey, W. (1833-1911).

Chicago: 1895-96, Recent Sociology.

21. Drummond, H. (1851-1897).

Indiana: 1894-95, Sociology.
Yale; 1898-1900, The Literature of Sociology.

22. Durkheim, E. (1855-1917).

Chicago: 1895-96, The Province of Sociology.
. . . 1895-96, Recent Sociology.
. . . 1896-1900, The Social Mind.
Michigan: 1899-1900, Psychological Sociology.
Yale: 1898-1900, The Literature of Sociology.

23. Eliot, G. (1819-1880).

Chicago: 1894-96, Six Great Theories and their Social Significance.

24. Ely, R.T. (1854-1943).

Colorado State Agricultural College: 1899-1900, Sociology.
Goucher: 1894, Sociology.
. . . 1895-1900, Economics and Charity.
Virginia Theological Seminary: 1900, Applied Christianity.
Wells; 1897-99, Sociology.

25. Engels, F. (1820-1895).

Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

26. Fabian Essays.

North Dakota: 1897-1900, Socialism.
Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.
Wisconsin: 1897-98, Seminary in Sociology.

27. Fairbanks, A. (1864-).

Western Reserve: 1897-1900, Introduction to Sociology.

28. Fiske, J. (1842-1901).

De Pauw: 1890-91, Civilization and Sociology.

29. Fouillée, A. (1838-1912).

Chicago: 1896-1900, The Social Mind.
Vermont: 1895-1900, Social Theories.

30. Fourier, C. (1772-1837).

Chicago: 1895-96, Socialism.
Michigan: 1881-87, Social Science.
Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

31. George, H. (1839-1937).

Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

32. Giddings, F.H.+ (1855-1931).

Charles City: 1899-1900, Social Theory and Social Problems.
Chicago: 1894-95, The Origin and Evolution of Society (a course on Giddings).
. . . 1895-96, The Province of Sociology.

Chicago: 1896-1900, The Social Mind.
Goucher: 1895-1900, Sociology.
Lombard: 1898-99, Principles of Sociology.
Michigan: 1899-1900, Historical Development of Sociological Thought.
. . . 1899-1900, Psychological Sociology.
Morningside: 1899-1900, Sociology.
Nebraska: 1894-99, Sociology.
. . . 1899-1900, Advanced Sociology. (a course on Giddings).
Northwestern: 1895-98, Advanced Sociology.
. . . . . 1898-1900, Social Philosophy (Introductory).
North Dakota: 1896-1900, Sociology.
Oberlin: 1895-99, Sociology.
Pacific (Oreg): 1899-1900, Sociology.
Pennsylvania: 1897-1900, Theory of Sociology.
Randolph-Macon: 1899-1900, Elements of Sociology.
St. Lawrence: 1896-1900, Sociology.
Syracuse: 1896-98, Social Philospphy.
Texas: 1896-99, History of Social Theories.
Vermont: 1895-1900, Social Theories.
Wells: 1897-99, Sociology.
Wisconsin: 1898-99, The Psychological Sociologists (special attention to Giddings).
Wyoming: 1897-1900, Principles of Sociology.
Western Reserve: 1897-1900, Introduction to Sociology.
. . . . . 1897-1900, Sociology in the Light of Anthropology.
Yale: 1898-1900, The Literature of Sociology.

33. Gladden, W. (1836-1918).

Colorado State Agricultural College: 1899-1900, Sociology.

34. Green, T.H. (1836-1882).

Chicago: 1896-1900, Phases of Social Ethics.

35. Guizot, F. (1787-1874).

De Pauw: 1890-91, Civilization and Sociology.

36. Gumplowicz, L. (1838-1909).

Chicago: 1892-93, Social Psychology.
. . . 1895-96: Development of Systematic Sociology.
Indiana: 1892-93, Sociology.
Leland Stanford: 1892-94, Dynamic Sociology.
Northwestern: 1895-98, Advanced Sociology.
Syracuse: 1896-98, Social Philosophy.
Vermont: 1895-1900, Social Theories.

Yale: 1898-1900, The Literature of Sociology.

37. Henderson, C.R. (1848-1915).

Goucher: 1894, Sociology.

38. Hertzka, T. (1845-).

Meadville Theological School: 1900, Ideal Commonwealths.
Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

39. Hobbes, T. (1588-1679).

Catholic University: 1895-96, Sociology.
Iowa College: 1900, Sociology and Social Reform.
Notre Dame: 1897-1900, Sociology.
Oberlin: 1895-99, Sociology.

40. Höffding, H. (1843-1931).

Northwestern: 1895-98, Advanced Sociology.

41. Huxley, T.H. (1825-1895).

Chicago: 1894-96, Six Great Theories and their Social Significance.

42. Izoulet, J. (1854-1929).

Chicago: 1895-96, Recent Sociology.

43. Kidd, B. (1858-1916).

Charles City: 1899-1900, Social Theory and Social Problems.
Goucher: 1895, Sociology.
Indiana: 1894-95, Sociology.
Northwestern: 1895-98, Advanced Sociology.
. . . . . 1898-99, Philosophy of History.
Oberlin: 1895-99, Sociology.
Syracuse: 1895-96, Theories of Sociology.
. . . 1896-98, Social Philosophy.
Vermont: 1895-1900, Social Theories.
Wyoming: 1897-1900, Principles of Sociology.

44. Kingsley, C. (1819-1875).

Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

45. Lacombe, P. (1839-1919).

Chicago: 1895-96, Recent Sociology.

46. Lassalle, F. (1825-1864).

Chicago: 1895-96, Socialism.
Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

47. Le Bon, G. (1841-1931).

Chicago: 1896-1900, The Social Mind.
Missouri: 1900, Social Psychology.
Nebraska: 1899-1900, Social Psychology.
Northwestern: 1898-1900, Social Psychology.
Yale: 1898-1900, The Literature of Sociology.

48. Leo XIII, Pope, (1810-1903).

Catholic University: 1895-96, Sociology (domestic society).

49. Le Play, F. (1806-1882).

Yale: 1898-1900, The Literature of Sociology.

50. Letourneau, C.J.M. (1831-1902).

Western Reserve: 1897-1900, Introduction to Sociology.

51. Lieber, F. (1800-1872).

Colby: 1889-93, Philosophies of Society.

52. Liebknecht, G. (1826-1900).

Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

53. Lilienfeld, P. von. (1829-1903).

Chicago: 1892-93, Social Psychology.
. . . 1895-96, Development of Systematic Sociology.
. . . 1898-1900, Introduction to Sociology.

54. Lotze, R.H. (1817-1881).

Colby: 1889-93, Philosophies of Society.
De Pauw: 1890-91, Civilization and Sociology.

55. Lubbock, Sir J. (Lord Avebury) (1834-1913).

Yale: 1887-89, Anthropology.

56. Machiavelli, N. (1469-1527).

Chicago: 1897-1900, Sociology.
Notre Dame: 1896-1900, Introduction to Sociology.

57. MacKenzie, J.S. (1860-1935).

Chicago: 1895-96, The Province of Sociology.
Goucher: 1897-1900, Sociology.
Syracuse: 1895-96, Theories of Sociology.
. . . 1896-98, Social Philosophy.

58. McLennan, J.F. (1827-1881).

Western Reserve: 1892-96, The Family.

59. Maine, Sir H.J.S. (1822-1888).

Dakota: 1900, Sociology.
Oberlin: 1895-99, Anthropology.
Wells: 1897-99, Sociology.

60. Malthus, T.R. (1766-1834).

Chicago: 1894-96, Six Great Theories and the Social Significance.

61. Marx, K. (1818-1883).

Chicago: 1894-96, Six Great Theories and their Social Significance.
. . . 1895-96, Socialism.
De Pauw: 1890-91, Civilization and Sociology.
North Dakota: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

62. Maurice, J.F.D. (1805-1872).

Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

63. Mill, J.S. (1806-1873).

Chicago: 1894-96, Six Great Theories and their Social Significance.
Goucher: 1894, Sociology.

64. Montesquieu, C., Baron de ... (1689-1755).

Chicago: 1896-1900, Introduction to Sociology.
Iowa College: 1900, Sociology and Social Problems.
Pennsylvania: 1897-1900, Theory of Sociology.

65. Morgan, L.H. (1818-1881).

Oberlin: 1895-99, Anthropology.
Western Reserve: 1892-96, The Family.

Western Reserve: 1897-1900, Sociology in the Light of Anthropology.

66. Morris, W. (1838-1896).

Chicago: 1896-1900, Phases of Social Ethics.
. . . 1898-1900, Art and Life.
Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

67. Nadaillac, J.F.A.du P., Marquis de ... (1818-1904).

Yale: 1887-89, Anthropology.

68. Nicholls, Sir G. (1781-1865).

Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

69. Novicow, J. (1849-1912).

Chicago: 1895-96, Recent Sociology.

70. Owen R. (1771-1858).

Chicago: 1895-96, Socialism.
Michigan: 1881-87, Social Science.
Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

71. Patten, S.N. (1852-1922).

Nebraska: 1894-99, Sociology.
Northwestern: 1895-98, Advanced Sociology.
Oberlin: 1895-99, Sociology.

72. Peschel, O.F. (1826-1875).

Oberlin: 1895-99, Anthropology.

73. Plato.

Boston University: 1895-1900, Sociology.
Butler: 1899-1900, Development of Social Philosophy.
Iowa: 1900, Sociology.
Meadville: 1900, Ideal Commonwealths.
Northwestern: 1895-98, Advanced Sociology.
Oberlin: 1894-95, Sociology.
Pennsylvania: 1899-1900, Elementary Sociology.
West Virginia: 1897-1900, Historical Survey of Sociological Thought.

74. Prichard, J.C. (1786-1848).

Western Reserve: 1897-1900, Sociology in the Light of Anthropology.

75. Proudhon, P.J. (1809-1865).

Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

76. Quatrefages, A.de Q... de Bréau. (1810-1892).

Western Reserve: 1897-1900, Sociology in the Light of Anthropology.

77. Quetelet, A. (1796-1874).

Yale: 1898-1900, The Literature of Sociology.

78. Rae, J. (1845-1915).

North Dakota: 1897-1900, Socialism.

79. Ranke, J. (1836-1916).

Western Reserve: 1897-1900, Sociology in the Light of Anthropology.

80. Ratzel, F. (1844-1904).

Western Reserve: 1897-1900, Sociology in the Light of Anthropology.

81. Rousseau, J.J. (1712-1778).

Catholic University: 1895-96, Sociology.
Dakota: 1900, Sociology.
Notre Dame: 1897-1900, Sociology.
Yale: 1898-1900, The Literature of Sociology.

82. Ruskin, J. (1819-1900).

Chicago: 1896-1900, Phases of Social Ethics.
. . . 1898-1900, Art and Life.
Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century

83. St. Simon, C.H., Baron de ... (1760-1825).

Chicago: 1895-96, Socialism.
Michigan: 1881-87, Social Science.
Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

84. St. Thomas Aquinas.

Notre Dame: 1897-1900, Sociology.
Western Virginia: 1897-1900, Historical Survey of Sociological Thought.

85. Schäffle, A.E.F. (1831-1903).

Chicago: 1892-93, Social Psychology.
. . . 1895-96, The Province of Sociology.
. . . 1895-96, Development of Sustematic Sociology.
. . . 1896-1900, Introduction to Sociology.
Colby: 1889-93, Philosophies of Society.
Indiana: 1893-95, Sociology.
Leland Stanford: 1892-94, Statical Sociology.
Northwestern: 1895-98, Advanced Sociology.
North Dakota: 1897-1900, Socialism.
Oberlin: 1894-95, Sociology.
Syracuse: 1896-98, Social Philosophy.
Yale: 1898-1900, The Literature of Sociology.

86. Schulze-Delitzch, F.H. (1808-1883).

Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

87. Seebohm, F. (1833-1912).

Wells: 1897-99, Sociology.

88. Shaftesbury, A.A. Cooper, 7th Earl of ... (1801-1885).

Pennsylvania: 1898-1900, Social Reform and Reformers in the Nineteenth Century.

89. Sidis, B. (1867-1923).

Northwestern: 1898-1900, Social Psychology.

90. Simmel, G. (1858-1918).

Chicago: 1895-96, Recent Sociology.
Northwestern: 1895-98, Advanced Sociology.
Yale: 1898-1900, The Literature of Sociology.

91. Small, A.W. (1854-1926).

Central (Iowa): 1899-1900, Sociology.
Rnadolph-Macon: 1899-1900, Elements of Sociology.

92. Spencer, H. (1820-1903).

Brooklyn Institution: 1895-99, Sociology.
Charles City: 1899-1900, Social Theory and Social Problems.
Chicago: 1892-93, Social Psychology.
. . . 1895-96, The Province of Sociology.
. . . 1895-96, Development of Systematic Sociology.
. . . 1896-1900, Introduction to Sociology.
Colby: 1889-93, Philosophy of Society.

Dakota: 1900, Sociology.
De Pauw: 1890-91, Civilization and Sociology.
Goucher: 1895-1900, Sociology.
Indiana: 1891-92, Anthropology and Statical Sociology.
. . . 1892-95, Sociology.
Iowa College: 1900, Sociology and Social Problems.
Iowa: 1900, Sociology.
Leland Stanford: 1892-94, Statical Sociology.
Lombard: 1898-99, Principles of Sociology.
Michigan: 1899-1900, Historical Development of Sociological Thought.
Nebraska: 1894-99, Sociology.
. . . 1899-1900, Advanced Sociology.
Northwestern: 1895-98, Advanced Sociology.
. . . . . 1898-99, Philosophy of History.
North Carolina: 1897-98, Sociology.
North Dakota: 1896-1900, Sociology.
Oberlin: 1895-99, Sociology.
Pacific (Oreg): 1899-1900, Sociology.
Pennsylvania: 1896-1900, Elementary Sociology.
. . . . . 1897-1900, Theory of Sociology.
Randolph-Macon: 1899-1900, Elements of Sociology.
Syracuse: 1895-96, Theories of Sociology.
. . . 1896-98, Social Philosophy.
Texas: 1896-99, History of Social Theories.
Vermont: 1895-1900, Social Theories.
Wisconsin: 1896-97, Seminary in Sociology (Spencer as topic).
Western Reserve: 1892-96, The Family.
. . . . . 1897-1900, Introduction to Sociology.
. . . . . 1897-1900, Philosophy of Spencer
. . . . . 1897-1900, Sociology in the Light of Anthropology.
Yale: 1887-89, Anthropology.
. . 1898-1900, The Literature of Sociology.

93. Strong, J. (1847-1916).

Colorado State Agricultural: 1899-1900, Sociology.
Virginia Theological Seminary: 1900, Applied Christianity.

94. Tarde, G. (1843-1904).

Chicago: 1895-96, The Province of Sociology.
. . . 1895-96, Recent Sociology.
. . . 1896-1900, The Social Mind.
Iowa College; 1900, Sociology and Social Problems.
Michigan: 1899-1900, Psychological Sociology.
Missouri: 1900, Social Psychology.
Nebraska: 1899-1900, Social Psychology.
Northwestern: 1895-98, Advanced Sociology.
Yale: 1898-1900, The Literature of Sociology.

95. Tönnies, F. (1855-1936).

Chicago: 1895-96, Recent Sociology.

96. Turgot, A.R.J. (1727-1781).

Chicago: 1896-1900, Introduction to Sociology.

97. Tylor, Sir E.B. (1832-1917).

Indiana: 1891-92, Anthropology and Statical Sociology.
Oberlin: 1895-99, Anthropology.
Western Reserve: 1897-1900, Sociology in the Light of Anthropology.
Yale: 1887-89, Anthropology.

98. Vico, G.B. (1668-1774).

Iowa College: 1900, Sociology and Social Reform.
Chicago: 1896-1900, Introduction to Sociology.

99. Von Ihering, R. (1818-1892).

Syracuse: 1896-98, Social Philosophy.

100. Walker, F.A. (1840-1897).

Goucher: 1895-1900, Economics and Charity.

101. Wallace, A.R. (1823-1913).

Western Reserve: 1897-1900, Sociology in the Light of Anthropology.

102. Ward, L.F. (1841-1913).

Central (Iowa): 1899-1900, Sociology.
Charles City: 1899-1900, Social Theory and Social Problems.
Chicago: 1892-93, Social Psychology.
. . . 1895-96, Recent Sociology.
. . . 1896-1900, The Social Mind.
Colby: 1889-93, Philosophies of Society.
Dakota: 1900, Sociology.
De Pauw: 1890-91, Civilization and Sociology.
Indiana: 1892-95, Sociology.
Leland Stanford: 1892-95, Dynamic Sociology.
Lombard: 1898-99, Principles of Sociology.
Michigan: 1899-1900, History of Sociological Thought.
Nebraska: 1899-1900, Advanced Sociology.
Northwestern: 1895-98, Advanced Sociology.
North Carolina: 1897-98, Sociology.
North Dakota: 1896-1900, Sociology.

Oberlin: 1895-99, Sociology.
Pennsylvania: 1897-1900, Theory of Sociology.
Randolph-Macon: 1899-1900, Elements of Sociology.
University of the South: 1900, Principles of Sociology.
Syracuse: 1895-96, Theories of Sociology.
. . . 1896-98, Social Philosophy.
Western Reserve: 1897-1900, Introduction to Sociology.
. . . . . 1897-1900, Sociology in the Light of Anthropology.
Yale: 1898-1900, The Literature of Sociology.
Goucher: 1895-1900, Sociology.

103. Westcott, B.F. (1825-1901).

Virginia Theological Seminary: 1900, Applied Christianity.

104. Wright, C.D. (1840-1909).

Wells; 1897-99, Sociology.

Appendix G

DEPARTMENTS OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE ORGANIZED BEFORE 1901

A. ... Social Science and ... Number in 1900 : 22.

1886. Columbia. Political Economy and Social Science. (1886-93. See A 1893).

1887. Duke. School of Political and Social Science. (1887-1897. See B 1897).

1890. Boston University. Economics, Law and Social Science. (1890-).

Wesleyan. Economics and Social Science. (1890-).

1891. Brown. History, Political and Social Science. (1891-92. See A 1892).

Indiana. Economics and Social Science. (1891-).

Leland Stanford. Economics and Social Science. (1891-95. See B 1895).

1892. Brown. Social and Political Science. (1892-).

Chicago. Social Science and Athropology. (1892-93. See B 1893).

Muskingum. Political and Social Science. (1892-).

Williams. Philosophy, History, Political and Social Science. (1892-98. See A 1898).

1893. Columbia. Economics and Social Science. (1893-).

Dartmouth. Political and Social Science and History. (1893-94. See A 1894).

Ursinus. Philosophy, History, Political and Social Science. (1893-).

1894. Dartmouth. Economics and Social Science. (1894-96. See C 1896).

Northwestern. Moral and Social Philosophy. (1894-).

Oregon. Political and Social Science. (1894-99. See B 1899).

1895. Beloit. Political and Social Science. (1895-).

Bucknell. Economics and Social Science. (1895-96. Logic and Anthropology 1896-).

North-Western. Political and Social Science. (1895-).

Utah. Economics and Social Science. (1895-96. See B 1896).

1896. Butler. Social and Educational Science. (1896-99. See B 1899).

1897. ---

1898. Allegheny. Economics and Social Science. (1898-).

Barnard. Economics and Social Science. (1898-).

South Dakota. Political and Social Science. (1898-99. See B 1899).

Williams. Political and Social Science. (1898-).

1899. Cedarville. Political and Social Science. (1899-).

Hamilton. Law, General History, Political and Social Science. (1899-).

Hedding. Mental, Political and Social Sciences. (1899-).

Midland. History, Economics and Social Science. (1899-).

Parsons. Political and Social Science. (1899-).

Redfield. History, Political and Social Science. (1899-).

1900. Bellevue. Political and Social Science. (1900-).

Brooklyn Polytechnic. Political and Social Science. (1900-).

Wells. Economics, Political and Social Science. (1900-).

B. ... Sociology and ... Number in 1900 : 43.

1889. Kansas. History and Sociology. (1889-96. See B 1896).

Ursinus. History and Sociology. (1889-92. See A 1893).

1891. Oberlin. Political Economy and Sociology. (1891-).

1893. Catholic University. School of Sociology and Comparative Jurisprudence. (1893-95. See D 1895).

Chicago. Sociology and Anthropology. (1893-).

Goucher. History and Sociology. (1892-98. See B 1898).

Vassar. Economics and Sociology. (1893-).

1894. Bowdoin. Political Economy and Sociology. (1894-).

Oklahoma A and M. Psychology and Sociology. (1894-).

Union (N.Y.). History and Sociology. (1894-).

1895. Adrian. Political Economy and Sociology. (1895-).

Colorado State Agricultural. English and Sociology. (1895-97. See B 1899).

Denver. Philosophy of Religion and Sociology. (1895-).

Leland Stanford. Economics and Sociology. (1895-).

Michigan. Political Economy and Sociology. (1895-).

Rollins. Economics, Sociology and Law. (1895-98. Economics and Law 1898-).

1896. Auburn. Homiletics and Sociology. (1896-).

Baker. History, Sociology, Philosophy. (1896-).

Bates. Economics, Sociology. (1896-).

Kansas. Sociology and Political Economy. (1896-99. See D 1899).

Marietta. Sociology and Economics. (1896-).

Utah. Economics and Sociology. (1896-).

1897. Arkansas Industrial. Economics and Sociology. (1897-).

Atlanta. Sociology and History. (1897-).

Duke. Political Economy and Sociology. (1897-).

Kansas. Graduate Depat. of Economics and Sociology. (1897-).

Pennsylvania. Economics, Politics, Sociology, Statistics. (1897-).

Washington (University of ...). Economics and Sociology. (1897-).

1898. Atlanta Baptist (Morehouse). Civics, Sociology, Economics. (1898-).

Goucher. History, Economics, Sociology. (1898-).

Monmouth. History and Sociology. (1898-1900. See D 1900).

Wooster. History, Morals, Sociology. (1898-).

1899. Akron (Buchtel). Political Economy and Sociology. (1899-).

Butler. Sociology and Economics. (1899-).

Colorado State Agricultural. Sociology and The Constitution. (1899-).

Dickinson. Sociology and Economics. (1899-).

Morningside. Political Economy and Sociology. (1899-).

Nebraska. Political Economy and Sociology. (1899-).

Occidental. History and Sociology. (1899-).

Oregon. Economics and Sociology. (1899-).

Ouachita. School of Economics and Sociology. (1899-).

South Dakota. History and Sociology. (1899-).

Virginia Union. History and Sociology. (1899-).

Westfield. Sociology and Economics. (1899-).

1900. Campbell. Political Science and Sociology. (1900-).

Iowa. Sociology and Political Philosophy. (1900-).

Irving. Economics and Sociology. (1900-).

Linfield. Economics and Sociology. (1900-).

Ohio State. Economics and Sociology. (1900-).

Wellesley. Economics and Sociology. (1900-).

Yale Divinity School. Christian Ethics and Sociology. (1900-).

C. Social Science. Number in 1900 : 4.

1896. Dartmouth. (1896-98. See D 1898).

1897. Wells. (1897-1900. See D 1900).

Wyoming. (1897-).

1898. Olivet. (1898-).

1899. Central (Iowa). (1898-).

South West Kansas. (1899-).

D. Sociology. Number in 1900 : 16.

1892. Chicago Theological Seminary. (Christian Sociology). (1892-).

1893. Chicago. (in the Divinity School). (1893-).

1894. Missouri Valley. (School of Sociology). (1894-).

Wisconsin. (1894-).

1895. Catholic University. (1895-).

Geneva. (1895-).

New York. (in the Graduate Department). (1895-).

Syracuse. (1895-).

1896. Liberal. (1896-).

1897. West Virginia. (1897-).

1898. Dartmouth. (1898-).

Kombard. (1898-).

1899. Kansas. (1899-).

1900. Meadville Theological. (1900-).

Missouri. (1900-).

Monmouth. (1900-).

Total of All Departments in 1900 : 85.

Departments with Social Science in Title : 26.

Departments with Sociology in Title ; 59.

Appendix H

APPOINTMENTS IN SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE UP TO 1900

1. Appointments in Sociology

A. Mixed Titles below rank of Professor

1885	Economics and Sociology	Indiana University
1893	History and Sociology	Kansas University
1894	History and Sociology	Baltimore Women's College (Goucher)
	Economics and Sociology	Bowdoin College
1895	Economics and Sociology	Bowdoin College Oberlin College
	History and Sociology	Baltimore Women's College
	Philosophy and Sociology	Washburn College
	Sociology in Relation to Education	New York University
1896	Economics and Sociology	Bowdoin College Oberlin College University of Utah
	History and Sociology	Baltimore Women's College
	Philosophy and Sociology	Washburn College
	Political Economy and Sociology	Bowdoin College
	Sociology in Relation to Education	New York University
1897	Economics and Sociology	Bowdoin College Oberlin College University of Utah
	History and Sociology	Baltimore Women's College Union University
	Political Economy and Sociology	Bowdoin College Duke University
	Sociology in Relation to Education	New York University

1898	Economics and Sociology	Lake Erie College Indiana University Oberlin College Smith College University of Utah
	History and Sociology	Baltimore Women's College Union University
	Political Economy and Sociology	Duke University
	Sociology in Relation to Education	New York University
1899	Economics and Sociology	Indiana University Lake Erie College Oberlin College Smith College Syracuse University University of Utah Williams College
	Economics, Sociology and Applied Christianity	Vanderbilt University
	History and Sociology	Union University
	Political Economy and Sociology	Duke University
	Sociology and Economics	Kansas University
	Sociology in Relation to Education	New York University
1900	Economics and Sociology	Indiana University Oberlin College Ohio State University Smith College Syracuse University Utah University Williams College
	Economics, Sociology and Applied Christianity	Vanderbilt University
	History and Sociology	Union University
	Political Economy and Sociology	Duke University
	Sociology and Economics	Kansas University
	Sociology in Relation to Economics	New York University

B. <u>Mixed Titles: Full Professor</u>

1887	Morals and Sociology	Wooster University
1888	Morals and Sociology	Wooster University

1888	Practical and Christian Sociology	Hartford Theological Seminary
1889	History and Sociology	Kansas University
	Morals and Sociology	Wooster University
	Practical and Christian Sociology	Hartford Theological Seminary
1890	as for 1889	
1891	as for 1890	
1892	Christian Sociology and Use of the English Bible	Chicago Theological Seminary
	History and Sociology	Kansas University
	Morals and Sociology	Wooster University
	Practical Theology and Christian Sociology	Hartford Theological Seminary
1893	Christian Sociology and Use of the English Bible	Chicago Theological Seminary
	Economics and Sociology	Smith College
	Ethics and Sociology	Farmington College
	History and Sociology	Kansas University
	Morals and Sociology	Wooster University
	Practical Theology and Christian Sociology	Hartford Theological Seminary
1894	Biology and Sociology	Missouri Valley College
	Christian Sociology and Use of the English Bible	Chicago Theological Seminary
	Economics and Sociology	Smith College
	History and Sociology	Kansas University
		Union University
	Morals and Sociology	Wooster University
	Philosophy, Political Science, and Sociology	Utah Agricultural College
	Political Economy and Sociology	University of Nebraska
	Practical Theology and Christian Sociology	Hartford Theological Seminary
1895	Biology and Sociology	Missouri Valley College
	Christian Sociology and Use of the English Bible	Chicago Theological Seminary
	Economics and Sociology	Marietta College
		Smith College
	English and Sociology	Colorado State Agricultural College
	History and Sociology	Kansas University
		Union University
	Morals and Sociology	Wooster University
	Philosophy, Political Science and Sociology	Utah Agricultural College

1895	Political Economy and Sociology	University of Nebraska
	Practical Theology and Christian Sociology	Hartford Theological Seminary
	Sociology and Civics	Syracuse University
1896	Biology and Sociology	Missouri Valley College
	Christian Sociology and Use of the English Bible	Chicago Theological Seminary
	Economics and Sociology	Marietta College
		Smith College
	English and Sociology	Colorado State Agricultural College
	History and Sociology	Baker University
		Kansas University
		Union University
	Morals and Sociology	Wooster University
	Pastoral Theology and Sociology	St. Lawrence University
	Philosophy, Political Science and Sociology	Utah Agricultural College
	Political Economy and Sociology	University of Nebraska
	Practical Theology and Christian Sociology	Hartford Theological Seminary
	Sociology and Civics	Syracuse University
	Sociology and Law	Liberal University
1897	Biology and Sociology	Missouri Valley College
	Christian Sociology and Use of the English Bible	Chicago Theological Seminary
	Economics and Sociology	Arkansas Industrial University
		Marietta College
		Smith College
		University of West Virginia
	English and Sociology	Colorado State Agricultural College
	Ethics and Sociology	Ohio University
	History and Sociology	Baker University
		Kansas University
		Union University
	Morals and Sociology	Wooster University
	Pastoral Theology and Sociology	St. Lawrence University
	Philosophy, Political Science and Sociology	Utah Agricultural College
	Political Economy and Sociology	Bowdoin College
		University of Nebraska
	Practical Theology and Christian Sociology	Hartford Theological Seminary
	Sociology and Economics	Butler College
	Sociology and Law	Liberal University

1898	Biology and Sociology	Missouri Valley College
	Christian Sociology and Use of the English Bible	Chicago Theological Seminary
	Economics and Sociology	Arkansas Industrial University
		Smith College
		University of West Virginia
	Ethics and Sociology	Ohio University
	History and Sociology	Baltimore Women's College
		Baker University
		Kansas University
		Union University
	Morals and Sociology	Wooster University
	Pastoral Theology and Sociology	St. Lawrence University
	Philosophy, Political Science and Sociology	Utah Agricultural College
	Political Economy and Sociology	Bowdoin College
		University of Nebraska
	Practical Theology and Christian Sociology	Hartford Theological Seminary
	Sociology and Economics	Butler College
	Sociology and Ethics	Friends University
	Sociology and Law	Liberal University
1899	Biology and Sociology	Missouri Valley College
	Christian Sociology and Use of the English Bible	Chicago Theological Seminary
	Economics and Sociology	Arkansas Industrial University
		Smith College
		University of West Virginia
	History and Sociology	Baltimore Women's College
		Baker University
		Kansas University
		Occidental College
		Union University
	History, Sociology and Natural Sciences	Redfield College
	Morals and Sociology	Wooster University
	Pastoral Theology and Sociology	St. Lawrence University
	Philosophy, Political Science and Sociology	Utah Agricultural College
	Political Economy and Sociology	Bowdoin College
	Psychology, Ethics and Sociology	Susquehanna University

1899	Practical Theology and Christian Sociology	Hartford Theological Seminary
	Sociology and Economics	Butler College
		Dickinson College
	Sociology and Ethics	Friends University
	Sociology and Law	Liberal University
1900	Biology and Sociology	Missouri Valley College
	Christian Evidence and Sociology	Marietta College
	Christian Sociology and Use of the English Bible	Chicago Theological Seminary
	Economics and Sociology	Arkansas Industrial University
		Oberlin College
		South Dakota Agricultural College
		Smith College
		University of West Virginia
	History and Sociology	Baltimore Women's College
		Baker University
		Kansas University
		Occidental College
		Union University
	History, Sociology and Natural Sciences	Redfield College
	Morals and Sociology	Wooster University
	Pastoral Theology and Sociology	St. Lawrence University
	Pedagogy and Sociology	Lane University
	Philosophy, Political Science and Sociology	Utah Agricultural College
	Political Economy and Sociology	Bowdoin College
	Psychology, Ethics and Sociology	Susquehanna University
	Practical Theology and Christian Sociology	Hartford Theological Seminary
	Sociology and Economics	Butler College
		Dickinson College
	Sociology, Economics and History	Irving College
	Sociology and Ethics	Friends University
		Meadville Theological School
	Sociology and Comparative Religions	Taylor University
	Sociology and Law	Liberal University

C. Sociology: below rank of Professor

1888	Williams College
1889	Williams College
1890	Williams College
1891	University of Pennsylvania Williams College
1892	Columbia University University of Pennsylvania Williams College
1893	Andover Theological Seminary Chicago University (6) Columbia University The Johns Hopkins University Williams College
1894	Andover Theological Seminary Chicago University (8) Columbia University Harvard / Radcliffe Oberlin College (Christian Sociology) Pacific Theological Seminary The Johns Hopkins University University of Minnesota Williams College
1895	Andover Theological Seminary Bucknell University Catholic University of America Chicago University (6) George Washington University Harvard / Radcliffe Massachusetts Institute of Technology New York University Oberlin College (Christian Sociology) Pacific Theological Seminary Princeton University University of Michigan University of Minnesota Williams College
1896	Andover Theological Seminary Bucknell University Catholic University of America Chicago University (8) George Washington University Harvard / Radcliffe

1896
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
New York University
Oberlin College (Christian Sociology)
Princeton University
University of Michigan
University of Minnesota
University of Pennsylvania (2)
Williams College

1897
Bucknell University
Catholic University of America
Chicago University (6)
Harvard / Radcliffe
George washington University
Leland Stanford Junior University
University of Michigan
University of Minnesota
University of Pennsylvania (2)
University of Wisconsin
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Williams College

1898
Bucknell University
Catholic University of America
Chicago University (6)
George Washington University
Harvard / Radcliffe
Leland Stanford Junior University
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
University of Michigan
University of Minnesota
University of Pennsylvania
University of Wisconsin
Williams College

1899
Blackburn University
Bucknell University
Catholic University of America
Chicago University (6)
Harvard / Radcliffe
George Washington University
Leland Stanford Junior University
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
University of Michigan
University of Nebraska (2)
University of Pennsylvania
University of Wisconsin
Washburn College
Williams College

1900
Blackburn University
Catholic University of America
Chicago University (5)
Harvard / Radcliffe

1900 Iowa University
Leland Stanford Junior University
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
University of Michigan
University of Minnesota
University of Nebraska
University of Pennsylvania
University of Wisconsin
Washburn College
Williams College

D. Sociology: Full Professor

1893 Chicago University

1894 Chicago University
Columbia University
Oberlin College

1895 Chicago University
Columbia University
New York University
University of Wisconsin

1896 Chicago University
Columbia University
Leland Stanford Junior University
New York University
Syracuse University
University of Wisconsin

1897 as in 1896

1898 Chicago University
Columbia University
Dartmouth College
Leland Stanford Junior University
New York University
Syracuse University

1899 as in 1898

1900 Chicago University
Columbia University
Dartmouth College
Leland Stanford Junior University
Lombard College
New York University
University of Missouri
University of Nebraska

2. Appointments in Social Science

A. Mixed Titles below rank of Professor

1880	Political Economy and Social Science	Columbia University
1881	as in 1880	
1882	as in 1881	
1891	Economics and Social Science	Wesleyan University
	Political and Social Science	Brown University
1892	Economics and Social Science	Wesleyan University
	Political and Social Science	Brown University
	Social Science, Statistics and Political Economy	Cornell University
1893	as in 1892	
1894	Economics and Social Science	Wesleyan University
	Lecturer on the Social Problem	Wittenberg College
	Political and Social Science	Brown University
	Political Economy and Social Science	Columbia University
	Social Science, Statistics and Political Economy	Cornell University
1895	Economics and Social Science	Brown University Wesleyan University University of Utah
	Political and Social Science	Boston University
	Political Economy and Social Science	Columbia University
	Social Science, Statistics and Political Economy	Cornell University

1896	as in 1895, omitting	University of Utah
1897	as in 1896, omitting	Wesleyan University
1898	as in 1897, omitting	Columbia University
1899	as in 1898, omitting	Cornell University
1900	Economics and Social Science	Brown University
	Political and Social Science	Boston University
		Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute

B. Mixed Titles: Full Professor

1872-81	Political and Social Science	Yale University
1882	Political and Social Science	Yale University
	Political Economy and Science of Society	University of Virginia
1883	Political and Social Science	Yale University
	Political Economy and Science of Society	University of Virginia
	Political Economy and Social Science	Columbia University
1884	as 1883	
1885	as in 1884	
1886	Economics and Social Science	Indiana University
	Political and Social Science	Yale University
	Political Economy and Science of Society	University of Virginia
	Political Economy and Social Science	Columbia University
1887	as in 1886	
1888	as in 1887	

1889	Economics and Social Science	Indiana University
	English Language and Literature, Aesthetics and Social Science	Ursinus College
	History and Social Science	Atlanta University
	Political and Social Science	Yale University
	Political Economy and Social Science	Columbia University
1890	as in 1889	
1891	Economics and Social Science	Indiana University
	English Language and Literature, Aesthetics and Social Science	Ursinus College
	History and Social Science	Atlanta University
	Political, Municipal and Social Institutions	Cornell University
	Political and Social Science	Yale University
	Political Economy and Social Science	Columbia University
1892	as in 1891 with addition of:	
	Political and Social Science	Hamilton College
1893	as in 1892 with addition of:	
	Political Economy and Social Science	University of Illinois Ripon College
	Political and Social Science	University of North Carolina
1894	as in 1893 with addition of:	
	Latin, Moral and Social Sciences	Elon College
	Political and Social Science	Brown University
1895	Economics and Social Science	Indiana University Cornell University
	English Language and Literature, Aesthetics and Social Science	Ursinus College
	History and Social Science	Atlanta University

1895	Political Economy and Social Science	University of Illinois
		Columbia University
		Ripon College
	Political and Social Science	University of North Dakota
		Hamilton College
		University of North Carolina
		Yale University
		Brown University
		University of Washington
	Latin, Moral and Social Science	Elon College
	Political, Municipal and Social Institutions	
1896	Economics and Social Science	Cornell University
		Wesleyan University
	History and Social Science	Atlanta University
	Philosophy and Social Science	University of Wyoming
	Political Economy and Social Science	University of Illinois
		Columbia University
		Ripon College
	Political and Social Science	Brown University
		Hamilton College
		University of North Dakota
		University of Washington
		Yale University
	Latin, Moral and Social Science	Elon College
	Political, Municipal and Social Institutions	Cornell University
	Social and Educational Science	Butler College
1897	Economics and Social Science	Cornell University
		Wesleyan University
	English Bible and Social Science	Wells College
	History and Social Science	Atlanta University
	Latin, Moral and Social Science	Elon College
	Philosophy and Social Science	University of Wyoming

1897	Political Economy and Social Science	University of Illinois
		Columbia University
		Ripon College
	Political and Social Science	Brown University
		Hamilton College
		University of North Dakota
		University of Washington
		Yale University
	Political, Municipal and Social Institutions	Cornell University
1898	Economics and Social Science	Cornell University
		Indiana University
		Wesleyan University
	English Bible and Social Science	Wells College
	Latin, Moral and Social Science	Elon College
	Philosophy and Social Science	University of Wyoming
	Political Economy and Social Science	University of Illinois
		Columbia University
		Ripon College
	Political and Social Science	Brown University
		Hamilton College
		University of North Dakota
		University of South Dakota
		University of Washington
		Yale University
	Social Science, Statistics and Political Economy	Cornell University
1899	as in 1898, with addition of:	
	English Language and Literature, History, Economics and Social Science	Midland College
	Political and Social Sciences	Hedding College
1900	as in 1899, omitting:	Hedding College

C. Social Science: below rank of Professor

1884-90	Cornell University
1892	Chicago University
1894	Leland Stanford Junior University University of Pennsylvania
1895	as in 1894
1896	as in 1895
1897	Leland Stanford Junior University
1899	Cornell University
1900	Bucknell University Cornell University Yale University

D. Social Science: Full Professor

1874-1883	University of Pennsylvania
1888-91	University of Pennsylvania
1892	Chicago University University of Virginia
1893	Dartmouth College University of Virginia
1894	as 1893
1895	as 1894
1896	as 1895
1897	as 1896
1898	Dartmouth College Monmouth College
1899	Monmouth College
1900	as 1899

Appendix I

CATALOGUE OF TEACHERS OF COURSES IN SOCIOLOGY/SOCIAL SCIENCE UP TO 1901, INCLUDING INSTITUTIONS AND YEARS IN WHICH THEY TAUGHT SOCIOLOGY

Adams, Ephraim Douglas. (Assistant in History and Sociology, Kansas University, 1893. Taught no sociology courses).

Anderson, Jesse. Trinity University, Texas, 1900-

Atkinson, J.D. Elon College, 1894-

Aylesworth, Barton O. Colorado State Agric. College, 1899-

Aylsworth, William Prince. Cotner University, 1899-

Bailey, William Bascom. Yale University, 1900-

Baker, B.W. Missouri Wesleyan College, 1900-

Balch, Emily Greene. Wellesley College, 1897-

Baldwin, Foy Spencer. Boston University, 1895-

Baldwin, Fritz, W. Bates College, 1896-97.

Barker, Robert J. Oklahoma A & M, 1894-99.

Barnard, J. Lynn. Ursinus College, 1897-98.

Bartlett, N.B. Lane University, 1900-

Bascom, John. Williams College, 1888-

Battle, Kemp Plummer. University of North Carolina, 1895.

Bell, William A. Antioch College, 1899-

Bemis, Edward L. Chicago University, 1892-95.

Benson, Guy Potter. Baker University, 1896-

Bentley, Arthur Fisher. Chicago University, 1895-96.

Black, James William. Colby College 1896-97.

Blackman, William F. Yale University, 1895-

Blackmar, Frank Wilson. Kansas University, 1889-

Blanchard, Charles A. Wheaton College, 1886-93.

Blayney, Francis S. College of Emporia, 1900-

Boardman, H.L. Linfield College, 1897-

Bogart, Ernest Ludlow. Indiana University, 1898-1900; Oberlin College, 1900-

Boyd, William R. Coe College, 1899-

Bradley, Walter H. Blackburn University, 1899-

Brooks, Samuel Palmer. Baylor University, 1896-

Bryan, Elmer Burritt. Butler College, 1896-97.

Bullock, Charles, Jesse. Williams College, 1899-

Burgess, John W. Amherst College, 1873-76.

Burke, William M. Albion College, 1900-

Butler, Nathaniel. Colby College, 1895-

Bynum, Ernest Taylor. University of North Carolina, 1897-98.

Cady, George Luther. Iowa University, 1900-

Calbert, C.F. Peterson. Bethany College (Kansas), 1900-

Caldwell, William. Northwestern University, 1894-

Callender, Guy Stevens. (Professor of Political Economy and Sociology, Bowdoin College, 1900- Taught no sociology courses).

Carver, Thomas Nixon. Oberlin College, 1895-1900. Harvard and Radcliffe, 1900-

Chaffee, Arthur Billings. Central College (Iowa) 1899-

Chamberlain, Alexander F. Clark University, 1891-

Chamberlain, McKendree Hypes. McKendree College, 1897-

Chapin, Aaron L. Beloit College, 1890-95.

Chapin, Eben Hubert. Lombard College, 1896-99.

Chapin, Robert C. Beloit College, 1895-

Chapman, L.H. University of Oregon, 1894-95.

Chutz, Jacob A. Midland College, 1891- ?

Clark, Frederick Converse. Leland Stanford Junior University, 1900-

Clark, Hannah Belle. Chicago University, 1895-96; University of West Virginia, 1899-

Clark, Hyre D. Hedding College, 1899-

Cluthank, James B. Wilmington College, 1896-

Coddington, Wellesley Perry. Syracuse University, 1899-1900.

Colby, Frank M. New York University, 1896-

Coleman, James M. Geneva College, 1897-

Collin, Charles Avery. Cornell, 1889-91.

Commons, John Rogers. Wesleyan University, 1890-91; Oberlin College, 1891-92; Indiana University, 1892-95; Syracuse University, 1895-99.

Cone, Ralph Waldo. Kansas University, 1899-

Cooley, Charles Horton. University of Michigan, 1894-

Cooper, Charles H. Carleton College, 1898-

Coray, George Quincy. Utah University, 1895-

Cowell, Alfred L. San Joaquin Valley College, 1895-96.

Crook, Isaac. Ohio University, 1897-98.

Crowell, John Franklin. Trinity College (Duke), 1887-90; Smith College, 1895-97.

Cummings, Edward. Harvard and Radcliffe, 1891-

Cummings, J. Harvard, 1895-99.

Curtis, Mattoon Monroe. Western Reserve University, 1891-

Dabney, Charles William. University of Tennessee, 1900-

Daniels, winthrop More. Wesleyan University, 1891-92.

Davis, Boothe Colwell. Alfred University, 1895-

Day, Arthur M. Columbia University, 1894-97.

Dealey, James Quayle. Brown University, 1895-

Dewey, Davis R. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1887-

Dewey, John. University of Michigan, 1893-94.

Dodge, Le Vant. Berea College, 1899-

Dowd, Jerome. Trinity College (Duke), 1897-

Droppers, Garrett. University of South Dakota, 1898-99.

Du Bois, William E.B. Atlanta University, 1897-

Duncan, Theodore A. Dakota University, 1900-

Dunster, Edward Swift. University of Michigan, 1881-87.

Durand, Edwin Dana. Leland Stanford Junior University, 1898-

Dyer, Gus W. Vanderbilt University, 1899-

Eaves, Lucile. Chicago University, 1899-1900.

Ellis, A.B. Fredericksburg College, 1898-

Ellwood, Charles Abram. University of Missouri, 1900-

Ely, Richard T. The Johns Hopkins, 1885-91; University of Wisconsin, 1894-1900.

Emerick, Charles F. Smith College, 1899-

Emerson, Samuel Franklin. University of Vermont, 1891-

Emery, Henry Crosby. Bowdoin College, 1894-1900.

English, John Mahan. Newton Theological Institution, 1887-

Fairbanks, Arthur. Yale University, 1892-94.

Farnam, Henry walcott. Yale University, 1900-

Fetter, Frank A. Indiana University, 1895-98.

Fisher, Edward F. Charles City College, 1899-

Fisher, Lewis Beals. St. Lawrence University, 1896-

Fisher, Willard Clark. Wesleyan University, 1895-

Fisk, Daniel Moses. Washburn College, 1899-

Flagg, Rufus Cushman. Ripon College, 1893-1900.

Folwell, William F. University of Minnesota, 1892-94.

Ford, Darius R. Elmira College, 1891-

Forrest, Jacob Dorsey. Chicago University, 1895-99; Butler College, 1899-

Foster, Frank. Pacific Theological Seminary, 1897-99.

Fox, Luther A. Roanoke College, 1895-

Fradenburgh, Adelbert Grant. Adelphi College, 1899-

Fulcomer, Daniel. Chicago University, 1893-94.

Gadsden, John. College of Charleston, 1898-

Galloway, Thomas Walton. Missouri Valley College, 1894-

Garman, Charles Edward. Amherst College, 1899-

Garver, Frank Harmon. Morningside College, 1899-

Gatch, Thomas Milton. University of Washington, 1894-96.

Gates, Merrill Edward. Amherst College, 1894-98.

Gentles, Henry Wernicke. Chicago University, 1893-94.

Geer, Curtis M. Bates College, 1897-

Giddings, Franklin Henry. Bryn Mawr, 1889-95; Columbia and Barnard, 1894-

Gilman, Nicholas Paine. Meadville Theological School, 1900-

Good, James I. Ursinus College, 1893-

Goss, Winfield S. Tillotson College, 1895-

Gould, Elgin R.L. The Johns Hopkins, 1887-97.

Graham, Russell. Monmouth College, 1898-

Greeley, Clarence D. Washburn College, 1895-96.

Green, Charles A. Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, 1900-

Greene, William Brenton. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1894-

Hall, Arthur Cleveland. The Johns Hopkins, 1893-94; Columbia University, 1894-95.

Hamilton, James Henry. Syracuse University, 1899-

Hammond, Matthew Brown, University of Illinois, 1897-

Harris, George. Andover Theological Seminary, 1893-99.

Hatch, Leonard Williams. Bowdoin College, 1896-97.

Havighorst, Freeman A. Lawrence University, 1898-

Hawley, Willis Chatman. Willamette University, 1895-

Heisler, Charles W. Susquehanna University, 1899-

Henderson, Charles Richmond. Chicago University, 1892-

Herrick, Clarence L. University of New Mexico, 1897-99.

Heston, John William. South Dakota State Agricultural College, 1897-

Hitchock, Clara M. Lake Erie College, 1899-

Holbrook, Z. Swift. Oberlin College, 1894-96.

Holmes, George Frederick. University of Virginia, 1882-97.

Hoose, James H. University of Southern California, 1899-

Houston, David Franklin. Texas University, 1897-1900.

Howard, Walter Eugene. Middlebury College, 1894-

Howarth, Ira Woods. Chicago University, 1894-

Hoyt, Arthur Stephen. Auburn Theological Seminary, 1893-

Hughes, Richard C. Tabor College, 1899-

Hull, William I. Swarthmore College, 1892-

Hurd, Mabel. Brooklyn Institution, 1899-

Hutto, Frank A. Oklahoma A & M College, 1899-

Innis, George S. Hamline University, 1894-

James, Lewis G. Brooklyn Institution, 1894-99.

Jenkins, Daniel E. Parsons College, 1899-

Jenks, Jeremiah Whipple. Indiana University, 1889-91; Cornell University, 1891-92.

Jenness, Charles Kelley. Pacific Theological Seminary, 1894-95.

Jensen, P.J. Brigham Young University, 1899-

Johnson, William Hallock, Centre College (Ky), 1898-

Jones, Frederick Robertson. Union University, 1897-

Karns, Thomas C. University of Tennessee, 1895-99.

Keasbey, Lindley Miller. Bryn Mawr, 1895-

Keller, Albert D. Heidelberg College, 1899-

Keller, Albert Galloway. Yale University, 1900-

Kerby, William Joseph. Catholic University of America, 1895-

Kerr, David Ramsey. Bellevue College (University of Omaha), 1900-

Kiekhoeffer, H.J. North-Western College, 1895-

Kimble, Ralph Grierson. Lombard College, 1900-

Kinley, David. University of Illinois, 1893-97.

Kleene, Gustavus Adolphus. University of Wisconsin, 1900-

Kloss, C.F. Irving College, 1900-

Knowlton, P.G. Fargo College, 1897-

Latané, John H. Randolph-Macon, 1898-

Lawrence, Martha E. Lake Erie College, 1898-99.

Laws, Samuel Spahr. University of Missouri, 1876-89.

Levermore, Charles H. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1888-93.

Lindsay, Samuel McCune. University of Pennsylvania, 1894-

Loos, Isaac Althaus. Iowa University, 1897-

Lowe, Walter Frenaeus. Wells College, 1900-

Mackel, Charles H. Seton Hall College, 1899-

Mains, William Curtis, Ursinus College, 1896-97.

Manatt, J. Irving. University of Nebraska, 1884-89.

Martin, William Emmet. Bucknell University, 1896-

Mason, Penfield E. Carthage College, 1899-

Matthews, Shailer. Colby College, 1892-94.

Maynard, A.B. Redfield College, 1899-

Mayo-Smith, Richmond. Columbia University, 1877-

McClintock, Euphemia. Presbyterian College for Women (S.C.), 1899-

McDowell, William F. Denver University, 1891-99.

McKinley, Albert E. Temple University, 1899-

McLean, Simon James. Arkansas Industrial University, 1897-

Meixel, Glanville H. Midland College, 1899-

Merriam, Alexander Ross. Hartford Theological Seminary, 1892-

Merrifield, Webster. University of North Dakota, 1895-

Merz, Henry. University of Wyoming, 1896-

Mayer, Balthasar Henry. University of Wisconsin, 1897-

Mezes, Sidney Edward. Texas University, 1897-1900.

Milligan, Harvey W. Illinois College, 1895-98.

Mills, Herbert Elmer. Vassar College, 1892-

Mitchell, Charles Anderson. Bellevue College (University of Omaha), 1900-

Mixter, Charles Whitney. Trinity College (Conn.), 1899-1900.

Monin, Louis C. Armour Institute of Technology, 1892-95; 1897-

Monteser, Frederick. New York University, 1899-

Moore, Frederick W. University of Pennsylvania, 1891-92.

Moore, Henry L. Smith College, 1897-99.

Mosher, G.F. Hillsdale College, 1898-

Moss, Lemuel. Bucknell University, 1900-

Mueller, Edward W. Kansas Wesleyan University, 1895-

Muir, Jere T. LaGrange College, 1900-

Munro, George. Bethany College (W.Va.), 1899-

Orth, Samuel P. Buchtel College, 1897-

Owen, A. Roger Williams University, 1898-

Paden, T.H. Muskingum College, 1892-99.

Parkinson, James Monroe. South Dakota State Agricultural College, 1893-95.

Patten, Simon Nelson. University of Pennsylvania, 1894-

Patton, Grace Espy. Colorado State Agricultural College, 1895-97.

Paul, Joshua H. Utah Agricultural College, 1894-95.

Peabody, Francis Greenwood. Harvard University and Harvard Divinity School, 1884-

Perry, Alfred Tyler. Marietta College, 1900-

Pilcher, James Evelyn. Dickinson College, 1899-

Place, Chester Alan. Southwest Kansas College, 1899-

Powers, Harry Huntington. Leland Stanford Junior University, 1895-97; Cornell University, 1899-

Prevey, Comodore E. University of Nebraska, 1899-

Prince, Benjamin Franklin. Wittenberg College, 1894-

Prince, Morris W. Dickinson College, 1896-99.

Quayle, William Alfred. Baker University, 1894-96.

Ramage, Burr James. University of the South, 1900-

Raymond, Jerome Hall. Chicago University, 1894-95; University of Wisconsin, 1895-97; University of West Virginia, 1897-1900.

Reese, William Smythe. Westfield College, 1899-

Reid, James. Montana State College of A & M Arts, 1896-

Reiner, John M. College of St. Thomas, Villanova, 1900-

Reynolds, Amsbury L. Adrian College, 1895-

Reynolds, J.H. Hendrix College, 1896-

Rice, John Jay. Westminster College (Mo.), 1900-

Ripley, William Zebina. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1893-; Columbia University, 1892-

Ripton, Bemjamin Henry. Union University, 1894-

Robertson, James Rood. Pacific University (Oreg), 1899-

Rooker, Frederick Z. Catholic University of America, 1895-

Ross, Edward Alsworth. Indiana University, 1891-92; Leland Stanford Junior University, 1893-1900; University of Nebraska, 1900-

Ruby, Samuel Vernon. Ursinus College, 1889-95.

Russell, Isaac Franklin. New York University, 1886-

Rutlege, J.S. (Professor of Ethics and Sociology Farmington College, 1893- . No sociology courses listed).

Sale, George. Atlanta Baptist College, 1898-

Sanborn, Frank B. Cornell University, 1884-91.

Scovel, Sylvester F. Wooster University, 1887-

Sharp, Frank C. University of Wisconsin, 1894-

Sharplees, Isaac. Haverford College, 1900-

Shepperd, Bruce E. Drake University, 1896-

Sherwood, Sidney. The Johns Hopkins, 1897-1900.

Shilling, J.H. (Professor of Sociology and Comparative Religions, Taylor University, 1900- . No sociology courses listed).

Slocum, William Frederick. Colorado College, 1895-

Small, Albion Woodbury. Colby College, 1889-92; Chicago University, 1892-

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